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ISSN: 0043-7956 (Print) 2373-5112 (Online) Journal homepage: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rwr20>

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To cite this article: Yury Šerech-Shevelov (1952) The Problem of Ukrainian-Polish Linguistic Relations from the Tenth to the Fourteenth Century, WORD, 8:4, 329-349, DOI: [10.1080/00437956.1952.11659444](https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1952.11659444)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1952.11659444>



Published online: 04 Dec 2015.



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## THE PROBLEM OF UKRAINIAN-POLISH LINGUISTIC RELATIONS FROM THE TENTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

YURY ŠERECH-SHEVELOV

The extent and obviousness of Polish-Ukrainian cultural and linguistic relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on the one hand, and the absence of sources for the earlier period, on the other, have caused the older bonds between the two peoples to be obscured and forgotten. Worse still, they have come to be generally denied. Thus, for example, almost all Ukrainian words absent in Russian and present in Polish are customarily taken as Polonisms absorbed after the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The prevailing view is that before the fourteenth century there were no cultural or linguistic interrelations at all between Poland and the Ukraine.<sup>2</sup> But it is difficult to imagine an absence of connections between two neighboring peoples not separated by any impassible geographic barriers. It is widely held that the Poles were already at that time passing over the Carpathians and partly colonizing Slovakia—then what would have prevented their contact with the East, where there were no mountains like the Carpathians or broad rivers to bar their way? The question is answered only for Mazovia, where the presence of a wedge of Jatvjagi is assumed, but even here doubts are raised by some apparently very ancient common lexical features in Mazovia and Polesie.<sup>3</sup> This question will not, however, concern me here, and I mention it only to point out that, in any case, there were no Jatvjagi between Little Poland and Galicia and Volhynia.

In order to give some kind of explanation for the lack of linguistic contacts between these regions a theory was even formed of a desert, supposed to have extended between the Wisłok and the San. This desert may be found already in nineteenth-century historians, and it has been taken over in our time by, for example, Seliščev: "In the early period of their existence these two (Eastern and Western—Y. Š.) Slavic groups were not in immediate contact: in the east they were separated by the Lithuanian tribes, and in the southeast the territory between the San and the Wisłok was for a long time unpopulated."<sup>4</sup>

There is no reason for us to accept the existence of this wasteland. Already in the earliest historical sources we can see lively contacts between Poland and Rus'. The Kievan Primary Chronicle, which shows no knowledge of Czech or

<sup>1</sup> So, for example, in W. Kuraszkiwicz, *Gramoty halicko-wołyńskie XIV-XV wieku (Prace Polskiego Towarzystwa dla badań Europy Wschodniej i Bliskiego Wschodu)*, Kraków 1934, 130-131.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of brevity I use the terms "Ukrainian" and "Polish" dialects, even for the earliest period, instead of speaking of the dialects from which Ukrainian (or Polish) developed, or of the dialects which later fused into Ukrainian (or Polish).

<sup>3</sup> T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Język polski; pochodzenie, powstanie, rozwój*, Poznań 1947, 65. The question has received special treatment in J. Tarnacki's *Studia porównawcze nad geografją wyrazów (Polesie-Mazowsze)*, Warszawa 1939, but the author has refrained from any generalizations or historical interpretation (cf. particularly p. 2).

<sup>4</sup> A. Seliščev, *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie 1. Zapadno-slavjanskije jazyki*, Moscow 1941, 272.

Serbian tribes, for example, is much better informed about the composition of Polish tribes. If its information about Poland is still fairly meager, that is because, geographically and ideologically, it is a Kievan chronicle, and treats of other principalities only insofar as they enter into the Kievan sphere of interest or influence. Yet even here there are several important facts to be found. Such, for example, are the wars between Rus<sup>3</sup> and Poland, the interventions of Rus<sup>3</sup> in Polish internal affairs and vice versa, particularly the repeated occupations of Kiev by the Poles (Bolesław the Brave in 1018, Bolesław the Bold in 1069). I shall not go over the numerous Russo-Polish princely marriages<sup>5</sup> or the many refugees from either country who found asylum in the other.

A region that witnessed a particularly active cross-current of influences was certainly Galicia. It is assumed that Mieszko I joined it to the Poland of the Piasts after 960. In 981 Vladimir annexed it to Rus<sup>3</sup>. This situation lasted until 1018—i.e. thirty-seven years, time enough for definite linguistic influences to be exercised. Thirteen years of Polish suzerainty followed. In 1031 the territory passed under the rule of Jaroslav the Wise, but it is possible that there was a short-term Polish occupation from 1069 to 1074. After 1087 the “*červenskie gorody*” passed from Polish hands for more than a century and a half, but that fact does not preclude strong commercial and cultural bonds with Poland.

Despite the poverty of historical sources for that period, they have preserved some testimony concerning the direct mixture of population. The Kievan Chronicle under 1031 speaks of Jaroslav's mass settlement of Polish prisoners along the Ros<sup>3</sup>. A papal bull of 1233 and other documents as well<sup>6</sup> speak of a mass flight of Polish *kmięcie* into Galicia and of marriages between Ukrainians and Poles. Later, in the time of Kazimierz the Great, we find several Russian bojars in the immediate entourage of the king.<sup>7</sup> All this fully justifies us in expecting to find in that period not only linguistic influences in general, but even that more profound kind of influence that is called language mixture.

I shall not consider in this article the problem of possible Ukrainian-Polish linguistic relations at the time of the Avar state (middle sixth to middle seventh centuries) or at the time of the hypothetical Lech state—the powerful principality “*v Vislex*” mentioned in the biography of St. Methodius—and the Great Moravian state of the Mojmirids (first quarter of the ninth century to 906).

It may be doubted whether the problem of the original ethnographic constitution of the population of Galicia will ever be solved—whether it was Ukrainian, Polish, or (if we accept the statement in the Chronicle about the White Croats) South Slavic, or even, as seems most unlikely, Sarmatian (Sobolevskij).<sup>8</sup> But, in any case, for the tenth century, if not earlier, there are grounds for accepting the theory advanced by Šaxmatov and others<sup>9</sup> of a mass coloniza-

<sup>5</sup> I. Linniĉenko, *Vzaimnye otnošenija Rusi i Pol'ŝi do poloviny XIV st.* 1, *Rus' i Pol'ŝa do konca XII v.*, Kiev 1884, 40.

<sup>6</sup> Linniĉenko, 41, 198, 208. Cf. the archeological data in B. Rybakov, *Remeslo drevnej Rusi*, Moscow 1948, 470, 478.

<sup>7</sup> H. Paszkiewicz, *Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Warszawa 1925, 258.

<sup>8</sup> J. Janów's attempt (*Uwagi o gwarach huculskich, śladach ich stosunków z polszczyzną*

tion of Galicia by the Uliči and Tiverci, forced out of the Black Sea steppes by the Pečenegs. This colonization could have brought with it an important Turkish admixture. There is also a likelihood of truth in Lehr-Splawiński's conjecture that this colonization was the ethnographic basis for Vladimir's military expedition against the *červenskie gorody*. But can we have any grounds for thinking that this powerful human torrent (according to the Chronicle the Uliči were very numerous) stopped at the San, or even the Wisłok? We may rather believe that it brought about a Ukrainian-Polish ethnic and linguistic mixture over a fairly extensive territory.

This passing reminder of well-known historical facts permits us to assume with confidence broad Polish-Ukrainian and especially Little Polish—southwest Ukrainian cross-currents of influence for the tenth to fourteenth centuries. Did they really exist?

These cross-influences might show up in a number of ways. The possibilities are, above all,

- a) individual borrowings, primarily lexical, not affecting the linguistic system,
- b) scattered borrowings, partly disturbing the phonetic system,
- c) general phonetic and morphological changes,
- d) general convergence of phonological and morphological systems.

I believe the cross-influences went along all these lines, but I exclude type (a) from my survey because it is impossible to make a convincing study of the type so long as we have only an imperfect dictionary of the literary language of ancient Rus' (Sreznevskij) and no dictionary at all of Old Polish.<sup>10</sup> On the other points, however, several interesting remarks may be made.

A good number of partial disturbances in the system of phonetic regularities in the development of Polish, to the explanation of which Polonists have been devoting considerable effort for many years, may easily—if only in part—be explained by a mixture of Polish and Ukrainian developments.

1. The doublets with *q-u*, *ε-e*, of the type *wruk*—older and dialectal *wnęk*, *między*—older *miedzy*. All in all, some forty to sixty such doublets are found in Polish. A. Brückner ("*N- und U- Doubletten im Slavischen*", KZ 42, 1909) cited a larger number, but twenty-four of his examples were correctly eliminated by F. Sławski ("*Oboczność q-u w językach słowiańskich*", *Slavia Occidentalis* 18, 1947), and his work might be carried further. On the other hand, we might add the (less numerous) cases of *ε→a* or *ε→e* alternation indicated by Brückner in his "*Verkannte Lauterscheinungen*" (KZ 45, 1913, 311–325). Similar examples are to be found in two other Slavic languages that distinguish the reflexes of *q* and

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*oraz o pierwotnej ludności Ziemi Czerwieńskiej, Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie* 8, 59) to prove the originally Polish character of this population by an analysis of "Polish" features in the Hucul dialect is quite unconvincing.

<sup>10</sup> *ŽMNP* 1899 (4), 343; *Očerok drevnejšego perioda istorii russkogo jazyka*, Petrograd 1915, XLIV; I. Zilyns'kyj, "Małoruskie (ukraińskie) dialekty na mapie Moskiewskiej komisji", *Rocznik slawistyczny* 9, Kraków 1930, 237.

<sup>10</sup> I have broached this question in my article "Pol'ska mova v Ukrajinі v XVI-XVII st.", *Ukrajina* 2, 1949, 102 ff.

*u*—Bulgarian and Slovene. The Slovene examples have been explained by F. Ramovš (“Výjimečné *u* místo pravidelného *o* za *o* v slovinštině”, *ČMF* 8, 1921, 1–8)<sup>11</sup> and the Bulgarian by N. A. Načov (“Beležka za bŭlgarskata zamjana *z* s *u*”, *Jagić-Festschrift*, Berlin 1908). Ramovš attempts to explain all the examples, except those common to Church Slavonic, by the internal development of the Slovene language. The greater portion of Načov’s fairly chaotic material can also be explained by dialect mixtures in Bulgarian or as borrowings from Serbian. As for the far more numerous Polish examples, various attempts have been made to explain them: by the shortening of *o* > *u* under certain accentual conditions (J. Rozwadowski, “Przyczynki do historycznej fonetyki języka polskiego”, *RS* 5, 1912); by the presence of an Indo-European nasal infix (J. Otrębski, *Przyczynki do gramatyki porównawczej języków indoeuropejskich*, *PKJ AU* 5, Kraków 1919); by the influence of neighboring consonants (T. Lehr-Splawinski, “Zu den slavischen *o*- und *u*- Doubletten”, *Mélanges linguistiques à H. Pedersen, Acta Jutlandica* 9, 1, Kopenhagen 1937). A detailed review of all the material was undertaken by Sławski in the article I have mentioned, where he sought a solution of the problem in Persson’s system of formantia. The attempt could not produce positive results, since that system is so broad that it can be used with equal success to “prove” diametrically opposite theses.

From all these investigations only one fact is clear: it is impossible to explain all the doublets in the same way; they include facts from quite different periods and strata, as Brückner already saw in principle.<sup>12</sup> In order to solve the problem, we should have to follow each word in its entire development with just such attention to detail as does Sławski—not in hypothetical formantia, however, but in the concrete history of the word in Polish and the other Slavic languages. In this article it will be neither possible nor necessary to do that, and I shall for the most part limit myself to a few fundamental considerations of a general nature.

If the doublets showing alternation of *u* and nasal vowels were in the main the result of Indo-European or proto-Slavic processes, their number in the ancient texts would be greater, or at least not smaller, than in the more recent texts. But this is not at all true. The number of such examples in Old Church Slavonic (except in Mar. and Cloz., which reflect a dialectal confusion of *o* and *u*) is minimal, and they may generally be reduced to those words in which *o* replaced *u* as a result of assimilation with neighboring consonants.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the number of doublets in Polish is far greater than in Bulgarian or Slovene, especially if we exclude the borrowings from Serbian in these latter languages. To be sure, doublets crop up with every phonetic change, but for the most part they die out quickly; if they not only fail to die out, but even spread, that is always a

<sup>11</sup> Basically the same material may be found in his *Kratka zgodovina slovenskega jezika* 1, Ljubljana 1936, 176 ff.

<sup>12</sup> A. Brückner, *Z dziejów języka polskiego*, *PAU* 8, Kraków 1916, 121.

<sup>13</sup> Type *nđiti*—*nuditi*, Polish *nuda*—*nędza*, Bulgarian *nudja*, Slovene *nuja*—*noja*; cf. N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, Berlin-Leipzig 1931, 142; A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves* 1, Lyon 1950, 45; cf. Brückner’s objections in “A- und U- Doubletten im Slavischen”, *ZSPh* 8, 1931, 437.

sign of the presence of some particularly favorable conditions. And such favorable conditions did exist in Polish in respect to doublets of nasal vowels. Such a condition was, first of all, the constant mixture of dialects with nasal vowels (mainly Great Polish) and dialects that had more or less completely lost them (mainly Little Polish). But we should not underestimate another factor, the influence of neighboring languages, generally recognized in the case of Czech<sup>14</sup> but admitted only grudgingly and in a limited degree for Ukrainian. Words that some linguists have admitted as Ukrainianisms other linguists have tried at any cost to explain without going outside the limits of the Polish language. For example, Rozwadowski (363 ff) recognizes as Ukrainianisms *rusznica*, *źubr* and possibly (he does not say so directly) *duży* (cf. *dążyć*), but not *chuć*. Ślowski (257, 281, 282), on the other hand, considers *chuć* a Ukrainianism (so also in his *Słownik etymologiczny*, 88), but not *duży* or *źubr*. Many more such disagreements might be cited, and they betray a lack of clarity in principles of approach and analysis.

In actual fact, the role of Ukrainian forms in the appearance of some doublets is denied on the ground either that the doublets are attested before the fifteenth century (i.e. with the tacit assumption that borrowings from Ukrainian are possible only after that time)<sup>15</sup> or that the forms in question are found not only in southeastern Polish dialects, but in others as well—or even that they are found generally in the dialects (e.g. Ślowski 253, 257, 263). Obviously, neither argument can be considered as proof. The first is answered by the review of the historical background given above, which irrefutably demonstrates that the prerequisites for Ukrainian loans in Polish before the fifteenth century were actually present. The second loses its force when we consider that history testifies to several mass movements of migrants and refugees in Poland from the south (and, partly, the west) to the north and northeast. It is sufficient to recall the movements of this kind that resulted from the Czech invasion of 1038 and the two Tatar invasions of 1241 and 1287. Moreover, we must not forget the role of the literary language, which, whatever we think about its origin, contained very many southern Polish, particularly southeastern, elements. Finally, in the history of the Polish language, perhaps more than in that of any other Slavic language, a great role was played by imitation of the linguistic habits of the *szlachta*, an imitation that persists in Polish dialects to this very day, and one that was certainly greater in former times. Moreover the presence and the influence of the Ukrainian or borderland *bojar-szlachta* element at the royal court, for example, in the older period is well known. Thus it cannot be said that the presence of a form of any word with *u* in northwestern Polish dialects proves that that form

<sup>14</sup> Cf. particularly the position held by Z. Stieber; see T. Milewski, "Nowe prace o pochodzeniu polskiego języka literackiego", *Pamiętnik literacki* 43, 1952, 331.

<sup>15</sup> For example, E. Klich, "Pożycзки ruskie w języku polskim", *Slavia Occidentalis* 8, 1929, 507, reckoned that, according to Brückner's etymological dictionary, Polish borrowed one (!) word from the East Slavic languages before the fifteenth century, ten in the fifteenth century, and sixty in the sixteenth. But even Klich, who criticizes Brückner for underestimating East Slavic influences, assumes that lexical borrowings from the East Slavic languages begin, properly speaking, in the sixteenth century.

of the word is necessarily of purely Polish origin if that form also exists in the literary language and in southern Polish dialects. To put it differently, we can categorically refuse to recognize as Ukrainianisms only those forms with *u* which are found in northern or northwestern dialects but are lacking in the literary language and the southern dialects.

As an example of an old "Ukrainianism" we may take the word *gusla*, concerning which I shall make a small digression.

This is, of course, an old borrowing, as witnessed by 1) its presence in the oldest Polish texts and its widespread occurrence in the dialects (cf. Sławski 259); 2) the presence of *g-*, not *h-*; 3) the semantic change 'plucked musical instrument' → 'witchcraft'. Modern Polish *gusla* (pl.), less frequently *guslo* (sg.), means 'witchcraft', while the old meaning of a musical instrument is retained in *geśle* 'kind of fiddle', with the normal Polish reflex of short *a* as *e*.

But can we admit as a borrowing a word that is correctly considered common Slavic and represented from ancient times in Polish? Here we base the possibility of a borrowing on the difference in meaning. The fact is that *gusla* || *gusli* as an instrument of the type of the horizontal (ten-stringed) harp is attested only among the eastern Slavs. Of its existence among the southern Slavs there is no evidence; and the only source indicating the knowledge of it among western Slavs, Ermenrich of Ellwangen (first half of the ninth century), speaks of dances to the accompaniment of the *psalterium*.<sup>16</sup> But it is still unknown what the instrument was called, whether it was a kind of horizontal harp, and whether our reference does not, as a matter of fact, refer to wandering musicians from the east. The enormous popularity of this type of *gusli* among the eastern Slavs is attested particularly by the very frequent mention of it in Russian folklore of the *byliny* type, as well as in the oldest stratum of Ukrainian popular songs.<sup>17</sup> This popularity, and the fact that *gusli*-playing was an article of export from *Rus'* is also attested by the unanimous opinion of historians of music that the instrument, together with its name, was borrowed from the eastern Slavs by the Finnish and Baltic peoples of Eastern Europe.<sup>18</sup>

There is no reason to think that this art was exported only to the northeast, and not to the west. In fact, it is possible that the *gusli* unearthed in Gdańsk in 1949 was of East Slavic origin. It is true that A. Simon, who has described it, considers that it was made in Gdańsk—apparently on the basis of the ornamentation (*Na drodze historycznego rozwoju geśli słowiańskich; Księga pamiątkowa ku czci A. Chybińskiego*, Kraków 1950, 353), but this type of ornamentation is also found in Novgorod. It might be objected only that, in Findejzen's opinion,<sup>19</sup> the center of *gusli*-playing was Novgorod, and that it was not typical for Kiev or Ukrainian territories in general. But this objection is not sound. *Gusli*-playing and its popularity in Ukrainian territory are attested by references to the *husli*

<sup>16</sup> K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian 2*, Kraków 1939, 1326–1329.

<sup>17</sup> A. Faminyn, *Gusli, russkij narodnyj instrument*, SPB 1890, 13.

<sup>18</sup> Faminyn, 65 ff.; Moszyński, 1325.

<sup>19</sup> N. Findejzen, *Očerki po istorii muzyki v Rossii 1*, Moscow-Leningrad 1928, 121 ff., 234.

in the oldest Ukrainian folk songs, by the well-known fresco in the Sophia Cathedral in Kiev (where, however, the *gusli* is vertical), and by the numerous references in the old literature (cf. in Sreznevskij's *Materialy* s.v., examples from the Chronicle, Cyril of Turov, the Crypt Paterikon, etc.), and, finally, by the special form of the word in Ukrainian (*husla*, pl. tant.) as compared with CS *gōsli*, Russ. *gusli*, Pol. *gęśle*, Slovak *husle*, Cz. *housle*,<sup>20</sup> S.-C. *gusle*, Slovene *gōsle*, *gōsli*. The form *gusla* (pl. tant.) is found in Bulgarian as well as in Ukrainian, but the *u* in the Bulgarian form indicates the possibility of a borrowing. Such a possibility is favored by the meaning as well—'gusli, bandore', as compared with the meaning in West Slavic, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovene 'kind of fiddle'.<sup>21</sup> I therefore consider it probable that Bulgarian *gusla*, as well as Polish *gusta*, is of Ukrainian origin. The coincidence of the endings in Polish and Ukrainian is hardly an accident. Leaving aside the question of whether *gusli*-playing developed first in Ukrainian territory or in Novgorod,<sup>22</sup> we may note that it was in any case developed among the Ukrainians. If it was better preserved in modern times among the Russians, and in the north in general, that is because in the Ukraine the old *gusli* were driven out by new instruments of Western European origin (cymbals, etc.), while the older customs were kept unchanged in the northern territory isolated from these cultural currents.<sup>23</sup>

Thus we imagine the history of the word in Polish as follows: Polish *gęśle* and Ukrainian *gusla*, although having a common linguistic origin, designated different instruments. Strolling *gusli* players from the Ukraine were at the same time musicians and magicians,<sup>24</sup> music was connected with rites and witchcraft.

<sup>20</sup> For the fourteenth century a form *hūsli* is quoted by Gebauer (*Slovník staročeský* 1, 520).

<sup>21</sup> A special type—cf. the description in Moszyński, 1318.

<sup>22</sup> The former view is supported by the constant epithet of the *gusli* in the Russian *byliny*—*javorčaty* < *javorčaty*—which indicates that the *gusli* came from regions where the sycamore grows. This has been pointed out by Faminecyn, 18. (Cf. also Findejzen 71; the epithet *javorove* is used for the *gusli* in Serbian popular songs as well, although the wood of the sycamore is rarely used in making it—cf. M. Murko, *Tragom srpskohrvatske narodne epike*, Zagreb 1951, 324.) If we agree with Findejzen that the *gusli* was borrowed from Byzantium, then it follows that it must have first spread in the Ukraine. But this is a question for the music-historians to decide.

<sup>23</sup> The transition is attested by the *Leksis* of Lavrentij Zizaniij (1596), which defines *gusli* as *arfa*, *ljutnja*, *skrypyca*, thus giving both the old meaning of a plucked instrument and the new meaning of a bowed one (cf. L. Zyzaniij, *Leksys*, perevydav Ja. Rudnyč'kyj, 1946, 9).

<sup>24</sup> Moszyński (1325) points out that the *gusli* has a religious function among the Mari to the present day. We may also recall the relation of *gusli*-playing to witchcraft in connection with the word *bojan*, particularly as used in the Igor<sup>3</sup> Tale. Cf. K. H. Menges, *The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the Oldest Russian Epos The Igor<sup>3</sup> Tale*, Supplement to *Word* 7, New York 1951, 16–18, and R. Jakobson, "L'Authenticité du Slovo", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 8, New York 1948, 340–341.

A special question is raised by the nomen auctoris *gusljar*, found in Polish also with the meaning 'magician', in Ukrainian and Russian with the meaning 'gusli-player'. The difficulty lies in the fact that the word is not found in the old East Slavic texts, which have, instead, *gudъcb*. And this would seem to be no accident since, in general, the suffix



The easiest semantic transition to imagine is that of the verb *gušlíc*: from the syncretic meaning 'to play on the *gusli* and (thereby) work magic' it is a natural and easy step to the simple meaning 'to work magic' in general; after that, the meaning passed to the word *gusla* as well. The verb *gušlíc* with this meaning is attested in the *Biblija Zofji* (Berneker, *Slav. Etymol. Wb.* 341), and, among the modern dialects, Karłowicz cites it from the Kraków district and also from the *Kaszuby i Kociewie* (*Słownik gwar polskich* 2). True, Sreznevskij's *Materialy* show no such verb for the literary language of ancient Rus', but it is found in Slovene *gqslati* with the meaning 'geigen' (Pleteršnik), in Serbo-Croatian *gùsliti*, *gùsliti* (both in *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srp. jezika* 3, 508) known only in more recent times, and Bulgarian *guslja* (Mladenov, *Etimologičeski i pravopisen rečnik na bolgarskija knižoven ezik*, Sofia 1941, 114). Such a distribution of the verbal form might speak for its not being so recent as the majority of its fixations in writing—except for Polish.

An incidental indication of the relation between *gusli*-playing and witchcraft may be seen in the protest against *gusli*-playing in the "Poučenie o kaznjax Božiix" inserted in the Kievan Chronicle under the year 1068: "... dǫjavolǫ lstitǫ i druhymi nrawy, vsjačǫskymi lestǫmi prevablǫaja ny ot Boha, trubami i

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-ar(s) with (non-obligatory) palatalization of the preceding consonant apparently developed late and is really characteristic of only one group of Slavic languages—Polish, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Slovak. In Russian it is found only in words of western origin that have come in through Ukrainian or Polish (*stoljar*, *maljar*, *školjar*, *figljar*, *jubiljar*). In Slovak it is not uncommon (*husiar*, *uhliar*, *maliar*), but much less common than in Polish and Ukrainian (cf. Slovak *komínár*, *sklár*, *lichváár*, *zvonár*, *stolár*, *murár*, *kamenár*; Polish *kominiarz*, *sklarz*, *lichwiarz*, *dzwoniarz*, *stolarz*, *mularz*, *kamieniarz* . . . ; Ukrainian *komynjar*, *skljar*, *lyxvjar*, *stoljar*, *muljar*, *kamenjar* . . .). Should we not assume that Russian *gusljar* is a Ukrainianism or (less likely) a Polonism—as well as the only other word of not obviously foreign origin that has this suffix—dial. *degtjar*? The strangeness of the latter, the only non-loan word in Russian with such a suffix, as is shown by the card-file of Russian suffixes kindly put at my disposal by Mr. Clay Dawson, is evidenced by its having been replaced in the literary language by the word *degtjarnik*. Abundant material on the spread of the suffix 'ar in Polish is given by M. Karaš in connection with the history of the word *roszarnia* (*Język polski* 32.4, 1952, 166 ff.)

Thus arises the question of the origin of Polish *gušlarz*: is it an independent formation on the basis of *gusla*, *gušlíc*, or a later, second borrowing from Ukrainian? Here, certainly, the correct view is the first one. We cannot admit that the semantic change 'gusli-player' 'magician' took place later and independently, especially since *gusli*-playing was no longer so popular and—what is most important—the direction of cultural and linguistic influences was now from west to east. We must therefore conclude that the formally similar Ukr. *husljar* and Pol. *gušlarz* (*gęšlarz*) were constructed independently in the two languages. There is nothing improbable here: given identical roots and identical suffixes, identical derivatives may arise independently in quite normal fashion. The numerous variants given by Linde (2, 152)—*gušlarz*, *guslarz*, *gusman*, *guzman*—may even reflect vacillation in the name for a magician, but it is more likely that *gusman*, *guzman* did not completely coincide in meaning with *gušlarz* (their meaning was rather 'jester') and had another origin (cf. Brückner, *Sl. Etym.* 164). It is curious that in Serbo-Croatian also, according to Murko 59, the word *guslar* has a competitor in the word *guslač*; the latter is common in the popular language, while the former has a more bookish character and is introduced from the literary language, where it has made its way since the nineteenth century.

skomoroxy, husłmi i rusaly”<sup>25</sup> It is true that the immediate subject here is games, but it is unnecessary to argue the relation between games and pagan rites. It is interesting to recall that the *Słownik Warszawski I*, 819, gives as its first definition of the word *gusła* “*obrzędy przy wykonaniu czarów*”<sup>26</sup>

To conclude this somewhat extended digression, I should like to stress that it is precisely a concrete study of the history of concrete words in their real linguistic and historical setting that would do more to solve the problems of the nasal doublets than would abstract and formal “shifts” of sounds. Let us now return to the general problem.

In the case of a number of words, we may speak of two etymological variants, e.g., *kusy*—old and dial. *kęsy*. In the case of *rękojeść* we may admit the dissimilation of the two *ę*. In cases like *tupac*—older *tępać*, *uczęśnik*—*ucześnik*, *szczęśny*—*szczesny*, *częstować*—*czestować*, we may easily assume contamination (with the roots *тър-*, *čst-*). Dissimilation with nasal consonants may be admitted in the words *smucić*—*smęcić*, *ślawętny*—*ślawetny*, *piękny*—*piekny*. But there still remain words for which variants are found only in Polish and for which it is hard to assume contamination or dissimilation: *gręby*—*gruby*,<sup>27</sup> *łęg*—*ług*, *łąka*—*Pałuki*.<sup>28</sup>

But even if it were possible to range these words also under such explanations, it must be said that however satisfactory or unsatisfactory this kind of explanation might be in each concrete case, they still have some obvious weaknesses:

a) The explanations operate with processes of diametrically opposed nature. If nasalization was lost in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, e.g. in *smucić* or *ślawetny*, why did it also arise in the same kind of environment: *wnęk*, *między*, *mięszac*, *rzemieślnik*?

b) In general, as we have indicated above, there are too many of these cases for us not to put the question—while admitting particular factors—whether such a quantity of doublets must not have had at least some favorable circumstance in the general parallel appearance of nasal and non-nasal vowels.

c) An essential consideration is raised by the difference in the chronology of

<sup>25</sup> *Povest vremennyx let*, podgotovka teksta D. Lixačeva pod red. V. Adrianovoj-Peretc, Moscow-Leningrad 1950, 114.

<sup>26</sup> Among the Serbs and Croats, where the *gusli* has a completely different form and character, *gusli*-playing is quite without ritual-magic significance. Yet in a few details it is still possible to see relics of an older function of the instrument. Such is the *gusli*-playing at the so-called *moba*—assistance given to neighbors in agricultural work, often on holidays; or *gusli*-playing on the occasion of the death of some member of the family (Murko 358, 359). The marking of the *gusli* with the sign of the cross (Murko 334) and the seating of the player beneath the icons (Murko 368) may reflect a Christianization of older religious-magical functions of *gusli*-playing and *gusli*-players. It is curious that in speaking of an extremely poor and wretched hut the expression “*gusle su prodali*” is used in Serbo-Croatian; the expression need not refer merely to material conditions.

<sup>27</sup> Bulgarian *grub*, *grubja* clearly has another origin. We cannot agree with Sławski, 260, that this is the same word.

<sup>28</sup> The Bulgarian dialectal forms in *u*, which Sławski, 277, takes uncritically from Načov’s article, 490, have a different meaning and origin. In general, Načov’s material must be used with great caution.

variants with secondary *u* and variants with secondary nasalization. The former, except for a few obviously new borrowings of the type *rusznica*, are for the most part old. The latter, except for *miejszać*, date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries<sup>29</sup> or later. The reasons for this difference are easily established if we start from the interaction of Polish and Ukrainian. In antiquity, Kievan Rus<sup>3</sup> and the culture of its population were not considered socially inferior, its influences were not "peasant" or low. This is the period of direct borrowings from Old Ukrainian. In the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries Polish colonial expansion into the Ukraine begins, the social evaluation of the Ukrainian element gradually changes, the desire arises to be rid of obvious Ukrainianisms, nasal sounds become a sign of the language of high style, and—hypercorrections in their use appear. It is this new period and these new values that are reflected by words with secondary nasalization. Now borrowing appears in the form of escape from borrowings!

These considerations do not exclude the role of all the other influencing factors—etymological, phonetic, and contaminative. But they do show what gave birth to the conditions in which these factors could find a comparatively free field of action.

2. In Polish, as is well known, *e* passed to *o* before the hard dentals after all palatalized consonants; in Ukrainian, only after shibilants and *j*, but before all hard consonants. In Polish this development does not affect *e* from *ɛ*, while in Ukrainian it does. Thus the two phenomena are not chronologically connected—in Ukrainian the development took place later. But it is interesting to take a look at the Polish "exceptions":

a) In Old Polish we find variants with *e* instead of expected *o* in the words *wiesna*, *miedowy*, *miętla*, *biedro*, *pierun*, *wiesło*. In Ukrainian, all these words have *e* regularly since there is no shibilant before the *e*.

b) *o* appears instead of expected *e* after shibilants not before hard dentals in *pożoga*, *ożog*, *stryżyzoga*, *czop*, *trzop*. This was extended to some other cases,

<sup>29</sup> Examples of secondary nasalization are *między*, *łeskny*, *miejszać*, *miejszkać*, *drążyć*, *sędziwy*, *szczęka*, *paszczęka*, *rzemieślnik*, *pełlica*, *krępować*, *pielegnować*, *nadwerżyć*. Separate consideration must be given to *wnęk*, where we find, not simply nasalization of a vowel already present, but substitution of *ę* for *u*. The substitution of *pieczęć* for *pieczat* is also typical. It is not hard to find for almost all these words a root of related meaning with a nasal vowel, which may have played an influencing role—cf. *łeskny*—*łęcz(eć)*, *miejszać*—*mięk-?*, *drążyć*—*drąg*, *sędziwy*—*sędz(ia)*, *szczęka*—*szczel.*, *pełlica*—*peł(o)*. The semantic connections are sometimes quite clear (*pełlica*—*pełto*), sometimes remote, but contaminations are of course always possible, even between words that are fairly distant semantically. H. Ułaszyn ("O pewnej kategorii wtórnej nazalizacji w języku polskim", *Symb. Gram. Rozw.* 2, 399) has collected some hundred examples of secondary nasalization. For sixty-five he finds purely phonetic explanations, and for thirty-five an influence of phonetically similar roots.

Ślawski attempted to show that out of the fifty-six cases of doublets admitted by him, thirty-four are based on an original *u* and the *ę* is secondary (passim, especially 286 ff.), but his attempt was mostly unsuccessful; the material that he collected admits of the opposite interpretation, and in general Lehr-Splawiński's statement (op. cit., 381) still holds "dass im Grossen und Ganzen die ursprünglich nasalierten Basen starkes Uebergewicht über die nichtnasalierten haben."

where  $e < v$ —*czólno, żołna, żółty*. Ukrainian here has regular *o*. In *macocha* (*macecha* is also found as late as the fifteenth century), Ukrainian likewise has regular *o*, since the vowel here comes after  $\check{c}$  (*maćuza < maćoza*).

c) *jest* is ordinarily explained by the influence of *jesm* and forms of other persons. The explanation is quite probable. But it is worth noting also that Ukrainian here has regular *e*, since the *s* was palatalized (*jesʲ*). As a matter of fact, this form is occasionally found in Old Polish as well.

Thus all the exceptions in Polish—except those naturally arising in paradigms (type *siostra*—*siostrze* instead of *sieście*) exist as normal forms in Ukrainian. Is this coincidence accidental? The passage ' $e > o$ ' in Polish began or took place earlier than in Ukrainian. But the later Ukrainian change introduced vacillations and variants that exceeded the bounds of the old Polish regularities. Some of these variants became established and even created secondary regularities in the Polish language, finding support in Polish processes of labiovelarization (group shibilant +  $e < v + l$ ) or their absence (reintroduction of  $e$  after labials). But in both cases the character of an innovation from the outside is confirmed by the fact that it does not affect all words of the given type.

On the other hand, in Ukrainian the exceptions from the normal development—except for the etymologically obscure *kočerga*—coincide with the Polish forms and generally go back to  $e < v$  (*ščerbatyj, čerstwyj, źerdka*); cf. also *pečera*—Polish *pieczara*.

3. Epenthetic *l* after labials did not develop in Polish (or, in general, in the West Slavic languages) except in the first syllable of the word—or, if it did, it was lost at an early date. But it is found in the words *kropla, grobla, taplać, przerebla, niemowle, budowla, hodowla, targowla*. Rozwadowski accepts a Ukrainian origin for *hodowla*—the *h* here makes such an origin more than evident—but does not admit the same explanation for *budowla, targowla*, because *targowla* is found as early as the fifteenth century. This may be considered a proof if one denies the possibility of Ukrainian influence before the fifteenth century, but we have seen how weak such a position is. On the other hand, it is not necessary to consider *budowla* a direct borrowing from Ukrainian; that possibility is not excluded, but it is no less possible that here we have to do only with an adaptation of this word to the type *targowla, hodowla*, already present on Polish territory. For here also it is not necessarily or always a question of direct borrowings, but of the appearance of general vacillations and instability of the norm as a consequence of the presence of two variants for some words and the confusion of those variants. Neither, in view of what we have said above, does the objection carry weight that some of the forms with epenthetic *l* are found even in the farthest northwestern Polish dialects, sometimes as early as the fourteenth century (*grobla*—Poznań Rota 1389). But Polabian *gro'ble*, Lower Wendish *grobla*, as compared with Upper Wendish *hrebja*, and Slovak *hrobl'a* do require special explanation.

4.  $\check{c} < tj$ . We find  $\check{c}$  instead of normal *c* in some noun diminutives (*świeczka, onuczka*; cf. also *gorączka*); in patronymics (*panicz, królewicz* but *dziędzic, starościc*); in verbs of the type *szepczę, depczę, chlepczę, szczebioczę*; in verbs of the

type *zjednoczyć, dziedziczyć*; in adjectives of the type *roboczy, ochoczy*.<sup>30</sup> The merging of *c:č* extended also to some cases where these sounds developed from *k'*: loc. pl. *w Turczech, w Niemczech; cud* instead of *čud(o)*.

The verbal type *depcze*, according to K. Nitsch, began to spread in the seventeenth century under Ukrainian influence. Generally speaking, we must be cautious here about Ukrainian influences, since conditions for the appearance of doublets and irregular forms with *c* or *č* were created by the crossing of mazurizing and non-mazurizing dialects. Still it is striking that, except for the word *cud*, the forms that won out are always those like the Ukrainian, not those that differ. Actually, in the case of the patronymics, Ukrainian influence is generally admitted; we might only transfer its sources to the more distant past. But it is difficult to allow the explanation that *cud* is a mazurizing form that eliminated *czudo* after the fifteenth century (Sławski, *St. Et.* 109). This word belongs rather to the high style, and for that very reason the influence of mazurizing dialects on it would be unnatural. I think it is rather a matter of "hyper-Ukrainianization" of the word in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Ukrainian influences began to be felt as evidence of low style. Especially against the background of Pol. *cudzy*—Ukr. *čużyj*, the replacement of *czud(o)* by *cud* was a natural one.

5. Dispalatalization of consonants before *e, i* in the words *serce* (cf. *sierdźci się*), *wesele, truteń, jedyny* also *krynica, ochrypty, brechać*. The last three words are more recent; the others date from the fifteenth century, but there are no proofs of their not being older. Their strangeness to the Polish phonetic system is attested by the fact that the hard *s* was mechanically transferred from *wesele* to a position before *o* in *wesoty*, although this *o* could in no way have arisen here after a hard *s*. It is interesting that the form *serca* spread to Belorussian as well. The influence here of Ukrainian *serce* is far more probable than that of Czech *srdce*,<sup>31</sup> since Czech *r* frequently had in Polish the correspondence 'vowel + *r* with preceding soft consonant' (*zrnko—ziarnko*). Although there are unambiguous writings with the hard consonant from the fifteenth century, it is still quite likely that the forms *serce, wesele* are dissembled in older written forms, and in any case they appeared much earlier in speech. As for *czerwony* (Ukr. *červonyj*) instead of expected \**czerwiony* (Ukr. *červenij*), the new forms in both languages are most easily explained as contaminations of the phonetically regular Polish and Ukrainian forms. It is hardly an accident that the form *červenij* is preserved in the Ukrainian trans-Carpathian dialects, where there was no Polish influence or very

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. Łoś, *Krótką gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego*, Lwów 1927, 62.

<sup>31</sup> J. Rozwadowski, "Historyczna fonetyka czyli głośownia języka polskiego" *Język polski i jego historia* 1 (*Encykl. Polska* 2), Kraków 1915, 405. It is not impossible that in *serce* an independent phonetic development has taken place—the hardening of the dental *s* before a syllable with the hard dental *c*; but parallels in other words would be necessary to confirm such an hypothesis.

<sup>32</sup> I. Pan'kevyc', *Ukrajins'ki hovory Pidkarpats'koi Rusy i sumežnyx oblastej*, Prague 1938, 157 (also *čerlenij*); O. Brok, "Ugrorusskoe narečie sela Ubli", *Issl. po russk. jaz.* 2:1, SPB 1900, 43.

little.<sup>32</sup> Belorussian, in which Polish (and Ukrainian) influences were present, has *čyrvonny, čyrvonka, čyrvanec*, but retains in the dialects *červenʹ, čyrvenecʹ*.<sup>33</sup>

6. A closely related phenomenon is the alternation *r:rz*. The vacillation *krynica–krzynica*—a word obviously borrowed from Ukrainian—is a vacillation between a direct borrowing and its adaptation to Polish phonetics. It was later possible for such vacillations to be transferred to purely Polish words as well: *prasny–przasny, drażnić–drzażnić, pogrążyć–older pogrzążyć, krztań–krtanʹ* (Łoś 72 ff.). This does not include words of the type *sirzyp* || *sierp*, in which the *r* was originally palatalized but could lose its palatalization at an early date.

It would be possible to mention many words in each language that display phonetic characteristics of the other language, as, for example, Pol. *chrzest* < *krzest* with the "Ukrainian" passage of *k* > *x* before plosives; Pol. *zwycięstwo* < *zwicięstwo*, where the Ukrainian pronunciation with *y* may have been accepted under the false analogy of the prefix *wy-*; Ukr. *u* < *o* in the words *nuryty, hulʹtjaj*, facilitated by folk etymology. But what is important for us is the posing of the question, not an exhaustive treatment of the material. We must therefore pass over to the preliminary conclusions.

How are the exceptional developments that we have cited in both languages—particularly Polish—to be explained? It would be an unfounded and probably false step to find in each example a borrowing from the other language. Although in individual cases the borrowing of a word in foreign phonetic form could actually have taken place, this is not a satisfactory explanation of all, or even of the majority of, the cases. The cause lies rather in those vacillations and substitutions that characterize all bilingual societies when the two languages are related. In such societies there are always quite a few words existing in two parallel phonetic forms; and when words are transposed from one linguistic background to the other, phonetic substitutions usually take place, which, however, are far from consistent and which fail to affect all the words in a given category. We have seen a fairly clear example of such substitution in the word *cud*. No less clear is the example of Ukr. *ofira*. Borrowed from High German *opfar* (through Czech *ofiera?*), this word vacillates in Polish itself between the German form *ofera* || *ofiera* and an adaptation to Polish phonetic norms *ofiara*. Zofia's Bible (1455) still has *oferuje* (*Sl. Warsz.*), but the modern form is only *ofiara*. Ukrainian substitutes *i*, its ordinary correspondent to Polish *ʹa:ʹe*, to make *ofira*—which would be absolutely impossible outside conditions of bilingualism, when we would have Ukr. *\*ofera*.<sup>34</sup>

There is obviously substitution in Polish *cud*, since here the substitution is false, a hypercorrection. It is clear in Ukr. *ofira*, since that form does not correspond to regular developments in Ukrainian borrowings from German. But the facts are not so obvious when the result of the substitution corresponds to the general norms of phonetic development in the language concerned. As a rule,

<sup>32</sup> Nosovič, *Slovarʹ belorusskogo narečija*, 697, 699.

<sup>34</sup> D. Šeludʹko, "Nimecʹki elementy v ukrajinsʹkij movi", *Zbirnyk Komisiji dlja dosli-džennja istoriji ukrajinsʹkoji movy* 1, Kiev 1931, 41.

divergences from these norms occur only in dependence on some false analogy. But if the number of such divergences—even when supported by false analogy—becomes too great, the unprejudiced investigator will see clearly that the factor of analogy is insufficient alone and that it could exert such force only because it was supported by some other factor of more general significance.

Neither should we reject the importance of still another factor—that of dialect mixture. As we have shown above, an important favoring circumstance in the rise of hyper-correct nasalization of vowels was the presence of dialects that had lost the nasalization of *o*, *e*. Under conditions of dialect hybridization phonetic elements of another, related language make a way for themselves more easily. It is characteristic that those phenomena of phonetic development that encompassed all the Polish dialects with equal force, are almost wholly unaffected by Ukrainian “interventions”—it is enough to recall, for example, the phonetic development of *ě*.

But, like the false analogies, dialect mixture merely prepared the soil for mutations; the direction of the “extra-regular” development in almost every concrete instance mentioned was determined by Ukrainian linguistic facts or correspondences to those facts. And this is an unambiguous indication of their source. It also shows that these influences were not “chaotic” but found support in the regularities of development and function of the language that “accepted” them.

Having disposed of this important matter, we may pass on to the question of whether the interaction of our two languages showed in the very regularities of their development and not only in their—even comparatively numerous—disturbances. Here we must confine our attention to those changes which in all probability took place before the fifteenth century. Thus, for example, we shall not consider the elimination of *â*, which is attributed by almost everyone to the influence of the “*szlachta* from the eastern territories”,<sup>36</sup> i.e. based on the Ukrainian phonological system, which in principle knows no functional alternations of *a* except in the roots of verbs (*dopomohty*–*dopomahaty*), since the processes involved are completed no earlier than the eighteenth century. Neither, probably, does the development *dz* < *z* belong here, as in words of the type *dzwon*, a development that produced the appearance of a typical phoneme *dz* not only in Polish and Ukrainian, but also in Bulgarian, although this phenomenon is still difficult to date.

Leaving aside those phonetic phenomena that distinguish Ukrainian (especially

<sup>36</sup> Cf., for example, K. Nitsch, *TCLP* 4, 1931, 303; I. Zilyns'kyj, “Vzajemovidnosyny miž ukrajins'koju ta pol's'koju movoju”, *ZNTŠ* 155, 205; Milewski 329. In my opinion, S. Urbańczyk (“Z zagadnień staropolskich”, *Język polski* 32, 1952, 102 ff.) makes a weak defense of this thesis when he tries to prove a conscious imitation of Ukrainian pronunciation, analogous to Polish imitation of Czech. In the period when *â* was eliminated the Ukrainian language was no longer in a position of prestige, and the essence of the change consisted in a completely unconscious simplification of the Polish system of vowel alternation under the influence of linguistic habits introduced into Polish by the *szlachta* of Ukrainian origin.

its southwestern dialects) from Russian and draw it near to the West Slavic languages (particularly Polish, as geographically the closest) insofar as they belong to prehistoric times, I shall only note that Lehr-Splawiński (*Jezyk polski* 37) includes among the common changes also the prerequisites for the narrowing of *e*, *o* before weak *z*, *z* and dates this not later than the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. But if this was a common development it could hardly have occurred at that time. The historical conditions of the Slavs in the eighth and ninth centuries would not seem to have been particularly favorable to a common development of mixed proto-Polish and proto-Ukrainian dialects. The picture becomes clearer if we date these phenomena somewhat later and connect them with the broader field of Old Ukrainian influences on Polish beginning in the tenth century. In the case of the narrowing of *o*, *e* before the weak reduced vowels, the center of radiation lay in the southwestern group of proto-Ukrainian dialects and spread from there to both the west and the northeast. In Polish the phenomenon already appears in attenuated form—only before voiced consonants, and—on the other hand—not in such clear limits, since in Polish it met up with the development of old lengths, reflected in modern forms of the type *góra*, *który*, *póki* . . . In Czech and Slovak the development was even more restrained—taking place, not before all voiced consonants, but only before voiced fricatives and sonants, and here actually only in connection with *o* (Czech *můj*, *kůl*, *dvůr*, *dům*, *nůž*; Slovak *môj*, *kôl*, *bôr*, *nôž*) And in both these languages there is an evident crossing of this process with the reflexion of old lengths—cf. Czech *hůra*, *kůra*, *hrůza*, *vůle*; Slovak *hrôza*, *kôra*, *vôl'a*.

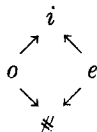
On the other hand, in spreading to the northeast this phenomenon met with resistance in the different accentual system of the northern Ukrainian and southern Belorussian dialects, and there it appears, in principle, only under the accent.

Its more organic quality in the southwestern Ukrainian system is attested also by its profound influence on the morphonological structure. If we take *i* to symbolize the result of the change of narrowed *o*, *e*, then we may say that *i* appears consistently in the same morphological categories where *o* or *e* appears in the presence of fugitive vowels; on the other hand, to the sounds *o*, *e* in words of the first type corresponds \* in words of the second type. This may be illustrated by the proportion:

*kin*<sup>o</sup>:*konja* = *son*:*snu* (N and G sg. of masc. subst.),

*sil*:*selo* = *den*:*dno* (G pl. and N sg. of neut. subst.),

and so on, in all categories, giving the graphic schema





Of course, there are facts crossing this schema, but they are of peripheral nature and of secondary significance. There is nothing like this schema in Polish, or Slovak, or Czech. Perhaps for that very reason it was easy for Polish to part with not only *â* but even *é*: after the loss of vowel length the alternations *a:â*, *e:é* were only traditional, without any morphonological functions, and unsupported by a systematic symmetry.

I shall not dwell on the minor and controversial—possibly later—phenomena in Ukrainian which perhaps point to western influence, like the presence of the suffix *-en-* together with *-jan-* in adjectives (*kaminnyj*—*kam<sup>5</sup>janij*) or the alternation of the type *zberu*; *zbiraty* (now only dialectal) in imperfective verbs. My task here is not to collect the various more or less striking coincidences, but to demonstrate some common lines of development.

The majority of West Slavic languages, including Polish, lost (or failed to develop) the phonological role of the accent. If the accent plays any essential role in these languages, it is only that of indicating word boundaries. In Ukrainian, on the contrary, the morphological and, to some extent even the phonetic role of the accent is great and, in general, is growing in importance. In this respect Ukrainian goes along with the other East Slavic languages. But here we find a curious paradox: if we take the southwestern group of Ukrainian dialects, bordering on Polish, we see that not a single phonetic change depends on the accent. Whether we consider the development of narrowed *o*, *e*, or of *ě* or of the nasal vowels—nowhere has accent played any role. It was only much later that the passage of unaccented *o* to *u* and of unaccented *y* to *e* took place, but there are probably good grounds for Kurylo's thesis that this tendency supplants an older tendency toward vowel harmony within the word, independent of the accent.<sup>36</sup> This latter tendency is possibly to be related to the Balkan connections of the Western Ukraine (through Rumania and Bulgaria), which may be noted to a greater or lesser degree starting with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>37</sup>

Still another tendency draws together the southwestern group of Ukrainian dialects and the Little Polish dialects—the tendency to bring *y* and *e* together. I have already written about this development in Ukrainian and about its significance for the phonological system of the language in my article "Phonema Errans" (*Lingua* 2: 4, 1950). But the development in many Little Polish dialects<sup>38</sup> followed the same direction from the phonological point of view (if we allow for the different system of vowel alternation, which is somewhat more symmetrical in the Little Polish dialects than in the Ukrainian dialects with the development of *o*, *e* to *i*). Among both the Ukrainian and the Little Polish dialects there are few in which this development has been carried through to its conclusion. But in its complete form it results in the removal of the phoneme *y* from

<sup>36</sup> O. Kurylo, "Spróba pojaśnyty proces zminy *o*, *e* v novyx zakrytyx skladax u pivdennij hrupi ukrajins<sup>2</sup>kyx dijalektiv" (Zb. IFV VUAN 80), Kiev 1928, especially 55–68.

<sup>37</sup> Kuraszkievicz, *Gramoty* 78.

<sup>38</sup> K. Nitsch, "Dialekty języka polskiego", *Język polski i jego historia* 2, Kraków 1915, 257.

its relations with *i*, the identification of *y* with *e*, and the formation of a clear five-member system:

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} & & & & i \\ & & & & / \\ u & & & & e/y \\ & o & & & \\ & & a & & \end{array}$$

This typically West Slavic solution of the problem is diametrically opposed not only to the Russian but also, interestingly enough, to the Great Polish and northern Ukrainian within the Polish and Ukrainian areas.<sup>39</sup>

It is not impossible that we should also connect with the interrelations with Ukrainian the very loss of the category of quantity in the Polish vowels. This loss occurred earlier in Ukrainian than in Polish, and in Polish the process spread from the southeast to the northwest. The Kashubian dialects, as is known, still retain relics of quantitative distinctions. The role of Ukrainian may here be a dual one: it may have given the initial impulse to the general elimination of this category, and it may have partly contributed to its not being admitted in the literary language.

Polish-Ukrainian interrelations may also have manifested themselves in both languages in the choice of phonetic reflexes and in the formation of the phonological system in both literary languages. If we compare the Polish and Ukrainian dialects, it is striking that the western and northern Polish dialects on the one hand, and the northern Ukrainian dialects on the other developed a number of diphthongs. In northern Ukrainian these correspond to the falling character of the accent and appear as reflexes of *ě* and narrowed *o*, *e* under the accent. Even more complicated—and, generally speaking, the farther west the more complicated—is the system of Polish diphthongs, where we find, for example, *ô<sup>u</sup>* < *u*, *â<sup>y</sup>*, *ô<sup>y</sup>* < *â*, *y<sup>k</sup>* < *y*, *ô<sup>o</sup>* < *ó* in Western Great Poland, also *æ* < *o* in Krajna and Bory Tucholskie.<sup>40</sup> This last system is rather connected with Polabian and, through it, to some degree with German dialects. But there is nothing of all this in the Polish literary language, any more than in the Ukrainian literary language. Both languages have selected a maximally simplified system of monophthongs with generally very symmetrical correspondences of the “triangular” type. Was it not of importance here that precisely this system was common to both, while the systems with diphthongs were constructed on completely different bases in Ukrainian and Polish?

We may connect with the phonological system of both languages two other phenomena which I shall only mention here in passing.

O. Kurylo<sup>41</sup> tried to find in interaction with Polish and, particularly, Little

<sup>39</sup> I leave aside the nasal vowels, not only because they have been to a large degree eliminated in the Little Polish dialects, but also because even where they have been retained they represent only a supplement to the system, and not an essential alteration.

<sup>40</sup> Nitsch, *Dialekty* passim, especially 325.

<sup>41</sup> O. Kurylo, “Pro nezaležnu vid naholosu zminu *a* po m<sup>2</sup>jakix konsonantax ta po *i* v ukrajins<sup>2</sup>kix dijalektax”, *Ukrajins<sup>2</sup>kyj dijalektolohičnyj zbirnyk* 2, Kiev 1929.

Polish dialects a starting-point for explaining the Western Ukrainian change of 'a > 'e ('y, 'i) independently of the accent, considering this change very old—not more recent than the twelfth or thirteenth century (type *pjetdesjét*). Although such an explanation would be favorable to my thesis, I think that this phenomenon in the Hucul dialect, which was its center of radiation, arose independently of Polish. But as it spread northward it did affect, not all words, but those in which Polish/Little Polish dialects had 'e < ɛ.<sup>42</sup> In other words, the present aspect of this phenomenon in the southwestern group of Ukrainian dialects, excepting the Hucul dialects, would indeed be different were it not for the interaction with Polish dialects, and here Kurylo is right.

But there is still another side to the question. If we find in Ukrainian dialects 'a > 'e where Little Polish dialects had 'e < ɛ, was not the very process of denasalization of ɛ in the Little Polish dialects also a manifestation of their proximation to the phonetic system—or even to the pronunciation of a number of concrete words—in that group of Ukrainian dialects? I shall not undertake to give an affirmative answer to this question, but I wish to stress that it would be favored by the existence of Little Polish dialects that completely denasalized ɛ while preserving a (ɔ). But the greatest authority in the field of Polish dialectology, K. Nitsch, testifies that there are no such dialects and that the denasalization of both Polish nasal vowels everywhere and always proceeded in parallel fashion.<sup>43</sup> Still it is interesting that he considers the denasalization of ɛ as the logical, if not the chronological, starting-point of the process, and views the loss of nasality in ɔ as the result of leveling with ɛ. It is true that he sees the center of radiation of these changes in the Sieradz district.<sup>44</sup>

It is worth noting the replacement of the suffix '-ev-' by '-ov-' in such categories as the dative singular of masculine substantives, the nominative and genitive plural of masculine substantives, the possessive adjectives, and the imperfective verbal suffix '-ev(a)-'. Kuraszkievicz<sup>45</sup> considers this a phonetic development in the Polish language, except for the Mazovian dialects, and sees its cause in the appearance of o after palatalized consonants, which upset the old distribution of o after hard consonants and e after soft. But if this were a phonetic phenomenon, it would have affected not only suffixes but also words of the type *drzewo, cholewa* . . . Kuraszkievicz is right, however, in the sense that this (morphological) leveling could have taken place only as a result of the fact that it became possible for e and o to appear in the same positions. But if this is so, then in Ukrainian the prerequisite for such levelings was the hardening of consonants before e. True, the number of categories affected by this leveling in Ukrainian was smaller, since the nominative plural in *-ove* had gone out of use

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the observations of K. Dejna, who apparently did not know Kurylo's study, on the dialects of the Ternopol region, confirming the explanation here offered (*Język polski* 28, 1948, 77).

<sup>43</sup> K. Nitsch, "Z historii narzecza małopolskiego", *Symbolae Grammaticae in honorem I. Rozwadowski* 2, Kraków 1928, 456.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 465.

<sup>45</sup> W. Kuraszkievicz, *Oboczność '-ev-' / '-ov-' w dawnej polszczyźnie i w dzisiejszych gwarach* (*Prace Wrocławskiego Tow. Naukowego*), Wrocław 1951, 25, *passim*.

and the genitive plurals in *-ov* and *-ev* had both passed to *-iv* (as also in the nominative singular masculine of possessive adjectives). But this does not change matters essentially. On the other hand, we cannot fail to be struck by the fact that the replacement of *-'ev-* by *-'ov-* was carried out most thoroughly in adjacent Ukrainian and Polish dialects, while it is almost completely absent in the northern Ukrainian and Great Polish dialects. In any case, the substitution took place in the Little Polish dialects before the fifteenth century,<sup>46</sup> but even in the oldest Ukrainian charters genitive plural forms of the type *šjulžyčjuw<sup>2</sup>*, *grošjuw<sup>47</sup>* may witness to a greater age for the substitution. The absence of graphs with *o* in the dative singular is easily explained by the well-known conservatism of old East Slavic orthography in respect to the representation of *o* after palatalized consonants. Thus it is possible that here also we have to do with a common southwest-Ukrainian—Little Polish phenomenon, and in such a case it would be necessary to investigate the question of whether the center of radiation was in Ukrainian or Polish dialects.<sup>48</sup>

The dispalatalization of *r* in the southwestern Ukrainian dialects, through the development of *j* after *r* (*burja*), which took place here independently of the northern Ukrainian dialects (later and in another way), was perhaps also connected with influences from Polish dialects, where *r<sup>2</sup>*, that is to say, *r* with a following palatal element, was still maintained in the seventeenth century. In that case, Ukrainian *j* would appear as the equivalent of the Polish *ř*. But this phenomenon is probably much later.<sup>49</sup> Neither shall I broach the question of possible Ukrainian influence in the exclusion of mazurism from the Polish literary language, for I cannot here enter into the problem of the chronology of mazurism.<sup>50</sup>

The mutual influences of Ukrainian and Polish should not be exaggerated. Ukrainian is connected by a number of essential traits with the East Slavic languages—we need only recall the development of *o* or the full-vocalism of *tort*-groups. It has evolved a number of independent features that set it off sharply from the nearest East and West Slavic languages, like, for example, the dispalatalization of consonants before *e*, *y*, or the system of alternations of *o*, *e* indicated above. But the material adduced in this article—without any pretension to exhaustiveness—shows that, as a result of its peripheral position among the East Slavic languages (in the direction of the southwest), Ukrainian

<sup>46</sup> Kuraszkiwicz, *Oboczność* 13.

<sup>47</sup> V. Dem<sup>2</sup>jančuk, "Morfolohija ukrajins<sup>2</sup>kyx hramot XIV-ho i peršoji polovyny XV-ho viku", *Zap. IFV VUAN* 16, Kiev 1928, 81.

<sup>48</sup> And in explaining the exceptions with *e* in the Polish literary language—*królewicz*, *królewna* (cf. *królowa*, *królować*)—one should weigh the possibility of Ukrainian influence. It is interesting that Russian *koroleva*, instead of the expected *korolëva*, is apparently a Ukrainianism, although, of course, from a later period.

<sup>49</sup> Kuraszkiwicz, *Gramoty* 95.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. W. Taszycki, *Dawność tzw. mazurzenia w języku polskim*, Warszawa 1948; K. Nitsch, "Granice mazurzenia w świetle Polski plemiennej", *Biuletyn Polskiego Tow. Językoznawczego* 10, Kraków 1950.

shared with Polish a number of essential processes of development, and also that this interaction with Polish was a very old one and was renewed after a temporary interruption. It would seem that the facts here collected permit us to distinguish two main periods of Ukrainian-Polish linguistic relations in historical times:

1) From the tenth to the fourteenth century. This is the period of the rise, flowering, and wealth of, first, the Kievan state and, later, the Galician-Volhynian principality. During this period the current of influence runs mainly from east to west, from Ukrainian, and particularly Western Ukrainian, territories to Polish. It may be assumed that this period saw an important Ukrainian influence on the Polish lexicon. The language of affairs was formed earlier in the Ukraine than in Poland. Even if we judge only from the documents that have been preserved, the first Galician charters appear earlier than the first Polish rotæ by a half-century; and doubtless these charters depended on an old, perhaps even Kievan, tradition, while the language of the Polish chanceries at that time was Latin.

But the same holds, *mutatis mutandis*, for the language of literature in general. Even if we derive the Church Slavonicisms of the *Bogurodzica* and other early Polish ecclesiastical texts exclusively from the Czech church tradition, we must not forget that that tradition had been for some hundreds of years *only* a tradition in Bohemia, whereas in the neighboring Ukraine words of the type *Bogurodzica*, *gospodzina*, *Boszicze*, *dzela*, etc. belonged to common, living usage. It becomes particularly easy to picture the paths of penetration of Ukrainianisms into the Polish language at this time if we take the position of those who believe that the Polish literary language was not formed until the sixteenth century, and then on a Little Polish basis. For that means our accepting the thesis that "the Polish territory was not at that time a closed and sharply delimited unit, its several dialects were connected with dialects of neighboring, non-Polish Slavic territories."<sup>51</sup> Of course, the Little Polish dialect group would at that time be most closely connected with the southwestern Ukraine, and so, when it later became the center for the formation of the literary language, many Ukrainian elements must have automatically been included in the literary language. The literary language of Rus', on the other hand, was already formed by that time (for the whole extensive territory, moreover), and that was one of the reasons for its not admitting Polonisms, which bore a provincial character. They may have been stored in the living speech of the western half of the Ukrainian lands, but they appeared in literature only after the decline of the old literary language; and that is what has given investigators the impression of an extraordinarily powerful torrent of Polonisms invading the language from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on.

But in any case it may be assumed even *a priori* that no small part of the common lexicon of Polish and Ukrainian penetrated into Polish from Ukrainian at this time; only, until now, these processes have been almost entirely

<sup>51</sup> Milewski 321.

neglected.<sup>52</sup> And even if we leave aside lexical borrowings, the common phonetic and phonological features leave no doubt about the direction of prevailing influences in this period.

2) The period of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries is one of enormous Polish influence on Ukrainian, chiefly in lexicon, partly also in syntax. Although these processes likewise are almost completely uninvestigated in their details, their general character is clear, and we need not tarry over them here.

Thus, in the complicated picture of Ukrainian-Polish linguistic relations there was a change of roles. If it is true that Ukrainian would not now be as it is without the influence of Polish, it is also true that Polish would bear a different physiognomy without the influence of Ukrainian. It is an important task of Slavic linguistics to investigate the contribution of each language to the other—an important task and an interesting one from the point of view of general linguistics as well. To be sure, in the history of each of the two languages the influence of the other is no “Open-sesame” to unlock all secret doors and clear up every obscurity. Not even the phenomena mentioned in this article are completely explained by these interactions. But it still remains that the interactions took place, and they have left their trace on the development of both languages. At this time particularly, when intensive work is being done on the Old Polish lexicon and on Polish historical dialectology, it has seemed to me appropriate to call attention to this important, but hitherto completely neglected, field of investigation. The aim of this article has been only to propose some basic principles for tackling the study of the problem without any pretense to being such a study.

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<sup>52</sup> As one of the harbingers of such an investigation we may name the article by K. Nitsch, “*Póki i nim*” in his book *Studia z historii polskiego słownictwa* (RWF PAU 67:6, Kraków 1948). Nitsch makes no special attempt to demonstrate Ukrainian-Polish interaction, but his very data lead him to set up important old common features. Thus he accepts the connection of the conjunction *póki* with Red Rus<sup>2</sup>. Strangely enough, he was unaware of Ukrainian conjunctions of the type *pokił*—otherwise, in treating this “typically Little Polish conjunction” (p. 54), he would have been able to establish connections with Ukrainian territories!