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RESEARCHES OF UKRAINIAN SCHOLARS ON THE PAGES OF "ARCHIVE OF SLAVIC PHILOLOGY" BY VATROSLAV JAGIĆ

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Problem definition and its relationship with important scientific and practical tasks. The significance of our work is mainly defined by the fact that the translation of linguo-Ukrainian articles taken from the "Archive of Slavic Philology" by Vatroslav Jagić written in German gives us a range of new linguistic facts which must be fixed and analysed. The actual importance of the work is also influenced by the absence of a comprehensive conceptual research of linguistic Ukrainian studies in the scientific heritage of Vatroslav Jagić.

Analysis of the recent research and publications on the subject, the unsolved aspects of the problem. Seperate questions connected with the personality of Vatroslav Jagić, his contribution into Ukrainian linguistics and his cooperation with Ukrainian scholars have already been studied by Ukrainian linguists. Consequently, Vatroslav Jagić's contemporaries such as I. Zilynskyi, V. Demianchuk, I. Svientsitskyi, I. Velyhorskyi, A. Stepovytch, and K. Studynskyi are the authors of biographical reminiscences which to a certain extent dealt with the question of Vatroslav Jagić's influence on Ukrainian linguistics. M. Vozniak pointed out the role of V. Jagić as the first historian of Ukrainian philological science. D. Doroshenko and V. Shchurat were the first (and practically the only ones) critics of the relatively unknown articles of V. Jagić about cultural-historic development of the Ukrainians and the status of their language in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires.

J. Dzendzelivskyi is the most active modern researcher of the Vatroslav Jagić's connections with Ukrainian scientists (mainly by means of mail). This question was also a matter of analysis of V. Franchuk, M. and Ye. Huts (special attention was paid by them to the relations between Vatroslav Jagić and Ivan Franko). T. Mankovska researched the problem of linguistic Ukrainian studies in a scientific heritage of Vatroslav Jagić.

The works of Vatroslav Jagić were interesting for foreign researchers. Mainly we think of the scientific works of O. Arkhangel'skiy, B. Liapunov,

M. Speranskyi, V. Korabliov, S. Obnorskyi, S. Bernstein, I. Arbuzova and the articles of F. Pasternak, M. Murka, M. Yakubets.

The purpose of the article is to find out the scale, essence and character of Vatroslav Jagić's interest in linguistic Ukrainian studies by defining his influence onto the development and establishment of Ukrainian linguistics of the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries. We also aim to track which branches of Ukrainian linguistic science and to what extent are represented in "Archive of Slavic Philology".

The main body of the article. The study we conducted on Vatroslav Jagić's interests in linguistic Ukrainian studies revealed that they embrace three relatively independent directions. The first one includes his linguistic research in Ukrainian studies, mainly in his field groups of historical grammar of the Russian language. The second one deals with his wide and many-faced connections with Ukrainian scholars-linguists on whom he had a great influence. The third one comprises many articles of linguistic Ukrainian studies essence by Ukrainian and foreign scholars in "Archive of Slavic Philology".

Having been established and edited by Vatroslav Jagić during 38 years (1876-1914), the "Archive of Slavic Philology" caused an increase in the role and authority of Slavic science among European community. Thanks to this journal, a general rehabilitation of Slavonics and Slavic philology in the eyes of Europe took place during several decades (Arkhangel'skiy: 104); apart from many other things, Europe found out about the existence of the Ruthenian language which was the language of about 20-30 millions of Ukrainian people living without a state at the circumference of Russia and Austro-Hungarian empire.

According to our calculations, there are 60 Ukrainian (or related to this topic) articles and reviews in 42 annual issues of "Archive of Slavic Philology" (1876-1929), half of which are dedicated to the problem of Ukrainian linguistics – phonology, grammar, lexicology and dialectology. There are 29 reviews which made the readers aware of new and worthy works of Ukrainian linguistics and literature studies, ethnography, history and palaeography in both divided parts of Ukraine; those reviews made people think of the achievements and problems in Ukrainian philological science. For example, in the sphere of grammar, apart from the above mentioned Vatroslav Jagić's review on "The outline of sound history of Ruthenian dialect" by P. Zhytetsky, we can find K. Hankevytch's comment on "Grammar of the Ruthenian language" by M. Osadtsa (1879, v. 3), as well as three reviews on the works of O. Ohonovskyi: by H. Onyshkevytch on "About propositions in Old Slavic, Ruthenian, Polish languages" (177), by O. Brückner on "Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache" (Brückner), by V. Oblak on "Grammar of the Russian language for secondary schools" (Oblak). We are not going to concentrate our attention on these works, as we pursue a wider aim which is to find out how and to which extent the most famous German-speaking Slavic manual of the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries took part in the development of the Ukrainian linguistic studies.

In such famous works as "Four critical-paleographic articles" (1884) and "Critical remarks of the Russian language" (1889) V. Jagić was convincingly against the renewed by O. Sobolovskyi theory of M. Pohodin about the all-mighty Russianness of ancient Polanians'; the Polanians, in accordance with these scholars, migrated from Tartar invasion to the north while Kyiv lands were inhabited by the descendants from Galicia and the Carpathians after the 14th century.

A bit later, in the "Archive of Slavic Philology" (1898), the scholar published his own thoughts about "Some controversial questions" of Slavic linguistics. One of those controversial questions concerned the relations of the Russian and Ukrainian languages in historical context. The author drew the following conclusion: old Ruthenian dialects gradually turned into each other completely in accordance with geographical location, which means that migrational processes of further centuries didn't seriously influence the primary grouping of old Ruthenian tribes in compliance of their dialectical peculiarities.

The Ukrainian language interests of V. Jagić, although not tracked in separate works, were mainly related to three spheres: 1) the history of the development of the Ukrainian language in connection with the history of Ukraine (two field trips and an epistolary); 2) the historical grammar of the Ukrainian language connected with the research of old Ruthenian writing (three field trips); 3) the history of Ukrainian linguistic science ("The history of Slavic philology").

The preparation of the "Encyclopaedia of Slavic Philology" encouraged the establishment of V. Jagić's new contacts with Ukrainian linguists. The linguistic department of this first scientific Slavic publication had to contain, in accordance with V. Jagić, two chapters on Ukrainian: the review of Ukrainian talks and the outline of the history of the Ukrainian literary language.

The last 'Ukrainian' page in the scientific and publishing heritage of V. Jagić comprised the articles on Ukrainian language problematics which were edited and published in his "Archive of Slavic Philology". As we have counted, in total there were 60 articles and reviews of Ukrainian language in 42 volumes of annual issues, the half of which were dedicated to purely linguistic questions.

The sphere of *dialectological research* was represented in the "Archive" to the fullest which was completely in the trend of their great development in Ukraine. Thus there are three articles ("About the dialect of Galician Lemkos" by I. Verkhratskyi, "The dialect of the region Uhertsi, near Lisko" by I. Verkhratskyi and "To Ruthenian in Hungary" by O. Brokh) and three reviews (by V. Jagić, V. Vondrak, A. Marhulis) dealing with the *phonetical-grammatical* peculiarities of western Ukrainian dialects; five articles ("Where does the term "boykos" come from?" by I. Verkhratskyi, "The input to the people's etymology of the Ruthenian language" by S. Stotskyi, by A. Bonkal (the same name of the article, "The input to the people's etymology of the Ruthenian language" by K. Hankevytch, "Calendar

and the names of months by Hutsuls" by O. Kaluzhniatskyi) and two reviews (by O. Brückner, F. Korsh) dealing with *etymological* peculiarities.

The first steps in establishing Ukrainian *accentology* were vividly revealed in V. Jagić's Slavic manual (four artcicles: "Input to the studies about Ruthenian accent" Ta "About stress of the verbs in the Ukrainian language" by K. Hankevytch, "One more input to the stress in the Ruthenian language" by I. Verkhratskyi, "About stress of nouns in the Ruthenian language" by I. Hanush).

Other branches of Ukrainian linguistics are represented a bit irregularly in "Archive": there are two studios dedicated to *historical grammar* ("Dialektologische Merkmale des südrussischen Denkmals «Zitije sv. Savy»" by O. Kolessa; "Wie im Kleinrussischen die Palatalisation der Consonanten vor e und i verloren ging" by O. Shahmatov; particularly in reviews by V. Jagić, V. Oblak, H. Onyshkevytch), there are also two studies dedicated to the *grammar of Ukrainian literary language* ("Über die Wirkungen der Analogie in der Declination des Kleinruussischen" and "Actio intensiva im Ukrainischen" by S. Smal-Stockyj; also reviews by O. Brückner, K. Hankevytch, V. Oblak). There is no research in "Archive" regarding syntax or spelling in the Ukrainian language.

The analysis of the three directions of V. Jagić's Ukrainian language interests proves the fact that this famous specialist in Slavic studies had a great influence on the development of Ukrainian linguistic science of the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries; he viewed Ukrainian linguistic science as the marker of cultural level and driving force of intellectual movement of the nation which created this science.

The science on forms or word formation in the second part of the 19th century had some achievements which were obtained thanks to the compilers of many school grammar manuals and the authors of the first scientific studies of the Ukrainian language. However, we must point out that this grammatical branch is vaguely represented in the "Archive" (if not counting the dialectological research by I. Verkhratskyi and V. Hnatiuk dedicated to word formation); there are only two works by S. Smal-Stotskyi who was a professor from Chernivtsi and the author of school and scientific grammar of Ruthenian language. The first of these works, published in issues 8 and 9 of "Archive" (1885, 1886) under the heading "Über die Wirkungen der Analogie in der Declination des Kleinruussischen" (Smal-Stockyj), was a thesis research which he presented one year later at F. Miklošič. As the thesis is quite lengthy, we will dwell upon some of its points and author's conclusions.

All living languages, according to Smal-Stockyj, are in constant change which often takes place on the level of words and word-formations. The analogy in the history of a language is a very effective factor as it "ruins and destroys, creates and makes the whole classes of forms". The main aim which the author pursues is to research – on the basis of cases of Ukrainian nouns – how organic forms of the Ruthenian language change under the influence of analogy and in which state they are now (at the end of the 19th c.) (Smal-Stockyj 1885: 195-196). Smal-Stockyj

chose only national forms of a language for his analysis. He took them not only from a live national speech, but also from folklore which gave him 'real treasures' (proverbs, riddles, tales), and from literary works of Ukrainian authors who wrote "in a simple and precise way" just as the people spoke (T. Shevchenko, P. Kulish, I. Franko, Marko Vovchok, Y. Fedkovytch).

According to the author, the desire to simplify language forms in the Ruthenian language led to the fact that six classes of cases which existed before shrank to four. The reason for such a thing was the reduction of certain final sounds of the stem which, because of that, lost their influence on declension. Since that time the gender of nouns got a bigger meaning (this is often seen now as the author says, as the sense of language demands the nouns of one gender, even if their stems end with different sounds, to unite and stick to the same rules of declension). Up to this period, gender does not play a prime role in differentiation of declension. For example, the nouns of female gender belong to two declensions now. If we want to analyse them properly, we will notice that these declensions have undergone big losses since ancient times and now they are almost identical. The same can be noticed when comparing two declensions to which we prescribe neuter gender. Such a phenomenon (the similarity of declensions of the nouns of female and neuter genders which belong to different classes), in accordance with Smal-Stockyj, could be the result of analogy impact in Ruthenian word-formation (Smal-Stockyi 1886: 72).

There was also a second important result of the author's examinations: the analysis of today's declensions which completely differ from ancient ones allowed to talk about the simplification of declension endings which was also the consequence of analogy influence. For example, the ending of the plural in all declensions is the same but for nominative and vocative cases where one can perfectly see the difference between genders, however, it also became smoother.

Since gender starts playing a secondary role, nouns easily lose their 'gender' forms and exchange them for borrowed ones. Smal-Stockyj wonders whether the nouns of feminine gender acquired a decisive role: masculine and neuter nouns joined them in the forms of dative, instrumental and locative cases in the plural forms (endings -am, -amu, -ax). The author says that feminine gender has a great influence on noun declension in the Ruthenian language, and thus should have a main role in the interpretation of this grammatical notion (Smal-Stockyj 1886: 75).

There is also one more example of the analogy effect in Smal-Stockyj's works: the ending of genitive case in the plural **-B**, which is typical to the nouns in masculine gender, penetrated with almost all nouns. In our opinion, the conclusion was made on the basis of Galician dialects of that time; such a feature is typical for them nowadays (Mankovska 2007: 166).

The analogy effect, which "aimed at simplifying and uniting everything", is seen in the singular as well (the dative case in all declensions ends in -i; the locative case became similar to the dative; the author believes that the same will happen with the instrumental case ending in -om, -em) (Smal-Stockyj 1886: 75-76).

S. Smal-Stockyj speaks of the influence of analogy on the formation processes in the Ukrainian language in his second work published in volume 36 of "Archive" (1915-1916) under the heading "Actio intensiva im Ukrainischen" (Smal-Stockyj). The author points out that neither grammar manuals nor comparative Slavic studies mention the fact that actio intensiva of the verbs is well developed in the Ukrainian language which is 'an extraordinary thing' in the language of Russian Ukraine and less vivid in Austrian Ukraine. Smal-Stockkyj provides a big list of words which can result in the mentioned aspect taken from the Hrinchenko's dictionary: грюкати — грюкнути — грюконути, дмухати — дмухнути — дмухонути, стрибати — стрибнути — стрибонути, шарпати — шарпнути — шарпонути and many others.

Taking this analysis into consideration, the researcher states:

- there are action intensive verbs in the Ukrainian language which express "singular, strong, energetic, unexpectedly accomplished action"
 - this aspect has two variants of the stress: -онýти and -о́нути;
- such a type of intensive action is made, as a rule, from the verbs of a certain group with the meaning of "the noise caused by (people's) organs' movement" (evidently Smal-Stockyj was not quite clear here; we think it would be better to say here: "with the meaning of any action of the person which causes noise");
- this phenomenon is not old, but secondary. Thus, in a range of words πýcκαμυ πýcμγμυ πγcμγμυ πγcμγμυ κεμασμάμυ κεμασμάμυ κεμασμάμυ κεμασμάμυ (then we would have πγcκομήμυ, κεμασμάμυ), but from the verbs of perfective aspect πýcμγμυ, κεμασμήμυ (Smal-Stockyj 1915-16: 437).

Smal-Stockyj is sure that the absence of such forms in other Slavic languages (only rarely met in the Russian language) proves the fact that this is a completely different linguistic process. (Smal-Stockyj 1915-16: 438). The most probable explanation is that the initial verb forms -нути та -іти were created from adjectives: блідий – бліднути, худий – худнути, богатий – богатіти, дешевий – дешевіти, зеленіти.

The verbs of perfective aspect with "forceful" meaning are formed from the nouns ending with **-oh**, **-ih**: *cmyzoh - cmyzohimu*, *δyδoh - δyδohimu*, *zómih - zomohimu*. Smal-Stockyj believes that the existence of such forms can only be explained by the analogy influence: ∂ȳδκαμι – ∂ȳδοhimu, φȳρκαμι – φyρκοhimu, μιόρκαμι – μιορκοhimu – they keep the meaning of "the action with force expending which causes noise", but there are no nouns in the Ukrainian language from which they can come from (∂ȳδoh, фyρκοh, μιορκοh). One cannot find nouns from which the verbs ροκομίμι, μιαμομίμι, μισμομίμι, πιορκοh). One cannot find nouns from which the verbs ροκομίμι, μιαμομίμι, μισμομίμι, πιορκοh, περιμάμι γεριμάμι το the last words, as we can see, are present in Russian); these examples of wordformation demonstarate the role of analogy (Smal-Stockyj 1915-16: 439-440).

Ukrainian linguistics – apart from Russian linguistics which had been developing quite well at the end of the 19th century almost in all directions (not without Jagić's help, particularly while researching literary heritage and language history) – could not boast of such results because of evident reasons. Consequently, Jagić asked Ukrainian students (participants of Slavic seminar in Vienna) to prove the independence of the Ukrainian language with their studies (Sventsitskiy 1923: 11). If we were to draw a conclusion based on the "Archive", only one of the Jagić's students heard that pledge; it was O. Kolessa.

His work "Dialektologische Merkmale des südrussischen Denkmals «Zitije sv. Savy»" was published in volume 18 in 1896. Having reviewed the history of that manual and the attempts of its research in palaeographic-historic literature, Kolessa makes a grammatical (morphological and phonological) analysis of the text of "Zitije". He remarks that, starting from the second half of the 11th century, Old East Slavic recollections have distinct features of differentiating Old East Slavic dialects into two groups: northern and southern, which resulted in a compilation of main phonetical and morphological features in the 15th century.

Southern Old East Slavic recollections of the 11th - 14th centuries differed from other recollections in such features (20 in total): -ти-и instead -ть-и; жч instead жд; ѣ instead e (also и instead ѣ); interchange of в- with у-; change of ы into и; ги, ки, хи instead гы, кы, хы; о instead e after ж, ч, ш, щ; о instead e in words тобѣ, собѣ; ж, ч, ш, щ, ц in verbs with Ю, Га, К; ы instead ъ after (Паблыко дрыва); ер (with ыр) instead ръ (скербь); parenthetic о before (золоба); о instead ъ before о (изо олтарГа); кде, сде for northern Old East Slavic кдѣ, здѣ; -ыГа, -ыЮ, -ыК, -ыи instead -иГа, -иЮ, -иК, -ии; nominative plural masculine gender into -ове; verb forms of the third person without -ть; imperative form -ѣмъ, -ѣте instead -имъ, -ите; the ending of the past tense - шеть, -хоуть instead -ше, -хоу; verb endings -мо (Kolessa 1896: 519).

There are two groups taking into account the dialectal features of Old East Slavic recollections: western or Galician-Volynian and eastern or Kyivan. There are five differences between these groups: 1) **жч** instead **ж**_д is typical for the first group and rather rare for the second; 2) interchange **в**- with **y**- is more typical for the first group while **y**- instead **в**- rarely happens in the second group; 3) interchange **ж** and **3**, rarely **ч** and **ц** happens in the first group but not in the second; 4) there is parenthetic **o** before **л**, **p** instead **ь** in the second group; 5) there is **o** instead **ь** before **o** in the second group (1896: 520).

There are most of the southern Old East Slavic features in "Zitije sv. Savy" (Kolessa provides 17), so there is only one thing to do which is to determine to which group of recollections it belongs. The author is inclined to think that it belongs to the second one, Kyivan, as there is no interchange **x** with **3** and **4** with **4** in the analysed texts of Galician-Volynian manuals, but there is **o** with **b** before **o** which is a characteristic feature of Kyivan group. The author concludes that, since in "Zitije sv. Savy", there are almost all dialectal features met in the examples of southern Old East Slavic literary texts of the 11th- 13th centuries, it is possible to

think that this text reflects the state of southern Old East Slavic people's language of the 13th century (Kolessa 1896 : 523).

It is evident that the work of young Kolessa is mostly compilative and in general repeats the negation of Jagić against the theory of Sobolovskyi. A. Krymskiy remarked that Kolessa obtained his goal which was to prove the falsity of Galician-Volynian hypothesis of Sobolovskyi using "Zitije sv. Savy", but neither Kolessa nor Jagić made efforts to check the analysis of works made by Sobolovskyi. (Krymskiy 1973: 30).

O. Shahmatov – a famous Russian linguist who took an active part in the development of Ukrainian linguistic science – also studied the question of the historical phonology of the Ukrainian language. In 1903 his article "Wie im Kleinrussischen die Palatalisation der Consonanten vor e und i verloren ging" was published in "Archive" (Shahmatov 1903: 222). First of all, Shahmatov states that in most dialects of the Ruthenian language which are not under the influence of neighbouring ones (Great Russian, Polish or Slovakian) simple consonants (not doubled and not prolonged) in the position before e and i are pronounced without softening: selo, vedete, tixo and tyxo, vino and vyno – in contrast with Great Russian and Belorussian analogs śelo, vedete, tixo, vino. The author completely agrees with those researchers who state that Great Russian and Belorussian dialects were better at preserving their initial state, in other words Ukrainian consonants before e and i lost softness which was typical for them in former times.

The scholar suggests the following ideas to prove this: 1) before **i** (in dialects before dipthongs **ie**, **ie**), which appeared from the ancient **ie** (general Slavic **b** and **e**, which became longer in general Slavic) palatal pronunciation has been preserved in the Ruthenian language up till today; 2) there is consonant palatalization before **a** which derives from nasal **e**; 3) consonants preserved their softness before semishort **b** which is lost now; 4) -**t** in imperative verbs of the second person plural which comes from -**te** is pronounced in the Ukrainian language palatally: *vedit*, χodit alongside with *vedite*, χodite (from the ancient *vedete*, χodete). Considering the ancient consonant softness before **e** and **i** as a fact, the author decides to research when and why palatalization of the Ruthenian language has disappeared (Shahmatov 1903: 223).

We are not going to provide the examples he used, because, as M. Grushevsky wrote, the works of Shahmatov are full of erudition which is typical for him, but also bear a strongly characteristic feature. When explaining rare phonological cases, he gives so many details which cannot be documented. Thus, the reader has apriority of some theories, which is highly required in order to follow the subtlety of his arguments (Grushevsky 1905: 30-31).

Findings of research and prospects of further investigations in this scientific direction. To conclude, having reviewed linguistic Ukrainian studies in the "Archive of Slavic Philology", we can state that western Ukrainian dialectology of the end of 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries (which then studied the

questions of phonetics, lexicology, and etymology) was represented in its pages to the fullest. The first steps in establishing Ukrainian accentology were distinctly reflected in the manual. Historical grammar (which was developing quite slowly in Ukraine in contrast with Russia) as well as grammatical researches of literary Ukrainian language (which were not widely practiced as well) are represented by a limited number of articles in the "Archive". And finally, syntactic and stylistic studies are absent in the "Archive", which was explained by the fact that these spheres were not properly developed in Ukrainian linguistics at that time.

The results of our research can be used for the creation of an academic course in the history of the Ukrainian language, for teaching courses of history of Ukrainian linguistics, history of grammar and Ukrainian dialectology. The translation of linguistic Ukrainian articles which were published about one hundred years ago in German "Archive of Slavic Philology" will give all those interested in this issue an opportunity to get to know them better.

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ABSTRACT

The article researches the problems of Ukrainian language studies in the scientific heritage of V. Jagić. Articles in German, reviews taken from the "Archive of Slavic Philology" and the works by V. Jagić were used as a source. The article characterizes the research directions of V. Jagić's linguistic interests. It is found out that V. Jagić's position in the Ukrainian question was two-faced. On the one hand, it was liberal; on the other hand, it was radical. V. Jagić took a great interest in two branches of Ukrainian linguistics: the history of the Ukrainian language development and historical grammar (on the basis of the researches of Old Russian literary heritage). As a result of the conducted studies it was found out that there were about 60 articles and reviews of Ukrainian studies in 42 issues of "Archive of Slavic Philology" by V. Jagić (1876-1929), half of which was dedicated to the questions of Ukrainian linguistics such as phonology, grammar, lexicology and dialectology.

Key words: dialect, grammar form, Ukrainian linguistic studies

REZUMAT

Articolul de față prezintă studiile privind limba ucraineană din opera științifică a lui V. Jagić. Au fost folosite drept sursă articole în limba germană, recenzii preluate din "Archive of Slavic Philology" și lucrările lui V. Jagić. Articolul descrie direcțiile de cercetare ale intereselor lingvistice ale lui V. Jagić. Se arată că poziția lui V. Jagić în ceea ce privește chestiunea limbii ucrainene a fost una ambivalentă: pe de o parte – liberală, pe de altă parte – radicală. V. Jagić și-a exprimat un interes semnificativ pentru două ramuri ale lingvisticii ucrainene: istoria dezvoltării limbii ucrainene și gramatica istorică (pe baza cercetărilor asupra operelor literare în rusa veche). Analiza efectuată a relevat faptul că în "Archive of Slavic Philology" se regăsesc aproximativ 60 de articole și recenzii din domeniul studiilor ucrainene, scrise de V. Jagić (1876-1929), jumătate dintre acestea abordând aspecte lingvistice ale limbii ucrainene, precum fonologia, gramatica, lexicologia și dialectologia.

Cuvinte-cheie: dialect, formă gramaticală, studii lingvistice asupra limbii ucrainene

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