

Peter M. Hill (Hrsg.)

# Standard Language in the Slavic World

Papers on Sociolinguistics by Hamburg Slavists

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# STANDARD LANGUAGE IN THE SLAVIC WORLD

Papers on Sociolinguistics by Hamburg Slavists

Edited by  
Peter Hill and Volkmar Lehmann



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## Foreword

The idea of publishing the present volume arose during a seminar conducted by the editors with graduate students in Hamburg in the Winter Semester of 1986/87. The seminar was devoted to the development of standard languages in the Slavic countries. It was our view that, despite a great deal of stimulating and very well researched work on this subject over the last 10 years, more work was necessary to establish a solid theoretical framework. While it would be immodest to imagine that we achieved this during our seminar, we nevertheless feel that we have constructed or at least strengthened a few pillars in the edifice.

Some of our basic theoretical tenets have been summarized for the present volume by Volkmar Lehmann in his introduction *Slavic standard languages and the relationship between language continua and language systems*, and in his *Essay on crosslinguistic phenomena in the development of Slavic standard languages*. Peter Hill has reworked some earlier studies on this and related topics. In particular, *The origin of standard colloquial speech* and *The development of the Bulgarian standard language* summarize some of our key positions on the development of standard languages in Europe in general and in the Slavic countries in particular.

Three of the best papers presented by students during the seminar on certain language-specific problems have been reworked for this volume by their authors, Milka Vagadayová, Doris Marszk and Gerhard Reutter.

The remaining articles by Peter Hill were published earlier in less accessible journals and are reproduced here in the desire to make them known to a wider readership.

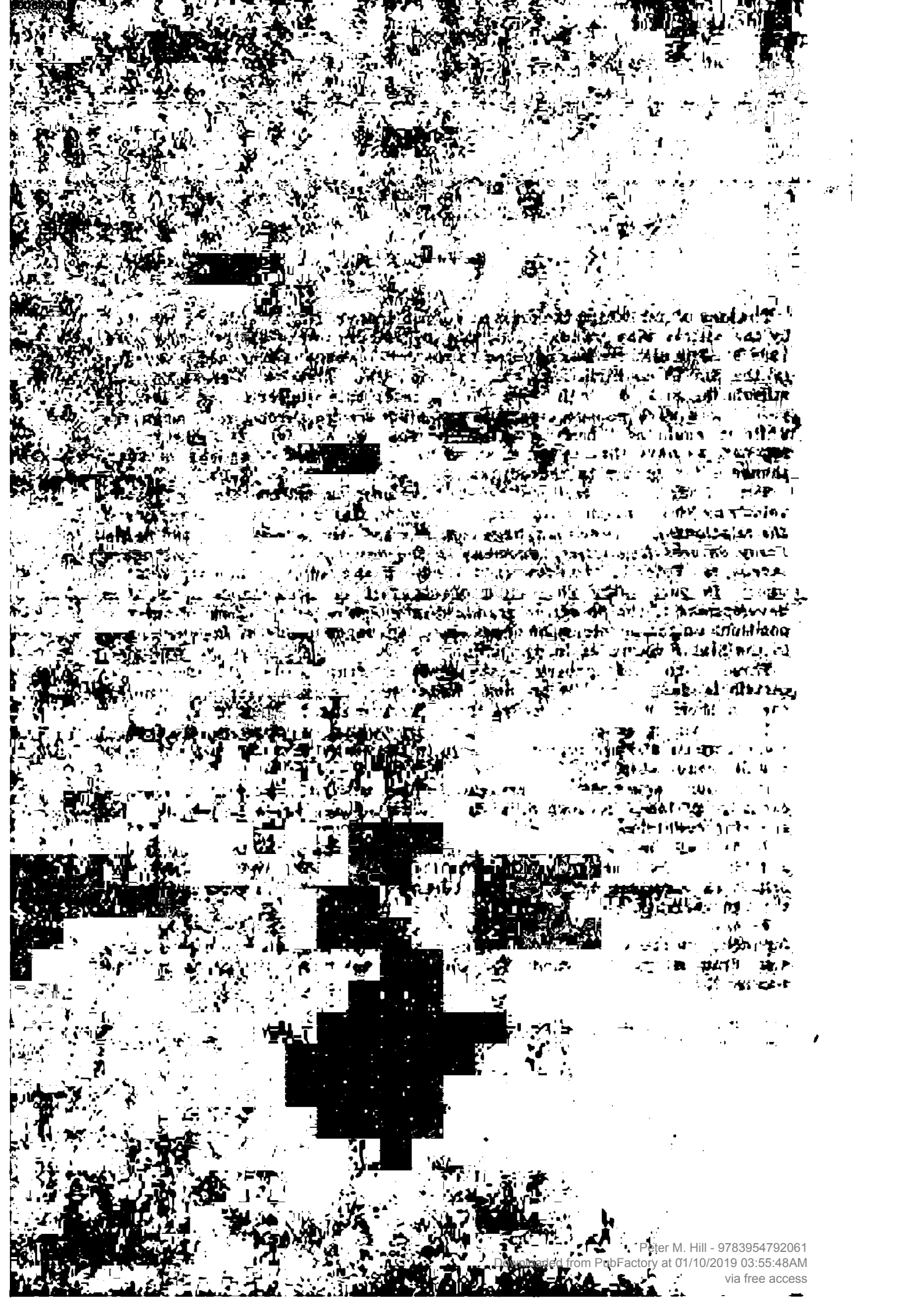
It is our hope that the present volume will contribute to a fruitful exchange of ideas between Slavists in Germany and those in the English-speaking countries.

Readers will note a certain inconsistency in the use of the terms "Slavonic" and "Slavic". No functional differentiation is intended. Rather, this reflects British vs. American usage, and the editors did not wish to impose either of the two variants.

We wish to thank the editor of the series, Professor Peter Rehder, Munich, for including the volume in his series and also for his patience with us, and also Frau Margareta Brandt for technical assistance in preparing the manuscript.

Hamburg  
December 1988

The Editors



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Volkmar Lehmann

**Introduction: Slavic standard languages  
and the relationship between  
language continua and language systems**

1.

The first part of this introduction is concerned with the subclassification of Slavic ethnolanguages into standard and substandard varieties. The second part takes up the problem of the genesis of Slavic standard languages (StL). In the introduction the relationship between the concepts 'continuum' and 'system' is investigated using the most important results of this volume as a point of departure, and an attempt at integration of the results is made.

An investigation of the development of a StL and the effects of this process on the fabric of the ethnolanguage as a whole moves in the area of tension between sociolinguistics and structural linguistics. These two approaches use different methodologies to analyze one and the same object: language. Sociolinguistics with its statistical methods looks for variance within a continuum while structural linguistics seeks to construct a system of rules through syntagmatic and paradigmatic classification of the data. Despite the indisputable fact that both approaches are necessary and justifiable and although the problem of integration has been on the agenda at least since the early seventies (e.g., Labov, 1970), integration attempts have encountered substantial difficulties (for a survey and an attempt at resolving the problem, see Seuren, 1982).

In a similar manner, diachronic linguistics takes its point of departure from continuous change while synchronic approaches attempt to isolate discrete linguistic units. The very fact that the diachronic and the synchronic are simply two aspects of the same object: language, poses the question of the relationship between continuum and system as well: How can we do justice to the continuum of language development when describing the internal relationships between the varieties of a StL and the relationships with

neighboring varieties? And, what kinds of change take place in the structural system of the varieties when changes in a literary language are recorded?

The term 'language continuum', used especially in dialect studies (e.g., Trudgill, 1986: 37f.), is also useful for describing relationships between different sociolects and diachronic states of a given ethnolanguage (e.g., Mattheier, 1980: 10 uses the term "Dialekt-Standard-Kontinuum" 'Dialect Standard Continuum'). A language continuum consists of a series of varieties (e.g., local dialects). These varieties are different from one another, yet form a group. If they are contiguous along a geographic or social scale, they may be very similar. Speakers of contiguous dialects, who command only their own dialect, can nevertheless communicate with one another without difficulty. Speakers who can understand an official speech can understand a dialog in the standard colloquial language (StCollL) and vice versa. Thus, there is a functional continuum in the StL as well. The criterion of mutual comprehensibility is, however, usually not directly applicable to earlier diachronic stages of the language (cf. Issatschenko's claim that Old Church Slavonic was not comprehensible to speakers of the vernacular, e.g., Issatschenko 1980: 121). There are similar problems involving the understanding of content in communication between laymen and experts, scientists, etc. The criteria for recognizing contiguity in a continuum are at least a minimum of phonetic, grammatical and lexical similarity as is evidenced by contiguous varieties in a comparable continuum. Thus we can say that a language continuum exists when several socially, geographically or (see below) temporally contiguous languages are similar enough that their speakers can or could communicate with one another, each speaking his own language, without special training in understanding the other languages.

## 2.

In the first contribution to this volume, "Remarks on the

Concept of Standard Language and Dialect", Peter Hill develops criteria for differentiating between neighboring Slavic languages like Czech and Slovak, Polish and Cashubian, Serbian and Croatian, using the concepts 'dialect' and StL. He employs, among other things, Brozović's distinction between abstract and concrete norm. From this distinction follows an essential first step for clarifying the relationship between structural system and continuum: local dialects, not, however, regional dialects (i.e., continua of local dialects) have a 'concrete norm'. A particular regional dialect possesses several different norms which are clearly distinguished from one another by their respective speakers. It follows then that a system that is supposed to represent a regional dialect consisting of a continuum of local dialects (e.g., a 'diasystem') is a linguistic construct, or, as Hill puts it: "Regional Dialects in the sense intended here are abstractions based on linguistic synopsis." A structural system that describes a local dialect or an idiolect is also a construct, but one which can be regarded as much closer to the real systems - namely, those systems that dialect speakers or individuals have stored in memory.

What sort of relationship prevails between the city dialects in Russian (*prostorečie*) and Czech (*obecná čeština*) which are located between the StL and the dialects as functionally contiguous varieties of the respective ethnolanguages? Can we find concrete norms here in accordance with the criteria advanced by Brozović and Hill? How rigid are these norms? Milka Vagadayová investigates these matters in her contribution " 'Sag mir, was du sprichst ...' Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion der sprachlichen Situation in der ČSR - The Czech language situation" and Doris Marszok in her contribution "On the linguistic character of the Russian *prostorečie*". Despite some differences between the concrete situation in Russian and Czech and differences in methodology, both authors come to the same conclusion: the variety in question is in each case a part ex-

tracted from a continuum to which no concrete norm, no system, can be assigned as seems to be the case with idealized ("pure") local dialects.

Milka Vagadayová shows that speaking about the "system" underlying the *obecná čeština* implies no more than a system construct. In Czech there is a continuum of language mixtures with this system construct (*obecná čeština*) at one end and the written norm at the other. The same principle holds for the various formulations of the Czech "*hovorová čeština*", which is nothing other than a slice of the continuum lying close to the written language (*spisovná čeština*).

Doris Marszk investigates the problem of the linguistic nature of the Russian *prostorečie* (substandard colloquial language) in an effort to determine whether such a 'system' actually exists. The question of the proposed systematic character of the *prostorečie* has led to a new controversy after the 'system theory' of the Russian StCollL (*razgovornaja reč'*) had already given rise to intensive discussion. Zemskaja considers *razgovornaja reč'*, but not *prostorečie* to be a system (in Zemskaja, 1980: 20, and, along with other authors, in Zemskaja and Šmelev (eds.), 1984). In contrast to this view, Raecke and Jachnow claim that *prostorečie* is systematic as well. Marszk shows that there is no system for *prostorečie* comparable to that of a local dialect or *razgovornaja reč'* since *prostorečie* does not possess a rigid norm comparable to the norm for an idealized local dialect or the *razgovornaja reč'*, for example. *Prostorečie* is, rather, a slice of the language continuum between dialects and *razgovornaja reč'* and is characterized by flexible norms. Marszk operationalizes Zemskaja's concept of system with the aid of fixed expectational norms and comes to the conclusion that *prostorečie* is not a system in this sense since speakers of *prostorečie* do not have a rigid expectational norm.

In the discussion of the question "System - Yes or No" everything depends on what concept of system is taken as a starting point. In the next section I will therefore attempt to clarify the conceptual questions together with the problem of the subdivision of an ethnolanguage into varieties.

## 3.

Zemskaja (1973 and 1981) repeatedly emphasizes that *razgovornaja reč'* is a separate system ("osobaja sistema", cf. 1973: 23, 1981: 20-21) as opposed to functional styles, jargons and *prostorečie*. She has in mind Saussure's concept of system, to which she makes direct reference (1981: 22). On the other hand, when Jachnow postulates that *prostorečie* is also a system, he applies a completely different concept of system. He himself uses the term "stochastic system". In such a system the input does not determine the output. This means that the form of an utterance cannot be predicted on the basis of the concept to be verbalized and the textual and situational context of the utterance. Many forms appear with only statistical probability (e.g., according to the data presented in Krysin, 1968: 26, 50,5% of the speakers of the Russian StL say *vrač prišla*, 38,6% *vrač prišel* referring to a woman; 9,7% vary; smaller differences correlate with social stratum (1968: 26) and generation (1968: 30)). Only a deterministic system would be free from such phonetic, grammatical and lexical doublets. In such a system the form of an utterance could be unambiguously derived from its semantic and, broadly speaking, pragmatic (i.e., situational, social, "stylistic", normative) features. Mattheier discusses this dichotomy on the basis of the opposition "homogeneous vs. heterogeneous system" and provides a well-grounded criticism of the fundamental assumption of the homogeneity thesis, namely that within a language there can be only one form for a given function. He also suggests (1984: 178) how variation in form in a heterogeneous system can be approached descriptively.

If the term 'system' is interpreted in a nondeterministic (stochastic, heterogeneous) fashion, *prostorečie* is, of course, also a system. It is a very general concept of system which makes description and explanation of complex social phenomena possible at all. In *this* sense, every language and every language variety is a system as a matter of course.

Without a system in this general cybernetic sense communication between human beings would be impossible. The question of whether language L forms a system or not does not seem very meaningful when the concept of system is interpreted in this way. But, when discussing this question, the climate of scientific policy must be taken into account. On the occasion of a lecture in Hamburg, Zemskaja indicated that, when the group she heads began research into *razgovornaja reč'*, she had to defend herself against the prejudice that something like colloquial speech was not worth investigating. Thus, the Zemskaja group's concept of system must also be understood as an antithesis to the thesis that language usage which does not correspond to the norms of the standard written language is no language at all. Ironically Zemskaja has been accused by Jachnow (among others) of discriminating against speakers of *prostorečie* by denying that *prostorečie* has a systematic character.

The use of the term "system" in nondeterministic fashion is thus motivated in this instance on "educational" grounds. For distinctions between more or less systematicity in varieties like *prostorečie* and *razgovornaja reč'* it is of no use. What about the deterministic (homogeneous) interpretation of "system"? Let us begin by asking where deterministic language systems can be found at all. Such systems can be found in metalanguage constructs, e.g., codifications like Vuk Karadžić's grammar, in school grammars or structuralist models. The deterministic character of these systems is based partially on real deterministic rules (particularly in phonology and grammar) and partially on the linguistic reduction or abstraction processes used to construct the particular system. In contrast, real languages, even StLs and (at least modern) local dialects are not completely deterministic systems. This is indicated by the numerous monographs, dictionaries and essays by Soviet authors dealing with "proper speech" (*kul'tura reči, pravil'nost' reči*), in which doublets (linguistic variants) are classified as "substandard" or "admissible" or simply listed without comment. The comments on phonetic transcription

of literary texts in Avanesov's famous book *Russkoe literaturnoe proiznošenie* (1972) gives a vivid picture of phonetic variation in the standard language. The grammar issued by the Russian Academy in 1980 is full of doublets (e.g., in case government). The ending *-a* in the nom. pl. of the first declension is, according to the Academy Grammar (1980: 497f.), partially deterministic (*berega*), partially in free variation with the ending *-y* (*tractora/traktory*), in some cases stylistically marked (*dizel'ja, šofera*) as standard, substandard, or technical. Furthermore, it is noted that the borderlines between these spheres are subject to various conditions and by no means firm. In Panov (1968: 205-214) statistical data are presented which show varying frequencies of occurrence for individual nouns as used by members of different social groups: Although it is indicated here that the plural *lektora* is used by 10-16% of the "nonphilological intelligentsia", the form is assigned to *prostorečie* in Gorbačevič's prescriptive dictionary (1974) and not even mentioned in the four-volume Academy Dictionary. The definitive pronouncement by reference works that *lektora* is incorrect or that *lektory* is the only form is a useful abstraction, only it should not be confused with a statement of reality.

Because of the influence of the literary language and other factors, the local dialects no longer present a homogeneous picture (see Avanesov and Orlova, 1964: 20ff.). Here too, the concept of a deterministic system is inapplicable (cf. Gorbačeva, 1974, etc.), perhaps with the exception of individual idiolects located in the continuum on the opposite of the StL. But even collections of texts intended to demonstrate such homogeneous local dialects show variants with no discernable functional load (the dialect speaker from the village of Siniy Kolodec uses *kto* along with *čto* and declares that *ʃʊnč'ar, ʃaršešn'ik, ʃaršečn'ik, ʃaršečn'ik* are interchangeable (see Mel'ničenko 1985, 47).

If we consider the methodology followed by Zemskaja's research group for their description of *razgovornaja reč'*, it becomes clear that the "system" underlying the *razgovor-*

naja reč' is also an idealization, a metalanguage construct (see Zemskaja 1973: 27): One fundamental criterion for the description is frequency ("важным критерием для установления нормативности тех или иных явлений РР служит их встречаемость в речи многих лиц, владеющих литературным языком"). The other criterion - the working linguist's consciousness of the norms - also implies reduction (abstraction) on a massive scale ("... нами используются коллективное языковое чутьё участников работы и метод взаимопроверки"). Both procedures are, of course, perfectly legitimate when the end product is a Saussurian deterministic system, since such a system is what the investigators are after ("... ставится задача изучить единую языковую систему, а именно такую задачу авторы и ставили перед собой", emphasis in original, Zemskaja 1973: 6, 29). This is also legitimate: description for the purpose of constituting a system. This sort of "reductionism" has always been the starting point for the description of a language. What is not legitimate, however, is ascribing the systematic properties of the construct thus arrived at to the object itself.

According to Zemskaja (1981: 21) the systems of KLJa and razgovornaja reč' (i.e., written standard language and standard colloquial language) are parts of a diglossia, every speaker having a command of both systems. This would mean that the speaker has two separate systems stored in memory like someone who has a command of, say, Russian and English without interference problems, rather like Ervin and Osgood's (1954) "co-ordinate bilinguals" as distinguished from "compound bilinguals". One of the differences between razgovornaja reč' and KLJa is supposedly that the KLJa has to be specially acquired and learned ("требуется специального освоения и изучения", *ibid.*). However, this learning process is a matter of correcting and extending what has already been acquired as razgovornaja reč'. Learning the KLJa does not involve constructing a second new independent system. This is the only way to explain the continuum of transitions between the two varieties, which can only be described statistically. These systems have an independent existence only



as metalanguage constructs. In the real world of cognition and usage they are interrelated. (Purporting that nowadays children learn KLJa after razgovornaja reč' does not, by the way, contradict the theory that the latter developed out of the former, as Peter Hill maintains in "The Origin of Standard Colloquial Speech" in this volume. The language learning process children undergo, their linguistic ontogenesis, begins with razgovornaja reč' as the language of their parents. Their ancestors, however, replaced their substandard language as the language for every day use with the standard written language at some point in the past.)

Thus the Saussurian (deterministic) concept of system is not suitable for qualifying real languages with the goal of separating them from the continuum of the entire StL or ethnolanguage. Since, as mentioned above, the concept of the "nondeterministic (stochastic) language system", when applied to real languages, is tautological unless it is used to combat obsolete stereotypes about "uneducated speech", we are forced to conclude that the assumption of a system as an objective quality of the object language cannot be the criterion for distinguishing varieties in a linguistic continuum. The isolation, however, of varieties may be founded on different, empirically grounded systems (as, e.g., the outstanding description of the razgovornaja reč' done by the Zemskaia group).

The selection of systematicity as a criterion for distinguishing between language varieties is based on a reversal of actual research procedures. Before undertaking to describe a local dialect or a functional variety by constructing a system, researchers decide which village to use for field work, which persons, from which social groups and in which social situations they will tape record, which sorts of texts they will investigate. This process of collecting a corpus implies making choices about the language domain one is preparing to systematize. The system arrived at is a product of these heuristic decisions about the isolation of a particular language domain and not the other way round. One can picture the process of investigation

as describing a language prototype. Such a prototype is a pretheoretical concept. A normal educated Russian, e.g., especially one with training in linguistics, can say on the basis of his feeling for the language whether a certain utterance or the speech of a particular individual corresponds to *razgovornaja reč'* (standard colloquial language) or differs from it to a greater or lesser degree. This language prototype, which is the reflection of pretheoretical observations, becomes, then, the object of the linguistic description in which the original prototype is systematically made explicit, polished and supplemented.

The pretheoretical, heuristic prototype is identified by a) extralinguistic factors and b) linguistic contrasts:

Ad a) An extralinguistic factor, the social group to which the speakers belong, was also used for research purposes as the basis of the definition of the *razgovornaja reč'*: "... на основании социолингвистических критериев установить понятие "носитель литературного языка" и считать литературной разговорной речью речь отобранных определённым образом лиц в определённых ситуациях." (Zemskaja, 1973: 6; by the way in Zemskaja, 1981: 20 the system discovered with the help of this definition is then used as an argument against employing extralinguistic factors for isolating language varieties.)

Ad b) Linguistic contrasts can be either normative (metalinguistic) or else may be characteristics of the object language. The normative (metalinguistic) contrast consists primarily of the use or avoidance (or sanctioned vs. nonsanctioned status) of particular phonetic, grammatical or lexical elements (e.g., the Russian substandard plural *lektora* for the codified norm *lektory*). The "stylistic coloration" of elements specific to a particular linguistic variety is based on this contrast. Because these elements stand out particularly, they play an important part in the isolation of prototypes of language varieties. Linguistic contrasts rest to a great extent on the attitude of speakers toward social groups and their language, especially when

they are couched in terms like "neliteraturnaja/nepravil'naja reč'". In addition to absolute (qualitative) conventional or normative markedness, there are contrasts in relative frequency of usage and norm, which occur more often, but are less noticeable.

The extralinguistic factors and linguistic contrasts used in the heuristic process of isolating a prototype are derived from previous research and are influenced by existing isolation stereotypes shared by the participating researchers (e.g., in Soviet linguistics the concept of functional style is one of the stereotypes of subdivision). In the process of constructing a system, the heuristic assumptions are confirmed, revised and supplemented, forged together into a system. The more clearly the extralinguistic factors can be determined and contrasts demonstrated, i.e., the more plausible the prototype seems, the greater the chances that the system will be accepted by the scientific community as a "special variety of language". (Thus the research conducted by the Zemskaja group has in fact demonstrated that the *razgovornaja reč'* is characterized by more than a few specific features even in grammar and is thus distinguished from contiguous varieties to a significantly higher degree than the functional styles of the written standard language or jargons are distinguished from their respective neighboring varieties, where the differences are primarily lexical or phraseological in nature.)

Thus the subdivision into varieties, even when it is empirically supported, turns out to be a construct - first a heuristic construct and then an empirically founded construct - which is based on the correlation between extralinguistic factors and linguistic contrasts. In both cases absolute boundaries between varieties are primarily a matter of normative/metalinguistic contrasts. On the object language/usage level, the isolated varieties of an ethnolanguage are nondeterministic systems, each occupying a certain area in a continuum. The farther apart these areas are (e.g., written standard language and substandard), the easier it is

to find absolute contrasts (i.e., a 100%:0% distribution of elements) in norm or usage. On the other hand, between contiguous positions in the continuum, e.g., *razgovornaja reč'* and *prostorečie*, or on another hierarchical level, between the language of seminar dialogues and that of dialogues in the student cafeteria, there may be areas with more or less clear norm boundaries, but there are also more transitional zones and areas with common elements. Communication between users of contiguous varieties in this continuum is not likely to break down because of language internal factors.

The results of the latest research show that the Russian ethnolanguage is a continuum in which the nondeterministic systems of the written standard language (KLJa), standard colloquial language (RR), substandard colloquial (*prostorečie*), and the dialect varieties overlap. The actual transitions between the areas in this continuum confuse those Soviet citizens who have internalized absolute norms, like Soldatov, a reader of the *Literaturnaja Gazeta* from Stavropol'skij kraj, who, in a letter to the editor (issue: 8 August 1987) complains about the numerous deviations from the language which is supposed to be used in public life. He considers it scandalous that a student teacher could say in class: *prišel so školy* instead of *iz školy*, *vremja u nas dostatočno*, *skol'ko vremja*. Here, Soldatov and the authors of prescriptive grammars see an absolute (qualitative) norm. Working linguists can at best take a bundling of such individual norms as grounds for the isolation of different varieties.

This example illustrates another axis in the ethnolanguage continuum, the temporal axis. The use of *prostorečie* elements in a situation where only the standard language is appropriate is probably a product of the generation to which the student teacher belongs. His idiolect and his ideas about norms and (presumably) those of others of his age is slightly, but noticeably different from that of the preceding generation. As is the case in synchronic continua, the contrasts between contiguous areas are not very obvious, but become increasingly so as the distance between areas increases.

If we assume that there is also a temporal axis in a linguistic continuum (i.e., a diachronic axis), then we are once again confronted with the problem of finding criteria for the isolation of varieties. If we can isolate different languages in a synchronic continuum, then there must be a historical explanation for this, or, put another way: if a diachronic comparison of two synchronic continua of the same ethnolanguage leads to differences in the subdivision into varieties, then this is to be explained with the development of new languages (and possibly with the dying out of existing languages). The term "another language" means, diachronically speaking, that a new language or variety has developed to which can be assigned its own particular system construct in the sense clarified above. The development of the Slavic varieties in this sense is the topic of the contributions presented in the next section.

#### 4.

The Slavic standard colloquial languages are newly arisen languages in the sense explained above. In "The Origin of Standard Colloquial Speech", Peter Hill demonstrates that the standard colloquial language is derived from the pre-standard literary language. It arises when the dialects are replaced by the literary language in everyday use. If it is the case that the written standard language diachronically precedes the standard colloquial language (and there is no reason to doubt this), then the latter must be derived from the former. The standard colloquial language is thus based on the language shift ("Sprachwechsel") from a dialect or a language heavily influenced by dialect to the literary standard.

In "The Development of the Bulgarian Standard Language" Hill demonstrates that the genesis of a standard language involves the formation of its varieties in the sense of "functional styles". Taking "omnivalence" (the ability of a language to do duty in all essential functions in a modern society) as the central criterion for the application of

the term "standard language", the formation of the Bulgarian standard language is presented in the light of the formation of its functional styles.

An important factor in the genesis of standard languages in Europe is the replacement of various borrowed languages (in the Slavic speaking countries Old Church Slavonic, Latin, German, among others) with a literary koine based on the popular vernaculars. Gerhard Reutter's contribution "Die Ablösung des Lateinischen durch das Polnische in schriftlich geprägten Funktionsbereichen" demonstrates that the replacement of Latin, which was once the only medium of "literary culture" ("Schriftkultur") in Poland, by the Polish prestandard literary language is a long and complex process. The distinction between varieties for particular areas of application makes it clear that the language shift from the borrowed Latin language to literary Polish involves the substitution of Polish for Latin (after a period of fluctuation), but the prestandard literary language may also be introduced together with a new area of application.

In Volkmar Lehmann's contribution "An Essay on Cross Linguistic Phenomena in the Development of Slavic Standard Languages" the development of these languages is explained as a result of language contacts. The genesis of European standard languages is seen as a crosslinguistic process in three stages: First there is the genesis of a literary koine based on the popular vernaculars. This language then replaces the borrowed language as a literary medium and becomes the prestandard literary language. The standard colloquial language (or its variants) arises where the prestandard literary language replaces the dialects in everyday use. In the case of the Slavic languages (as with other European languages) there are deviations from this pattern and special developments, but these only become clear on the background of this "idealized" development schema.

In the contribution "Lexical Revolutions as an Expression of Nationalism in the Balkans" Peter Hill uses a comparison between the vocabulary of the nineteenth and twentieth cen-

turies to describe the replacement of traditional "general Balkan" words by "national" words in the standard languages of the Balkans. Shared vocabulary, which arose as a result of language contact, is replaced by borrowings which serve to define the boundaries of the national languages. Common Balkan traditions and far-reaching mutual comprehensibility are thus sacrificed in the process of finding a national identity.

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**Peter Hill**

**Remarks on the concepts of  
standard language and dialect\***

0.1 These remarks take their origin from a rather uncomfortable situation in Slavonic linguistics: it is debatable how many Slavonic languages there are. While no linguist these days would dispute that Ukrainian and Byelorussian are not dialects of Russian but independent languages, the same being true of Slovak in relation to Czech and Slovene in relation to Serbo-Croatian, there are serious differences of opinion on Cashubian in relation to Polish, Croatian in relation to Serbian and Macedonian in relation to Bulgarian<sup>1</sup>.

0.2 All these disputes hinge on the concept of autonomy<sup>2</sup>. In other words, 'dialect' is a hierarchical concept. The 'dialects' of ancient Greece were all used for literary purposes and yet were felt to be subordinate parts of the one Greek language. On the other hand, 250 years ago Albanian existed as a conglomeration of more or less divergent speech-varieties without any significant body of literature, but no linguist could say that Albanian was at that stage a 'dialect', because that would raise the question: 'What was it a dialect of?'

Thus I think it is too simple to dismiss the subject as being a 'non-problem' or a purely sociological one<sup>3</sup>. It is also not a case of linguists trying to keep subjugated nations in their place. On the contrary, in many cases linguists would class speech-varieties as 'languages' even when the speakers themselves think of them as being 'dialects'. A case in point is Low German in Germany, whose speakers think of themselves as having an inferior speech-variety, a 'dialect', whereas most Germanists would call it a 'language'.

The feelings of a speech community towards their speech-variety do not permit consistent decisions on this subject, and yet the heat of the debate on the Macedonian question,

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for instance, and the constant appeal to linguistic arguments make it to my mind worth while looking for some sort of objective criteria.

1.0 First of all one should distinguish carefully between 'language' and 'standard language'<sup>4</sup>. These terms are often confused. The argument runs like this: 'A' and 'B' are groups of people speaking recognizably the same speech-variety but divided by a political border. 'A' live in country 'X' and 'B' in country 'Y'. The rulers of 'X' tell 'A' they are an independent people only distantly related to 'B'. However, 'A' have been using the same speech-variety as 'B'. They thus consider it necessary to adopt a different alphabet to stress their slightly different pronunciation, to put out grammars that make certain regionalisms compulsory, to produce dictionaries incorporating the administrative vocabulary used in country 'X', and so on, in short, they create a speech-variety for official use that is uniform all over territory 'A' and recognizably different from the official language used in 'Y'. 'A' thus now have their own 'standard language'. In political discussions the attribute 'standard' is omitted: we are assured that 'A' have their own 'language' and this - so the second part of the argument - proves they are an independent nation and so have no reason to form one state with 'B'.

Whether this conclusion is right or not is of no interest at this moment; my point is that the premise that a 'standard language' is the same as a 'language' is wrong.

1.1 For the sake of terminological clarity it would be better to avoid the word 'language' and to use instead Hammarström's term 'glottolect'<sup>5</sup>. What is a glottolect or ethnolect?

If we observe speech in either its written or spoken form, it is always, with only one exception<sup>6</sup>, the speech of an individual. This is the only concrete form of speech. We refer to the speech of an individual as an 'idiolect'.

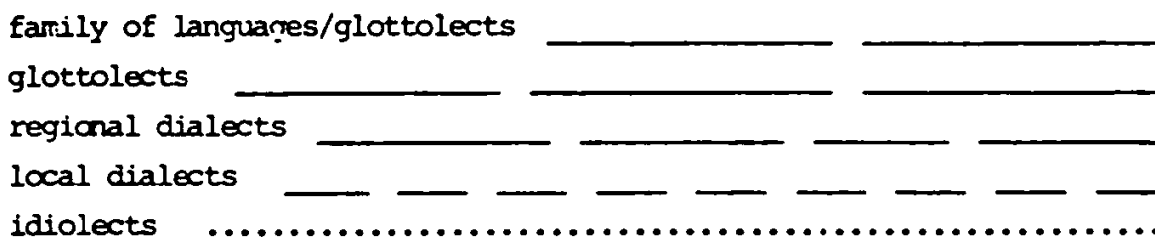
If we talk about the 'dialect' of village 'P', we really mean the sum of the speech of a whole lot of individuals. Any text in this dialect will in fact be the speech of some individual, in other words a text in an idiolect. Nevertheless, the dialect of a village has a concrete norm<sup>7</sup>: speakers from 'P' can distinguish between their fellows and outsiders on the basis of a more or less subconscious sense of how their fellows speak, in other words on the basis of the norm of their dialect.

It is customary in dialectology to group various 'local dialects' into 'regional dialects' on the basis of linguistic similarities. German distinguishes between *Mundart* and *Dialekt*, Russian between *govor* and *narečie*, as lower and higher units respectively. The higher units, the regional dialects, do not have a norm. In the sense intended here, regional dialects are abstractions recognizable only by linguistic synopsis<sup>8</sup>.

Regional dialects as organic entities<sup>7</sup> should be distinguished from 'interdialects' or urban 'dialects' such as the Russian *prostorečie*. Interdialects are a compromise speech-variety actually used by people who would be unable to communicate with one another in their local dialects. In this respect they are comparable with 'pidgins'.

Regional dialects in the sense intended here are abstractions based on linguistic synopsis. By the same methods a further level of abstraction can be distinguished: a number of regional dialects are grouped together to form a 'glottolect'.

We can summarize this in the following diagram (based on Heger; cf.<sup>8</sup>):



1.2.1 Generally, within each 'glottolect' there is one 'standard language'. Standard languages are often described as being one dialect among other dialects of a glottolect. With a local dialect the standard language shares the characteristic of having a concrete norm, i.e. it is in principle possible in each and every case to determine whether a particular text is within the norm or outside it.

With the concept of sociolect<sup>9</sup> the standard language shares the characteristic of generally being the speech of the ruling class or of a prestigious group within the society. The German term *Hochsprache* particularly emphasizes this aspect of the standard language.

The standard language is different from a local dialect inasmuch as it is always an inorganic speech variety<sup>7</sup>: the standard language always involves some form of 'language treatment'<sup>10</sup>. It is never identical with a particular regional dialect even if it happens to be based on one. It is 'polyvalent', that is, it is required to serve the needs of a wider speech community at all levels. Especially it is required to serve the needs of science, industry and politics on the national level and it is used for communication with other nations. It is no coincidence that standard languages are intimately connected with the emergence of nations and are sometimes referred to as 'the national language'.

1.2.2 Standard languages emerge in basically two different ways. We can use the terms introduced by Kloss: 'Abstandsprachen' and 'Ausbausprachen'<sup>11</sup>.

I mentioned earlier that so-called 'inderdialects' sometimes emerge as compromise speech-varieties serving the needs of communities with related but not mutually intelligible dialects or whose dialects are inadequate for the level of communication that is necessary in a developing country. If the base of such an 'inderdialect' or *koiné*<sup>12</sup> coincides with a politically and economically viable territory it will generally develop all the characteristics

of a standard language. Such a standard language can be classified as being of the 'abstand-variety'. Its autonomy will not be disputed.

However, it often happens that within the limits of a larger political and/or economic unit not one but several interdialects emerge. If the speakers of one of these interdialects do not impose their speech-variety by force or if artificially drawn borders prevent them from doing so - say, the territory of interdialect 'C' has been annexed by a neighbouring country - then each of the interdialects will be developed into a standard language by more or less vigorous language-planning measures - hence the term 'Ausbausprache'. Because these two standard languages are so similar their relative autonomy will be fragile.

In some cases no interdialect exists at all since all needs above the local level have previously been served by a foreign standard language. In this third case the persons involved are practically forced to create an artificial interdialect and turn it into a standard language.

1.2.3 I think it is reasonable to classify Macedonian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian as standard languages of the 'ausbau'-variety.

If we assume, hypothetically, that Cashubian is a dialect of Polish, we are confronted with a hierarchical problem, since the differentiating features are clearly of a different order from those that obtain between the other dialects. The most elegant solution is thus to situate Cashubian on the next higher rung of the hierarchy, which makes it a language in its own right.

2. There remains the question of the relationship between the Serbian and Croatian speech-varieties.

From a linguistic point of view it is clearly not a hierarchical relationship, so 'dialect' is not a concept we can use here.

I mentioned above that standard languages have a concrete norm, that is, it is in principle always possible to locate a text either within the norm or outside it. This does not mean, however, that there is no variation within standard language. Probably all standard languages allow certain variations. If in standard English we can use either *pail* or *bucket* to express the same content or sememe, then these are lexical variants. In standard English pronunciation ('RP') we can say [aɪðə] or [i:ðə]. These are orthoepic variants.

If such variation within a standard language is systematic and related to geographical areas, we can speak of a 'standard variant': English English, Scottish English, U.S. English, Australian English<sup>13</sup>.

Most linguists say that Serbo-Croatian exists in two standard variants, a Croatian one and a Serbian one, but today (1987) it seems increasingly necessary to classify Croatian as an 'ausbau'-language<sup>14</sup>.

3. Hence, as has emerged from the foregoing remarks, it is possible to propose a comparative definition of the concepts of 'standard language' and 'dialect' on the basis of certain objective linguistic criteria.

To what extent such linguistic criteria may be acceptable to areas of life outside linguistics is another question.

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Serbo-Croatian (or Croato-Serbian) is one language, according to official Yugoslavian usage, even if, colloquially, Serbs refer to it as 'Serbian' and Croats as 'Croatian', and this point of view is found in most Western sources today (e.g. R.G.A. de Bray: *Guide to the Slavonic Languages*, London 1951, Section 7; Bräuer op. cit. # 20; Harald Haarmann: *Soziologie und Politik der Sprachen Europas*, München 1975, p. 289-293). However, in the early 1970s, many articles and books were published in Zagreb on the 'Croatian standard language' (*hrvatski književni jezik*) — cf. Lj. Jonke: *Hrvatski književni jezik 19. i 20. stoleča* (Zagreb 1971), and a number of articles in: *VII međunarodni kongres slavista/Prilozi* (Zagreb 1973) — reflecting the view many Croatian linguists held that it was in fact a separate language.  
The Macedonians referred to themselves prior to World War II as *bugari*, i.e. 'Bulgarians' (cf. A. Vaillant: *Le problème du slave macédonien*, in: *Bulletin Soc. Ling.* 39 (1938) 195-210), though in Yugoslavia officially they were said to speak a Serbian dialect (cf. Norbert Reiter: *Der Dialekt von Titov Veles*, Berlin, Wiesbaden 1964, # 2). Since 1944 most sources have reflected the new official Yugoslavian view of Macedonian as a separate language (cf. de Bray op. cit. Section 6), although some point out that, historically, it is a dialect of Bulgarian (Bernštejn op. cit. # 9). The official view in Sofia is that Macedonian is still today a dialect of Bulgarian, though the energy with which this assessment of the situation is presented varies with the political weather.
2. Cf. J.A. Fishman: *Sociolinguistics* (Rowles, Mass. 1971<sup>2</sup>), p. 25-26.
3. Michael Studemund has written that 'dialect' is simply a derisive term used by the ruling class to refer to the speech-variety of a subjugated group. Cf. Michael Studemund: *Sprachpolitik in Spanien*. In: *Filologia y didáctica hispánica*. Homenaje al Profesor Hans-Karl Schneider (=RomGG I). Hamburg 1975, p. 655.

4. I use 'standard language' in the same sense as German *Hochsprache*, ru. *literaturnyj jazyk*.
5. Cf. U.G.E. Hammarström: *Linguistic Units and Items*. Berlin: Springer 1976.
6. Occasionally two or more authors produce a common text. In many cases one writes one part and the other another part of the whole text, but sometimes a text is a genuine collective effort. Such collective texts are scarcely spontaneous language products and are in any case so rare that we can disregard them here.
7. Cf. D. Brozovič [Brozović]: Slavjanske standartnye jazyki i sravnitel'nyj metod. In: *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1967, 1. 3-33.
8. Here I differ from Klaus Heger ('Sprache' und 'Dialekt' als linguistisches und soziolinguistisches Problem. In: *Folia linguistica III* (1969) 46-67), who believes that a glottolect has a norm (as distinct from a family of languages, which clearly has no common norm. In other words — so Heger believes — a peasant from Northern Serbia, let us say, could tell that someone from the region of Niš in southern Serbia is speaking a dialect of 'Serbo-Croatian' whereas another peasant from the Sofia region is speaking a dialect of Bulgarian. This is surely not the case. Should such a peasant really be able to make this distinction, it will, I maintain, always be on the basis of some knowledge of the standard language. Without such knowledge he will not have any sense of belonging to the same language system as his compatriot, as distinct from the Bulgarian. And I know of an educated Australian touring northern England who, on hearing a local peasant's speech, thought it must be a Celtic dialect.
9. Cf. U.G.E. Hammarström: *Zur soziolektalen und dialektalen Funktion der Sprache*. In *Zeitschrift f. Mundartforschung* 34 ('67). 205-216.
10. The term is used by the Platts (H.K. and J.T. Platt: *The Social Significance of Speech*. North-Holland 1975) to include more specific measures such as language planning.
11. Peter Paul of Monash University has suggested the terms 'differentiated language' and 'developed language' respectively.
12. Greek, 'the common speech', was the compromise speech-variety that spread first throughout Greece and then, as a 'lingua franca', throughout the eastern Mediterranean area and the Middle East.

13. Cf. Peter Trudgill: *Sociolinguistics* (Harmondsworth, Baltimore, Ringwood, Ontario, Auckland: Penguin 1974, 1975, p. 18).
14. Cf. Thomas Magner: *Language Mitosis in the Slavic World*. In: *Folia Slavica* vol. 4, (1981) nos. 2-3, pp. 332-339.



Milka Vagadayová

The Czech language situation

*"Sag mir, was du sprichst..."*

Ein Beitrag zur sprachlichen Situation  
in der ČSR

## 1. Vorwort

In der vorliegenden Arbeit beschäftige ich mich mit der sprachlichen Situation in dem tschechischen Teil der ČSSR, und möchte ein wenig beitragen zu ihrer Klärung. Es geht mir vor allem um Antworten auf folgende Fragen: 1) Welche Sprachsysteme hat das Tschechische? und 2) Was wird tatsächlich gesprochen? In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich das wahre Begriffschaos, das auf diesem Gebiet herrscht, entwirren. Termini, wie *obecná čeština*, *běžně mluvený jazyk*, *hovorový jazyk*, *spisovný jazyk*, versuche ich mit linguistischem Leben zu füllen und sie eindeutig in ihrer Intension und Extension zu bestimmen.

## 2. Die aktuelle Sprachsituation

Die Situation auf dem tschechischen Sprachgebiet ist unerfreulich kompliziert. Jede/r Ausländer/in, der/die seine/ihre mühsam erlernte Brocken des Tschechischen anzuwenden versucht, hat sicherlich schon die Erfahrung gemacht, daß er/sie neben dem verdienten Lob, es gepackt zu haben, auch den diskreten Hinweis erntet, daß man aber "so nicht spricht".

Auf der anderen Seite muß jedes tschechische Kind spätestens mit seiner Einschulung mit der Tatsache fertig werden, daß das, was es bis dato für seine Muttersprache hielt, plötzlich als etwas verschmäht wird, das man nicht sprechen sollte, um dann in der Pause die Lehrer/innen zu ertappen, wie sie sich im Gespräch miteinander der "verbotenen Sprache" bedienen.

Die Linguisten sprechen in solchen Fällen von

sprachlicher Dichotomie - auf der einen Seite das Gebilde der Schriftsprache, auf der anderen die nichtschriftsprachlichen Formen. Für das Tschechische hat man bis in die 60-er Jahre von einer klassischen Dichotomie der Schriftsprache (*spisovná čeština*) und der Dialekte (*nářečí*) gesprochen. (Vgl. Dejmek 1978: 183, Chloupek 1969: 49). Diese zwei sich gegenüberliegenden strukturellen Gebilde hat man als grundlegend angesehen vor allem wegen ihrer einheitlichen Auffassung und Beschreibung und einer ziemlich stabilisierten Norm. (Vgl. Jedlička 1974: 29). Zwischen diesen zwei Polen der tschechischen Sprache befand sich das, was man als "Übergangszone" (Dejmek 1978: 184), Interdialekte, das Gemeintschechische (*obecná čeština* - weiter nur OČ) oder die alltägliche Umgangssprache (*běžně mluvený jazyk* - weiter nur BMJ) nannte, eine Varietät der Sprache, die sich nur schlecht einordnen ließ, da sie sich durch eine starke Variabilität auszeichnet. Nur wenige Linguisten betrachteten diese Varietät als selbstständiges Gebilde und sprachen konsequent von einer trichotomischen Sprachsituation. (Vgl. Dejmek 1978: 184).

Die scharfe linguistische Auseinandersetzung, die sich Anfang der 60-er Jahre auf den Seiten der Fachzeitschriften *Voprosy jazykoznanija* (1960/2, 1961/1) und *Slovo a slovesnost* (1961/22, 1962/23, 1963/24) über zwei Jahre lang hinzog, trug unter anderem auch dazu bei, daß man die sprachliche Situation und ihre Einteilung und Bewertung überdachte. Nicht mehr die Opposition Schriftsprache - Dialekte sah man als grundlegend an, sondern die Dichotomie der Schriftsprache und der alltäglichen Umgangssprache (BMJ). Man hat damit nur der tatsächlichen sprachlichen Situation Rechnung getragen, für welche die klassische Aufteilung der Nationalsprache auf ihre Standardform und Dialekte nicht mehr aktuell ist, ja anachronistisch. Die Dialekte sind zwar recht gut erforscht und systematisiert, aber ihre Deskription ist vor allem eine Rekonstruktion, die im Prinzip nur

eine gewesene Situation dokumentiert. Wie schon mehrmals nachgewiesen wurde (z.B. Bělič 1972: 323ff), ist der Prozess der Nivellierung der Dialekte schon sehr weit fortgeschritten. In Böhmen hat sich so auf der Grundlage eines zentralböhmischen Interdialekts das GemeinTschechische (OČ) entwickelt, das heute die Basis für gesprochene Äußerungen schlechthin ist und eine expandierende Tendenz in Richtung Mähren aufweist. In Mähren unterscheidet man heute als Ergebnis des Dialekteausgleichs noch drei interdialektale Gruppen, aber auch hier ist die Entwicklung zu einer einheitlichen Umgangssprache abzusehen, die sich an dem GemeinTschechischen orientieren wird.

Somit bleibt festzuhalten: in der heutigen sprachlichen Situation steht der tschechischen Schriftsprache eine neue Einheit gegenüber, die als nichtschriftsprachlich charakterisiert wird. Sie wird übereinstimmend *běžně mluvený jazyk* (alltägliche Umgangssprache) genannt.

Die bekannte Besonderheit der tschechischen Sprachsituation entsteht freilich nicht dadurch, daß sich eine schrift- und eine nichtschriftsprachliche Form der Sprache gegenüberstehen. Sie ist gekennzeichnet durch eine tiefe Diskrepanz zwischen diesen zwei Formen, die über die üblichen lexikalischen und syntaktischen Unterschiede weit hinausgeht bis in die Bereiche der Phonologie und Morphologie.

Ich möchte nicht näher auf die Ursachen dieser Situation eingehen, nur soviel: die sprachliche Situation des Tschechischen heute ist eine historisch gewordene und sie beruht auf der ungleichen, nicht korrespondierenden, ja zum Teil völlig getrennten Entwicklung der Schriftsprache und der Umgangssprache.

### 3. Die alltägliche Umgangssprache (BMJ)

Bevor ich anfangen, mich mit dem Gebilde des BMJ

näher zu beschäftigen, sei gleich darauf hingewiesen, daß sich meine Ausführungen mit denen zum Thema "das Gemeintschechische" (OČ) zum Teil überdecken werden. Ich versuche natürlich - da, wo es möglich ist - beide Begriffe zu trennen, aber selbst in der theoretischen Diskussion ist die Sachlage nicht ganz klar (1). Beide Bereiche stehen natürlich in einem engen Zusammenhang, wie ich später noch zeigen werde. Der Unterschied liegt in verschiedenen Betrachtungsweisen - eine funktionale bei BMJ (parole-Ebene) gegenüber der systematisierenden bei OČ auf der langue-Ebene. Es handelt sich also nicht um synonyme Termini, wie Lommatzsch meint (1980: 836).

Der Bereich des gesprochenen Tschechisch blieb lange Zeit ein Waisenkind der tschechischen Bohemistik der Nachkriegszeit (2). Bis in die 60er Jahre waren es nur ausländische Linguisten/innen, die sich mit dem Gemeintschechisch und / oder der alltäglichen Umgangssprache beschäftigten: der französische Linguist Marc Vey, der 1946 die erste Monographie über gesprochenes Tschechisch herausbrachte (Vey 1946: Morphologie du tchèque parlé), die auf dem Sprachmaterial der 20-er Jahre basierte, weiter der amerikanische Bohemist Henry Kučera mit seinen phonologischen Studien (1955: 575-602, 1961) und die sowjetische Bohemistin A.G.Širokova, die die bis jetzt umfangreichste Beschreibung der alltäglichen Umgangssprache lieferte (1954).

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1) Schon die russische Bezeichnung "obichodno-razgovornyj jazyk" weist darauf hin: es bedeutet sowohl OČ als auch BMJ.

2) Vor dem 2. Weltkrieg propagierte der Prager ling. Zirkel neue Grundsätze der Sprachkultur, die sich vor allem am tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauch orientieren.

Einen Impuls für die tschechischen Bohemisten gab 1960 P. Sgall mit seinem Artikel "Obichodno-razgovornyj češskij jazyk" (Sgall 1960), in dem er eine Diskussion forderte, die sich endlich mit der Problematik des gesprochenen Tschechisch beschäftigen sollte, und das mit der Aufmerksamkeit und Ernsthaftigkeit, die der mündlich verbreitetsten Form der Sprache gebührte.

Die Einschätzung und Einordnung des BMJ variiert in verschiedenen Arbeiten: als Äußerungen des alltäglichen Kontaktes, ohne Vorbereitung formuliert, wobei die schrift- und nichtschriftsprachlichen Elemente in einem noch nicht geklärten Verhältnis zueinander stehen (vgl. Sgall, Trnková 1963: 28), als "Repertoire verschiedener Sprachmittel (nichtschriftsprachlicher, z.T. aber auch schriftsprachlicher resp. gemeinsamer), die in Situationen benutzt werden, die einen verbindlichen Gebrauch der Schriftsprache nicht voraussetzen." (Daneš 1962: 100 - übersetzt von mir). Die überwiegende Auffassung versteht das BMJ als ein überregionales, nichtschriftsprachliches Gebilde - útvar (vgl. Bělič 1961, 1962, 1968, 1972, Jedlička 1972). Bei diesem Punkt möchte ich verweilen. Sollte es sich also bei der Umgangssprache um ein Sprachsystem handeln? Ist das "Gebilde" Synonym für ein System, das wir beschreiben, strukturieren können, von dem wir voraussagen können, in welchen Situationen die tschechischen Sprecher/innen bestimmte Formen anwenden? Mit Sicherheit nicht. Denn im Gegenteil zeugen schon mehrere gescheiterte Versuche einer Beschreibung, einer Fixierung von der "Systemlosigkeit" der alltäglichen Umgangssprache. Einige Autoren sprechen von einem nicht ganz klaren Verhältnis zwischen den schrift- und nichtschriftsprachlichen Elementen, andere (Kravčičišinová, Bednářová 1968: 318) sprechen in diesem Zusammenhang von einem "nicht konsequenten" Gebrauch der nichtschriftsprachlichen Elemente. Mit anderen Worten - das Kriterium der Erwartbarkeit wird nicht erfüllt, wir sind nicht in der Lage, dem alltäglichen Sprachgebrauch

ein bestimmtes System zugrunde zu legen. Wir sind aber durchaus in der Lage, hier z w e i verschiedene Sprachsysteme auszumachen, und ich schlage deswegen vor, hier zusammen mit Lehmann (1978 : 325) von einer "aktuellen Sprachmischung" zu sprechen. Hierunter verstehen wir also eine Situation, in der einer verbalen Äußerung mehr als ein Sprachsystem zugrunde liegt. Konkret für das Tschechische bedeutet das: die alltägliche Umgangssprache (BMJ) ist eine aktuelle Sprachmischung mit zwei ihr zugrundeliegenden Kontaktsprachen - der Schriftsprache (spisovná čeština) und dem Gemeintschechischen (OČ). Diese Feststellung stellt uns vor folgende Aufgaben: Beschreibung der jeweiligen Kontaktsprache, wobei ich mich natürlicherweise nur auf die Beschreibung des Systems des Gemeintschechischen beschränken werde. Die zweite Aufgabe gestaltet sich wesentlich diffiziler: der Anteil der jeweiligen Kontaktsprache ist variabel; ich versuche, die Faktoren herauszuarbeiten, die den Gebrauch der Kontaktsprache Gemeintschechisch bedingen.

#### 4. Das Gemeintschechische als ein System

Das besondere an der tschechischen sprachlichen Situation besteht darin, daß die Unterschiede zwischen der gesprochenen Sprache (Umgangssprache - BMJ) und der Schriftsprache über die üblichen lexikalischen und syntaktischen Differenzen weit hinausgehen. Wir stellen fest, daß die Kontaktsprache OČ als ein Bestandteil der Umgangssprache BMJ auf einer eigenen Phonologie und Morphologie basiert. Die Eigenheiten der OČ werden von mir aber nicht als ein in sich geschlossenes System dargestellt, sondern immer im Bezug auf die Schriftsprache, als Abweichungen von ihr.

a) Für das phonologische System der OČ sind folgende Merkmale charakteristisch:

- die Verengung  $\acute{e} > \acute{i}/\acute{y}$

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- im Wortstamm und in der Adjektivdeklination - Typ  
dobrý mlíko.

Das Phonem  $\acute{i}/\acute{y}$  an Stelle von  $\acute{e}$  wird als die meist verbreitete und stärkste nichtschriftsprachliche phonologische Erscheinung bezeichnet (so z.B. Bělič 1978: 19). Nedvěďová weist auf seine Verbreitung auch in den Massenmedien und in der Sprache der Belletristik hin, was auf das mindestens teilweise Zurückgehen der Merkmalhaftigkeit "nichtschriftsprachlich" schließen ließe (1981: 73).

Nicht ganz anschließen kann ich mich den Ausführungen von Freidhof (1979: 9-11), der das Phonem  $\acute{e}$  aus dem phonologischen System der tschechischen Umgangssprache ganz verbannt, da es als periphere Erscheinung nur in wenigen Fremdwörtern belegt sei (1979: 10). Es lassen sich durchaus mehrere Beispiele finden, die die Existenz des Phonems  $\acute{e}$  im Gemeintschechischen belegen - das heißt Beispiele für die nicht realisierte Verengung  $\acute{e} > \acute{i}/\acute{y}$ . Die Erklärung hierfür kann nur zum Teil am fremden Ursprung liegen - wie z.B. Wortbildungen durch Suffix -  
ér (< -eur) - šofér, montér, tuzér, oder einige Lehnwörter - tér, fén, réva. Die anderen Beispiele betreffen den einheimischen Wortbestand: téměř, léto, léčit (lékař), jméno, dvěře, péče, péro, ségra, věča, méďa. Wichtig ist dabei zu bemerken, daß die Nichtrealisierung der Verengung sich nie auf die Adjektivdeklination bezieht.

- die Diphthongierung  $\acute{y}/\acute{i} > ej$

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- gilt als das typische und auffälligste Merkmal der OČ. (vgl. Nedvěďová 1981). Am häufigsten und regelmäßig tritt es in der Deklination auf (ähnlich dem verengten "í" - s.o.) - z.B. dobrej, dobrejch, dobrejm usw., und im Wortstamm - tejden, bejt, mejt, prej, mlejt usw.

Unregelmäßig, und das heißt auch parallel mit dem Monophthong "ý" tritt "ej" im Präfix "vý-" auf - Typ vejlet/výlet. (Vgl. hierzu Dejmek 1986: 134).

- prothetisches o- > vo-

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- bei Personalpronomina gehört dieses Merkmal zu den stabilsten Erscheinungen der OČ - Typ von, vona, voni (s. Dejmek 1986: 135), für den Gebrauch bei der übrigen Lexik ist entscheidend der einheimische Ursprung, Expressivität und Präfigierung.

- Diphthongierung ú > ou

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-im Anlaut - Typ oudolí, ouřad gehört zu den seltensten Erscheinungen der OČ, was nicht zuletzt an der relativen Seltenheit eines solchen Wortanfangs liegt.

#### b) die morphologischen Eigenheiten der OČ:

Die gemeintschechische Morphologie weist eine klare Tendenz in Richtung Vereinfachung und Vereinheitlichung der Formen auf. Das deutlichste Beispiel finden wir in der Deklination. Die Endung -ma für Instr. Pl. hat sich auf dem ganzen tschechischen Sprachgebiet durchgesetzt und wird gebraucht als bevorzugte Endung nicht nur bei den Substantiven, sondern auch bei Adjektiven, Pronomina und Numeralia (vgl. Nedvěďová 1981: 72). Auf der Seite der Schriftsprache begegnet uns dagegen eine Vielfalt von Endungen : -i/-y, -mi, -ma

Die gemeintschechische Deklination der Adjektiva kennt im Nom. Pl. auch nur eine Endung -ý/-í für alle drei Genera im Unterschied zu -í, -é, -á der Schriftsprache.

Die Konjugation weist folgende Abweichungen auf:

- Infinitiv-Endung: nur -t an Stelle von -ti, -ci - typ dělat, říct



- Präteritum: Wegfall der -l-Endung bei den Verben mit konsonantisch auslautendem Stamm - Typ řek, nes; Zusatz-Suffix -nu- bei Verben der 2. Klasse - tisknul, začnul
- Präsens: Wegfall der -í-Endung bei der 3. Person Pl. In der 4. und 5. Klasse handelt es sich um bloßes Weglassen - prosej, trpěj, sázej, dělaj, bei Verben der 3. Klasse wird sie ersetzt durch -ou - kryjou, kupujou; 1. Person Sg. der Verben der 3. Klasse weist die Endung -u an Stelle von -i auf - děkuju, kryju
- das Hilfsverb "být": in seiner Funktion als Kopula hat sich in der 2. Person Sg. Präs. die Form "seš" ausgebreitet, in anderen Fällen bleibt die Form "jsi", die auch für die Schriftsprache gilt. Für die Konditionalform in der 1. Person Pl. gilt "bysme" entgegen dem schriftspr. "bychom"

c) Die lexikalisch-semantische Ebene ist schon traditionell die ausdrucksvollste Domäne der mündlichen Äußerungen. Alle nichtschriftsprachlichen lexikalischen Mittel empfinden wir als mehr oder weniger expressiv, sie drücken bestimmte Haltungen und Emotionen aus, und auf einer imaginären Bewertungsskala bewegen sie sich zwischen einem positiven Plus- und einem negativen Minuspol. Zur Geltung kommen hier spezifische wortbildende Verfahren und Prinzipien:

- Univerbierung als das wohl typischste Verfahren für die umgangssprachliche Verständigung mittels der Suffixe -ák, -ka : mistrák, opuštěák, výročka, občanka
- Wortverkürzungen und analog gebildete lexikalische Einheiten - mindrák, vekslák, lampasák
- Suffix- und Präfixbildung - hubeňour, tlušťoch, komouš, magič, navotravovat se
- Kompositabildung - tlučhuba, sralbotka

Eine breite Anwendung findet auch Metaphorik (besonders in der Phraseologie), Onomatopoeie und phonetische Ungewöhnlichkeiten - frmol, blekotat, žúžo.

Als umgangssprachlich - nichtschriftsprachlich gelten lexikalisch-semantische Einheiten, deren Gebrauch territorial, sozial oder historisch begrenzt ist (die Definition ist in diesem Fall wesentlich einfacher als ihre Anwendung), ferner die Teile eines semantischen Paares (zwei synonyme Ausdrücke), die entweder merkmalshaft/markiert expressiv (deštník - paraple, obvaz - fáč) oder univerbiert sind, und letztlich die lexikalischen Einheiten, die als "merkmalshaft expressiv empfunden werden" und zu denen es keine neutralen schriftsprachlichen Pendant gibt - eine Unzahl an Schimpfwörtern oder Ausdrücke wie ratejna, štokrle, štamprle (vgl. Kraus 1981: 234).

Schon die Anwendung des Ausdrucks "empfinden" (s.o.) in einem linguistischen Kontext zeigt, wie problematisch es ist, eine objektive Grenze zwischen Ausdrücken, die als schriftsprachlich gelten, und denen, die es nicht mehr sind, ziehen zu wollen. Wo fängt der umgangssprachliche Ton an - und somit der Gebrauch der OČ -, wo die Lässigkeit, ist die Lässigkeit schriftsprachlich noch zulässig, was gilt schon als vulgär? Niemand kann auf diese Fragen eine objektive und eindeutige Antwort geben, der Maßstab sind im Prinzip sehr vage "gesellschaftliche Normen", beruhend auf Konventionen, die bestimmten Ausdrücken den Stempel sprachlicher (Un)zulässigkeit aufdrücken (vgl. Koževniková 1973: 208). Daß dabei die Meinungen sehr weit auseinander liegen können, zeigen z.B. verschiedene Wörterbücher der tschechischen Sprache, oder Arbeiten, die sich mit der OČ beschäftigen. So gilt das vierbändige Wörterbuch der tschechischen Schriftsprache (SSJČ 1960-1971) als ausgesprochen konservativ in der Frage der Zulässigkeit, dagegen gibt sich das sog. kleine Wörterbuch (SSČ 1978) in diesen Fragen sehr liberal. Auf der anderen Seite

bringt Hronek in seinem Werk über die OČ (1972) ein umfangreiches Register des - nach seiner Meinung - nichtschriftsprachlichen Wortschatzes, dessen Zuordnung in vielen Fällen iritierend wirkt - Ausdrücke wie: upláchnout, nádeničit, aby řeč nestála u.a.

d) Was die Syntax der OČ bei ihrer Anwendung in BMJ betrifft, begegnen wir hier Erscheinungen, die im Prinzip jeder spontanen mündlichen Äußerung eigen sind (wie z.B. die Ellipse). Als systemkonstituierende Merkmale für die OČ sind sie für uns deswegen ohne besonderes Interesse.

Die Untersuchungen der gesprochenen Sprache BMJ und somit auch der OČ beziehen sich oft auch auf die Frage der Frequenz der verschiedenen OČ-Merkmale. Erste Impulse zu dieser Forschung gaben linguistische Studien von H. Kučera (1955), die dann von etlichen tschechischen Linguisten/innen weitergeführt wurden (Kravčišinová, Bednářová 1968, Hronek 1972, Brabcová 1973, Jančák 1974, Bělič 1976, Dejmek 1971, 1976, 1981). Man konzentrierte sich vorwiegend auf die phonologischen Merkmale der OČ (s.o.). Die Ergebnisse der Forschung sind recht unterschiedlich ausgefallen, was an den unterschiedlichen kommunikativen Situationen liegt, die den Untersuchungen zugrunde lagen, und letztendlich auch an der Tatsache, daß man nicht von einer "idealen" Norm der OČ ausgehen kann in dem Sinne, daß das Auftreten der OČ-Elemente hundertprozentig wahrscheinlich wäre. (Ich habe schon darauf hingewiesen, daß die alltägliche Kommunikation in der Form einer aktuellen Sprachmischung realisiert wird.) Trotz der unterschiedlichen Ausgangspositionen konnte man in einem Punkt eine übereinstimmende Tendenz feststellen: das phonologische Merkmal der Verengung  $\acute{e} > \acute{i}/\acute{y}$  tritt am häufigsten auf (so bei Kučera, Dejmek, Nedvěďová, Bělič).

Mit der Frequenz der OČ-Elemente ist die Hierarchie-Theorie verbunden. Zuerst bei Kučera (1955: 81) formuliert und nur auf die Phonologie bezogen, besagt sie: die Anwendung eines gemeintschechischen Elementes ist an die Anwendung eines anderen in folgender Weise gebunden: Wenn ein Sprecher eine der weniger frequentierten Formen gebraucht, wird er voraussichtlich auch die mehr frequentierte gebrauchen. Konkret heißt das: wenn jemand "ouřad" sagt, müßte er/sie auch "bejt" sagen und fast ganz sicher "dobrý mlíko". Diese Theorie würde natürlich nur bei einem Sprecher funktionieren, bei dem wir davon ausgehen könnten, daß er eine "reine" OČ spricht, was aber (s.o.) dem tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauch nicht bzw. nur selten entspricht. Auf der anderen Seite müßte man bei der Hierarchie auch die anderen OČ-Merkmale berücksichtigen und die Theorie entsprechend erweitern: bei der Anwendung OČ-Lexik ist die Erwartung berechtigt, daß auch OČ-Phonologie und Morphologie angewandt werden.

Eine weitere interessante und bis heute nicht ausdiskutierte Frage ist die der Einordnung bzw. Charakteristik der OČ. Zwei grundsätzliche Meinungen stehen sich hier gegenüber: die eine Seite betrachtet die OČ als einen Interdialekt, d.h. als eine Sprachform, die regional und auch funktional begrenzt ist und sich auf einer Ebene mit mährischen Interdialekten befindet (z.B. Bělič, Trávníček). Diese Haltung birgt in sich natürlich unausgesprochen die Erwartung bzw. Hoffnung, daß die OČ als ein Dialektüberrest am Untergehen ist und irgendwann der Schriftsprache weichen wird. Die andere Seite (z.B. Sgall, Šírokova), der ich mich anschließen möchte, betrachtet die OČ nicht mehr als einen (Inter)dialekt, sondern - dank ihrer expandierenden Tendenz - als die mündliche Form der tschechischen Sprache. "Narodno-razgovornaja reč' sostavljaet vmeste s literaturnym jazykom osnovu nacional'nogo jazyka." (Šírokova 1954:5).

## 5. Gebrauchssphären der OČ

Nun haben wir die Frage geklärt, welche Sprachsysteme das Tschechische hat. Wir stellten fest, daß auf der langue-Ebene neben dem System der Schriftsprache noch ein nicht-schriftsprachliches System existiert, das wir als OČ bezeichnen und dessen Merkmale wir versuchten darzulegen.

Auf der parole-Ebene stellen sich uns folgende Fragen: was wird wann von den tschechischen Sprechern/innen gesprochen? Mit anderen Worten: wie sieht die alltägliche Umgangssprache (BMJ) aus und wie wird sie angewandt?

Diese neue Fragenstellung verlangt auch nach einer neuen Vorgehensweise in den linguistischen Untersuchungen. Die ersten Forschungen in dieser Richtung (Daneš 1969, Koževniková 1973, Müllerová 1978) begnügen sich dementsprechend nicht mehr mit dem bloßen Feststellen der sprachlichen Unterschiede zwischen den Systemen der Schriftsprache und der OČ und auch nicht mit den quantitativen Beobachtungen der OČ. Der neue Ansatz geht vielmehr von der Erforschung der mündlichen Äußerungen mit Bezug auf die konkreten Kommunikationssituationen aus. Es wird die Frage gestellt: "Wie spricht ein Mensch in verschiedenen Situationen, wann, wie und warum variiert seine Sprache?" Konkret für das Tschechische heißt das: Wann spricht ein/e Tscheche/in OČ und wann (wenn überhaupt) die Schriftsprache?

Da wir die OČ als die Grundlage umgangssprachlicher Äußerungen, als die Sprache des alltäglichen Umgangs bezeichnet haben, gilt es zunächst, den Begriff der "Alltäglichkeit" zu klären, denn er bezeichnet offensichtlich eine der möglichen Grenzen zum Gebrauch der Schriftsprache. Früheres Kriterium für den Gebrauch der Schriftsprache bzw. der OČ war das der Öffentlichkeit - schon der bloße Umstand der Publizität war der entscheidende Faktor für den Gebrauch der

Schriftsprache. Dies ist dadurch zu erklären, daß zu jener Zeit (gemeint ist die Zeit bis zum Ende der 50er Jahre) die Tatsache der Öffentlichkeit einer mündlichen Äußerung fast synonym war für ihren formalen bzw. offiziellen Charakter. Dank der Verbreitung der Massenmedien ist dieses Kriterium nicht mehr entscheidend - beinahe jede Äußerung kann heutzutage öffentlich gemacht werden. Daneš (1969: 103) empfiehlt deswegen die Einteilung mündlicher Äußerungen in formale/offizielle und nicht formale/inoffizielle. Unter formalen Äußerungen verstehe ich solche, in denen die Menschen nicht als sie selbst, sondern als Repräsentanten verschiedener Institutionen auftreten bzw. sich begegnen. In solchen Fällen ist der Gebrauch der Schriftsprache geboten, und die Nichtbeachtung dieses Gebots ist entweder auf die Nichtbeherrschung oder auch absichtliche Verweigerung (aus welchen Gründen auch immer) der Schriftsprache zurückzuführen. Alle anderen mündlichen Äußerungen kann man zu den nicht formalen rechnen. Das Spektrum ist recht beachtlich - es reicht von den wirklich privaten, familiären Äußerungen vertrauten Charakters über Gespräche mit Bekannten, auf dem Arbeitsplatz, bis zu alltäglichen, zufälligen Begegnungen mit fremden Menschen - Gesprächssituationen beim Einkaufen, im Straßenverkehr u.ä. Aber es gehören hierher auch Situationen, in denen noch vor kurzer Zeit der Gebrauch der OČ einfach undenkbar gewesen wäre - Interviews, Gesprächs- und Diskussionsrunden im Rundfunk und Fernsehen. Der Gebrauch der OČ in solchen Situationen ist umstritten und wird zum Teil auch heftig kritisiert (vgl. Daneš 1969: 104), aber diese Entwicklung wird sich wohl kaum aufhalten lassen.

Typische Merkmale der nicht formalen mündlichen Äußerungen sind ihre Unmittelbarkeit, ihr lockerer und spontaner Charakter und ihre Formlosigkeit. (vgl. Daneš 1969: 101). Natürlich ist eine weitere Differenzierung innerhalb dieser Äußerungstypen notwendig. Der Gebrauch

der OČ steht auf jeden Fall fest, aber ihr Anteil an dem geäußerten BMJ ist noch von anderen Faktoren als deren der formalen/nicht formalen Situation abhängig. Wir müssen von der individuellen Gestaltung der alltäglichen Umgangssprache (BMJ) ausgehen, d.h. von der Annahme, daß die grundlegende Ausdrucksweise von Sprecher zu Sprecher personenbedingt variiert. Die persönliche alltägliche Umgangssprache BMJ, die Ausdrucksbasis jedes/r Sprechers/in (für uns immer als eine Mischung aus der Schriftsprache und der OČ zu denken), hängt von bekannter Faktoren wie Bildung, Alter, Geschlecht, Herkunft, soziale Rolle u.a. ab. Innerhalb dieses so abgesteckten Rahmens der individuellen Grundausdrucksweise kommt es zu einer weiteren Differenzierung, die von der jeweiligen Gesprächssituation abhängig ist. Es handelt sich also um kein starres Gebilde mit festen Anteilen von Schriftsprache und OČ, sondern um ein Kontinuum, dessen Grenzen von o.g. Faktoren (Bildung usw.) bestimmt sind.

Müllerová zeigt in ihrer Untersuchung (1978: 57-68), wie ein Sprecher seine Ausdrucksweise in Abhängigkeit von seinen Gesprächspartnern und vom Gesprächsthema variieren kann.

Die erste Studie bezieht sich auf Gesprächssituationen, in denen der Sprecher - ein Arzt - verschiedenen Gesprächspartnern - seinen Patienten - gegenübersteht. In den neutralen, routinemäßigen Situationen ohne ein besonderes Verhältnis zu den Patienten ist seine Ausdrucksweise ein BMJ, der sich eher an der Schriftsprache orientiert; der Anteil der OČ beschränkt sich vor allem auf die Phonologie, und hier besonders auf die Verengung  $\acute{e} > \acute{i}$ , und teils auf die Lexik. Solche Situationen sind eher als formal zu sehen, in der Ausdrucksweise des Arztes manifestiert sich hauptsächlich seine soziale Stellung und Rolle als Arzt. Ein rapider Anstieg der OČ-Elemente wird in zwei Situationen festgestellt: im Gespräch mit einer "einfachen" Frau mit großen gesund-

heitlichen Problemen, und mit einer Patientin, die von Beruf Krankenschwester ist. Der Arzt bedient sich fast ausschließlich der OČ-Phonologie und Morphologie, seine Lexik wird gemeinschechisch expressiv. Die Faktoren, die dies verursacht haben, liegen in den Personen der Gesprächspartnerinnen. Im ersten Fall handelt es sich möglicherweise um ein bewußtes "Umschalten" - der Arzt ist emotional gerührt, empfindet Mitleid, wirbt um Vertrauen der Patientin dadurch, daß er sich auf ihre "Ebene" begibt, und versucht so die sozialen Rollen Arzt-Patientin zu verwischen. Im zweiten Fall handelt es sich eher um eine unbewußte Reaktion - die vom Arzt empfundene berufliche Gemeinsamkeit ist schon ein Grund genug für einen kollegialen, legeren Ton. Das institutionalisierte Verhältnis Arzt-Patient wird auch hier durchbrochen.

Die Begegnung mit einem der nächsten Patienten bringt Gegenteiliges: der Arzt spricht "wie ein Buch" - d.h. eine konsequente, von Fachtermini durchsetzte Schriftsprache. Sein Gegenüber ist ein von ihm hochgeschätzter Professor der Medizin, und diese Begegnung wird aufs Neue institutionalisiert: der Arzt sieht sich einer Kapazität aus seinem Fachgebiet gegenüber, die Situation bekommt formale Züge, der Gebrauch der Schriftsprache ist geboten. (Natürlich kann das aus der Sicht des hochgeschätzten Patienten ganz anders aussehen.)

Die zweite Studie aus der o.g. Untersuchung bezieht sich auf kollegiale Fachgespräche (Ärzte) am Arbeitsplatz. Es zeigt sich, daß - obwohl der Faktor verschiedener Gesprächspartner und somit verschiedener sozialer Rollen kaum eine Rolle spielt - auch hier ein unterschiedlich intensiver Gebrauch der OČ-Elemente bei den einzelnen Gesprächspartnern vorhanden ist. Das Ansteigen der OČ-Ausdrucksweise wurde hier durch den Faktor des gemeinsamen Themas (Fachdiskussion), der emotionalen Beteiligung (verschiedene Meinungen, Entwicklung der



Diskussion zu einem Streit) und der Dauer der Auseinandersetzung (Ermüdung der Sprecher) bedingt.

Wir können also feststellen: die Sprache der nicht formalen/nicht offiziellen Situationen ist die aktuelle Sprachmischung BMJ. Sie setzt sich zusammen aus der Schriftsprache und der OČ. Der Anteil der OČ ist nicht allgemein festlegbar für alle Sprecher/innen, sondern individuell zu bestimmen in Abhängigkeit von der Person des Sprechers. Die diese persönliche umgangssprachliche Kompetenz bestimmenden Faktoren sind: Bildung, Alter, Geschlecht, Herkunft, soziale Rolle u.a. Die individuelle Ausdrucksweise ist als ein Kontinuum zu sehen: das Verhältnis Schriftsprache - OČ ist variabel und erscheint in jeder Gesprächssituation als eine neue Zusammensetzung, bewußt oder unbewußt eingesetzt, und bedingt besonders durch folgende Faktoren: die Person des/der Gesprächspartners/in, das Gesprächsthema, emotionale Beteiligung am Gespräch und Dauer des Gesprächs.

Zum Faktor Gesprächsthema: es gibt kein Thema, das nicht in der Umgangssprache behandelt werden könnte - in der Hinsicht gibt es keine "hohen" (z.B. wissenschaftliche Diskussion) und "niedrigen" (freundschaftliches Geplänkel) Themen (vgl. Sgall 1960). Ob ein Thema in einer nicht formalen Gesprächssituation zum Ansteigen des OČ-Anteils beiträgt, hängt vor allem davon ab, ob es sich z.B. um ein gemeinsames, oder ein hoch aktuelles, brisantes Thema handelt. In dieser Hinsicht hängt der Faktor Thema eng mit dem der emotionalen Beteiligung zusammen.

Ich möchte noch in Kürze auf den Faktor Bildung eingehen. Nicht selten wurde und wird der Gebrauch der OČ in Gesprächssituationen als ein Zeichen der mangelnden Bildung oder Unkultiviertheit und Faulheit der Sprecher/innen angesehen und kritisiert (vgl. dazu Daneš 1969: 104-105, Sgall 1981: 299). Natürlich spielt die Bildung eine Rolle in der Ausdrucksweise und überhaupt bezüglich der Sprachkompetenz eines Menschen - sie ist

einer der Faktoren, die die persönliche Ausdrucksweise bestimmen. Nur müssen wir die Rolle der Bildung richtig verstehen - sie vermittelt die Kenntnisse der Schriftsprache, und folglich kann ihr Mangel nur in solchen Situationen festgestellt werden, in den der schriftsprachliche Usus geboten ist, d.h. in den schon o.g. formalen/offiziellen Kommunikationssituationen. In allen anderen Situationen (und das werden wohl die meisten sein) greifen die Sprecher/innen bewußt oder automatisch zum BMJ und somit zu OČ. Zahlreiche Untersuchungen belegen, daß dies ohne Rücksicht auf den Bildungsgrad der Sprechenden geschieht. (Sgall 1960, Daneš 1969: 105, Sgal 1981, Dejmek 1986: 137).

Der gegenwärtige Trend in der ČSR ist durch zwei sich scheinbar ausschließenden Fakten geprägt:

- 1) Das Bildungsniveau ist ständig im Wachsen begriffen, so daß immer mehr Sprecher/innen die tschechische Schriftsprache aktiv beherrschen.
- 2) Der Begriff der nicht formalen/nicht offiziellen Kommunikationssituationen wird immer extensiver ausgelegt, und somit erweitern sich ständig die Gebrauchssphären des BMJ und somit auch der OČ (vgl. Michálková 1969: 170).

Der scheinbare Widerspruch wäre leicht zu lösen bzw. würde erst gar nicht entstehen, wenn man den Gebrauch der OČ in der alltäglichen Kommunikation akzeptieren könnte und nicht als eine Mangelerscheinung verstehen würde.

## 6. Hovorový jazyk

Hovorový jazyk oder hovorová čeština wird ins Deutsche als "der alltagssprachliche Stil" (Vintr 1982: 106) oder "die Konversationssprache" (Jedlička 1978: 55) übersetzt. Das russische Pendant heißt "razgovornyj jazyk" bzw. "razgovornaja forma literaturnogo jazyka" (Širokova 1960).

Was bezeichnet dieser Terminus, dem wir in jeder zweiten Abhandlung über das Tschechische begegnen? Gemeint ist hier die mündliche Form der Schriftsprache, eine "kultivierte Umgangssprache des Alltags" als einer der Funktionalstile der Schriftsprache (vgl. z.B. Bělič, Havránek, Jedlička 1962: 120, Daneš 1969: 104, Jedlička 1974: 41, Vintr 1982: 106). Nun - Zweifel dürften angebracht sein: verfügt das Tschechische überhaupt über diese "Sprache"? Ich möchte die Frage verneinen. Und: braucht das Tschechische überhaupt diese "Sprache"? Ich würde ebenfalls nein sagen. Denn wir haben eben dargelegt, welche Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten die tschechischen Sprecher/innen für ihre Kommunikation haben - in den offiziellen/formalen Situationen die Schriftsprache, und in allen anderen den BMJ mit seinen Komponenten OČ und Schriftsprache. Eine mündliche Form der Schriftsprache, einen umgangssprachlichen Funktionalstil wie z.B. *razgovornaja reč'* im Russischen, gibt es im Tschechischen nicht. Oder anders gesagt - das BMJ erfüllt diese Funktion, das BMJ ist die mündliche Form der Schriftsprache. Und wenn ich hier BMJ sage, meine ich eigentlich und vor allem die OČ. Auch Bělič gibt, ungerne, zu: "OČ ersetzt in diesen Situationen (alltägliche Kommunikation - (M.V.)) eigentlich die Konversationssprache (*hovorová čeština*), die in den Gebieten der tschechischen Dialekte im engeren Sinne nur wenig verbreitet und auf dem ganzen Gebiet nur wenig konsolidiert ist." (1978: 16 - übersetzt M.V.).

Obwohl nach meiner Meinung alle Versuche, eine "*hovorová čeština*" ins Leben zu rufen, zum Scheitern verurteilt sind, wird an diesem Konstrukt als an einer Entwicklungstendenz der tschechischen Sprache festgehalten. Die OČ wird angesehen als ein Übergangsstadium, obwohl die oben zitierten Untersuchungen über den Grad ihrer Verbreitung eine ganz andere Sprache sprechen. Ich kann mir das nur durch eine zu enge Auslegung der Theorie der Polyfunktionalität einer Standardsprache

erklären: eine Standardsprache gilt erst dann als vollentwickelt und polyfunktional, wenn sie alle ihren Funktionalstile d.h. auch den des alltäglichen Umgangs entwickelt hat. Das hat aber das Tschechische - im Gegensatz zu den meisten anderen Sprachen - nicht.

Ist also die treibende Kraft, nach einer "kultivierten" Umgangssprache zu suchen, vielleicht die Befürchtung, die tschechische Schriftsprache könnte als minderwertig, unterentwickelt oder vielleicht als gar keine richtige Standardsprache angesehen werden, da sie keinen Funktionalstil der alltäglichen Kommunikation entwickelt hat?

Wer die historische Entwicklung der tschechischen Sprache kennt, weiß, daß es sich in mancher Hinsicht um eine Ausnahmeerscheinung handelt. Diese Entwicklung hat ihre Spuren hinterlassen, unter anderem die Existenz der zwei Sprachsysteme: Schriftsprache und OČ. Warum also den heutigen Zustand der tschechischen Sprache nicht so akzeptieren, wie er ist, und die Schriftsprache im Hinblick auf ihre Polyfunktionalität als eine Ausnahme unter den übrigen slavischen Sprachen zu sehen?

## 7. Abschließende Bemerkungen

Nachdem wir die anfangs als unerfreulich kompliziert bezeichnete Situation des Tschechischen näher erläutert haben, stellt sich natürlich die Frage: was soll und/oder kann geschehen? Ist dieser Zustand haltbar? Wie kann die Kluft überbrückt werden?

Einen möglichen Weg habe ich schon angedeutet - er hat sich aber als eine Sackgasse erwiesen: der Versuch, den Funktionalstil "hovorový jazyk" aufzubauen und die OČ so aus dem Sprachgebrauch allmählich zu verbannen. Zugrunde lag hier ein eigenes Verständnis der Sprachdemokratisierung: dank einer allgemeinen Bildung der Bevölkerung wird sich die Schriftsprache in alle Schichten verbreiten und wird von den Menschen auch als

Umgangssprache verwendet. (vgl. Bělič, Havránek, Jedlička 1962: 124).

Eine Demokratisierung der Sprache ist aber auch noch anders denkbar: als eine Aufnahmebereitschaft der tschechischen Schriftsprache für die verbreitesten Formen der OČ, die die krassesten Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Systemen beseitigen könnte (vgl. Sgall 1960).

Aber auch die Annäherung auf diesem Wege ist nur begrenzt möglich und denkbar - man könnte sich eine größere Flexibilität der Schriftsprache in Bezug auf die Aufnahme verschiedener morphologischer OČ-Elemente vorstellen und wünschen. Was aber die phonologischen und lexikalischen Unterschiede betrifft, kann ich mir auch weiter nur getrennte Wege vorstellen.

Vielleicht müßte es deswegen eher darum gehen, mit dieser Situation leben zu lernen, sie zu akzeptieren. Es würde aber auch heißen, daß man vor allem die OČ akzeptiert als das, was sie nun einmal ist: eine historisch gewachsene mündliche Form der tschechischen Sprache. Diese Ansicht verlangt ein Umdenken, mit dem man sicherlich schon im Schulunterricht anfangen müßte: die OČ-Elemente würden dann nicht mehr als falsches Tschechisch, sondern als das andere, das neben der Schriftsprache existiert, dargestellt. Der Unterricht würde sich nicht mehr auf das Verbannen und Verboten der OČ konzentrieren, sondern vielmehr auf das Erklären, welche Form wann angebracht ist. Dadurch würde sich auch die Haltung zu der Schriftsprache verändern - sie würde nicht mehr als etwas unnatürliches und künstliches angesehen werden.

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## English Summary

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## THE CZECH LANGUAGE SITUATION\*

The language situation in the Czech-speaking territories is characterized by the linguistic dichotomy of *obecná čeština* (OC) [substandard colloquial] and *spisovná čeština* (SC) [written standard]. The expression *běžně mluvený jazyk* [everyday language] (BMJ) refers to the functional or *parole* level.

BMJ is characterized as spontaneous speech in which elements of OC and SC are in an undefined relationship to one another. BMJ is not a system but an ad-hoc mixture ("*aktuelle Sprachmischung*" in Lehmann's terminology) of two languages, OC and SC, in contact.

In its phonology OC differs from SC in the following points: *é* > *i/ý*, *y/i* > *ej*, prothetic *v* before word-initial *o*, *ú* > *ou*, in its morphology in the following points: instrumental plural in *-ma*, only one desinence for all genders in the nominative plural of adjectives, infinitives in *-t*, etc.; in the lexicon of OC we note univerbizations such as *mistrák*, abbreviated forms such as *mindrák*, typical derivations such as *hubeňour* and compound words such as *tlučhuba* and lexical-semantic units such as *ratejna*, *štokrle*, *štamprle* which are "felt to have an emotional feature", a criterion which is difficult to define objectively. In syntax BMJ shows features such as ellipse which are characteristic of spoken speech generally.

The features of OC can be arranged in a hierarchy, such that the use of one presupposes the use of all those higher up, e.g. *ú* > *ou* presupposes *é* > *i/ý*.

On the status of OC, some linguists consider it to be an interdialect among other interdialects, while others see it as the spoken form of the Czech language, and this is our position.

The use of SC was once normal in the public sphere, but today it is necessary to distinguish rather the functions "formal or official"/"informal or unofficial". Formal utterances, which require the use of SC, are defined as ones in which the speaker

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\* The German title of this article is based on a German saying and suggests that the use of language varieties characterizes people and situations in the Czech-speaking territories much more subtly than elsewhere in the Slavic world.



is acting in an institutional capacity. All other utterances are informal and today extend to interviews on radio and TV, despite protests from purists. However, the quantity of OC features varies from person to person and from situation to situation.

Thus, while the doctor-patient relationship is a formal one, a doctor was observed to make extensive use of OC phonology, morphology and lexicon with a simple woman suffering from serious health problems and with a nurse: in the first case probably expressing unconscious human solidarity, in the second case probably conscious professional solidarity. With a professor of medicine the doctor used careful SC, with colleagues the proportion of OC and SC varied with the topic, the emotional involvement and the length of the discussion (tiredness or otherwise).

The present-day situation in the CSR exhibits two contradictory tendencies: (1) rising levels of education should lead to greater use of SC, but (2) the expansion of the "informal or unofficial" sphere leads to a greater use of OC.

*Hovorový jazyk* [colloquial standard] appears to be a theoretical construct flowing on from the requirement that a standard language have a colloquial standard form, whereas in fact OC fulfils this function in the Czech-speaking territories. The best solution to the Czech sociolinguistic problem would be the frank acceptance of this situation.

Doris Marszk

On the linguistic character  
of the Russian *prostorečie*

1. Concept and Reality

The study of prostorečie is fraught with difficulty, because not only at different times, but also at one and the same time, the word prostorečie can have different meanings. Raecke(1982) has analysed the meanings and designata of prostorečie, asking, whether there is any meaning (in every-day-language) which characterizes the designatum in such a way that it may serve as the meaning of the concept in a scholarly sense.

Raecke presented, in brief outline, a survey of five uses of the term prostorečie, but finally decided to consider only the first one as relevant to a scholarly concept of prostorečie. The designatum following Raecke is a complete structure of speech-traditions which differ in many regards from the standard language:

"Ein vollständiges Gefüge von Traditionen des Sprechens, welches seinem historischen Wesen nach die unmittelbare, natürlich dem Wandel in der Zeit unterlegene Fortsetzung der etwa in der 2. Hälfte des 17.Jh. entstandenen russischen überdialektalen Volkssprache ist, das sich von der gesprochenen Standardsprache sowohl positiv wie auch negativ (jeweils nicht im wertenden Sinne) unterscheidet: positiv darin, daß es bestimmte grammatische Kategorien, syntaktische Konstruktionen und lexikalische Oppositionen bzw. lexikalische Verknüpfungsregeln aufweist, die nicht den standardsprachlichen Normen entsprechen, und negativ dadurch, daß in ihm bestimmte standardsprachliche grammatische Kategorien, syntaktische Konstruktionen und lexikalische Oppositionen oder Verknüpfungsregeln nicht existieren."(ibid. 167 f.)

Having thus described the main designatum of the word prostorečie, from which the other designata are derived, Raecke turned to the linguistic definition of the concept prostorečie, saying that prostorečie can be defined in terms of the differences between prostorečie and the forms of modern Russian. Prostorečie would thus stand for any form of Russian speech based on this system:

"Somit kann das Prostorečie (I)...definiert werden...über eine genaue Beschreibung dessen, was es von allen anderen Formen des heutigen Russisch unterscheidet: seines lexikalischen und grammatischen Systems. Der Terminus 'Prostorečie' stünde dann für 'jede Form russischer Rede, die auf diesem System aufbaut'." (ibid.:182).

But is this the whole story? Do we now know what prostorečie is in reality? Moreover, can we say that prostorečie is a system?

Raecke outlined a series of meanings and designata of prostorečie, on the assumption that these designata exist. However, it often happens that words or concepts have designata which have no reference in reality. The word unicorn has a meaning, say: "four-legged animal with a horn in the middle of its head." In a book of fairytales one can point at such an animal, saying: "This is a unicorn". (That would be the designatum). But one cannot draw from that the conclusion that unicorns exist in the real world.

We must therefore try to approach the whole problem from a different angle and focus our attention on the question: What is it when one speaks in the following manner:

"(...)xotja poplaču drugoj raz/no vse ravno po evonomu byvaet//(...) emu tam nikomu ne nado bylo/(...)"  
(Quoted from Gorodskoe prostorečie 1984:179 f.).

## 2. Method and Material

Before going any further, it will be necessary to have a look at the material on which this analysis is based. The problem raised is that we are handicapped by a lack of material because the subject of prostorečie has not been broadly investigated yet in the Soviet Union. There have been very few studies such as Gorodskoe prostorečie,<sup>1</sup> containing a few interviews with prostorečie-speakers.<sup>2</sup> Therefore it has been necessary to supplement this material by using short stories by the contemporary Soviet writer Vasilij Šukšin.

However, there are two possible objections to this procedure:

1. Even if an author represents the colloquial speech of common people, he cannot really reproduce it; otherwise the reader would feel bored (imagine the themes of such every-day talks) or would even have difficulties understanding it (cf. Raecke, op. cit.:172). A similar argumentation is quoted by Krasil'nikova (1984:357) in her survey of the research of razgovornaja reč':

"Die Sprache der schönen Literatur zeichnet sich durch die Konzentration einzelner Merkmale der RR als stilistischer Signale und durch die spezifische Umwandlung bestimmter RR-Konstruktionen aus. Deshalb kann sie auch nicht als authentische Quelle für die Erforschung der RR dienen."

2. The stories written by Šukšin are usually considered to be typical examples of so-called 'village-prose'. If, however, most of these stories are set in the countryside, how can we learn something about the urban phenomenon prostorečie?

As to the first objection, it cannot be entirely dismissed. Nevertheless, it depends on how one uses prostorečie-dialogues represented in literature. Obviously, one cannot study the frequency of use of such and such a form. How often this or that form occurs in Šukšin's works does not tell us anything about its frequency in reality. On the other hand, dialogue-passages quoted from Šukšin's stories can serve as fur-

ther examples. But whether Šukšin's heroes speak genuine prostorečie has to be checked. This question touches the second objection: Do these heroes not speak dialect rather than prostorečie?

Thus, this second objection forces us to compare a corpus of speech-passages from Šukšin's stories with some of those forms of prostorečie which are quoted by Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja in their article Nabljudenija nad prostorečnoj morfologiej (see the volume Gorodskoe prostorečie).

Here they state:

- that the word polotence in prostorečie can become a masculine noun (see Nabljudenija, *ibid.*:72), cf. Šuksin Petja:  
-Ljal'ka, polotenec! - kričit Petja, končiv pleskat'sja. (Šukšin 1983:93).
- that place-names ending in -sk in the nominate case can take -om in the locative case (see Nabljudenija:74), cf. Šukšin Kalina Krasnaja:  
-(...) Kolja v Novosibirskom na paravoze rabotaet(...) (Šukšin 1984:306)
- that masculine nouns in the nominative plural terminate in -a more often than in standard language (see Nabljudenija:74), cf. Šukšin Pečki-lavočki:  
- (...) Čert, nikogda s etim ne prihodilas'! Šofera, te privyčnye...Ladno, pošel. (Suksin 1984:278).
- that the genitive case of neuter words in the plural in prostorečie does not have a zero morpheme, but ends in -ev/-ov like masculine nouns (see Nabljudenija:75), cf. Šukšin Pis'mo:  
-(...) Ne bylo u menja usloviev, ja i ne rožala (...) (Šukšin 1983:132).
- that the third person of verbs in the *i*- conjugation often terminates in -ut (see Nabljudenija: 83), cf. Šukšin, examples from several stories:

-Drova bezplatno privozjut, - podskazala Njura.  
(Pečki-lavočki, 1984:264)

-Da primerit' prosjut! - voskliknul Ivan. (Pečki-lavočki, 1984:231)

-Gde èto oni u tebja rvanye-to xodjut? - ne vyterpel on. (Mikroskop,1983:53)

- that reflexive verbs often terminate in -ssja in the second person singular (see Nabljudenija:85), cf. Šukšin, Pis'mo:

-A ty čë gordissja, čto v bednosti žila? (...)  
(Šukšin 1983:133)

- that the past participle active in prostorečie is often used as a predicate (see Nabljudenija:85), cf. Šukšin Pečki-lavočki:

-Nu, vo-pervyx, možno skazat', čto ja byl vypivši (...). (Šukšin 1984:264)

These examples will be sufficient to show that prostorečie-forms occurring in Šukšin's stories correspond to those authentic forms given by Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja. Thus, Šukšin uses only such forms as he has heard in everyday life.

Now I shall turn to the second objection: Do Šukšin's rustic heroes not speak dialect? If they spoke dialect one would expect to find traces of it in phonetics and vocabulary. The speech of the heroes is in neither respect remarkable. Take for instance the heroes in Pečki-lavočki. Since they come from the Altaj, their speech ought to have particular characteristics.

Let me give some examples of dialect characteristics of the Gorno-altajskaja oblast' (published in Mel'ničenko 1985:105 f. - quoted in accordance with the notation there) in order to show how the speech of the heroes in Pečki-lavočki would look like if it were dialectal:

- generally [š'] for /č/:

kusoš'ka (genitive)

s mal'šikam

poš'emu

š'etyr'e

- generally [xto] for /kto/

- almost generally realization of -odi- → [ói]

-ede- → [ee]

zaxóit

vyvóit

vyxóit

pojéet

- generally [ɛ] → [e]

etovo

etoj

eto

eti

eta

Such characteristics are absent from the speech of the protagonists in Pečki-lavočki. The material on vocabulary is insufficient to draw conclusions.

Generally, in Šukšin one can find only sporadic elements, which, I suppose, have the function of suggesting dialect - sometimes e.g. someone says šibko instead of očen'; in one story I found the pronunciation čižalo instead of tjaželo; at some places someone says če instead of čto. However, more frequent is the spelling što instead of čto and išo instead of ešče, which merely signal a non-specific deviation from the standard language.

The general answer to our problem can be summarized in a few words:

Non-standard forms in Šukšin correspond to prostorečie. Linguistically, Šukšin can be considered a prostorečie-imitator. On the other hand, it cannot be said that Šukšin represents dialect (likewise linguistically).

Dialect is only alluded to: instead of the dialect-representation just described, he could also use a graphic sign, say an asterisk, with those speech-parts which are to be regarded as dialectal ones. (The dialect-representation in Šukšin's stories are in Krasil'nikova's terms (see above) "stylistic signals"). Thus, dialogues from Šukšin's stories can be taken as a supplement to the authentic material in Gorodskoe prostorečie.

### 3. Is prostorečie a system?

In the literature the question whether prostorečie is a system has often been discussed. At first it is important to distinguish between a system of signs and a system of norms.

Concerning the first one, we have to ask whether it is more economical to describe prostorečie and the standard language as one system than to describe them as two systems (see also Lenmann 1982a:138).

On Russian dialects Freidhof (1979:12 ff.) showed that the realizations of e.g. the genitive feminine in several dialects and in the standard language can be covered by one "diasystem",<sup>3</sup> because the occurring types are not so distinct that they have to be considered separately. This shall now be taken as our criterion for the determination of prostorečie and the standard language as one or two systems.

A glance at some patterns in prostorečie will show that it is indeed economical to register the forms of the linguistic items in prostorečie and the standard language in one diasystem.

	stand.lang.	ljagu, ljažes'...ljagut
(1) leč'	-----	-----
	prostorečie	ljagu, ljageš'...ljagut or ljažu, ljažeš' ... ljažut



	stand.lang.	xočes', xočet, xotim, xotite, xotjat
(2) xotet'	-----	xoču-----
	prostorečie	xočes'...xočut; xotis'...xotjat

(prostorečie-forms quoted from Zemskaĵa and Kitajgordskaja in Nabljudenija:82).

In the same way linguistic items out of other grammatical categories can be noted in such a diagram. To take two examples at random:

	stand.lang.	indeclinable
(3) loanwords	-----	-----
termina- ting in -o (e.g.kino)	prostorečie	like neuter nouns

(quoted from *ibid.*: 75 f.)

	stand.lang.	dom, doma...+ Gen. otdyxa
(4) declina- tion with- in a noun phrase(e.g. dom otdyxa)	-----	-----
	prostorečie	domotdyx,-a, -u etc or declination of each word in the same case, e.g. v dome otdyxe

Looking at these tables one can get the impression that prostorečie and the standard language, though describable in one system of signs, are detached from each other in use.

Thus we shall have to examine the following, now more precisely formulated, questions:

- 1) Do the prostorečie-speakers always realize the deviant variants of the linguistic items?

- 2) If prostorečie-speakers realize a deviant variant of a linguistic item, do we find them using always the same one?
- 3) Are there, conversely, cases where educated people use prostorečie-forms?

Finally, these questions lead on to a more general one: Is it efficient (from a linguistic point of view) to describe prostorečie as a system with its own norms?

On the first question:

A look at one of the interviews (the longest one), published in the appendix to Gorodskoe prostorečie, will give some idea of how the speaker (a 77-year-old woman who used to work in a factory) "jumps" from a prostorečie-form to a standard-language form (and conversely).

1. kto/xto

- a) a tut xto-to idet szadi.
- b) kto ego znaet.

2. čto/šo, čo

- a) ne zametila šo zima-to prošla. Nu čo že delat'-to?
- b) Nu čto že delat' !

3. togda/tada resp. kogda/kada

- a) a tada pojdu domoj.  
a už kada prixodit.
- b) ja už ne pomnju / gde oni togda žili-to.  
kogda emu vot už naverno neverterpež.

4. Verbs terminating in -sja in past tense singular feminine:

- a) ja razozlilasja
- b) nu tut ja ostanovilas'.

5. Verb/past participle active voice as predicate

in past tense:

- a) a to uže vse zastyvšee-zamerzšee.
- b) vse zamerzlo.

To this we can add another example, quoted by Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja in their article Nabljudenija (p.97), concerning the above-mentioned use of loanwords:

6. Plural of kino:

- a) Sejčas ved' m-m ščitajte skol'ko kin postavili.
- b) Nu skol'ko ètix postroili kino. A teper' skol'ko kino?

In Šukšin one finds similar variants. Take for instance Egor in Kalina krasnaja, who uses the form smotrjat as well as the form smotrjut:

-(...)Slušaj, - tože perešel on na "ty". - Davaj ujdem otsjuda: oni smotrjat, kak èti...(1984:298)

-(...)Vot oni...korovy-to, - povtorjal on. - Oni viš', tebja uvideli, da? Zavolnovalis'. Iš', smo-otrjut...(1984:330)

Ivan in Pečki-lavočki says sometimes čego and sometimes počemu:

-Vy sdelali bol'šuju glupost'.

-Počemu? (1984:276)

-Kuda edete? - strogo sprosil milicioner Ivana.

-K jugu. A čego, ja ne ponimaju?...Vot bilety, vot putevka... (1984:234)

Now let us turn to the second question: Do prostorečie-speakers always use the same deviant variant?

Clearly, prostorečie-speakers do not always use the same deviant variant - this has already been noted in the first examples at the very beginning of this

section. In addition to these examples let us quote a few more:

A speaker may not say čego for počemu, but pošto:  
Ljal'ka in Petja says:

-Petja, ty počto takoj est'-to? (1983:96)

Sometimes the speaker senses the need for a copula. I found two forms: Ivan in Pečki-lavočki says to his fellow-traveler in the train:

-Vy ne konstruktor budete? - sprosil Ivan.  
-Net...A počemu vy rešili, čto konstruktor?  
-A kto vy budete, interesno by uznat'?  
-Ja - professor. (1984:241)

Ljuba in Kalina krasnaja says:

-Gospodi!...Da počemu vy takie est'-to? Čego vy takie dorigie-to? - Ona zaplakala. (1984:341)

On polite address (so-called vy vežlivosti), Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja enumerate the following variants (see Nabliudeniija: 78 f.)

1. vy is not used at all.
2. With the adjectives in the long-form: the adjective is used in plural, e.g.:  
"Vy takie umnye."
3. With adjectives in the short-form: agreement with the sex of the interlocutor:  
"Vy sama vinovata."
4. With verbs in past tense: agreement with the sex of the interlocutor:  
"Vy ezdila v otpusk?"
5. Use of oni:  
"Vot oni govorjat/čto Katja замуž sobralsja."

Kitajgorodskaja whether a combination of these variants occurs. It is conceivable that 3. and 4. are realized together, but it is likewise conceivable that someone who uses 3. does not automatically use 4. Moreover, it would be interesting to know whether 2. is used as well as 3. (by one speaker). At first sight, it seems absurd to suspect that. But actually one speaker does sometimes use more than one deviant form of a linguistic item. Though we got no hint of such a mixed use of the vy vežlivosti, we are told by Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja that in general

"neredka variativnost' v upotreblenii odnogo i togo že fakta kak v reči odnogo govorjaščego, tak i v reči raznyx lic." (Nabljudenija: 70).

In addition to this the variation is explicitly noted in the passage, dealing with the verb xotet' (ibid.: 83) and in the passage about the various forms of declination of dom otdyxa (ibid.: 96; the variants see above in this chapter).

As has already been noted, the question arises whether prostorečie can be described as a norm-system. But at first we have to ask: on what grounds can we say that a language x has a norm? Here it is useful to adduce the criterion of expectability. This criterion is fulfilled if one can ask a prostorečie-speaker: "How can I say this in prostorečie?" The examples showed that this is impossible in prostorečie. Certainly, even in standard languages there is a certain breadth of variation. But in prostorečie the breadth of variation is not comparable with that in the standard language, take for example the manifold possibilities in the use of the vy vežlivosti. We do not find such variation in standard language. Thus, if we wish to ascribe a system of norms to prostorečie we can do this only in low measure. In accordance with Lehmann (1982b:107), I propose to speak of a flexible norm.

Jachnow, on the other hand, assumes the existence of a system wherever communication is possible (cf. Jachnow 1987:90 f.). However, communication is possible even

between people speaking different languages (e.g. in border areas) or speaking different, highly deviant forms of one language (foreigners from different countries communicating in broken English): in this case I would not speak of a system even though communication is possible.

Let us now turn to the third question: Are there cases where educated people use prostorečie-forms? Supposing that educated speakers use prostorečie-forms, we can presume that these forms only occur in oral speech, i.e. razgovornaja reč'. Since it is contiguous with prostorečie we ought to ask about the boundaries between these two forms of language. The following examples will help to bring out these boundaries or, conversely, what prostorečie and razgovornaja reč' have in common.

Beginning with this latter aspect, it is interesting to learn that in prostorečie as well as in razgovornaja reč' the singular noun is often used generically (the so-called edinstvennoe generalizujuščee):

"Komara v ètom godu ne bylo//(...) Student teper' vdumčivyj/načitannyj//" (quoted from Russkaja razgovornaja reč' 1983: 136 (quoted below as RRR), underlinings correspond to italics in the original). The same phenomenon is stated in Nabljudenija (75):

"U nee volos gustoj/pyšnyj//; (...) Nemec otstupil//; Jagoda nynče dorogaja// (...)".

In neither case are we told that the use of the edinstvennoe generalisujuščee is restricted. Thus we can say that this is a common feature.

Another agreement can be found with respect to the numerals. In razgovornaja reč' as well as in prostorečie the numerals are often used without being declined:

"Emu ne xvatilo pjat' rublej" (RRR 1983:95);

"k starym sem'sot turistskim maršrutam pribavilis' novye" (ibid.: footnote);

"Èto sorok vosem' nacional'nostej iz sto tridcati šesti//." (Nabljudenija:87 f.)

Jachnow (1980: 48) points out that there is a formal vocative in RR which is to be found only in RR: "Pap! Saš! Tan'!", but this form of vocative may occur in prostorečie as well.

Cf. the following passage:

"Ljub /govorju/ gde ž ja voz'mu-to na pensii ved'//" (quoted from: Morosova, T.S.: 1984: 160).

See also Šukšin:

"Zina. A Zin! - edva ostanovili krupnuju devušku, - davaj kaku-nibud' kaku vse znajut." (Pečki-lavočki 1984:220).

Above I quoted the various forms of the syntagm dom otdyxa in prostorečie. In razgovornaja reč' this syntagm is likewise often used as one word, i.e. only the second part is declined:

"Ja tol'ko iz dom otdyxa." (RRR 1983:96).

But in contrast to prostorečie, there is a difference :

"Ne vse slučai verbalizacii nominativnyx sočetańij odnosjatsja k literaturnoj RR. (...) K gorodskomu prostorečiju odnosjatsja formy im. i predl. p. slova domotdyx. - Èto vam bol'nica/ a ne domotdyx//; - Ne ljublju otdyxat' v domotdyxe//.(...)Takie formy ne vxodjat v literaturnyj razgovornyj jazyk."(ibid.).

Akin to this tendency is the use of den' roždenija - only roždenija is declined in RR:

"Zabyl o svoem den' rožden'i!" (ibid.).

In prostorečie, however, not only this verbalization, but also a change of gender can occur:

"Kogda tvoe den' rožden'e?" (ibid.: footnote).

A similar phenomenon can be noted in respect to pronouns standing after a preposition. After the preposition u the personal pronoun ona is used in the dative in RR:

"Ty u nej byl segodnja?" (ibid.:117).

In connection with other prepositions, e.g. ot or dlja, the genitive is used as in the standard language, whereas in prostorečie collocations like ot nej and dlja nej may occur, too. (ibid.)

Sometimes a linguistic item crosses the demarcation line between prostorečie and RR. Thus, čto is often realized in RR instead of počemu:

"Nu čto oni ne idut-to?" (RRR 1981:257).

Note the comment:

"V snižennoj RR, na granice ee s prostorečiem, aktivna forma čego vmesto čto - pričinnogo: Uznaj/ čego on ne zvonit//; Posmotri/ čego oni tam pritixli//." (ibid.).

But obviously it is not so easy to separate these phenomena from each other; occasionally one and the same person uses both forms. In RRR (1978:144 f.) a young man, "rabočij, student-zaočnik",<sup>4</sup> says in the course of a telephone conversation "Čego ty ne byl-to včera?" Later on he asks his friend if he may see him and gets a negative answer. Thereupon he asks: "Čto net?"

All these examples, to which others could be added, show that it is scarcely efficient to consider prostorečie and RR as two linguistic entities, each having its own system of norms. Rather, we are dealing with a continuum. The concept of a continuum offers the advantage that prostorečie and RR might be described as lying within that sector of the Russian language whose final points are the dialect on one side and the written standard language on the other. Both, prostorečie and RR, have in contrast to the dialect and to the written standard language a relatively flexible norm. In the previous examples I showed that there are congruencies as well as borderline cases. These borderline cases are sometimes indeterminate. On the other hand we see thresholds which cannot be passed over by educated people. This can be seen most strikingly in the following passage:

"Ni pod kakim vidom, do konca svoix dnejj ja ne mog by ni napisat', ni skazat' v razgovore: pal'ta, pal'tu ili pal'tom."<sup>5</sup> (K.J. Čukovskij; quoted by Filin 1981: 154)

As has already been mentioned, dialects have a



relatively rigid norm. This does not preclude variation between dialect and standard language, cf. Gorbačeva 1974, who has drawn attention to variation within a Soviet rural community. Within a dialect certain forms are predictable and others are excluded, i.e. we do not encounter variation on the scale which is normal in prostorečie. Where dialects have been heavily influenced by the standard language, so that the norm is no longer rigid we must conclude that the dialect no longer exists as such. This does not vitiate the concept of dialect. We shall now examine this further. In section 2 above I quoted some examples from a text from the 'Altajskaja oblast'. We saw that in the field of phonetics there is a high regularity - i.e. if a dialect-speaker in the 'Altajskaja oblast' realizes a šokan'e, he always does so. He neither alternates between [č] and [š] nor realizes other variants, e.g. cokan'e instead of šokan'e. In the field of morphology the use of forms seems to be clearly determined, too.

With the help of the texts published in Mel'ničenko 1985 I have made spot checks to find out about the endings of the 3rd person plural present tense of verbs. I chose three long texts, noted down in three different areas. Moreover, the criteria of choice were that:

1. many verbs in the third pers. pl. present tense occurred in the text,
2. the speakers were characterized as uneducated - either "negramotnyj" or "malogramotnyj".

The question was:

If in the dialect concerned a distinction was made between the e-conjugation and the i-conjugation - how consistently was this distinction realized?

The result is the following:

a) Murmanskaja oblast' (see Mel'ničenko 1985:15f.)

14 different verb lexemes in the third pers. pl. present tense, 21 occurrences altogether. Deviation within the repeatedly occurring verb lexemes: none. Deviation altogether: **one instance** ([ub'ežat] instead of /ubegut/). Cases which can

not be clearly identified: none.

b) Leningradskaja oblast' (see Mel'ničenko: 25 f.)

9 different verb lexemes in the third pers. pl. pres. tense, 11 occurrences altogether. Deviation within the repeatedly occurring verbs: none. Cases which cannot be clearly identified: one ([zav'ešat]= /zavešajut/ or /zavesjat/ ?

c) Gorno-altajskaja avtonomnaja oblast' (see Mel'ničenko: 105 f.)

7 different verb lexemes in the third pers. pl. pres. tense, 10 occurrences altogether. Deviations within the repeatedly occurring verbs: none. Deviation altogether: one instance ([kos'ut] instead of /kosjat/). Cases which cannot be clearly identified: none.

Thus, if the dialect concerned distinguishes the e-conjugation and the i-conjugation, the distinction is consistent.

Hitherto, we have regarded the phenomenon of prostorečie from a linguistic point of view. We saw that it is most useful to consider prostorečie with its relatively flexible norm as a section in a continuum. The concept of continuum may, however, render another valuable service: one may relate it to the social reality, too. As yet we have not had a look at the prostorečie-speakers themselves. In this respect Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja distinguish two groups:

- 1) "ljudi, ne javljajuščiesja gorožanami po roždeniju, no kotorye dolgoe vremja (30,40,50, a inogda i bol'se let, t.e. osnovuju čast' žizni) prožili v gorode."
- 2) "...gorožan(e) po roždeniju, ne imejušč(i)e obrazovanija i ne ovladevši(e) literaturnym jazykom (t.e. 'čisty(e) prostorečnik(i)')." (Nabljudenija: 68).

Concerning the use of dialect in the first group Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja state:

"...dialekt étot uže razrušen i v značitel'noj stepeni imi utračen." (ibid.)

According to these descriptions, the linguistic situations should be rather static. One may easily forget that especially in the Soviet Union streams of people have up to now come from the country-side into the towns. From 1940 up to 1985 the whole population of the Soviet Union grew by about 70 %, whereas the population in the towns increased by 285 % !<sup>6</sup> Obviously, this growth is largely due to migration from the country-side into the towns. Although we do not have figures concerning migration in the period 1940 - 1985, we can guess at the important role of migration from a table Prirost goročskogo naselenija, published in the Bol'saja sovetskaja enciklopedija (1977, t.24, kniga II: p.16): In the years 1927 - 1969 the factor of migration amounts to 57 % of the whole rate of increase (natural reproduction: 26%, incorporation of villages into towns: 17 %).

This information leads on to the following conclusions: There are not only people like those described by Zemskaia and Kitajgorodskaja. All along, there are people who are just arriving in town, who have just arrived, who came a long time ago, or, finally, whose parents came a long time ago. Thus Raecke mentioned at the IV<sup>th</sup> Slavistentag in Hamburg in 1986 that one can find native Muscovites using phonetic variants which originate from a dialect region and have been conserved over several generations. Zemskaia and Kitajgorodskaja also hint that some dialect features, especially those which are wide-spread in the whole country, are conserved. (cf. Nabljudenija: 90; and *ibid.* footnote). Balaxanova (1982: 109) does not speak of conservation "dialektnoe slovo možno perexodit' v prostorečie, t.e. utračivat' izoglossu."

This can be understood as a still ongoing process. To cut a long story short, there is not only a linguistic continuum but also a social one; probably, both continua correlate with each other, so that the "strength" of prostorečie varies with the social situation of the speaker.

## Notes

- 1) I regret being unable to incorporate the recent book: Zemskaja, E. A./Šmelev, D. N. (eds.): Raznovidnosti gorodskoj reči. Moskva 1988, as I received it too late to consider it for this article.
- 2) In using the expression "prostorečie-speaker" I am aware that it is a misleading one in so far as one can get the impression that prostorečie is a linguistic entity like English, French etc. However, I use this expression in order to avoid writing "speakers who use such and such non-standard forms."
- 3) A diasystem is a section in a hypersystem. And this latter is a language with all its variations. (see Freidhof 1979: 7-8). Freidhof takes the concept of diasystem and the notation from Weinreich.
- 4) A "rabočij, student-zaočnik" for the authors of RRR obviously does not rank as someone who speaks "snižennaja RR", because Zemskaja et al. recorded the speech of only those people who "ime(jut) obrazovanie vysšee ili srednee; pri étom my izučali preimuščestvenno reč' lic s vysšim obrazovaniem i studentov, a reč' lic so srednim obrazovaniem liš' v tom slučae, esli ix vysokaja kul'turnost', a takže 'rečevye tradicii' nam xorošo izvestny." (RRR 1978: 9). So we find sometimes the deviant form čego not only in "snižennaja RR" but in the speech of educated people, too.
- 5) In other languages such thresholds can likewise be found. Take for instance German:

ohnehin - sowieso / - wieso  
/in e.g.: "Du hast  
/ja wieso keine  
/Ahnung."

or

der Chef - der Chef von / - mein(em)  
 meines meinem Mann / Mann sein  
 Mannes / Chef

In combination with proper names on the demarcation line: Peter sein Chef; especially with proper names ending in -s, -z: Fritz sein Chef.

6) increase in population (in millions)

	total	urban	rural
1940	194,1	63,1	131,0
1985	276,3	180,2	96,1

quoted from: Ežegodnik bol'šoj sovetskoj enciklopedii 1985 M.1985

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Peter Hill

## The origin of standard colloquial speech<sup>1</sup>

1.0 It is interesting to note that there is, in English, no popular term for what linguists call *standard language*. Whereas in German expressions such as *Hochdeutsch* (in Switzerland: *Schriftdeutsch*) or in Russian *literaturnyj jazyk* are quite familiar to laymen, in the English-speaking countries we have only such vague terms as "good English", which involve value judgments. In his introductory text-book *Sociolinguistics*, Trudgill feels obliged to stress the following:

"Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations. The difference between standard and non-standard, it should be noted, has nothing in principle to do with differences between formal and colloquial language, or with concepts such as 'bad language'. Standard English has colloquial as well as formal variants, and standard English speakers swear as much as others. <It is worth pointing this out because many people appear to believe that if someone uses slang expressions or informal turns of phrase this means that he is not speaking standard English.>" (Trudgill 1974 17)

In the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth countries common expressions for standard English are "the King's [Queen's] English", "BBC English", "Oxford English", but apart from being very vague they differ from the linguistic concept of *standard language* in referring mainly to pronunciation. The corresponding US expression is *network* (i.e. *neutral*) English, as used on radio and television (Peñalosa 90).

The English-speaking peoples lack a clear term for the phenomenon *standard language* because they are unaware of the problems involved in creating such an idiom. In many countries, the *questione della lingua* was a long-drawn-out and vexing one, whereas standard English developed organically with little conscious intervention and practically no conflict.

1.1 In German, standard language continues to be denoted by the expression

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<sup>1</sup> A German version of this article is appearing in *Slavistische Linguistik* 1987 (München 1988)



*Schriftsprache* in linguistic discourse alongside the recent import *Standard-sprache*. The Czech *spisovná čeština* is a calque on the German term.

In the GDR, the expression *Literatursprache* has now, under the influence of Russian *literaturnyj jazyk*, largely displaced *Schriftsprache* :

"Die Bezeichnung *Literatursprache* wurde mit der Rezeption sowjetischer Forschungsergebnisse Anfang der 60er Jahre von der Germanistik in der DDR übernommen".

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Traditionally in German *Literatursprache* referred to the language of *belles lettres*, cf. *Lexikon der germanistischen Linguistik* 1980 712.

In English, too, the expression *literary language* has gained ground in recent years, as witness the title of Schenker/ Stankiewicz 1980. Note also Tauli 1968 17:

"The prerequisite for normal, easy and efficient communication in a society is the possession of one common language. In the case of a nation it means that persons from different parts of the country cannot use their own local dialect but must use an interdialectal nation-wide common language, called *standard language* (...). The written form of the SL is called *literary language* (...) and the colloquial form *colloquial standard language* (...)".

1.2 The definition of *Literatursprache* (i.e. standard language) in the *KE* stresses conscious cultivation of the standard, the existence of both oral and written forms (1), its supraregional acceptance (2), its functional differentiation (3) and codification (4):

"Unter *Literatursprache* wird eine bewußt gestaltete, 'geformte' Existenzform der Sprache verstanden, die im Prozeß einer mehr oder weniger bewußten Auswahl aus dem Gesamtinventar sprachlicher Mittel entstanden ist und im Zusammenhang damit eine bestimmte Regelung aufweist. Die deutsche *Literatursprache* als gesellschaftlich bedeutendste sprachliche Existenzform der Gegenwart existiert (1) in mündlicher und schriftlicher Form, besitzt (2) überregionale Geltung, weist (3) als universelles polyfunktionales Kommunikationsmittel eine starke funktional-stilistische Differenzierung auf und besitzt (4) ein System mit einer spezifischen Struktur, das in entsprechenden Regelwerken kodifiziert ist".

Garvin and Mathiot, on the other hand, in their famous article (1956), list flexible stability (a category that we owe to Mathesius and the Prague School), intellectualization (related to stylistic differentiation), and certain purely sociological criteria: the unifying function, the separatist function, the prestige function, the frame-of-reference function, language loyalty, pride and awareness of the norm.

1.3 I should like to propose a clear terminological distinction between a *literary language* (LL, German *Schriftsprache*) and a *standard language* (SL), as in my article Hill 1982 (English version in this volume: *The Development of the Bulgarian Standard Language*). A *literary language* includes also early (pre-standard) stages in the development of a *standard language*. Whenever a

spoken language is committed to writing, there is some degree of cultivation ('bewußte Gestaltung', 'Formung' in the terminology of the KE as quoted above). The SL is the culmination of a long historical process (again cf. the definition in the KE), a language form possessing a functional style (FS) for all the areas of activity characteristic of a modern society.

"Standardni je jezik autonoman vld jezika, uvijek normiran i funkcionalno polivalentan, koji nastaje pošto se jedna etnička ili nacionalna formacija, uključivši se u internacionalnu civilizaciju, počne u njoj služiti svojim idiomom, koji je dotad funkcionirao samo za potrebe etničke civilizacije." (Brozović 1973. 32)

The SL is thus defined by its *omnivalence* (also called *polyvalence*), that is, the SL provides for every functional sphere an appropriate functional style<sup>2</sup>. One of these functional styles is the *colloquial standard* (cf. also Jedlička 1978 96-103).

2.0 While the heteromorphous terminology in linguistic and lay usage in the different European languages does, to a certain extent, reflect real differences in the linguistic situation in the different countries, I believe that there are also universal tendencies in the constitution of standard languages.

The expression *colloquial standard* (German *Standardumgangssprache*) corresponds to the Russian *razgovornaja reč'* (RR or RRR) or *razgovornyj jazyk*, as distinct from *prostorečie*, which can be best translated as *substandard*.

Other terms used in Russian are *obichodno-bytovaja reč' gorodskogo naselenija* ['everyday speech of the urban population', indeterminate colloquial, either *prostorečie* or *razgovornaja reč'* depending on the sociological characteristics of the people in question, cf. § 3.0 below] and *literaturnaja razgovornaja reč'* [colloquial standard speech] as distinct from *dalektnaja reč'* [dialect speech] (cf. also Erofeeva 1979).

2.1 In Germanic studies, *Umgangssprache* (*Ugs.*, on the history of the term cf. Bichel 1973 16) is often used loosely to denote any deviation from the norms of the written standard, as in the *Duden-Grammatik* of 1959, as Bichel points out (Bichel 159). This usage was not questioned in the new edition of

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<sup>2</sup> "(...) nezavisimo ot specifikli organizacii funkcional'noj sistemy togo ili inogo literaturnogo jazyka, polifunkcional'nost javljaetsja odnoj iz ego suščnostnyh primet, tipologičeski vydeljajuščej ego sredi pročih form suščestvovanija jazyka" (Guchman 1977 43). A dialect and a regional substandard may be stylistically differentiated, but only to a relatively modest extent, cf. Michel 1980, with a quotation from Jedlička 1978 (German edition 123, Cz. original 97-98).

1984. Baumgärtner 1959, on the other hand, equates *Umgangssprache* with substandard:

"'Ugs' wird hier allg. gesetzt als die Sprache der unteren Schichten, als die Verkehrssprache und namentlich die Haussprache ganz allgemein des Industriearbeiters, dessen usuelle Sprachhaltung der Bearbeiter über längere Zeit beobachten konnte" [Bichel 162].

Lewandowski III 1146-1147 equates *Umgangssprache* as "[d]ie (...) gesprochene Form der überregional gültigen Standardsprache" with Ru. *razgovornaja reč'*. He describes the *Umgangssprache* as "varying from region to region (*regional unterschiedlich*)", often a conglomerate of transitions between dialect and standard speech, for which there is a [somewhat pejorative] term *Halbmundart*, cf. Bichel 266ff.

2.2 Concluding his monograph, Bichel (1973 377) offers the following interpretations of *Umgangssprache*:

- Ugs 1 - language used in personal communication, one of the functional varieties of a language, including, e.g., dialect (cf. also Bichel 399)
- Ugs 2 - everyday language ("*alltägliche Sprache*")
- Ugs 3 - regional language ("*landschaftliche Sprache*")
- Ugs 4 - natural language ("*natürliche Sprache <im Gegensatz zur formalisierten Sprache>*")

Bichel further distinguishes (383) [A] *Ugs.* as a use or function of language from [B] *Ugs.* as a form or variety of language which is normally used in conversation (Bichel 383). A form of language can be used as *Umgangssprache*, i.e. in conversation, we could also say *in colloquial function*; thus, that form of the language used *colloquially* by speakers of the standard is the *colloquial standard*, while that form of the language used *colloquially* by speakers that do not know the standard is *substandard colloquial*.

The *Macquarie Dictionary* (Delbridge, A., et alii, McMahons Point [Sydney] 1981 376) records *colloquial* only as referring to a use of language, i.e. *colloquial [A]* above:

"appropriate to or characteristic of conversational speech or writing in which the speaker or writer is under no particular constraint to choose standard, formal, conservative, deferential, polite, or grammatically unchallengeable words, but feels free to choose words as appropriate from the informal, slang, vulgar, or taboo elements of the lexicon"

Here, clearly, Delbridge et alii are referring to the *colloquial register* of the standard language. Within dialects, too, there are probably formal and colloquial registers, though the degree of their differentiation is slight. Further, the stress in this dictionary definition on the lexicon is significant, as is the reference to speech or writing. Thus, not only a

spoken utterance but also a written text (such as a personal letter) can be colloquial.

2.3 One of the essential characteristics of *Umgangssprache* (i.e. *Umgangssprache [B]* above) on which all German authorities agree is its regional variation (*regional begrenzte[r] Geltungsbereich*, - KE 430). The same source stresses also that *Ugs.* has its own characteristic system ("*sie besitzt einen besonderen Systemcharakter*", *ibid.*)

There can be no doubt that all varieties of speech, and thus also colloquial speech, have norms and that listeners are aware of the differences between colloquial speech, codified standard<sup>3</sup> and dialect (Cf. Fleischer 1961 169, quoted by KE 431).

The KE (pp.431, 638) distinguishes 'higher' ('*gehoben*' or '*literatursprachenahe*') from the 'lower' ('*niedere* or '*dialektnahe*') *Ugs.* Both types of *Ugs.* are to be distinguished in turn from what the KE calls *Alltagsliteratursprache* (p.422), that is, colloquial standard, which is used "for casual communication in personal intercourse", but the KE notes that there are points of similarity between all these varieties due to their functional identity:

"Gleichzeitig ergeben sich auf Grund der gleichartigen Funktionen der gesprochenen Sprache eine Reihe von Berührungspunkten mit den regionalen Umgangssprachen [= *Ugs.*], so daß es zu vielen Verschiebungen in den Bereichen der gesprochenen Äußerungen kommt."

Finally the KE distinguishes between the colloquial standard (*Alltagsliteratursprache*) and the spoken (or read) form of the codified standard (*literatursprachliche Sprechsprache*), such as is used when the news is read on radio or television (in Russian *ustnaja realizacija kodificirovannogo literaturnogo jazyka* - Orlov 1981 121).

2.4. However, it should be noted that the colloquial standard has also expanded into areas previously reserved for the codified standard, such as radio and television. Radio and television programs are the domain of the journalistic style, but they are presented orally. Today they have many features of the colloquial standard. While news broadcasts are presented in the spoken form of the codified standard, interviews and popular scientific programs make increasing use of the colloquial standard.

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<sup>3</sup> The expression *codified standard* corresponds to Zemska's *kodificirovannyj literaturnyj jazyk (KLJa)*, which is not entirely felicitous, as the colloquial standard can also be codified (e.g. in orthoepic guides such as R.I. Avanesov's *Russkoe literaturnoe proiznošenie*). Zemska now prefers the term *knižnyj* ('bookish') *literaturnyj jazyk* (personal communication); in English we render this as *written standard* (even though the colloquial standard can also be written).

2.5 Orlov (1981 125) talks of the 'intellectualization of everyday communication' (*intellektualizacija sfery povsednevno-bytovogo obščeniija*), as a result of which the colloquial standard develops a functional style corresponding to each of the functional styles of the codified or written standard language (CSL/WSL):

"sovremennaja RR, vidimo, ne možet ograničivat'sja ramkami tak nazываемogo bytovogo obščeniija. Možno predpoložit', čto ona bolee ili menee 'dubliruet' kodificirovannye formy jazyka v osnovnyh sferah dejatel'nosti <kommunikacii> za isključeniem sfery chudožestvennoj literatury, gde eti problemy rešajutsja inaçe".

For Bulgarian standard colloquial speech (*knižovno-razgovoren stil*), Venče Popova offered the following classification in a lecture given in Hamburg on 8th December 1982: *bitov* [everyday speech], *administrativno-praven* [colloquial speech in the administrative sector] and *naučen* [colloquial scholarly, as used in informal discussion on scholarly subjects] (cf. Golovin's classification in § 3.2 below, and also footnote 4 below).

It is clear that the colloquial standard is stylistically differentiated and to this extent tends to assume an autonomous position in relation to the codified standard language. We can summarize this in the following diagram:

	scholarly style	
WSL	administrative style	everyday speech
	publicist style	scholarly colloquial
	colloquial standard	administrative coll.
		publicist colloquial

3.0 Our topic is the colloquial standard as used in *everyday speech*, defined as that form of the standard language used in personal, spontaneous conversation (cf. Zimmermann [LGL 1980 380]). Referring to the situation in Russia, Zemskaja (1973 9) specifies the following circumstances as defining colloquial speech:

- (1) spontaneity ("*nepodgotovlennost'*")
- (2) casual circumstances ("*neprinuždennost'*")
- (3) direct participation of the speakers ("*neposredstvennoe učastie*")

The colloquial standard ("*russskij razgovornyj jazyk*"<sup>4</sup>) is defined by

<sup>4</sup> Zemskaja does not classify the colloquial standard as a FS of the codified standard language but as an autonomous language (*razgovornyj jazyk*). Similarly, in Popova 1980, *knižovno-razgovornata reč* as an autonomous system with deviations from the codified standard (WSL) contrasts with *razgovornijat stil* of the codified standard (WSL). The Russian Academy Grammar of 1980 presents the traditional view that RRR is one of the two basic variants of the standard language (*Russkaja grammatika Moskva 1980 I 11*), cf. also

reference to the standard language. Zemskaja thus requires an instrument to define the group within society that can be considered to use the standard language. Her instrumentalized definition is made up of the following criteria:

- (1) the speaker's mother tongue is Russian
  - (2) the speaker was born and brought up in a city
  - (3) the speaker has completed at least secondary school<sup>9</sup>
- (Zemskaja 1973 7)

The colloquial standard is thus defined *sociologically*, in a second step it can be described on the basis of the material collected by sociological methods.

However, the sociological group made up by the speakers of the standard language is not homogeneous, and hence the colloquial standard is not homogeneous either. Bichel speaks (in LGL 382) of a continuum of groups ('*verflochtenes Gruppenkontinuum*'). The colloquial speech of each group has its own norm, even if these norms are not as rigid as those of the dialects, on the one hand, or of the written standard language, on the other (on rigid and flexible norms cf. Lehmann 1982 144 et seqq.)

Moreover, it is clear that the colloquial standard is characteristic of capital or principal cities. Thus, the speech of the intelligentsia in the Russian provincial city of Perm' demonstrates features that in Moscow or Leningrad would be classified as substandard (*prostorečie*, cf. Erofeeva), and the speech of educated people in the Bulgarian provincial town of Kjustendil displays clearly dialectal features unacceptable in the colloquial standard of the capital, Sofia (Umlenski 1979).

3.1 The Croatian linguist Brozović uses the term *govorni jezik* for colloquial standard and *razgovorni jezik* for substandard:

"govorni 'jezik' samo je jedan oblik standardnoga jezika, jedan način njegova ostvarivanja, ne poseban idiom, i od pisanoga oblika standardnoga jezika razlikuje se samo u tehnici toga ostvarivanja i ujedno u stilski različitu izboru *unutar* mogućnosti koju pruža *norma*. A razgovorni jezik poseban je idiom i kao cjelina je *izvan norme* (bez obzira na to što, kao smo vidjeli, većina njegovih sastojaka figurira također i u normi standardnoga jezika). (...) Pri tom treba imati u vidu da pod govornim oblikom standardnoga jezika mislimo samostalan stilski kompleks jezičnoga standarda, a ne mehaničku zvučnu reprodukciju pisanoga oblika (čitanje, naglas, i sl.). Takav *govoreni* oblik ima pak s govornim zajedničku tehniku i ortoepsku normu (glasovnu i prozodijsku), a s pisanim oblikom zajedničke stilove. Odnos s razgovornim idiomima identičan je kao kod pisanoga oblika" (Brozović 1973 58f.)

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Havránek 1963 66: '*Hovorová čeština je funkční vrstva spisovného jazyka*', but cf. also § 7.3 below.

<sup>9</sup> In practice Zemskaja's team limited themselves to those with tertiary education (ibd.)

The substandard (*razgovorni jezik*) may present a number of transition levels between the codified standard language and the *interdialect*:

"dva su razlikovna obilježja kojima identificiramo *razgovorni* [kolokvijalni<sup>6</sup>] *jezik* kao pojavu. To je, s jedne strane, [1] idiom koji svoje supstancijalne i strukturne elemente pozajmljuje od standardnoga jezika (redovno u novijem razvojnom obliku te iste jezične materije, s time da ponekad razlika može biti prilično velika, kao u slovenskom i češkom slučaju), i s druge strane, [2] *razgovorni jezik* prelazna pojava između standardnoga jezika i ukupnosti svih interdialekata što se govore u onoj zemlji ili pokrajini u kojoj živi pojedini tip *razgovornoga jezika*" (Brozovič 1973 36)

3.2 Golovin (1969. 343-355) presents an interesting classification along the lines 'standard/non-standard' and 'oral/written' (my diagram [PH]):

	<i>ustno</i>	<i>pis'menno</i>
<i>litteraturno</i>	razgovornaja reč'	pis'mennye still litteraturnogo jazyka
<i>nelitteraturno</i>	prostorečle dialekty	novgorodskle berestjanye gramoty <sup>7</sup>

Golovin differentiates further ('*varianty tret'ego porjadka*') according to *genre*, individual and social criteria, e.g. *razgovornaja reč'* of medical practitioners (my exemplification) (Golovin 349).

4.0 The KE stresses that the colloquial standard (there called *Alltagslitteratursprache*) differs from the substandard (*Umgangssprache*) in avoiding heavily regional features (KE 424):

"Eine Reihe der genannten sprachlichen Merkmale [features characteristic of spoken language, cf. § 5 below] sind kennzeichnend für alle Existenzformen und Sondersprachen, die in der mündlichen Kommunikation gebraucht werden. Die Alltagslitteratursprache unterscheidet sich jedoch von den landschaftlich geprägten Umgangssprachen und Mundarten dadurch, daß in ihr eng begrenzte regionale Züge in Aussprache und Lexik nur gelegentlich auftreten und daß ihre Abweichungen von der kodifizierten Norm einen relativ begrenzten Toleranzspielraum nicht überschreiten."

Colloquial standard and substandard influence one another The KE notes that the substandard in the GDR is coming closer to the written standard language. In Russian the normative dictionaries list many words as "*prosto-*

<sup>6</sup> 'Colloquial' here in the sense of 'substandard colloquial'!

<sup>7</sup> Today, a certain number of private letters undoubtedly belong in this category.

*rečno*" [substandard], indicating that they are acceptable for stylistic effect in the standard language (including the colloquial standard). On the other hand, morphological or phonological borrowings from the substandard such as *xočem, xočete, xočut* for *xotim, xotite, xotjat*, or *dokúment* for *dokumént*, are not acceptable in the standard language \*.

On the Croatian substandard (*razgovorni jezik*) Jonke writes:

"U kajkavskim krajevima [including Zagreb] on je prožet kajkavskim jezičnim elementima na štokavskoj podlozi u školovanih vrsta [= colloquial standard?] a u priprostoga puka [= substandard] on je potpuno kajkavski"  
(Jonke 1973 100).

Thus, the Croatian substandard varies from kajkavianized štokavian in educated speech to pure kajkavian in the speech of simple folk.

The next level below *razgovorni jezik* is what Brozović calls *interdialect*, a compromise form of the dialects spoken in the area. The interdialect is used by dialect speakers to communicate with speakers of different micro-dialects in the market place, on public transport etc.:

"oni kajkavci ili čakavci koji se u svojem običnom životu služe vlastitim pravim, organskim, 'čistim' mjesnim govorom, kada se na tržnici u Zagrebu nadju s istim takvim kajkavcima iz drugih sela, ili se nadju na brodu s istim takvim čakavcima s drugih otoka ili iz drugih naselja, neće govoriti ni svojim mjesnim govorom ni standardnim jezikom. (...) Za onaj idiom kojim se služe na tržnici, u prometlima ili na sajmovima seljaci u miješanu društvu, uzet ćemo kao znanstveni termin 'interdijalekt'"  
(Brozović 1973 34-35)

Brozović notes that standard and substandard have the same dialectal base, and this is one reason why the substandard, although sociolinguistically intermediate between standard and interdialect, is influenced more by the former than by the latter, the other reason being the hierarchically higher position of the standard:

"činjenica da razgovorni jezik pozajmljuje svoju osnovnu supstanciju i strukturu od standardnoga jezika uvjetovat će veću otvorenost prema onim interdijalektima što se temelje na mjesnim govorima bliskima dijalekatskoj osnovici standarda (...) razgovorni [je] jezik načelno otvoren i prema interdijalektima i prema standardnomu jeziku, (...) Ipak je standardni jezik važniji, i to ne samo zato što je razgovorni jezik sastavljen od njegovih elemenata, dok interdijalektima daju gradju mjesni govori. (...) U

\* A study on the speech of educated people in the provincial town of Perm' (Erofeeva 1979) suggests that *RRR* - the colloquial standard - may be restricted to Moscow and Leningrad, since Erofeeva noted infringements of the phonological and morphological norms of the standard language, or, in other words, the Perm' intelligentsia uses a colloquial that would be classified as *substandard* (*prostorečie*) in Moscow and Leningrad.



pojedini zemljama s daleko uznapređovalom urbanom civilizacijom i s visoko razvijenom industrijom interdijalekti se već gube, zato što izumiru mjesni govori koji ih hrane (...) Ali za samu opstojnost razgovornoga jezika bitno je da kao svojega hijerarhijski višega partnera ima upravo standardni jezik, i to takav s kojim ima uglavnom zajedničku supstanciju i strukturu (...)" (Brozović 1973 36-37)

The classification presented above (§ 2.2) can be widened to include these further items:

written standard

colloquial standard

substandard, ranging from quasi-dialect ['Halbmundart'] to a form closer to the standard language, but with little functional differentiation) \*

interdialect

#### 5.0 What features are characteristic of the colloquial standard?

Phonetic contractions are probably a feature of all colloquial standards, e.g., English *I'd've* for *I would (should) have*, Russian [ʃ:'as], [t'ɪʃ:ə] for [s'ɪtʃ'as], [t'is'ɪtʃə], [xɾaf'ɔ] (Moscow)/[xɾf'ɔ] (Lenin-grad) for [xɾɐf'ɔ] (Derwing/Priestly 220, Zemskaja 1973 46, quoting Zirmunskij 1925; numerous examples with, apparently, the first attempt at a formalized (generative) description in Derwing/Priestly), German *ham* for *haben*, *ne* for *eine*, *gutn Firmn* for *guten Firmen*, 1st person singular present of verbs without final /e/: *ich hab*, *ich würd* (cf. KE 423) <sup>10</sup>. Derwing & Priestly refer to the Russian colloquial standard as *RR*, which does not, however, here stand for *razgovornaja reč'*, but for *rapid Russian* (Derwing /Priestly 158 et seq.)

In the German colloquial standard there is a tendency to replace the future tense by the present, and the present conjunctive by the imperfect conjunctive or present indicative.

In the area of syntax and pragmatics, all colloquial speech tends to avoid subordination and to make use of interjections while anacoluthia is common (but on this point cf. Baum 1987 34 et seq.), as are various topicalization strategies, such as *Ja, was ich noch sagen wollte...*, or beginning with the complement or predicate: *O, wie warm das ist, der See* (LGL 1980 380). Moreover, "entire sections of sentences may be omitted if

\* Substandard and dialect are restricted to the functional area of everyday conversation and therefore display little functional differentiation.

<sup>10</sup> Note that the form *hab* in Swabian substandard must be derived from the standard language, since the dialectal forms are [ho:], [han] or the like (cf. Mironov 1980 82). Similarly, *nimmer* is a form that occurs only in Swabian substandard, whereas the dialectal form is *nemne* (ibd.).

the interlocutor indicates by a nod or shake of the head or by a smile or the like that he has understood the message" (KE 423f).

In the German standard colloquial it is now acceptable to use main-clause word-order in certain subordinate clauses, as in *Ich hab es ihm nicht gesagt, weil [pause] er braucht es ja auch nicht zu wissen*, though this may also be anacoluthia.

Colloquial speech makes greater use than the written standard language of multi-purpose words such as *do, get, thing, whatnot, what-d'ye-m'-call-it* and of emotive elements.

The Belgrade colloquial standard displays the loss of accentual differences in accented vowels and of length in post-accentual syllables, as well as certain syntactic features such as *eno ga Mile* (statt *eno Míla* oder *Míleta* - Ivić 1965 744).

The Zagreb intelligentsia use such constructions as *žene po liječniku pregledane* (= *od liječnika*); *za* + Infinitiv (*za očekivati je da će urod pšenice biti dobar* - Brabec 1982 108, on TV, and also in the works of writers such as Ranko Marinković - Ivić 1965 746), which are not acceptable in the CSL. The impersonal use of passive constructions with *se* has been codified as standard by the *Priručna gramatika* though it is still not acceptable to purists : *Nju se ne pita* (*Priručna gramatika* 375-376).

A phonological feature of speech of the intelligentsia in Sofija is *ekane* (cf. § 7.1 below), bitterly opposed by the Andrejčin generation but now officially accepted in the colloquial standard, cf. *Pravopisni rečnik* 1983 10:

"S ogled obače na osobeno važnoto značenje na voprosa za taka narečenoto 'jakane' v belgarskija ezik v Pravopisnija rečnik e vključena specialna točka, po kojato beše postignato principno saglasie meždu povečeto členovete na poslednata pravopisna komisija. Spored тази točka *izgovoret* (not ne i *pravopiset*) s <e> vmesto s <ja> na dumite i formite, soderžašti promenljivo <ja>, se priznava sešto za knižoven."

In the area of syntax, the Sofija colloquial does not distinguish between the short and long forms of the article and makes use of postposed attributes in NPs with reduplication of the article, as in *Stjach da te udarja s jutljata toplata; Az chodich ta vzech kasetofona najnija* (Josifova 1985 17, 19, cf. also Pašov 1987).

The features of the Russian colloquial standard (*russkaja razgovornaja reč'* - RRR) have been dealt with in great detail by Zemskaja, Zemskaja/Kitajgorodskaja/Sirjaev 1981, Lapteva and Derwing & Priestly.

6.0 Typically, the colloquial standard is a secondary formation based on a literary language (in the sense specified above, § 1.3). The literary languages expands to encompass all language functions, initially the written

ones, while everyday speech continues in the interdialect or koiné on which the nascent standard is based. Finally, however, the literary language replaces the interdialect or koiné in everyday speech as well. Once the literary language has replaced the interdialect or koiné in the everyday speech of the intelligentsia, it is *omnivalent* and thus a *standard language*. The process by which the interdialect is replaced by a colloquial variety of the pre-standard literary language is a case of "Sprachwandel [Sprachwechsel (*language shift*)] von der (...) dialektalen Ugs zur Schriftsprache/Standardsprache (...), d.h. Übernahme der Schriftsprache/Standardsprache für den Funktionsbereich der Alltagskommunikation und damit Aufgabe der diglossartigen Verhältnisse, die entstanden waren, wenn eine volkssprachliche Schriftsprache unter Beibehaltung der dialektalen Ugs. übernommen wurde" (Lehmann 1982 150-151), that is, a change from interdialect to standard colloquial, through which the transitional diglossic situation (written standard vs. spoken interdialect) is abandoned (but cf. Czech, where this does not appear to have happened, because the written standard was not based on a living koiné or interdialect - § 7.2 below). Cf. Videnov (1979 36):

"S intelektualizacijata na života knižovno-razgovornijat ezik zavladjava vse poveče i poveče belgarskoto ezikovo obštstvo, razširjava svojata stilna sfera za smetka na dialektite i bitovo-razgovornija ezik [= substandard]".

In northern Germany, educated people continued to speak Low German long after they had gone over to writing High German, but finally they adopted the latter in everyday speech as well. This language change resulted in a number of colloquial formations, some of which are standard, while others are substandard.

7.0 "The colloquial language follows the written language" [*Ugs ist Sprache nach der Schrift*] write Becker/Bergmann 1969 in the KE 433, and add: "both in the sense that it develops later, and also in the sense that it takes the written language as its model", thus, in the *Umgangssprache* of Upper Saxony, which was standard colloquial in the nineteenth century but then became substandard: *rächen wärmer grichen* 'Regen werden wir kriegen'. In *dialect speech* we have only forms such as: *rän wärmer grain* (osterländisch), *rän warmer gring* (melbnisch), *rën warmer gring* (erzgebirgisch).

In the 16th century, the Bourgeoisie in Berlin and Magdeburg abandon Low German, the working classes abandon it by the beginning of the 18th century. Low German is not, however, replaced by standard German, but by an intermediate formation between local dialect, standard German and Upper Saxon *Umgangssprache* (the latter due to the economic and cultural influence exerted by the town of Leipzig, cf. KE 433-434).

As Gernentz (1980 80) points out, Northern Germans learned standard German as a foreign language and naturally tended to speak it as it was written.

Linguists of the Prague school, postulating the existence of a colloquial standard (*hovorový jazyk*) <sup>11</sup>, have stressed that it is derived from the written language:

"K zvláštnostem spisovného jazyka patří, že pro takové situace, na jaké se lidový jazyk téměř omezuje (to je oblast tzv. komunikativních projevů), vytváří si zvláštní formu, tzv. *hovorovou (konverzační)* [italics mine - PH]. Funkční hovorová forma je vyhrazena právě jen pro běžnou konverzační potřebu. *Jde však o modifikovaný spisovný jazyk* [italics mine - PH], nikoli tzv. jazyk obecný (obecnou češtinu), jež má povahu nářečního kolné (interdialektu). Spisovný jazyk je i s jazykem obecným v kontaktu, spojení zde obstarává hlavně hovorová forma spisovného jazyka. Z obecného jazyka do jazyka spisovného pronikají hlavně různé výrazy expresivní; bývají to dosti často různé hláskové modifikace slov běžných, ale v posunutém významu (*úřad - ouřad, rýpal - rejpal* atd.). (Horálek 1981 235-236)

and so does Lapteva:

"1. Na prvých etapách suščestvovanija mnogich literaturnych jazykov ponjatija pis'mennogo i literaturnogo jazyka sovpadajut (...).

2. *Ustnaja forma literaturnogo jazyka formiruetsja značitel'no pozdnee* [italics mine - PH]. Obyčno ona predstavljajet soboj rezul'tat vzaimodejstviya jazykovych osobennostej dialekta, k ktoromu prinadležit dannyj kul'turnyj centr, so specifičeski knižnymi čertami literaturno-pis'mennogo jazyka (...)." (Lapteva 1968 5)

as do Sirotnina (1969 374):

"Poskol'ku na rannix etapach literaturnyj jazyk imel liš' pis'mennuju formu vyraženiya, on ne mog ispol'zovat'sja v sfere neposredstvennogo obščeniya, gde funkcionirovali liš' territorial'nye raznovidnosti jazyka - dialekty. (...) Dialekty sochranilis' liš' v sel'skoj mestnosti, dlya gorodskogo naselenija tipičnee tak nazyvaemoe prostorečie, t.e. neliteraturnye formy reči, ne imejuščie territorial'noj zakreplennosti. Krome togo, formirovanie nacional'nogo jazyka privedo k postepennomu formirovaniju ustnoj formy literaturnogo jazyka i ego razgovornogo stilja."

and Erofeeva (1979 8):

"blagodarja rasšireniju funkcij literaturnogo jazyka, vznikajet osobaja ego raznovidnost' - razgovornaja".

Moreover, on the level of linguistic description, Derwing & Priestly consider, as one possibility, deriving *RR* from the codified standard (Derwing/Priestly 160, 175 et seqq.), though their final conclusion is that both should be derived from some more abstract form. But it is also

<sup>11</sup> Cf. § 7.3 below.

immediately apparent that it is simpler in the teaching of Russian to begin with the forms used in the codified standard and then to derive the colloquial forms from them.

Finally, E. Haugen notes:

"The permanence and power of writing is such that in some societies *the written standard has been influential in shaping new standards of speech* [my emphasis - PH]. This is not to say that writing has always brought them into being, but rather to say that new norms have arisen that are an amalgamation of speech and writing" (Haugen 1966 [1972 105-106]).

7.1 The influence of writing on speech is demonstrated by the well-known *spelling pronunciations*, such as [eit] *ate*, which is replacing or has replaced the older standard pronunciation [et], in Russian [x'od'et], which has replaced the old standard [x'od'ut]. Universal literacy in the Soviet Union has led to a new standard pronunciation oriented on writing. In the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the democratically conceived orthographic reform that followed the 9th September 1944 has a basic weakness: in word-final position, the phoneme /ə/ is represented by the grapheme <a>. Thus, the ending of the 1st person sg. of verbs is written <a> and the 3rd person pl. <at>. Compulsory universal schooling coupled with this basic weakness in the orthography has led to a change in the orthoepic norm among young people, who now pronounce such forms as /četa/, /četət/ as [čet'a], [čet'at] rather than the traditional and historically correct [čet'ə], [čet'ət] (cf. Videnov 1986 74) <sup>12</sup>.

The Bulgarian standard language combines East Bulgarian and West Bulgarian features. One of the East Bulgarian features is *jakane*, i.e., the pronunciation of the reflex of Old Bulgarian *jat'* in certain contexts as [ja], e.g. in the lexeme *chljab* 'bread'. The colloquial standard speech of the capital, Sofija, has created a hybrid form *chleb*. Note that this is not a lexeme borrowed from a dialect, because such a form does not occur in the dialects. The West Bulgarian dialect lexeme is *leb*.

Similarly, in Zagreb, focal point of the Croatian standard. The Croatian standard is based on neoštokavian dialects of the East Hercegovinian (ijekavian) type, while Zagreb is on kajkavian-ekavian territory. The ijekavian, standard Croatian form of the adjective 'beautiful' is *lijep*,

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<sup>12</sup> Andrejčin (1974 14) sees this not as an influence of the orthographic reform, but rather as dialectal interference. Since the phenomenon is characteristic of young people, Andrejčin's explanation seems unlikely, and one cannot but suspect that he felt defensive about the orthographic reform introduced after 9th September 1944.

*ljěpa*. The Zagreb intelligentsia <sup>13</sup> never completely mastered these forms, but pronounces them [ljěp], [ljěpa]. Note, again, that these are not autochthonous, but secondary hybrid forms, for the Zagreb substandard, a kajkavian interdialect, uses the ekavian forms *lep*, *lepa* (cf. *Priručna gramatika* 1979 473; Brozovič 1973 65; Magner 1971).

Hypercorrect forms, whether they occur as variants in colloquial speech or have replaced older standard forms, demonstrate that the colloquial standard derives from the codified standard. An example is the Bulgarian hyperjakavlanism in *goljami* 'large', plural of *goljam*, where the codified standard prescribes *golemi* (with the standard vowel change *ja* > *e* before a front vowel (cf. Videnov 1986 34-35).

7.2 In the German-speaking territories there are standard and substandard colloquial varieties. In Hamburg we can distinguish the following varieties of German:

- 1.- written styles of the standard language (codified s t a n d a r d language)
- 2.- colloquial standard
- 3.- *Missingsch* (substandard)

2. & 3. are clearly derived from the standard language. A fourth type of speech, *Hamburger Platt*, is a variety of another language, Low German.

*Missingsch* developed after the people of Hamburg abandoned their autochthonous *Platt* in favour of so-called High German, *Meißnisch*, from Meissen. Käthe Scheel disputes that *Missingsch* is an autonomous variety, it being entirely dependent on standard German, though she admits that there is a category of people in Hamburg that cannot speak anything else (Scheel 381), which, as Bichel points out, indicates that it must be a system of its own.

7.3 Diglossia, where the 'high' variety is used for the written functions and the 'low' variety in conversation, naturally precludes the existence of a colloquial standard (cf. § 6 above). Thus, in Switzerland, the everyday speech of the intelligentsia is conducted in *Schwyzertütsch*, while standard German is used for written functions (but cf. Ris, Zimmer). The situation in the southern parts of the Federal Republic of Germany is similar though not so clear-cut.

In the Czech-speaking territories, the interdialectal *kojnë* used before the national revival of the nineteenth century, *obecná čeština* ('common Czech'), has not been replaced by the literary language (*spisovná čeština*) in everyday speech, as in the model presented above, but continues to be

<sup>13</sup> Sojat (1981) considers the speech of the Zagreb intelligentsia as a form of Zagreb Stokavian.

used in this function by educated people. There is no standard colloquial (*hovorová čeština*) distinct from the substandard (*obecná čeština*). In sociological terms, *obecná čeština* functions as *hovorová čeština*, but it seems clear that there is no *hovorová čeština* as a variety of *spisovná čeština* (cf. the article by Milka Vagadayová in this volume).

8. The following model can be considered the paradigm for the development of European standard languages. First, texts are written in the vernacular and in the course of time this lays the foundation for a stylistically differentiated written standard language (Hill 1982, English version in this volume "The Development of the Bulgarian Standard Language"), which replaces other languages in use in these functional domains earlier (in Lehmann's terminology *Lehnsprachen*, borrowed languages, - e.g. Church Slavonic among the Orthodox Slavs or Latin or German among the Catholics), while dialectal or interdialectal forms of the language continue to be used in everyday conversation. Once the new standard has taken over in all written styles, a language shift takes place: the intelligentsia begin to *speak* the *written standard*, which leads inevitably to the creation of the last functional style, the *colloquial standard*, completing the development of the *standard language*. The interdialectal forms of the language do not necessarily die out but generally continue to exist as the speech of the uneducated, the *substandard* (e.g. the Russian *prostorečie*).

In the course of time the colloquial standard can become itself further differentiated, with a "cultivated" form retaining the rôle of the colloquial standard, while "lower" forms separate out as further forms of the substandard (e.g. the various German regional *Umgangssprachen*).

#### A b b r e v i a t i o n s

- CSL codified standard language, the written functional styles of the standard language (WSL)  
 FS functional style (cf. 1.3 above)  
 LL literary language, including pre-standard varieties (cf. § 1.3 above)  
 RR, RRR *razgovornaja reč'*, *ruskaja razgovornaja reč'* - (Russian) standard colloquial; cf. also § 5 above  
 SL standard language  
 WSL written standard language, equivalent to CSL

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Peter Hill

## The development of the Bulgarian standard language\*

0.0 One of the forms of existence of the modern Bulgarian ethnolect<sup>1</sup> is the Bulgarian standard language.

1.1 I distinguish a *literary language* from a *standard language* (the Bulgarian *knižoven ezik* covers both).

Any written text based on a supraregional norm can be considered a document in a literary language. The classical Slavonic literary language is Old Church Slavonic (OCS). OCS, and even the later phenomena grouped together under the heading of *Church Slavonic* (CS), were restricted more or less exclusively to the ecclesiastical sphere and were thus not multivalent (polyvalent). The most we can say is that CS showed signs of developing other *functional styles* (cf. Boeck/Fleckenstein/Freydank 19 and Picchio 1980, esp. pp. 5 et seq. and 21 et seq.).

1.2 I define a *standard language* as one that serves all spheres of human society and has developed for each of them a special *functional style*. To quote Baltova (1980.4):

"Formiraneto na funkcionalnite stilove v novo-bŭlgarskija ezik e proces, kojto se namira v nedelimo edinstvo s procesa na izgraždane i utvŭrždavane na knižovnija ezik prez perioda na Bŭlgarskoto vŭzraždane i se osušttestvjava paralelno s nego"

Rozental'/Telenkova distinguish five functional styles for the spheres of administration, scholarship, journalism, everyday speech and literature (*delovoj, naučnyj, publicističeskij, razgovornyj, belletrističeskij stili*, p. 471-477; cf. Videnov 1979, 65-70).

2.1 The first documents of modern literary Bulgarian can be considered to be the *damaskini* of the 17th and following centuries, works establishing a vernacular form of

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\* 1st World Congress of Bulgarian Studies, Sofia, 1981. (Expanded)

<sup>1</sup> i.e., a national language including standard form and all dialects (in Hill 1977 and 1978 "glottolect").

Bulgarian in the sphere of *belles lettres*, as distinct from the classical literary language, CS, in other written documents. B. Conev dates the beginning of the history of the modern Bulgarian language from the *damaskini* (cf. APP 8).

The supraregional character of the language of the *damaskini* is, however, disputed. Whereas Petkanova-Toteva sees in practically all of them "dialektni osobenosti na različni bŭlgarski kraišta" (1965.221), Žerev categorically denies any *naddialektnost* (1979.277). APP write:

"Ezikŭt na damaskinite prez XVII-XVIII vek e služil za sŭzdavane na spomogatelno reliгиозno-poučitelno četivo za narodnite masi, koito ne sa moželi da razbirat oficialnija čerkovno-slavjanski ezik. Po-pravilno bi bilo načaloto na knižovnija ezik da se tŭrsi v proizvedenija, koito igrajat samostojatelna rolja i započvat da utvŭrždavat narodnija ezik kato osnovno ili glavno, a ne stranično izrazno sredstvo v knižninata" (p. 9)

2.2 Paisij Childendarski's *Istorija slavĕnobolgarskaja* ushers in a new stage in the history of the modern Bulgarian standard language. (Most scholars follow Andrejčin in placing it at the beginning of this development.)

The *Istorija slavĕnobolgarskaja* was the first attempt to write a scholarly work in the vernacular, - an attempt that was not very successful : Paisij jumps backwards and forwards between vernacular and CS forms. Paisij's dilemma was that he wanted to write in the vernacular but that this did not offer him an appropriate functional style.

2.3 A. Teodorov-Balan saw Petŭr Beron's "Fish-Primer" (*Riben bukvar*) as the beginning of the Bulgarian standard language. In this *Bukvar s različni poučenija* (1824) we have for the first time a document of a modern Bulgarian literary language based on an East Bulgarian koiné with relatively stable norms.

The *Fish Primer* contains an elementary grammar, proverbs, fables, fairy-tales, prayers and elementary natural science. The language is uniform, there is, obviously, no stylistic differentiation.

This stylistic differentiation is to a great extent the work of P.R. Slavejkov and Iv. Vazov (cf. APP 13). Perniška (1975.164) draws attention to the rôle of the press and the first books of a scholarly nature for a wider readership.

2.4 The rôle of literature in the development of the modern Bulgarian standard language goes far beyond the confines of the so-called belletristic functional style. Perniška demonstrates this (op. cit.) by following the development of synonyms in Ivan Vazov's prose. A lexeme such as *dŕžava*, for example, is used both in narration and dialogue and can thus be classified as neutral, whereas *gospodarstvo* occurs only in historical or philosophical contexts and *carština* is characteristic of the speech of "geroi ot prostoljudieto" - these two lexemes are thus stylistically marked (165 et seqq.). Again *delo* and *proces*, learned borrowings, show a tendency to develop into legal terms, as opposed to the neutral *sŭdba*. Borrowings from French and Russian, which in the mid-nineteenth century still have a learned flavour, develop into neutral expressions in Vazov's works, whereas popular words including borrowings from Turkish become marked as colloquial, e.g. *otečestvo*, *rodina* vs. *tatkovina*, *nedostatŭk* vs. *kusur*. In the case of *ploštad* vs. *megdan* Vazov is loath to follow this pattern (p.175). Slavonicisms and Russianisms that had been neutral in the middle of the nineteenth century often acquire a marking as bookish in Vazov's works, e.g. *vinograd* (for *loze*), *chudožestvo* (for *zanajat*, *profesija*).

2.5 We can thus say that the synonymic series characteristic of modern standard Bulgarian were formed by the end of the nineteenth century. To quote E. Georgieva (1980.21 et seq.):

"Naj-charakternijat beleg na vseki knižoven ezik e naličieto na normativna sistema. Za izgraden knižoven ezik može da se govori togava, kogato тази система e ustanovena, unificirana i stabilizirana pone v osnovnite linii. S oqled na tova za izgraden bŭlgarski knižoven ezik ne može da se govori predi kraja na XIX vek"

3.0 Of great significance for the development of the standard language was the foundation in 1879 of a national state in which Bulgarian functioned in all spheres of life. Codification now acquired the status of law, all the written functional styles were in official use and a spoken one, the colloquial, derived from them, came into being (cf. Lilov 1980.35).

I should like now to trace the history of the various functional styles in Bulgarian and thus its development from a literary to a standard language.

3.1 Pürvev (1964.365) sees Neofit Rilski, editor of the Bulgarian translation of the *ḡat-i-šerif* of 1841, as the father of the administrative style. In this document we find a Bulgarian (in most cases Church Slavonic) legal and political terminology: *upravlenie* for *zabitlik*; *poddanici*; *kondika* (of Greek origin, for *kütük*); *provincii* for *kazalar*; *položenie*; *osuždenie*; *danük*; *zakon*; etc. Nikolaev (1979. 67-80) has also drawn attention to the many set phrases that have become part of the administrative style: *osuždavat' se na smert'*, *soveršava se nakazanieto*. Nikolaev calculated that 22% of the terms from the translation are still in use today.

The development continued in the constitution of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee (BRCK) of 1890 (Geneva) and 1872 (Bucharest): Here too the terminology is predominantly Church Slavonic or Russian: *mestoprebivanie upravljava*, *delo*, *zakon*, *opis*, *ustav*, *voditel*, *žitel*, *sūglasie*, *učastie*, *dłużnost*, *pravitelstvo*, and typical turns of phrase such as *za ispułnenie na prednačertannata si cel*, *za nakazanie na prestūplenijata, kakto.., taka i...* (Pürvev 1979. 48-60).

The Constitution of the BRCK demonstrates most features of the present-day administrative style; however, a comparison with other constitutions of the time shows that a unified administrative style did not yet exist (Pürvev op.cit.). This could not be expected before there was a Bulgarian administration after Liberation.

3.2 The publicist style began to develop with Bulgarian journalism in the second half of the nineteenth century in such periodicals as *Ljuboslovie* (Smyrna, 1842-1846), *Carigradski vestnik* (Constantinople, 1848-1861), *Makedonija* (Constantinople, 1866-1872), *Dunavska zora* (Brăila, 1867-1870) and others.

This functional style drew some of its lexical resources from works of a scholarly nature, such as A.S. Kipilovski's *General History* (Buda 1836). This was a translation of a Russian work by Ivan Kajdanov, and not surprisingly contained a high proportion of Russian (often Church Slavonic) lexemes: *vlast*, *deržava*, *zakonodatelstvo*, *nezavisimost* and others entered standard Bulgarian in this way, as did many words of western (mainly Latin and Greek) origin, such as *revoljucija*, *reformacija*, *aristokratija*, *demokratija*.

Bulgarian political terminology was also influenced directly by western languages when periodicals published reports from newspapers in French, English, German or Italian, such as the *Courrier d'Orient*, the *Journal de Constantinople*, the *Berliner Korrespondenz* or the *Levant Herald* (cf. Popova 1979. 271).

The foundation of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in 1891 strengthened the Russian influence on the publicist style, as the party functionaries had either lived in Russia or attained their political education through Russian publications. Terms like *kapital*, *monopol*, *eksploatacija*, *klasa*, *rabotnik*, *solidarnost* found their way into Bulgarian through periodicals such as *Rabotničeski vestnik*, *Rabotničesko delo* or *Novo vreme*.

3.3 The scholarly style began with primers for the new secular schools - V. Aprilov founded the first secular school in Gabrovo in 1835 - and in works of a scholarly nature for the general public. It was in the scholarly style of the *Vŭzraždane* that the CS *nomina actionis* in *-ie* acquired their typical use as abstract nouns, while the popular ending *-e* came to be used to denote concrete actions (e.g. *proiznošenje* "pronunciation (as a category)" vs. *proiznasjane* "an act or way of pronouncing a particular

word"). Scholarly works of the *Vůzraždane* also abound in CS compounds: *zemleopistatel, pŭlnolunie, mnogonarodnost* (Baltova 1980. 42 et seq.).

In an article such as *Vodata, nejnoto značenie, snabdjavanie na gradovete s voda i plovdvskij vodoprovod* from the periodical *Nauka* of 1881 we find basically the present-day terminology: *tečenijata na vŭzducha, različieto na temperaturata, t.e., opredeleni mesta, gorešti pojasi, regioni (mesta), pojavlenieto na tŭj narečenite Monsun, Kakto ..., tŭj i ..., pričinja, odklonenie, napravlenie, sledovatelno, vladee postojanen veter* (APP 326). There are few points of difference from present-day usage, and some of these are of a basically orthographic nature, e.g. *gorn'e/doln'e tečenie*.

3.3.1. Medical literature was restricted to foreign languages until the 1880s (cf. Perniška 1980. 50-54). The first popular book on a medical subject was by Zachari Knjažeski: *Koren'a na pijanstvoto i kakva polza prinasja na onija, što pijat mnogo* (Smyrna 1842). Typical at this stage are the dialectal and Turkish expressions, which are not used in the medical terminology that became established at the turn of the century: here we find the international expressions of Latin or Greek origin. The popular expressions disappear or become part of the colloquial style that now develops: *eipánica* "smallpox" vs. *variola*, *kel* vs. *favus* "mange".

3.4 The final stage in the development of a standard language is the development of a colloquial standard (cf. my article "On the Origin of Standard Colloquial Speech" in this volume). Tracing the development of the colloquial standard is very difficult because this is primarily a spoken functional style and there are thus no direct records of it. We can only gather hints from plays of the time.

3.4.1 As Rusinov points out (1980 186 et seqq.), standardization of pronunciation was generally considered to be of subordinate importance and did not take place until after that of the written language. Hence it is only natural that certain orthoepic norms are probably due in part at least to the influence of the written language. An example

is the pronunciation of unstressed /e/, /o/ and /a/ without the strong reduction characteristic of the Eastern Bulgarian dialects (Cf. also APP 16).

3.4.2 APP 22 point out that the syntax of the contemporary Bulgarian standard language is that of the vernacular (*narodnata reč*). This is true in relation to its basic analytical character, but the complicated sentence patterns of the contemporary standard are far removed from the simple sentences of the vernacular. This phenomenon has been referred to as *intellectualization* (cf. Nicolova 1979). The contemporary colloquial standard reflects the syntactic patterns that are now established in all European standard languages. Cf. Andrejčin 1986 120-125, Popova 1963.

3.4.3 A colloquial standard could obviously develop only after the establishment of an urban intelligentsia that now used Bulgarian in their wider social contacts, rather than a foreign language such as Greek, which might have been usual earlier. The colloquial standard is clearly well established when strangers address one another in the 2nd person plural, when forms of address such as *gospodin/gospoža/gospožica* + surname replace Greek *kir* or popular terms like *baj* or *čičo* (cf. Hill 1976) or when "European" greetings like *Dobūr den!* or *Dobūr večer!* become established at the expense of popular ones like *Pomozi Bog!* or *Kakvo praviš?* The mores and the speech of the urban intelligentsia are reflected in Vazov's play *Tiran*, written in the mid-1980s (Neizdadeni proizvedenija 1968):

- Ljuba (vlazja zamorena). *Dobūr den, Sava! Izvini, če ti poprečich na zanjatijata.* (Rūkuvat se.) (Neizdadeni proizvedenija 1968 23)

The dialogues between members of the urban intelligentsia in Vazov's play, though they contain many expressions that are not used in the colloquial standard today (*Zdravstvuvaj! pūtjom*), reflect both the sentence patterns and the intellectual vocabulary characteristic of



all present-day European standard languages and are far removed from the simple sentences used in dialects:

- *Brat mi pravi edno bezrazsūdstvo: ako Beloduškovi poduši, šte poiska da si otmūsti i najmalkoto, koeto šte napravi, e da me izpūdi iz učilišteto.*  
(Neizdadeni proizvedenija 1968 24)
- *Ti šteše da me sūvetvaš onova, ot koeto sam njamaš sila de se odūržiš.*  
(ibid. 39)

Andrejčin (1986 124-125) specifically mentions the negation of parts of the sentence other than the predicate as a feature of standard syntax not found in the vernacular, as in:

- *Az ti kazvam, že te obiknach ne za tvojata služba i zaplata, a za tvoja česten, tvūrd karakter i blagorodno sūrce.*  
(Neizdadeni proizvedenija 1968 37)

Only the order of enclitics sometimes still reflects that in use in certain dialects rather than that of the present-day standard besides examples which accord with present-day standard usage (cf. Andrejčin 1986 125).

At the same time, this play contains dialogues by country folk which contrast sharply with the speech of the intelligentsia, even where they attempt to copy the latter. On the other hand, the lawyer Šejnovski is adept at adjusting his speech to that of his rustic clients:

Babičkata (vlazja). *Pomozi ti Bog, gospodine!*  
Šejnovski. *Dal Bog dobro, sednete!*  
1-j seljanin. *Gospodin Šejnovski, vaša milost, da proštavaš, i odeve dochodichme, ama te nemà... Nà, i tie christiene te čakacha.* (Posočva 2-ja seljanin i babičkata.)  
Šejnovski. *Ti čižo, otdeka si? Kakvo te nosi nasam?*  
(Neizdadeni proizvedenija 1968 27)

By contrast, Neofit Bozveli's *Ljubopitnoprostij razgovor* (1842) is an almost macaronic mixture of Church Slavonic and vernacular:

- *Ljubezni moi edinorodci, vaša čestnost ste izveste, kakvo vsjako nešto k svojstvenoto si se vpušta i sklonjava.*

- *Chele cha.. Ojleisa šte se konoštisvame. Zaštoto bolgarin sos bolgarin si ujdsvat. Ech, poobadi ni što ima, što nema tadeva? Kak se preminuvate? Aluš verišite kak sa? Memleketskite vi charčove i davaneta kak vürvjat, mirno li ste?*  
(Süčinenija 1968 41)

Dobri Vojnikov is considered to be the founder of modern Bulgarian theatre. Karavelov was the first of many critics to laud Vojnikov's satirical "realistic comedy" *Krivorazbranata civilizacija* of 1871 (cf. Bogdanov 1969 416), but we cannot discern here the beginning of the present-day colloquial standard. The more or less positive characters in the work speak something that may have been an urban interdialect, whereas the self-styled champions of "civilization" are caricatures who speak a mixture of the latter and French.

The dialogues in Vasic Drumev's *Ivanku* (1872), while no longer typical of dialect speech, nevertheless lack the precision and the flow of an established colloquial standard:

*Isak (poklanja se pak). Prosti mene starca, za deto imach dürzosta da preküsвам spokojното tečenie na svetlite ti misli... no, star süm, slavnij vojvodo, a ne možjach da predvarjü (...)*

*Ivanku (seriozno). Ti se uvličaš, starče. Zločestinata, v kojata ti izpadna po voljata Božija, pravi te da viždaš prevüzchodstvo tam, deto nema drugo, osven izpülnenie na dlüžnosta. Kakvo bi možjal da napravjü az bez voljata na carjat?*  
(APP 271 [orthography modified])

By the time Vazov wrote *Tiran*, the colloquial standard was established even to the point that the writer was able to use Russian or Church Slavonic forms such as *velikodušnejša* for stylistic effect:

- *Blagodarja, velikodušnejša gospožice Rotšild! Pozvoli mi samo lichvata sega da ti zaplatja desetokratno.*  
(Neizdadeni proizvedenija 1968 25).

4. Ivančev's orthography of 1899 did not, obviously, create the Bulgarian standard language but rather channelled its development. All languages are in constant development and hence it is not possible to say at what point the Bulgarian literary language attained the status of a standard. However, I believe I have shown that the functional styles were developed by the turn of the century and this is the defining characteristic of a standard language.

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**Gerhard Reutter**

**The language shift from Latin to Polish  
Die Ablösung des Latein durch das Polnische  
in schriftlich geprägten Funktionsbereichen**

**1. Einleitung**

Im vorliegenden Beitrag geht es um die Ablösung des Lateinischen durch das Polnische als Medium der Schriftkultur. Bei Einführung als Lehnsprache in Polen (ausgelöst durch die Christianisierung kurz vor der Jahrtausendwende) war das Lateinische ein bereits seit über einem Jahrtausend ausge-reiftes Sprachsystem. Dagegen stand das Polnische noch auf der Ebene verschiedener Dialekte, hatte noch keine Ausgleichs-sprache gebildet und verfügte noch nicht über ein angepas-sertes Schriftsystem. Die damalige schriftkundige Schicht be-stand überwiegend aus Geistlichen, die aufgrund ihres Amtes das Lateinische als Schriftsprache verwendeten. Ihnen stand damit auch ein internationales Kommunikationsmittel zur Verfügung, da Latein auch in vielen anderen europäischen, christianisierten Ländern Lehnsprache war.

Der Übergang von der lateinischen zur polnischen Sprache zog sich nicht nur über einen längeren Zeitraum hin, sondern nahm auch in jedem Anwendungs- bzw. Funktionsbereich einen unterschiedlichen Verlauf. Deshalb soll im folgenden der je-weilige Sprachwechselprozess in den einzelnen Funktionsbe-reichen betrachtet werden.<sup>1</sup> Der Funktionsbereich der Umgangssprache ist, wie bereits erwähnt, nicht Gegenstand der Be-trachtung, da in diesem Bereich stets die polnische Volks-sprache (gebietsweise bis heute in ihren dialektalen Varian-ten), abgesehen vom partiellen Gebrauch anderer Kontaktspra-chen (deutsch, tschechisch, französisch), gesprochen wurde.

Im kirchlichen Funktionsbereich wurde die lateinische Sprache zuerst eingeführt und hat hier ihre Bedeutung bis heute nicht gänzlich verloren. Dagegen gibt es andere Funk-tionsbereiche (Presse, Handel und Handwerk), in denen Latein niemals eine Rolle gespielt hat. In den Bereichen Recht und Verwaltung, Belletristik, Bildung und Wissenschaft war der

Sprachwechsel ein - nicht immer gleichförmiger - Prozess, der auch unterschiedlich gravierende Rückschritte beinhalten konnte.

## 2.1. Kirche

Mit der Heirat der tschechischen Prinzessin Dobrava im Jahre 966 nahm König Mieszko I. den christlichen Glauben an. Der christliche Glaube römischer Prägung institutionalisierte sich gut dreissig Jahre danach (999) durch die Gründung des Erzbistums Gnesen. Aus der quasi offiziellen Einführung und der späteren Institutionalisierung des christlichen Glaubens resultierte die Übernahme der lateinischen Sprache als Medium der Schriftkultur, da, wie man annehmen kann, das Polnische in schriftlicher Form kaum existierte, das Lateinische hingegen durch die Kirche kultiviert wurde.

Ausserhalb der Kirche nahm die Geistlichkeit lange Zeit Einfluss auf die Sprachsituation, da besonders im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit der überwiegende Teil der Schriftkundigen aus dieser gesellschaftlichen Schicht stammte. Das Schrifttum wurde zuerst hauptsächlich durch die Klöster und später durch die von Geistlichen gegründeten Bildungseinrichtungen vermittelt und tradiert. Der Einfluss der katholischen Kirche auf das Bildungssystem reichte bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert, als die Jesuitenschulen aufgelöst und das Bildungssystem staatlicher Kontrolle unterstellt wurde.<sup>2</sup>

Die Geistlichkeit konnte sich allerdings nicht nur des Lateinischen bedienen. Um alle Gläubigen erreichen zu können, wurden die lateinisch fixierten Predigten auf der Kanzel in polnischer Sprache verkündet. So entwickelte sich bereits im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert eine polnische Rhetorik.

Das älteste Literatur-Denkmal sind die Heilig-Kreuz-Predigten, welche aus dem 14. Jahrhundert stammen und in einer archaischen Form der polnischen Sprache geschrieben sind. Bis zum Erscheinen der ersten gedruckten Bibel in polnischer Sprache (1561, Übersetzung: Jan Leopolita) gab es neben religiöser Dichtung und Prosa auch Psalmen- und Evan-

gelienübersetzungen. Die vom Jesuiten Jakub Wujek angefertigte Bibelübersetzung, gedruckt 1599, wurde seit diesem Datum als Standardfassung in der katholischen Kirche verwendet. "Sie ist in ihrer Bedeutung sprachlich und theologisch für Polen das geworden, was Luthers Übersetzung für die Deutschen ist." (Górski 1980: 182 (in der dt. Zusammenfassung seines Beitrages)).

Für die "Herausbildung einer einheitlichen polnischen Sprachnorm" misst Szymczak (1980) u.a. der Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert einige Bedeutung bei, da sich Reformation wie auch Gegenreformation der polnischen Sprache bedienten, um eine möglichst grosse Zahl von Adressaten zu erreichen. Durch den aufkommenden Buchdruck konnten reformatorische Schriften eine weite Verbreitung finden. Herzog Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach ermöglichte den Lutheranern die Drucklegung von "zahlreichen Schriften" (vgl. Stasiewski 1960: 46). Durch Stanisław Hosius kam der Jesuitenorden zur Unterstützung der Gegenreformation nach Polen. Die Jesuiten waren sich bewusst, dass sie nur durch die Benutzung der polnischen Sprache ein entsprechendes Echo in der Bevölkerung finden würden. Zur Verbreitung der Ideen der Gegenreformation wurden von ihnen gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts überall in Polen Schulen gegründet. Die an diesen Schulen agierenden Jesuitentheater benutzten in ihren Aufführungen zuerst die polnische, nach dem Niedergang der Reformation die lateinische Sprache.

## 2.2. Wissenschaft und Bildung

Bildung war in Polen lange Zeit eine kirchliche Angelegenheit, da ein grosser Teil der Schriftkundigen zur Geistlichkeit gehörte. Möglichkeiten der höheren Bildung bestanden im späten Mittelalter an der Universität Krakau (gegr. 1364) und darüber hinaus nur im Ausland, wo Latein ebenfalls Wissenschaftssprache war. Während im 15. Jahrhundert "unter der wohlhabenden Bevölkerung (...) Schreibkenntnisse zur Mode" wurden, zeigte "der Adel (...) wenig Bildungsinteresse" (Urbańczyk 1980: 159). Lateinkenntnisse waren in der relativ



breiten Adelsschicht recht selten, und es gab in ihr auch Schreibunkundige, wie z.B. den Vater des Schriftstellers Mikołaj Rej (1505-1569).<sup>3</sup>

Besondere Bedeutung auf dem Gebiet der Bildung kam dem seit 1564 in Polen ansässigen Jesuiten-Orden zu. Im Zuge der Gegenreformation gründeten Jesuiten Ende des 16. und im 17. Jahrhundert überall in Polen Schulen und Internate, die mit Institutionen der niedergehenden Reformation (z.B. Akademie in Raków) konkurrierten und später das Bildungswesen beherrschten. Aufgrund der Übernahme des Bildungssystems durch die Jesuiten erstarkte der Gebrauch des Lateinischen wieder, denn in ihren Schulen legten die Jesuiten besonderen Wert auf den Lateinunterricht, während der Gebrauch der polnischen Sprache auf die Rhetoriklehre beschränkt wurde. In anderen Bereichen war der Gebrauch des Polnischen sogar mit Strafen belegt. Dagegen sorgten die Jesuitenschulen in Litauen und Ruthenien für die Verbreitung der polnischen Sprache, da auch dort polnische Rhetorik gelehrt wurde. Als Institution der höheren Bildung gründeten die Jesuiten in Wilna die Akademia Wilenska (1578) und in Lwów das Kolegium jezuicki (später Akademia Lwowska, 1661). Laut Urbańczyk (1930: 166) wurde es auch ausserhalb der Schule zur Gewohnheit, lateinisch zu sprechen, so dass das Aufkommen von Makkaronismen begünstigt wurde.

Die Aufführungen der Jesuitentheater, in denen hauptsächlich Schüler der Jesuitenschulen mitwirkten, waren bis zum Jahre 1650 in polnischer Sprache, quasi als Propagandainstrument der Gegenreformation, denn die Jesuiten waren sich bewusst, dass sie mit Aufführungen in polnischer Sprache weitere Bevölkerungskreise erreichen konnten. Seit Mitte des 17. bis Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts dominierte dann wieder die lateinische Sprache, die wiederum bis 1773 (Auflösung des Jesuitenordens durch den Papst) durch die polnische abgelöst wurde. In der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts erlitt die polnische Gesellschaft einen politischen und ökonomischen Verfall, der auch die Bildungseinrichtungen in Mitleidenschaft zog. Der Lehrplan der Jesuitenschulen be-

schränkte sich fast nur noch auf das Lateinische.

Erst im Jahre 1740 gab es neue Impulse im Bereich der Bildung. In Warschau gründete der Piaristen-Mönch Stanisław Konarski (1700-1773) das Collegium Nobilium, welches der Bildung reicher Adelssöhne dienen sollte und dessen Lehrplan neben Latein auch Naturwissenschaften, Geographie und Polnisch (!) umfasste. Die Reformen Konarski's wurden auch in weiteren Piaristen-Schulen verwirklicht und schließlich ab 1773 von der Kommission für nationale Bildung (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej) weiterentwickelt. Dieser Kommission unterstand das gesamte Bildungswesen, einschliesslich der Universitäten. Die Einrichtungen des aufgelösten Jesuitenordens (Schulen und Universitäten) wurden von der Kommission übernommen. Neue Lehrpläne, die den Naturwissenschaften breiteren Raum gaben, wurden erarbeitet, und eine neugegründete Gesellschaft befasste sich mit der Schaffung neuer Schulbücher in polnischer Sprache. Die polnische Sprache wurde Unterrichtssprache.

Bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt konnte man aber noch nicht von einem wissenschaftlichen Stil im heutigen Sinne in der polnischen Sprache sprechen. Die wissenschaftlichen Texte der Jahrhunderte 16 bis 18 zeigen Merkmale der normativ-didaktischen bzw. populärwissenschaftlichen Sprache.<sup>4</sup> Die damaligen wissenschaftlichen Werke hatten noch nicht den Charakter des Exakten, wiesen emotionale Merkmale auf und litten unter dem Fehlen einer einheitlichen Terminologie. Siekierska führt eine Vielzahl von "tautonymischen Varianten (tautonimiczne varianty)" aus verschiedenen Gebieten der Wissenschaft an. Eine polnische Terminologie für viele Bereiche der Wissenschaft wurde erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 18. Jahrhunderts von namhaften Wissenschaftlern der damaligen Zeit erarbeitet: von Marcin Poczobutt (1728-1810) für die Astronomie, von Stanisław Jundziłł (1761-1847) für die Botanik, von Jan Śniadecki (1756-1830) für die Mathematik und von seinem Bruder Jędrzej (1768-1838) für die Chemie. Onufry Kopczyński (1735-1817) verfasste eine Schulgrammatik der polnischen und lateinischen Sprache (Grammatyka języka pol-

skiego i Jacyńskiego dla szkół narodowych).

Die Arbeit der Komisja Edukacji Narodowej und die Schaffung einer polnischen Terminologie bedeuteten einen Umschwung zu Gunsten des Polnischen auf dem Sektor von Bildung und Wissenschaft.

Im Übrigen lässt eine statistische Auswertung der Angaben in Stankiewicz (1934) darauf schliessen, dass die lateinische Sprache im 18. Jahrhundert an Bedeutung verloren hat. Die Zahl der in polnisch verfassten grammatischen Werke stieg im 18. Jahrhundert sprunghaft an, während die Herausgabe polnisch-lateinischer Wörterbücher zurückging und andere Sprachen bevorzugt wurden.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.3. Belletristik

In der polnischen Literatur gab es sowohl Werke in lateinischer als auch in polnischer Sprache, da auch viele Schriftsteller, durch die erfahrene Bildung, bilingual waren. Einige Schriftsteller schrieben nur in Lateinisch, andere nur in Polnisch. Als dritten Schriftstellertypus gab es noch jene, die ihre Werke in beiden Sprachen verfassten.<sup>6</sup> Bis zum 16. Jahrhundert dominierte das Lateinische in der Literatur Polens.

Aus dem 15. Jahrhundert sind neben religiöser Prosa vor allem Versdichtungen, Gedichte, religiöse Lieder, Legenden in Versform, auch Liebesbriefe bekannt. Es bestanden Bemühungen, die polnische Ausdrucksweise der lateinischen Syntax anzupassen (Miłosz 1969:21).

Das 16. Jahrhundert wird allgemein als das "Goldene Zeitalter" der polnischen Literatur bezeichnet. Auf dem Gebiet der Literatur in lateinischer Sprache sind von Bedeutung die Lyriker Andrzej Krzycki (1482-1537), Jan Dantyszek (1485-1548) und Klemens Janicki (1516-1543), die ein hohes Mass an Bildung, u. a. auch an den Universitäten Bologna (Krzycki) und Padua (Janicki) erhielten. Besonders hervorzuheben sind auch die staatstheoretischen Schriften von Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503-1572). Bemerkenswert ist, dass er in seinem Werk "De Republica Emenda" u. a. fordert, dass Schulen vom

Staat kontrolliert werden sollen und der Unterricht nicht in Latein, sondern in Polnisch abgehalten werden soll.

Bedeutend für die weitere Entwicklung der polnischsprachigen Literatur war die Einführung des Buchdruckes in den siebziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts, durch den breitere Bevölkerungskreise erreicht werden konnten.<sup>7</sup> Wurden im 15. Jahrhundert nur lateinischsprachige Bücher verlegt, förderten die Buchdrucker im 16. Jahrhundert den vermehrten Gebrauch des Polnischen, indem sie u. a. von den populären mittelalterlichen Romanzen Übersetzungen und Adaptionen anfertigen liessen. Zur Normierung der polnischen Sprache im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert leisteten die Buchdrucker einen wertvollen Beitrag. Sie machten sich besonders um die Vereinheitlichung der polnischen Orthographie verdient, leisteten aber auch ihren Beitrag zur Vereinheitlichung der grammatischen Norm und zum Ausgleich zwischen den regionalen Dialekten.

Die polnische Sprache profitierte auch auf dem Gebiet der Literatur von der Forderung der Reformation nach vermehrtem Gebrauch der Volkssprache. Das erste in polnischer Sprache gedruckte Buch ("Raj Duszny", 1513) verfasste Biernat von Lublin (ca. 1465-1529). Er war auch der erste polnische Schriftsteller, welcher nur in Polnisch schrieb. 1530 erschien der deutsche "Eulenspiegel" in polnischer Sprache ("Sowiźrzał"). Das erste polnische universelle historische Werk wurde von Marcin Bielski (1495-1575) geschrieben. Dabei verfasste er einige Teile seiner "Kronika wszystkiego świata" (publiziert 1551) zuerst in Latein und übersetzte diese später. Mikołaj Rej (1505-1569) war der erste Schriftsteller, der aufgrund seiner Bildung nur in polnischer Sprache schrieb, während Biernat von Lublin zwar in Polnisch schrieb, aber auch Latein beherrschte. Das Besondere an Rej war, dass er für seine Werke häufig die Form des Dialoges wählte und dabei die alltägliche Sprache<sup>8</sup> wiedergab, wie z.B. in seiner "Krótka rozmowa między panem, wójtem i plebanem" aus dem Jahre 1543. Ein weiterer, für die polnischsprachige Literatur bedeutender Schriftsteller war Lukasz Górnicki, welcher eine Sprache von höherem Niveau verwendete als z.B. Rej. "He was the first to publish a work in an elegant, sophisti-

cated Polish prose, (...)” (Miłozs 1969: 56).

Im 16. Jahrhundert gab es auch eine Gruppe von bilingualen Schriftstellern, von denen Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584) der bekannteste und herausragendste war. Kochanowski schuf auch Gedichte, in denen er teilweise eine Sprachmischung aus Polnisch und Lateinisch verwendet (z.B. "Carmen Macaronicum").

Im 17. Jahrhundert gab es noch Schriftsteller, die perfekt Latein beherrschten und in dieser Sprache schrieben, wie z.B. Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595–1640). Szymon Starowolski (1588–1656) verfasste seine staatspolitischen Schriften zur Information des Auslandes in Latein und seine Publikationen für das Inland auf Polnisch. Die polnisch schreibenden Schriftsteller kamen im 17. Jahrhundert oft aus niedrigeren Schichten, wogegen die Schriftsteller früherer Zeiten meist über höhere Bildung verfügten, der Geistlichkeit oder dem Adel entstammten.

Auf dem Gebiet der Dichtung wurden zur damaligen Zeit lyrische, moralistische und satirische Gedichte verfasst, während auf dem Gebiet der Prosa das Schreiben von Tagebüchern, Memoiren und politischen Schriften aufkam. Ein typischer Vertreter seiner Zeit war Jan Chryzostom Pasek (1636–1701).

War das vorausgegangene 16. Jahrhundert das "Goldene Zeitalter", in dem die polnischsprachige Literatur einen Aufschwung erfahren hatte, so kam es im 17. Jahrhundert zu einem Rückschritt. Die Jesuiten bekamen u. a. auf dem Bildungssektor grossen Einfluss, die lateinische Sprache erstarbte wieder. Kennzeichnend für diese Epoche ist der "Makkaroni-Stil". "Whereas in the sixteenth century the Poles leaned upon Latin for lexical help und syntactic models, they now borrowed from it complete expressions, phrases, and even sentences and freely interspersed them in Polish texts." (Schenker 1980: 204). Ebenso wurden auch polnische Wörter mit lateinischen Endungen versehen oder vice versa.<sup>9</sup> Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts erfuhr die Sprache der Literatur eine grundlegende Änderung. Basierend auf dem französischen Klassizismus und der antiken Dichtung, ent-

stand ein klarer, präziser Stil. Im 17. Jahrhundert entstandene Makkaronismen wurden bekämpft. Die Übersetzung ausländischer Autoren (z.B. Richardson, Fielding) vermehrte sich.<sup>10</sup> Die Strömungen der Aufklärung und der Romantik beeinflussten auch polnische Schriftsteller. Nach dem sozialen und kulturellen Verfall in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts erlangte die polnische Literatur wieder einige Bedeutung und brachte neue, befähigte Schriftsteller, wie z.B. Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801), hervor. Bedeutende literarische Werke in lateinischer Sprache wurden nicht mehr geschaffen, weil das Polnische jetzt über ausreichende sprachliche Mittel verfügte, um Werke in den verschiedensten literarischen Gattungen zu schaffen. Ein Beweis für die Potenz des Polnischen jener Zeit sind u. a. die Übersetzungen ausländischer Autoren und der Verzicht auf Makkaronismen.

## 2.4. Recht und Verwaltung

### 2.4.1. Gesetze und Sejmbeschlüsse ("Konstytucye Seymu")

Seit Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts war Latein offizielle Staatssprache in Polen. Alle Gesetze und die "Konstytucye Seymu"<sup>11</sup> wurden in lateinischer Sprache abgefasst und veröffentlicht. Im 16. Jahrhundert drängte der Adel auf Mitwirkung an der Regierung und forderte, auch zwecks besserer Kontrolle, Sejmbeschlüsse und Sitzungsprotokolle in polnischer Sprache zu veröffentlichen, da er, wie bereits erwähnt, kaum über Lateinkenntnisse verfügte. Im Jahre 1543 wurde den Forderungen des Adels entsprochen.

Als lateinisches Relikt verblieb bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts die Bekanntgabe der Wahl eines neuen Königs:

- Denunciatio Regis Coronati
- Literae Juramenti Praestiti
- Confirmatio Generalis Jurium

Dieses Relikt stellte aber einen unbedeutenden Anteil der Sejmbeschlüsse dar und verblieb nicht aus Mangel an sprachlichen Mitteln, sondern als eine Art Tradition. Die Abfassung der Gesetze in polnischer Sprache erfolgte aufgrund von

Forderungen des Adels und ist ein Beispiel dafür, dass Sprachverwendung auch abhängig ist von gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnissen und dass soziale Schichten auf die Sprache Einfluss nehmen.

Vor der Einführung der polnischen Sprache in der Legislative existierten bereits seit Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts zwei Übersetzungen von Beschlüssen, die auf "individuelle Initiative eines Richters oder aus richterlichem Milieu" angefertigt wurden (Urbańczyk 1980: 162). Ebenso wurden schon einige juristische Bücher ins Polnische übersetzt.<sup>12</sup> 1531 erschien ein juristisches Wörterbuch von Jan Cervus Tucholczyk, und in den fünfziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts wurden auch ältere Sejmbeschlüsse sowie das Magdeburger Recht ins Polnische übersetzt.

#### 2.4.2. Gerichts- und Verwaltungssprache

In der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts entstand in Polen eine weitere zweisprachige Situation. Durch die Zuwanderung deutscher Siedler entstanden Städte deutschen Rechts mit einem grossen Anteil deutscher Bevölkerung. In diesen Städten war die Gerichts- und Verwaltungssprache deutsch. Obwohl der Polonisierungsprozess auf dem Gebiet der Umgangssprache Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts abgeschlossen war, wurden z. B. in Krakau bis zum Jahre 1600 die Stadtbücher in Deutsch geführt und Gerichtsverhandlungen in deutscher Sprache eröffnet.

In den Städten und Dörfern polnischen Rechts war dagegen Latein die Amtssprache, in der auch die Urkunden ausgefertigt wurden. In der mündlichen Praxis von Administration und Justiz wurde jedoch das Polnische angewendet, weil die Lateinkenntnisse seitens der Bevölkerung gering waren. Die Prozessakten der Gerichte wurden dagegen in lateinischer Sprache geführt. Seit 1543 wurden auf Erlass des Königs alle Aufzeichnungen, Vorladungen und Urteile in polnischer Sprache abgefasst. Der Polonisierungsprozess setzt auf diesem Gebiet aber schon früher ein. So wurde bei der Formulierung gerichtlicher Eidesformeln seit Anfang des 15. Jahr-

hunderts nicht mehr die lateinische, sondern die polnische Sprache verwendet.<sup>13</sup>

Als weiteres Beispiel für den Sprachwechsel in der Amts- und Verwaltungssprache soll hier kurz auf die Angaben, die M. T. Michalewska in ihrem Aufsatz (1983) über die Protokolle der Stadt Woźnik gemacht hat, eingegangen werden. Sie untersuchte die Protokolle der Jahre 1483-1686.

Bis in die dreissiger Jahre des 16. Jahrhunderts wurden die Protokolle in lateinischer und bis in die vierziger Jahre auch gelegentlich in "tschechisch-polnischer" oder "polnisch-tschechischer"<sup>14</sup> Sprache verfasst. Das erste in polnischer Sprache verfasste Protokoll datiert aus dem Jahre 1521. In der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts wurden die Protokolle nur noch in Polnisch abgefasst.

## 2.5. Handel und Handwerk

Dafür, dass in Handel und Handwerk jemals die lateinische Sprache Verwendung fand, konnten keine Anzeichen gefunden werden. Vielmehr kann man zu der Annahme kommen, dass im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert zum grossen Teil Deutsch, später Polnisch verwendet wurde. Handel und Handwerk waren bis zum 17. Jahrhundert überwiegend Sache der bürgerlichen Schichten, in denen durch deutsche Zuwanderer das Deutsche bis zum 16. Jahrhundert weit verbreitet war. Der polnische Adel zeigte kein Interesse an diesen Gewerbezweigen; zeitweilig waren ihm auch Tätigkeiten in diesem Wirtschaftsbereich gesetzlich verboten.

Als Dokument in polnischer Sprache aus dem Bereich des Handwerks existiert eine Kopie des Briefes der Breslauer Handwerkszunft an die Krakauer Handwerkszunft aus dem Jahre 1512.<sup>15</sup>

## 2.6. Presse und Publizistik

Die ersten Periodika in Polen waren durchweg in polnischer Sprache gedruckt. Als erstes Wochenblatt wurde 1661 der "Merkuriusz Polski" in Krakau herausgegeben; im selben Jahr stellte er allerdings sein Erscheinen wieder ein. Ab 1729



erschien in Warschau das Wochenblatt "Kuryer Polski", und in den Jahren 1792 bis 1798 gab es in Lwów die erste polnische Tageszeitung, den "Dziennik Patryotycznych Politików". Zwischen 1765 und ca. 1785 beeinflusste der "Monitor", ein Magazin, dem Londoner "Spectator" nachempfunden, die öffentliche Meinung. Er kann als ein moralistisches Periodikum und als das erste literarische Journal in Polen angesehen werden. Neben dem "Monitor" erschienen bis zur Auflösung Polens im Jahre 1795 rund 90 Periodika, "though many of the publications were shortlived" (Miłosz 1969: 162).

Der im 15. Jahrhundert eingeführte Buchdruck ermöglichte auch die Herstellung von Flugschriften, welche besonders im 16. Jahrhundert im Zuge von politischen und religiösen Auseinandersetzungen verfasst wurden. Die polemische Literatur übertraf in diesem Jahrhundert alle anderen literarischen Gattungen. Ein besonderer Vertreter der polemischen Literatur war Stanisław Orzechowski (1513-1566).

Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts waren in Polen sog. *Turcyki*, Flugschriften in Prosa- oder Versform, welche die Bedrohung durch die Ottomanen zum Inhalt hatten, verbreitet.

### 3. Fazit

Der Sprachwechsel in den schriftlich geprägten Funktionsbereichen von der lateinischen zur polnischen Sprache erstreckte sich von der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. Es war keineswegs ein homogener Prozess, sondern der Sprachwechsel und die damit einhergehende Herausbildung und Normierung der polnischen Schriftsprache erfolgte in den einzelnen Funktionsbereichen zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten und benötigte auch jeweils unterschiedliche Zeiträume.

Bereits im 16. Jahrhundert vollzog sich aufgrund sozialer Bedürfnisse und Forderungen der Wechsel im Bereich Recht und Verwaltung. In die verschiedenen Amtsgeschäfte war stets eine grosse Zahl von Menschen unterschiedlichster Bildung involviert, so dass die schriftliche Praxis sich sehr bald der mündlichen, in der vorzugsweise die polnische Sprache

zur Anwendung kam, anglich. Zum Tragen kam in diesem Bereich auch, dass die relativ breite, aber wenig gebildete Adelschicht vermehrte Kontrolle über die Staatsgeschäfte erlangen wollte und deshalb die Sejmsbeschlüsse in polnischer Sprache abgefasst wurden.

Im Bereich der Belletristik bestand lange Zeit ein Nebeneinander (unterschiedlicher Ausprägung) von Polnisch und Latein, bevor sich das Polnische Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts endgültig durchsetzte. Erfuhr hier die polnische Sprache im 16. Jahrhundert, befördert durch die Buchdrucker und die Reformation, einen Aufschwung, erlebte sie von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis in die erste Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, beeinflusst durch die Dominanz der Jesuiten auf dem Bildungssektor und den Niedergang der Städte im Zusammenhang mit sozialem und ökonomischem Verfall, Stagnation und Rückschritt. Erst in der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts erstarkte das Polnische wieder und konnte sich aufgrund der innovativen Kraft eines sich neuentwickelnden literarischen Stils der zuvor entstandenen Makkaronismen erwehren und sich endgültig durchsetzen.

Der letzte Bereich, in dem sich der Sprachwechsel vollzog, war der Bereich der Bildung und Wissenschaft. Auf dem Bildungssektor waren die Jesuiten, welche nach dem Sieg der Gegenreformation diesen beherrschten, für das lange Festhalten an der lateinischen Sprache verantwortlich. Die Wissenschaft litt unter dem zeitweiligen Verfall der Universitäten und dem Mangel an adäquater polnischer Terminologie. Im vorgenannten Bereich veranlasste die Komisja Edukacyj Narodowej durch administrative Massnahmen, Schaffung von polnischsprachigen Schulbüchern und die Beauftragung namhafter Wissenschaftler zur Erarbeitung einer polnischen wissenschaftlichen Terminologie den endgültigen Sprachwechsel.

Im Funktionsbereich Handel/Handwerk kam der lateinischen Sprache keine Bedeutung zu.

Ebenso wurde in der polnischen Presse niemals Latein verwendet, da sie erst im 18. Jahrhundert richtig entstand, als die polnische Sprache bereits weit entwickelt war. Zur Information und Beeinflussung der Öffentlichkeit erschienen

bereits im 16. Jahrhundert Flugschriften in polnischer Sprache.

Die Ergebnisse zusammenfassend, kann man feststellen, dass Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts der Sprachwechsel endgültig abgeschlossen war. Die polnische Sprache war sogar so weit entwickelt, dass sie durch die Teilungen Polens (1772, 1793, 1795) und den daraus folgenden Verlust der Eigenstaatlichkeit Polens nicht in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurde, sondern den Polen bis zum Wiedererstehen des polnischen Staates 1914 zur nationalen Identifikation dienen konnte.

Chronologische Übersicht zu Ereignissen, die für das Verhältnis zwischen Polnisch und Latein bedeutsam sind:

	Kirche	Belletristik	Wissenschaft	Recht	Presse
10. Jh	966 Christianisierung 999 Gründg. Erzbistum Gnesen				
11. Jh					
12. Jh		1112 älteste Chronik in Neulatein			
13. Jh					
14. Jh	Heilig-Kreuz-Predigten		1364 Gründg. Universität Krakau		
15. Jh			1470 Jakub Parkosz: Traktat o ortografii polskiej		
16. Jh	1561 erste polnisch gedruckte Bibelübersetzung	1513 "Raj Duszny"  1551 Kronika wszystkiego swiata		1543 erster Sejm-Beschluss i. poln. Sprache	
17. Jh					1661 Mercuriusz Polski
18. Jh		Mitte d. Jh präziser Stil	1773 Kom. Eduk. Narod.		

Anmerkungen

- <sup>1</sup> Diese Darstellungsweise wählte auch Keipert für seinen Aufsatz "Geschichte der russischen Literatursprache", vgl. Keipert 1984.
- <sup>2</sup> Vgl. Abschnitt 2.2. Wissenschaft und Bildung.
- <sup>3</sup> Vgl. Miłosz 1969: 57.
- <sup>4</sup> Termini: Klemensiewicz bzw. Skubalanka, zitiert bei Siekierska 1983: 211.
- <sup>5</sup> Grammatiken - Anzahl der Werke, aufgegliedert nach Sprachen, in denen diese verfasst sind

Jahr-hundert	total	poln.	lat.	dt.	franz.	russ.	poln.-dt.	poln.-lat.
15.	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
16.	14	3	11	-	-	-	-	-
17.	25	2	14	5	-	-	3	1
18.	19	12	-	5	1	1	-	-
1.H.19.	36	29	-	5	1	-	1	-

Wörterbücher - Anzahl der Werke und der dem Polnischen gegenübergestellten Sprachen

Jahr-hundert	total	mehrspr.	einspr.	lat.	dt.	franz.	russ.	andere*
15.	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
16.	9	7	-	9	8	2	-	3
17.	21	10	-	19	8	3	-	7
18.	22	6	-	11	11	8	-	1
1.H. 19.	36	10	2	6	15	9	12	2

\* ital., span., griech., tschech., lett., lit., südslav.

Nicht berücksichtigt wurden Neuauflagen und Nachdrucke einzelner Werke. Auflagezahlen lagen leider nicht vor.

- <sup>6</sup> Im 16. Jahrhundert schrieben z.B. Dantyszek und Krzycki nur lateinisch, Kochanowski benutzte sowohl Latein als auch Polnisch, Rej und Biernat von Lublin verfassten ihre Arbeiten nur in polnischer Sprache.
- <sup>7</sup> "Obliczenia przeprowadzone przez Piekarskiego wykazały, że wszystkie drukarnie w ówczesnej Polsce w XVI wieku wydrukowały trzy i pół miliona egzemplarzy książek." Szymbczak 1980: 149.
- <sup>8</sup> "Everyday talk", Miłosz 1969: 75.
- <sup>9</sup> Vgl. Miłosz 1969: 118.
- <sup>10</sup> Vgl. Miłosz 1969: 162f.
- <sup>11</sup> Sejm, heute Sejm = Parlament.
- <sup>12</sup> Vgl. Miłosz 1969: 21, 24.
- <sup>13</sup> Chrestomatia staropolska S.187ff.
- <sup>14</sup> D.h.Tschechisch mit Polonismen bzw. Polnisch mit Bohemismen.
- <sup>15</sup> S. Chrestomatia staropolska S.214ff.

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## English Summary

## THE LANGUAGE SHIFT FROM LATIN TO POLISH

Roman Catholicism was officially established in Poland when the see of Gniezno was founded in 999 under Mieszko I. The educated élite consisted mainly of the clergy, who used Latin for written purposes. However, a rhetoric was developed in Polish in the 14th and 15th centuries through sermons given in the vernacular on the basis of texts written in Latin, and Polish was used also for religious poetry and in translations from the Bible. The first Bible printed in Poland was Jan Leopolita's translation which appeared in 1561, but it was the Jesuit Jakub Wujek's text of 1599 that became established in Poland like Luther's in Germany (Górski 1980). The Reformation did a great deal to spread the use of Polish in education, and during the Counter-Reformation the Jesuits used the vernacular in their religious plays.

Education was long the preserve of the clergy. Latin was the language of the Jesuit schools set up during the Counter-Reformation and also dominated higher education, both at the University of Cracow (established 1364) and abroad. Few members of the nobility had a good knowledge of Latin.

The impetus for a scholarly style in Polish came from the *Collegium Nobilium* set up in 1740 by Stanisław Konarski to teach Polish and science besides Latin. The *Komisja edukacji narodowej*, established in 1773 after the abolition of the Jesuit order, carried on Konarski's reforms and adopted Polish as the language of education. The foundation of a scholarly style was laid towards the end of the 18th century by such writers as Marcin Poczobutt (astronomy), Stanisław Jundziłł (botany), Jan Sniadecki (mathematics) and his brother Jędrzej (chemistry). Onufry Kopczyński published a school grammar of Polish and Latin (*Grammatyka języka polskiego i łacińskiego dla szkół narodowych*).

Latin dominated Polish literature until the 16th century. After the introduction of printing at the end of the 15th century, publishers produced translations of popular medieval romances in Polish for a wider reading public. Biernat of Lublin (c. 1465-1529), author of the first book printed in Polish - *Raj Duszny* (1513) - , was the first to write only in Polish. The 16th century was the "Golden Age" of Polish literature, but in the 17th century the Jesuits regained their influence and Latin experienced a revival. The "Maccaronic" style mixed whole words and sentences in Latin and Polish.

In 1543 the nobility were successful in their demands that minutes and resolutions of the *Sejm* be published in Polish as well as Latin. The announcement of the election of the new king remained until the end of the 18th century as an insignificant relic of Latin as the language of the state.

In some Polish cities, such as Cracow, municipal and court records were kept and in German, while Latin played this role elsewhere, but the vernacular was used for dealing with the population, who had no knowledge of Latin, and in 1543 the King decreed that Polish was now to be used for all court records.

The language of the guilds was German or Polish. A relevant document is a 1512 letter in Polish from the Wrocław (Breslau) guild to that of Cracow (*Chrestomatia staropolska* 214 et seqq.). Polish was the language of newspapers from the start, the first weekly being *Merkuriusz Polski* in 1661. In 1729 the *Kuryer Polski* began to appear in Warsaw and from 1792-1798 the first Polish daily, *Dziennik Patryotycznych Politików*, in Lwów. The introduction of printing at the end of the 15th century led also to the spread of political pamphlets.

The shift from Latin to Polish took place at different times and at different rates in different spheres of writing. Thus, Polish took over in the courts and state administration in the 16th century, while in literature both languages co-existed for another 200 years. The area of learning was the last bastion to fall.



**Volkmar Lehmann**

**An essay on crosslinguistic phenomena  
in the development of  
Slavic standard languages**

**1. The Development of the Standard Language as a Result of  
the Development of Varieties**

The changes in variety that take place within an ethnolanguage during the development of a standard language (StL) are based fundamentally on language contact. In an essay on the role of language contact in the development of the Slavic StLs which appeared in 1982 I attempted to describe the general principles behind such changes.<sup>1</sup> Taking these principles as a point of departure, I will separate out from the continuum of the ethnolanguage those varieties<sup>2</sup> that are relevant for the formation of the Slavic StLs and develop the processes that are involved here.

The following synchronic varieties can be isolated from the diachronic continuum of Slavic ethnolanguages (the dates indicate the periods into which the idealized subdivisions fall for Russian):

	Written StL	StCollL	Sub- standard Coll	Dialects	20th Cent.
	Pre- standard LitL			Dialects	ca. 1750-1850
Borrowed LitL	LitKoine			Dialects	17th Cent.

The subdivisions and, hence, the languages along the horizontal (synchronic) axis in each epoch differ as follows in the range which they cover across the spectrum of functional domains during that particular epoch (see also the glossary at the end of this volume):

The StL encompasses both the written standard language and the standard colloquial language (StCollL). Substandard colloquial language(s)<sup>3</sup> and dialects form a substandard.

The prestandard literary language, in contrast to the StL, has no colloquial variety. The domain of everyday use during this epoch is covered by the dialects, including local dialects, interdialects, koines and other precursors of the substandard colloquial language. The prestandard literary language can serve different areas of literary culture ("literary language" and "literary culture" - "Schriftkultur" - are to be understood in the sense of "formed, cultivated in or by the process of writing texts"). Unlike the literary koine, the prestandard literary language does not compete with a borrowed literary language. It existed, e.g., in Poland since the second half of the eighteenth century<sup>4</sup>. Among the Czechs<sup>5</sup>, Serbs and Croats<sup>6</sup>, and Bulgarians<sup>7</sup> it arose in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In principle there is only one prestandard literary language in each case of StL development. It is, however, possible for several literary koines to coexist or supplant one another (see below)<sup>8</sup>. Fundamental for the development of the StL is the particular literary koine from which the prestandard literary language derived. In Russia, e.g., this was the Moscow koine of the seventeenth century, in Poland the literary koine of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which arose from a fusion between the Great Polish and the Little Polish dialects. Among the Serbs and Croats it was the Hercegovina folklore koine (see below) as codified by Vuk Karadžić in the first half of the nineteenth century, and among the Bulgarians an East Bulgarian koine from the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the Czechs, the literary koine of the sixteenth century forms the basis of the prestandard literary language developed in the nineteenth century (see below).

Literary koines exist side by side with borrowed languages. Borrowed languages are imported<sup>9</sup> literary languages which are used by speakers of the indigenous dialects, including interdialects and koines, in one or more domains. Borrowed literary languages may be part of the indigenous ethno-

language continuum (as Church Slavonic was in Russia<sup>10</sup>), or they may stand outside of it as was the case for Latin in Poland and German among the Czechs<sup>11</sup>. Borrowed languages may also coexist or supplant one another: at various times, the Serbs and Croats used (among others)<sup>12</sup> (Old) Church Slavonic, Russian Church Slavonic, Russian (prestandard literary language), Latin, Italian, Hungarian and German; the Czechs used Old Church Slavonic, Latin and German as borrowed literary languages.

Here it is reasonable to distinguish between language situations in which a borrowed literary language and a literary koine (or literary koinés) complement one another and those in which they are used parallel to one another in various domains. The distribution is complementary at least at given times and in given domains, i. e., there is a situation of 'diglossia'<sup>13</sup>, for instance, among the East Slavs, involving the use of Russian Church Slavonic and the East Slavic "non-literary language" ("neknižnyj jazyk" - Uspenskij), while "bilingualism", i. e., parallel use of the borrowed literary language and the dialects in the same domains, begins toward the end of the fourteenth century, according to Uspenskij<sup>14</sup>. Even before this time of 'bilingualism' there was no situation of diglossia in the stricter sense of the term proposed by Ferguson<sup>15</sup>, since his definition confines diglossia to the complementary existence of two languages, and the East Slavs used the East Slavic legal language as a third complementary language in addition to Church Slavonic and the dialects<sup>16</sup>. Uspenskij's "bilingualism" is a typical stage in the development from "diglossia" in his understanding to prestandard literary language.

A comparison of the division into varieties on the different synchronic levels in the diagram presented above shows that new varieties are added while others are abandoned, leading to a change in the total pattern. Each new language (variety) is the product of the contact between two other languages (varieties). One such language contact leading to the genesis of a new language (variety)

is, for example, the shift from the dialects to the literary language in the domain of everyday use. During the adoption of the literary language as a medium for everyday communication linguistic changes take place: the basic structure of the literary language (morphology, function words, etc.) is adopted, but the oral, spontaneous, situationally determined mode of communication and interference with the previously spoken dialect lead to a linguistic configuration which can justifiably be termed a new variety - the substandard colloquial language.

Language contacts are not the sole reason for the genesis of languages or varieties<sup>17</sup> and not every instance of such contact leads to the genesis of a language<sup>18</sup>. (Whether language contact leads to the genesis of a new language can be decided in individual cases by comparing the synchronic variety structure.) In any case, the genesis of languages and varieties from language contact is the essential precondition<sup>19</sup> for the formation of the Slavic standard languages. The coming into being of the StL can be described as the genesis of its two basic varieties - the written standard language and the standard colloquial language. The 'parent languages' of these varieties are themselves products of language contact which typically takes the following form (viewed retrospectively from the most recent stage):

1. Genesis of the StCollL from oral use of the prestandard literary language in the domain of everyday use. (A product of the contact between the prestandard literary language and dialects.)

2. Genesis of the prestandard literary language from the use of the literary koine in all domains of literary culture. (A product of the contact between the literary koine and the borrowed language.)

3. Genesis of the literary koine from the leveling (Ausgleich) of differences between dialects (a product of the contact between dialects).

The second stage presupposes the adoption of a foreign literary language as a borrowed language.

## 2. Language Mixtures in the Course of the Formation of the Standard Language

The description of the central processes in the development of StLs must include, besides the characterization of their "filiation", i. e., of the languages involved in the contact and the contact product, a description of the contact process with a characterization of the mixture of language elements that arises through interference and transfer.

The mixture that results from the "carry-over" of elements from a first language to a second language has already been mentioned. In the case of the StCollLs, the elements carried over from the dialects form dialect substrata. These substrata vary from region to region in the German or Serbo-Croatian StCollL. The different regional substrata are then the basis for the identification of regional varieties of the StCollL<sup>20</sup>. In this case, the genesis of the StCollL is to be seen in the genesis of its varieties. The process of shift from dialects to StL is still going on in the Slavic and non-Slavic countries of Europe, and the dialect substrata are still very much alive. In the Serbo-Croatian speaking area this substrata forming process, which extends into the written standard language, is particularly strong, so that the Serbian and Croatian standard variants seem to be drifting apart<sup>21</sup>. But, since the formation of substrata is a result of the ongoing shift from dialects to StL, the pull exercised by the Serbo-Croatian StL testifies to its viability and tenacity. The "target" of the shift is the Serbo-Croatian norm as taught in the schools and used, in principle, by the media.

The genesis of the prestandard literary language, too, is a product of the genesis of its varieties (this aspect is especially considered by Boeck et al. and Keipert<sup>22</sup> for Russian, Hill for Bulgarian<sup>23</sup>, P. Ivić for Serbo-Croatian<sup>24</sup> and Reutter for Polish<sup>25</sup>). The literary koines were originally used only in certain limited domains (in Russian in the seventeenth century primarily for administrative purposes, in Polish in the sixteenth century for administra-

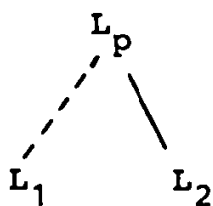
tive, belletristic and, in the second half of the century, for religious purposes alongside Latin). By spreading into other domains which were previously the purview of the borrowed literary language, the koine becomes the prestandard literary language. A borrowed language substratum arises in the process of this shift from the borrowed language to the literary koine in certain domains through the carry-over of borrowed language vocabulary and grammar (particularly syntax). At the same time, borrowed literary language elements which had already entered the literary koine during the contact period may be reinforced. (This was the case in Russian and Polish, but not in Serbo-Croatian. During the process of unification of the functional styles of the written StL, there is a leveling between these different strata of borrowed literary language elements.)

Here a note on the use of terminology is in order. The term "substratum" is not used for "language of the defeated" or "language which is forced out by a victorious language or language of a victorious people", among other possibilities, any more than a "superstratum" (see below) is to be understood as a "im schon ansässigen Volk eingeschmolzenes Volk mit ursprünglich anderer Sprache" ('a population dissolved in an indigenous population which originally spoke a different language', Wartburg<sup>26</sup>). A substratum is rather to be understood as a layer of elements from the first language in the second. The criterion here is based on the contrastive features of languages and not on extralinguistic (social, political) features as was usual in earlier studies. Similarly, in Lehmann (1982a) the other types of contact processes were defined in purely linguistic terms (formation of superstrata, fusion, reduction). The types of contact processes can be determined by comparing the basic stock (grammar - especially morphology, and basic vocabulary - especially function words) of the contact product and the basic stock of the contact languages. Of interest is whether the basic stock of the first and/or the second (adopted) language is continued in the product language. In the case of substratum formation, the basic

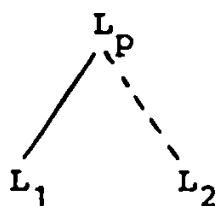
stock of the *second* language is maintained, in other words, a substratum is the product of a language shift. The shift from the borrowed literary language to the literary koine, e. g. in the domain of belles lettres, can bring about a borrowed literary language substratum in the belletristic style of the prestandard literary language. The basic stock of the contact product, the prestandard literary language, is derived from the second language, the literary koine, while elements of the first language, the borrowed language, survive as a substratum.

In the case of superstratum formation the basic stock of the *first* language is continued, in the case of fusion the basic stock of *both* languages and in the case of reduction ("pidginization") *no* basic stock is continued. These four types of contact processes can be schematized in the following way ( $L_1 \rightarrow L_p$  = the stock of the first language is continued in the contact product;  $L_1 \dashrightarrow L_p$  = elements of the first language form a stratum in the contact product):

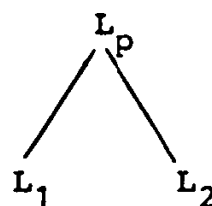
formation of  
substratum  
(language shift)



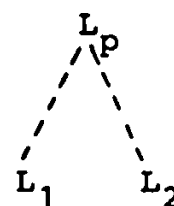
formation of  
superstratum



fusion



reduction



This language-based definition of "substratum" etc. makes it possible, for example, to provide a natural classification for the special linguistic features of different recensions of Church Slavonic with Bulgarian, Serbian, or East Slavic substrata which began to arise when the Old Church Slavonic borrowed language was adopted. There was also a Polish substratum in the Latin used in Poland<sup>27</sup>. If the weight of the elements carried over is sufficient, substratum formation can result in a new variety of the borrowed language (cf. the variants of German or Serbo-Croatian StCollL mentioned above).

The adoption of Latin by the Poles or of Old Church

Slavonic by the East Slavs does not constitute a type of language shift as the shift from the dialect to the prestandard literary language in the everyday domain does. In the latter case a new language is taken over for use in an already existing domain. In the former case, the adoption of a borrowed language, at least at first, is only one part of the adoption of the entire literary culture. That is, it establishes a new domain of application. Linguistically speaking, however, both contact processes normally involve substratum formation. Both processes have in common the fact that the basic stock of the second language is continued so that the elements carried over form a substratum as defined above.

By contrast, in a contact process resulting in the formation of a superstratum, the basic stock of the first language is maintained. For example, the vocabulary borrowed by the Slavic languages from Western European languages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries forms a superstratum in this sense. Typically, superstrata arise from efforts at translation<sup>23</sup>, diglossia/bilingualism (e.g., in contact situations between borrowed literary language and dialects), and knowledge of foreign languages (usually acquired in school). French elements which were borrowed into the Russian prestandard literary language toward the end of the eighteenth century (some of which even affect syntax) thus also constitute a superstratum. This superstratum arose partially from translations from French and partially from the use of French as a borrowed language which was used alongside Russian in both oral and written functional domains. French was not used exclusively in one or more domains (it was not a complementary borrowed language)<sup>29</sup>, and there was no shift from French to Russian in any domain, so that no substratum was formed. Since this process of superstratum formation did not result in a readjustment of the varieties in the language continuum, it did not play a fundamental role in the process of forming the Russian StL.



A further type of contact process is realized with the fusion of dialects during the formation of the literary koine. In this case, the 'parent languages' that come into contact are so similar that the basic stock of the contact product can be viewed as a continuation of the basic stock of each of the contact languages (e.g., in the Moscow literary koine of the seventeenth century, based on the northern and southern Russian dialects, or in the literary koine of sixteenth century Poland, based on a fusion of Great Polish and Little Polish dialects<sup>30</sup>).

The explanation of the changes in the tectonics (variety structure) of an ethnolanguage during the formation of a StL with the aid of language contact leads us to an understanding of the *fundamental* diachronic processes in the history of that language. These processes are fundamental because they affect the object language itself. In contrast, efforts at normalization (including orthography<sup>31</sup>) are only metalinguistic operations. They are triggered by fundamental processes of change taking place in the object language and are an attempt to regulate these processes (language contacts can lead to flexible norms). These fundamental social processes take their course in a fashion that is just as anonymous as the development of the varieties relevant to the formation of the standard languages. Conscious influence on these processes is possible only to a very small degree and in limited individual domains. Thus, the establishment of a formal orthography as undertaken, for example, by Vuk Karadžić, cannot be seen as essential for the formation of a standard language or as a fundamental linguistic event in the history of a language. The historical service performed by individuals like Vuk Karadžić is to recognize the anonymous process taking place and to give it form. To be sure, it is only with the benefit of hindsight that we can attempt to understand which individual interventions fit into the course of events and were thus successful and which others were doomed to failure.

### 3. On the Anonymity of Linguistic Processes in the Formation of the Standard Language

The thesis that the formation of the StL is, in principle, an anonymous process seems to contradict the role that Vuk Karadžić played in the development of the literary koine and its adoption as the prestandard literary language by the Serbs and Croats. Vuk codified the vocabulary and grammar of the East Hercegovina koine, he published folk poetry in this language, translated the New Testament into it and wrote articles in it. In short, he made it into a literary koine. There is no doubt that, without the efforts of this individual, this koine would not have become later on the prestandard literary language, the language which covered the functional domains of literary culture in which Russian Church Slavonic, German and other borrowed languages as well as mixtures among these and Serbian and Croatian dialects had done service.

But, it is particularly in contrast to this unique historical accomplishment that important anonymous conditions for the formation of literary koines and prestandard literary languages can be distinguished. The literary koine essential for the formation of a StL is characterized by a combination of qualities like the following:

- it was the language of the political and/or economic center
- it enjoyed a high degree of cultural (literary) prestige
- it was the product of a compromise between dialects (a fusion of dialects)

This last factor is to be found in the Polish literary koine, which, as mentioned above, was based on a language possessing features of both the Great and the Little Polish dialect regions. Similarly the Russian (Moscow) literary koine combined features of both the north and south dialect regions. Here the fusion was accelerated in the eighteenth century by the removal of the political and cultural center to St. Petersburg on the border of the northern dialect region

with a corresponding influx of population from all regions. In general, it can be assumed that the acceptability of a language, both in and beyond its area of origin, increases as its regional markedness decreases.

In the Serbo-Croatian speaking area it was not, as in Russia, the sheer weight of the political and economic center that smoothed the way from literary koine to prestandard literary language (in the first half of the nineteenth century there was no such center). There was also no current literary koine which could have based its cultural prestige on a relatively uninterrupted tradition dating from a literary golden age, as was the case in Poland.

In the Serbo-Croatian speaking area there were two other competitors in the field, but they were unable to gain general acceptance. To be sure, they were also the products of dialect fusion. The language of the Vojvodina arose from the fusion of many dialects in a new settlement area. But these were all Serbian dialects, so that the product remained Serbian. Moreover, it was strongly influenced by Church Slavonic sub- and superstrata, the leading characteristic of Serbian literary culture. (Vuk Karadžić succeeded, at first, in eliminating precisely these elements from his codification, which considerably increased its general acceptability in Croatia.)

The other candidate was a koine created by the Illyrian movement, a sort of Balkan Panslavism and recommended for the use of the "South Slavs", whose territory was variously defined at different times. The supporters of the Illyrian movement attempted to create a language with as few marked dialect elements as possible through a process of "artificial" fusion. (In view of the dialectal markedness variation among the reflexes of historical *ě* was permitted.)

Vuk Karadžić's variant, originally a regional koine whose compromise character was not primarily based on the fusion of different dialects, but rather on its regional neutrality, finally won acceptance in the Serbian and Croatian speaking area. (This variety did not stem from the Serbian heart land,

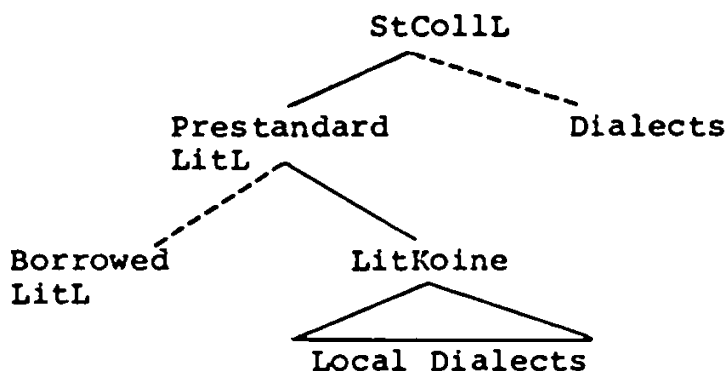
but rather from an area whose inhabitants at present regard themselves as Yugoslavs rather than Serbs or Croats to a greater degree than is elsewhere the case.) It was the language of a folk poetry, which fascinated intellectuals all over Europe. This literary koine was neither typically Serbian nor typically Croatian. It contained no marked superstrata - neither the Church Slavonic Russian of Vojvodina Serbian as employed by Obradović, nor the German and other superstrata found in Croatian dialects, and it enjoyed a high current cultural prestige.

The personal achievement of Vuk Karadžić consisted in the creation of this literary koine through codification and text production, and in propagating it through vigorous public relations work. But, two essential *anonymous* factors were also involved: the linguistic compromise character and the high current cultural prestige of his product. They were the prerequisites for the success of Vuk's struggle.

#### 4. Common Features in the Formation of Slavic Standard Languages as Crosslinguistic Processes

In the preceding sections it was suggested that the genesis of particular varieties should be considered fundamental events in the formation of the Slavic StLs. This development of varieties leads to changes in the tectonics of the ethno-language. The language variants involved are thus defined by their relative position to the other variants within the ethno-language on the one hand, and by their origin from particular "parent languages" on the other.

Thus, the filiation involved in the formation of the Slavic StLs can be represented by the following diagram:



(The Written StL is an organic continuation of the prestandard literary language and, together with the StCollL, forms the StL. The dialects in the epoch of the StL are continuations of the dialects that already existed in the epoch before the literary koine, when interdialects or koines may have coexisted with the local dialects or may have replaced them.)

The process outlined here is not universal in the sense that StLs necessarily go through all of these stages in the course of their development. Rather, it represents an idealized process, or perhaps more fittingly, a crosslinguistic phenomenon (to use an expression which has become established in discussion of categories like case, aspect, article, etc.). It is also found in Western Europe (Italy, France, England, and the German-speaking area, among others), but does not hold for all the countries of Europe.

In Norway the artificial literary koine (Nynorsk, earlier Landsmål) did not succeed in replacing the Danish borrowed language (Bokmål, earlier Riksmål). The latter is still dominant in literary production and in the schools<sup>32</sup>.

In Greece, the StCollL was not derived from a prestandard literary language. The whole StL was directly derived or is being derived from the Modern Greek literary koine (Demotike). The written version of the Demotike replaced or is replacing the borrowed literary language (Katharevousa), an artificial Greek language. Official recognition of this change came only recently. The earlier situation served as one of the four examples of diglossia given by Ferguson.

Among the Czechs, a diglossia-type situation still exists. A StCollL has not come about: alongside the literary language (spisovná čeština) there is only a substandard (obecná čeština<sup>33</sup>). When the historical diglossia constellation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (German borrowed language and Czech dialects) broke down in the nineteenth century, not a contemporary koine replaced the German borrowed language, but the prestigious indigenous sixteenth century literary koine (in a philologically prepared form).

If, despite these peculiarities, crosslinguistic diachronic processes in the formation of Slavic (or European) StLs exist, then this is because they are part of a comprehensive European cultural development. The common features of language development are rooted in the common features of the development of European civilization. As different as the processes of christianization, urbanization, and industrialization in various countries may be, the individual instances have more features in common than separate them. They are the bearers of the anonymous processes, which, along with the genesis of varieties, are fundamental for the formation of the Slavic standard languages.

Notes:

<sup>1</sup>Lehmann, 1982a.

<sup>2</sup>See the introduction in this volume.

<sup>3</sup>Meščerskij (1967:16), among others, notes that there are city languages with dialect differences in Russia as well.

<sup>4</sup>See, e.g., Urbańczyk (1968).

<sup>5</sup>See, e.g., Auty (1980).

<sup>6</sup>See Ivić (1983).

<sup>7</sup>See the contribution by Hill in this volume.

<sup>8</sup>During the epoch of the literary koine, there may exist literary and nonliterary koinés and interdialects as precursors of the substandard. This is not included in the diagram.

<sup>9</sup>"Imported" means that their basic stock (see below) did not arise in the territory where the dialects were spoken.

<sup>10</sup>See Lehmann (1982b).

<sup>11</sup>That is, the language systems are so different from one another that speakers who do not have a command of both systems cannot understand one another.

<sup>12</sup>In Bosnia: Turkish, Arabic, Persian, see Popović (1960:628).

<sup>13</sup>See Hüttl-Folter (1978)

<sup>14</sup>See Uspenskij (1983).

- <sup>15</sup> See Uspenskij (1983:18). For a critical overview on Uspenskij's theory and the discussion about it, see Rehder (forthcoming).
- <sup>16</sup> The constellation of Russian Church Slavonic, East Slavic legal language and dialects could be characterized as "Triglossia" (see Kloss, 1977b:322), leaving aside the question of the genres with Church Slavonic - East Slavic mixtures (s. Worth, 1978:383f.). These might be regarded as speech mixtures ("aktuelle Sprachmischungen") based on the "triglossia" languages. Generalizing Ferguson's (1959) concept of diglossia, the East Slavic legal language would then be regarded as an H-variety because of its domain. Ferguson's paradigmatic diglossia constellations, i.a. German-speaking Switzerland, refer to presently existing relations. For the extension of Ferguson's definition, see the survey by de Vincenz (1977), who discusses the possibility of relaxing Ferguson's condition that both diglossia languages must be variants of a single language. Giving up this condition makes the functional and normative complementary relationship between the "high" H-variety and the "low" L-variety the major distinguishing feature of the concept of diglossia and also makes it possible to apply it to constellations with Latin as a borrowed language as in Lehmann (1982a).
- <sup>17</sup> Through language splitting ("Sprachspaltung", Paul 1966: 66), through the formation of "Abstandsprachen" and "Ausbausprachen" (Kloss 1976a).
- <sup>18</sup> A new language does not normally arise through the formation of a superstratum, see below.
- <sup>19</sup> Lehmann (1982a:148f.) lists the "fundamental" (called "obligatorisch") contact events for the process of forming a StL as: (1) The formation of a diglossia through the adoption of a borrowed language and the formation of a corresponding superstratum in the vernacular. (2) The process of "deregionalization" in the formation of the koine, characterized in this essay as the genesis of the literary koine which is fundamental for the formation of the StL and the formation of the StCollL. (3) "Reunification", i.e., the rise of the language characterized here as the prestandard literary language with the replacement of the borrowed literary language by the literary koine.
- <sup>20</sup> In addition, its position in the standard-dialect-continuum is different in different regions, e.g., in North Germany, the Rhineland, in Upper Saxony or Thuringia, depending whether the dialect is (according to Mattheier's, 1980:162-171, classification) a relict language, social symbol or main variety ("Reliktsprache", "Sozialsymbol", "Hauptvarietät"). In the last mentioned case, as in Switzerland, perhaps also in Bavaria, there is no StCollL. "In Bayern tritt zwischen den reinen Ortsdialekt und die

weitgehend auf die Schriftlichkeit beschränkte bestehende Hochsprache noch eine vage bairische Koine" 'In Bavaria there is a vague Bavarian koine which stands between the pure local dialect and the H-language, which is largely confined to written use' (Mattheier, 1980:165).

Kloss (1976b:313) disagrees: "Heute gibt es in der Bundesrepublik, in der DDR und wohl auch in Österreich kein Dialektgebiet mehr, wo nicht ein erheblicher Teil der Alteingesessenen auch im Alltagsgespräch, zumal im beruflichen, mindestens zeitweise eine sehr oft mundartlich gefärbte Form der Hochsprache verwendet." 'Today there are no dialect areas in the Federal Republic, the GDR, and probably in Austria as well, where at least a significant part of the old-established population does not use a form of the H-language (often with a strong dialect coloring) at least from time to time in everyday or occupationally-related conversations.'

<sup>21</sup> See Hill's contribution "Remarks on the Concepts of Standard Language and Dialect", § 2, in this volume.

<sup>22</sup> See the contribution by Reutter in this volume.

<sup>23</sup> See Boeck (1974); Keipert (1984).

<sup>24</sup> See Ivić (1983).

<sup>25</sup> See Hill's contribution "The Development of the Bulgarian Standard Language" in this volume.

<sup>26</sup> See Wartburg (1962:37).

<sup>27</sup> See Weyssenhoff (1960).

<sup>28</sup> See Keipert (1982).

<sup>29</sup> Even Issatschenko, who attempted to build a plausible case for the influence of the French borrowed language as the point of departure for the Russian StL, only assumes parallel use of French: "Aus der literarischen und sprachlichen Wüste beginnt etwa nach 1750 eine Schicht kultivierter Adelliger aufzusteigen, die immer wieder versuchen, ihrer Umgangssprache (genauer: jener Umgangssprache, die sie *neben* dem Französischen benützten) etwas vom Glanz und Schliff des Französischen zu vermitteln" 'Around 1750, a layer of cultivated nobility begins to emerge from the linguistic and literary wasteland, people who try time and again to lend their colloquial language (more precisely: the colloquial language they used *alongside* French) some of the brilliance and polish of the French language' (Issatschenko, 1974:272, emphasis added).

<sup>30</sup> See Stieber (1956); Dunaj (1980).

<sup>31</sup> See also Hill, "The Development of the Bulgarian Standard Language", § 4, in this volume, or Ivić (1983:227).



<sup>32</sup>See Haugen (1972:282).

<sup>33</sup>See Vagadayová's contribution in this volume.

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Peter Hill

**Lexical revolutions as an expression of nationalism in the Balkans\***

0.0 In this paper 'Balkans' is considered to denote a region in south-eastern Europe with sufficient common cultural features to justify its being the object of a special discipline, 'Balkan philology' (cf. Sandfeld 1926). Within this cultural unity there are, of course, countless regional peculiarities and cultural overlaps (cf. Matl 1964), but the relative cultural unity is a fact nonetheless and enables us to discern without hesitation that the Slovenes, for instance, are clearly not a Balkan people.

This cultural unity was reflected to a great extent in the vocabularies of the various languages before the age of nationalism, when the Balkan heritage acquired negative connotations. Alois Schmaus (1970 p. 164) speaks of a colloquial common Balkan lexical 'standard' in the pre-nationalist era; later the languages acquired a new function, that of being 'individual' and 'a clear outward expression of the national entity concerned' (Auty 1973 p. 31). The present-day languages have been 'nationalized' and 'de-Balkanized'.

When I speak of the 'present-day languages' I am referring to the standard languages, as reflected by authoritative dictionaries with between 20,000 and 50,000 entries. The *Synchronon lexikon* (Greek) contains 100,000 entries, however one must bear in mind that this is in fact a dictionary of two standard languages (cf. 1.7 below). The dictionaries are listed at the close of this article.

0.1 It was only in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the languages of the peoples formerly under Ottoman rule became the official languages of modern states. To a certain extent it was unavoidable that

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these languages should develop new terminology in many fields where they had not previously been employed or that they should borrow it from other languages. In Bulgaria, to take a typical example, a national army and police force was built up on Russian principles and Russian terminology came to replace the Turkish terms that had been applicable to a different system of organization. Thus terms like *nizamin* 'common soldier' (Tk. *nizam*)<sup>1</sup> or *biljukbaši* 'captain or sergeant of police' (Tk. *bölükbaşı*) gave way to ones like *rednik* 'private' (Ru. *rjadovoj*) or *roten* 'captain' (Ru. *rotnyj*) or *stražar* 'policeman' (Ru. *gorodovoj straž*); cf. Hill 1975.

The new national consciousness led to the replacement of terms of address characteristic of the old Balkan way of life by new ones considered more appropriate to an up-and-coming state: such 'titles' as Rum. *chir*, Bg. *kir*, Sr. *ćir*, MGk. *kýr* tended to disappear from the new official standards; the 'modern' forms of address being Bg. Sr. *gospodin* (from Russian), Rum. *domnul*. In MGk. *kýr* is now classified by the SL as a demotic word (cf. 1.7 below). Less obtrusively, the new urban culture caused the decline of forms of address taken from the lexical field of kinship terms: Bg. *baĵ*, *đičo*, *djado*, Rum. *frate*, *nene* are now popular or provincial.

The introduction of new military and administrative terminology in Bulgaria was prompted by certain objective requirements (although alternatively the old Ottoman terms could conceivably have been retained with a new sense); and no doubt the re-orientation from a rural to an urban culture almost inevitably involved changes in forms of address.

On the other hand it was, from a strictly rational point of view, quite unnecessary and indeed even detrimental that the designations of many everyday concepts, both abstract and concrete, were replaced by new ones considered to be national in character.

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<sup>1</sup> The words are cited in present-day standard orthography.

1.1 The Rumanians insisted on 're-Romanizing' their vocabulary, Latinizing, Frenchifying or Italianizing it. This was conceived of as being not borrowing, but re-claiming one's inheritance direct from the mother (Latin) or one's just share of it from the sisters (French and Italian), as Heliade-Rădulescu (1802-1872) put it. In practice this meant that *geremea* 'a fine' from Tk. *cereme* (Ar. *ḡerīme*) was replaced by *amendă* or that *gelos* 'jealous' ousted *zuliar* from MGk. (demotic) *zouliárēs*.

1.2 Just as re-Romanization in Rumania in fact took the form of borrowing from foreign languages, even if they were not considered to be foreign, so re-Slavonicization in Bulgaria as often as not meant Russification, and here again the motive for the lexical revolution was purely emotional: the objects or actions in question did not change by acquiring a Slavonic name. An example: *siderosvam* 'to iron' from Gk. is now provincial according to the BTR, standard Bulgarian having *gladja* from Russian.

Helmut Schaller has shown (1973) that, apart from certain firmly entrenched loans, like *portokal* 'orange', for instance, one group of Turkish words in Bulgarian has become obsolete, whereas another has acquired a distinctly emotive flavour. This is the case with *deredže* 'situation, bad way' as opposed to its neutral synonym *položenie* from Russian (my thanks to Prof. Ivan Duridanov for this example).

1.3 Despite a generally greater tolerance towards Turkish words, the same general tendency can be observed in Serbia, where the foreign term for many an everyday concept has acquired a particular connotation, either pejorative or familiar. Many an elderly inhabitant of Belgrade would consider the Slavonic word for 'neighbour' *sused*, to be cold and formal as opposed to the friendly *komšija* from Turkish (Schmaus 1970, p. 163). The word *čaršija* (Tk. *çarşı* 'market'), formerly 'the merchants (of a town)', is now pejorative and generally denotes a 'clique'.

The familiar connotation can be interpreted negatively in the case of new professions: here it is important that the name of the profession convey youth and dynamism, which old Turkish loans and especially the suffix *-džija* cannot. Thus a self-respecting gunner will not call himself a *tobdžija* these days but will prefer the new loan-word *artileraç*, and in his address to the Third International Congress of South-East-European Studies in Bucharest in 1973 Norbert Reiter pointed out that a form like *\*krandžija* instead of *kranovodja* 'crane-driver' would be unthinkable in Sr. today, since the suffix *-džija* has connotations incompatible with such a modern phenomenon as a crane.

1.4 Turkish is not, strictly speaking, from a linguistic point of view a Balkan language, but a superstratum or adstratum that affected the Balkan languages. However, the lexical revolution characteristic of the Balkan languages during their period of emancipation had a striking sequel in Atatürk's Turkey in the *dil devrimi*, the lingual revolution that was part of the social and political one. In the newly born Turkish Republic Arabic and Persian words were consciously replaced by loan words from other languages — the same strange variety of lexical nationalism we noted in Rumania and Bulgaria — the Turks turning to the West, mainly to France. To be sure, the new loan-words in some cases denoted western concepts hard to render within the oriental frame of reference (*kültür*, for instance); however, in other cases the new borrowings clearly served no other purpose than that of de-Arabicizing Turkish. Thus *endüstri* was borrowed to denote 'industry' in place of *sanayi* (from Arabic).

The 'purists' seem later to have become aware of the contradiction implied in 'nationalizing' the language by substituting western words for oriental ones, and so increasingly genuine Turkic archaisms and dialect words were introduced into the standard language or neologisms were coined, in many cases ousting the loan-words from

French that had only just come into circulation. Instead of *endüstri* one was now supposed to say *uran*. The list of such neologisms is literally infinite. Today the Dil Kurumu, the Turkish Language Society, still coins them in such masses that its publications tend to be unintelligible to the uninitiated (as I have been assured by such a distinguished Turkologist as Prof. B. Spuler of the University of Hamburg). Hence in the lexical sphere the lingual revolution tended to be anti-popular, making the standard language less, not more intelligible, just as the excessive love lesser Rumanian writers of the nineteenth century demonstrated for introducing 'genuine Romance' regionalisms into the literary language as neologisms tended to make their works simply unintelligible in other parts of the country (cf. Puşcariu p. 493). One remembers how often in his 'Fish Primer' Petūr Beron uses popular Turkish words to explain unknown Slavonic, often Russian ones; and towards the end of the nineteenth century Spiro Gulabčev, a Bulgarian populist, advocated retaining such popular Turkish words as *išaret*, *kūsmetlija* rather than replacing them by *signal*, *štastliv* borrowed from Russian (cf. Moskov p. 60 et seq.).

The Greek *katharevousa* has even been defined as a type of speech that deliberately avoids popular forms (Joannidou p. 61).

1.5 Thus one must modify Stavro Skendi's observation of a general 'powerful trend towards establishing popular languages' (p. 303) and similarly it was a purist illusion rather than a reality that 'the lexical stock had to be generally acceptable to the great body of the speakers' (Auty p. 31).

1.6 The most tangible result of this linguistic nationalism in the Balkans was the destruction of large international 'lexical belts' which disintegrated into small national units. The nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century practically saw the extinction of the old common Balkan lexical standard.

1.7 The situation in Greece was only apparently different from that in Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and later Turkey. If one considers the *katharevousa* to be the Greek standard language, then here again foreign elements were consciously excluded, only ancient Greek words being allowed. The superficial difference from the other countries is that the popular language, the *demotic*, also exists today in a standard form. And here we find all the common Balkan lexemes.<sup>1</sup>

2.0 We must now ask what exactly is meant by 'common Balkan lexeme'.

Clearly it is not sufficient for a word to occur in the Slavonic languages of the Balkans and in one other language of the area. To be considered part of the common Balkan vocabulary a lexeme must, I believe, be present in at least five of the six key languages, viz. Rumanian, Serbian or Croatian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Modern Greek and Turkish.

The term common Balkan vocabulary in the sense intended here includes only those lexemes that are peculiar to the region or were borrowed by all Balkan languages from (or via) one of their number. Thus I exclude such words as Bg. *vin*, Rum. *vin*, Alb. *verë*, MGk. *ofnos*, which, though cognates, either were inherited from Indo-European or were borrowed independently from different languages. On the other hand *palavra* 'boasting, idle talk' (Tk. slang *palavra*, MGk. dem. *palavra*, Bg. dial. *palavri* [pl.], Sr. dial. *palavra*, Alb. *pallavra*, Rum. *palavră* can be traced back to one Balkan language, Sephardic (for literature on Sephardic cf. Studemund), from which it spread into the others (cf. Petkanov). It is thus characteristic of the Balkan league and can be termed a 'common Balkan lexeme'.

In another publication I intend to establish the complete Balkan vocabulary. However, it is already clear that it is essentially Greek and Turkish or, to use historical terms, Byzantine and Ottoman.

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<sup>1</sup> Today, *katharevousa* and *demotic* are merging, at the expense of the common Balkan vocabulary.



2.10 The common Balkan words are not limited to special lexical fields, they cover every sphere of life.

2.11 Tk. (Ar.) *cevahir* was borrowed by all other five key languages. Due to the various lexical revolutions it largely disappeared from the standard languages. In Bg. it is not registered by the BTR, having given way to *bižu*, from Fr., and *skūpocennost*, presumably a calque on Ru. *dragocennost*'. Sr. *dževahir* is not listed by T.; he lists *džever*, from the original singular form, as an archaic lexeme, but the normal expression today is *dragulj*. MGk. *tsovaéri*, attested by Cioranescu 3794, is today unknown (cf. SL). In Rumanian and Albanian the word survives, as also, though of Arabic origin, in Turkish. Nevertheless, it is clear that the original Balkan community of expression is on the wane.

2.12 An adjective that has largely disappeared from the Balkans is *zayıf* 'infirm' (Tk., from Ar.). Rum. *zai<sup>f</sup>*, MGk. *zafēs*, Bg. *zai<sup>f</sup>*, SCr. *zai<sup>f</sup>*, have given way to 'national' lexemes (Rum. *maladiv*, but also *bolnav* from Slavonic; Bg. *bolnav* and — according to the BER p. 65 from Ru. — *boleznen*; MGk. *filásthēnos* etc.; Sr. *bolešljiv*, *bolećiv*, Cr. *boležljiv*, *slabašan* etc.), as the standard dictionaries confirm, not registering the Turkish word. The FGjSh registers *zai<sup>f</sup>*; the everyday expressions are *dhëmbshëm*, *sëmurë*, *shëndetlig*. In Tk. itself the Arabic loan *zayıf* has to face the competition of genuine Turkic synonyms such as *arık* 'tired, weak, sick' *güçsüz* and *kuvvetsiz* 'weak, feeble'.

2.2 Thus the common Balkan lexical heritage has been — or is being — discarded by the peoples of this region in their anxiety to create a lexical culture with which they — at least the intellectuals — felt able to identify themselves. Note that this common Balkan lexical stock included not only terms referring to particular historical situations (for instance *komitaci* 'partisan'), which were bound to die out, but also words for everyday phenomena that did not change with the liberation from Ottoman rule.

3.0 The youngest Balkan standard language is Macedonian. On 2nd August 1944 the Macedonians were proclaimed to be an independent people with their own language. Thus a political act resolved a complicated philological problem of whether Macedonian was a dialect of Serbian or Bulgarian by declaring it to be neither (cf. Reiter 1964 p. 6; Décsy 1973 p. 168; de Bray, Chap. 6).

So gratifyingly simple the question may have become for us today, for anyone investigating the history of Eastern Balkan Slavonic the solution reached in the monastery of St Prohor Pčinški 31 years ago poses considerable theoretical problems. From the most extreme point of view, Old Bulgarian or Old Church Slavonic, based as it is on the dialect of the region of Thessalonica, is in fact Old Macedonian and for Bulgarians no more part of their lingual and cultural heritage than for Russians. But even if we leave aside such threats to the very foundations of Bulgarian studies, there remain severe problems.

If one wishes to examine the vocabulary of the nineteenth century and compare it with that of the twentieth, as we do, one must first decide which texts can be considered to be part of the Macedonian lingual tradition. It is not sufficient to turn to the works of writers born in Macedonia, since many, as for instance Goce Delčev, the greatest Macedonian patriot and national hero in the struggle against the Turks, wrote more or less standard Bulgarian (i.e. East Bulgarian — cf. Weingart p. 221). Grigor Prličev, according to Stalev p. 113 'the most brilliant poetic figure in Macedonian literature of the nineteenth century' wrote most of his works in Greek. The Miladinov brothers, too, used only Greek for prose texts, writing but a few poems in their native dialect. Although Konstantin Miladinov spent a great deal of his life outside Macedonia, his few lyrics can, and no doubt must, be considered as documents of the history of Macedonian, although a linguist would of course normally prefer to avoid using works of such a *genre* as lexicological source material.

Another source one is forced to use is, for instance, the folksy sermons written by Kiril Pejčinovič at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although Stalev tells us (p. 12) that these are in pure Tetovo dialect, one must not forget that Pejčinovič was a monk raised in the Church Slavonic tradition who may, therefore, often have written under the influence of this essentially ecclesiastical language. If one considers Church Slavonic to be a form of Macedonian, well and good. If on the other hand one takes the view that Church Slavonic was essentially part of the Bulgarian tradition with a Russian admixture, then one might well reject certain elements of Pejčinovič's vocabulary as being words from a foreign standard. This would, however, vitiate a study of the type envisaged here since our basic parameter is the use or avoidance of foreign words.

Thus I have, despite the possible objections, taken all original texts from Stalev at face value, as though they represented a corpus of a more or less stable literary tradition which present-day Macedonian writers continue.

3.1 One of the features of the thus defined Macedonian language of the nineteenth century is, of course, the extensive use of words borrowed from Ottoman Turkish or from Greek. In this respect Macedonian is not basically different from Bulgarian (or any Balkan language of the nineteenth century).

3.2 Of greater significance is the number of words used in nineteenth-century Macedonian and in present-day standard Bulgarian but not in present-day standard Macedonian. Thus Jordan Chadži Konstantinov-Džinot in a letter of 1856 uses *razvaljat* 'they destroy' = Bg. *razvaljat*. The word is not known in Mac. today in that sense, which is expressed, for instance, by *urnuva/urne* = Sr. *urnisati*. *Sčastje* 'happiness' (in K. Miladinov's poem *Sirače*) corresponds to present-day Bg. *šastie* (and Ru. *šcast'e*), whereas standard Mac. has *sreća* (= Sr. *sreća*).

On the basis of these and similar examples one can, I believe, discern that present-day standard Mac. is moving away from the common Bg.-Mac. lexical foundation.

that existed in the nineteenth century. This is a typical example of lexical nationalism as a divisive force in the Balkans.

3.3 Equally typical is the tendency to turn to another language as a source for the material used in this lexical revolution. The source is Serbian.

There are, of course, old loan-words from Sr. in Mac., such as *kuća* 'house', for instance. However, there is a tendency today to borrow words for concepts from the scholarly, cultural, political and administrative spheres from Serbian, whereas Bulgarian has always tended to borrow them from Russian. Thus 'inverted commas' are in Mac. *navodnici* as in Sr., in Bg. *kavički* = Ru. *kavyčki*; the Macedonian Academy of Science and Arts is called *Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite*, the last word being from Sr., Bg. has *izkustvo* from Ru. The Executive Committee of the Communist Party is the *izvršen sovet*, corresponding to Sr. *izvršni odbor*, whereas the Bulgarians have an *izpūlnitelen komitet* or *izpūlkom* (Ru. *ispolnitel'nyj komitet, ispolkom*). A 'journalist' is in Mac. and Sr. *novinar*, in Bg. and Ru. *žurnalist*. The list could be extended almost indefinitely.

3.4 Macedonian does, however, also make use of dialectisms and neologisms to enrich its lexical resources. Here again the result is divisive. Examples are: *nastan* 'event' from folk-poetry, used to replace *sobitie* (Bg. *sūbitie*, Sr. *dogadjaj*); *zbor* 'word' and *zboruvam* 'to talk' vs. Bg. *duma/govorja*, Sr. *reč/govoriti*; *prašanje* 'question' vs. Bg. *vūpros*, Sr. *pitanje*.

The neologisms are remarkable for their use of such suffixes as *-ok* or *-ba*, replacing originally Church Slavonic ones like *-enije*, *-ije* as in *visokogradba* 'skyscraper' (cf. Flemming p. 81).

3.5 One might, with a certain irony, say that Macedonian has earned its spurs as a true Balkan language of the

twentieth century, becoming, as it is, gradually less and less intelligible to the speakers of its neighbour-tongues.

4. These lexical revolutions were, from a strictly rational point of view, unnecessary or even detrimental (since, for instance, the process of universal education was complicated by uncertainty as to what lexemes were correct or nationally acceptable). On the other hand they presumably helped to mould new nations and nationalism appears to be a necessary transitional stage in history.

Authoritative Dictionaries

- BTR Bŭlgarski tŭlkoven reĉnik. Sofija 1955.  
 FGjSh Fjalor i gjuhës shqipe. Tiranë 1954.  
 MD Mic Dicționar al Limbii Române. București 1974.  
 SL Sýgchronon lexikòn tēs hellēnikēs glōssēs.  
 Athēnai 1961.  
 Sözlük Türkçe Sözlük. Ankara 1969.  
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## Glossary

(The definitions are true for prototypical representatives of the category)

Borrowed literary language, Lehnsprache: Language imported by a language community for cultural functions (religion, science, administration), characterized by written realization.

Ethnolanguage, Ethnosprache, nacional'nyj jazyk: the total of language varieties that are genetically related and which form a continuum including a standard or literary language.

Flexible norm, unfeste Norm: norm with many functionally equivalent variants (variants not linked to different functions) not only in the lexicon, but also in the basic stock of the language (phonetics, grammar, function words). Result of language contact (including the contact of dialects and other language varieties). (Examples: substandard colloquial language, interdialects).

Literary koine, literatursprachliche Koine: language which replaces the borrowed literary language and which thereby becomes the prestandard literary language. Derives from dialects.

Literary language, Literatursprache, literaturnyj jazyk: formed (that is, more or less consciously cultivated) language with written and/or oral varieties and supraregional acceptance.

Prestandard literary language, Prästandard-Literatursprache: written language which derives from the literary koine (after this language has replaced the borrowed literary language) and out of which develops the written standard language (and thus the standard language). Consists of written functional styles but is not omnivalent (see standard language), lacks a colloquial variety. (Example: Russian in the second half of the 18th / first half of the 19th century).



Rigid norm, feste Norm: norm without or with very few functionally equivalent variants (variants linked to different functions) and with a tendency to endow functionally equivalent variants, if any, in the lexicon and in the basic stock with different functions. (Examples: norm of standard language, isolated local dialects).

Standard colloquial speech/standard colloquial language, Standardumgangssprache, razgovornaja reč/razgovornyj jazyk: a functional style of the standard language, characterized by typically oral realization, spontaneity, casual circumstances, direct participation of the speakers. Derives diachronically from the prestandard literary language.

Standard language, Standardsprache, sovremennyj literaturnyj jazyk: language, defined by its omnivalence (also called 'polyvalence'; that is, which provides an appropriate functional style for every functional area of activity characteristic of a modern society), and having a rigid, codified, and supraregional norm.

Substandard colloquial language, städtischer Substandard, prostorečie: language characterized by typically oral realization, spontaneity, casual circumstances, direct participation of the speakers, by flexible supraregional norms with frequent deviations from the standard norm. Derives from a language shift (Sprachwechsel) from dialects to standard language.

Written standard language, Standardschriftsprache, knižnyj/kodificirovannyj literaturnyj jazyk: the sum of the functional styles of a standard language characterized by written realization and lack of the following features: spontaneity, casual circumstances and direct participation of the speakers.

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Mit einer Einleitung

„Zur Geschichte der kirchenslavischen Bibelkonkordanzen“

(Band I)

und einer Einführung in

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