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ERNEST J. SIMMONS
EXECUTIVE OFFICER

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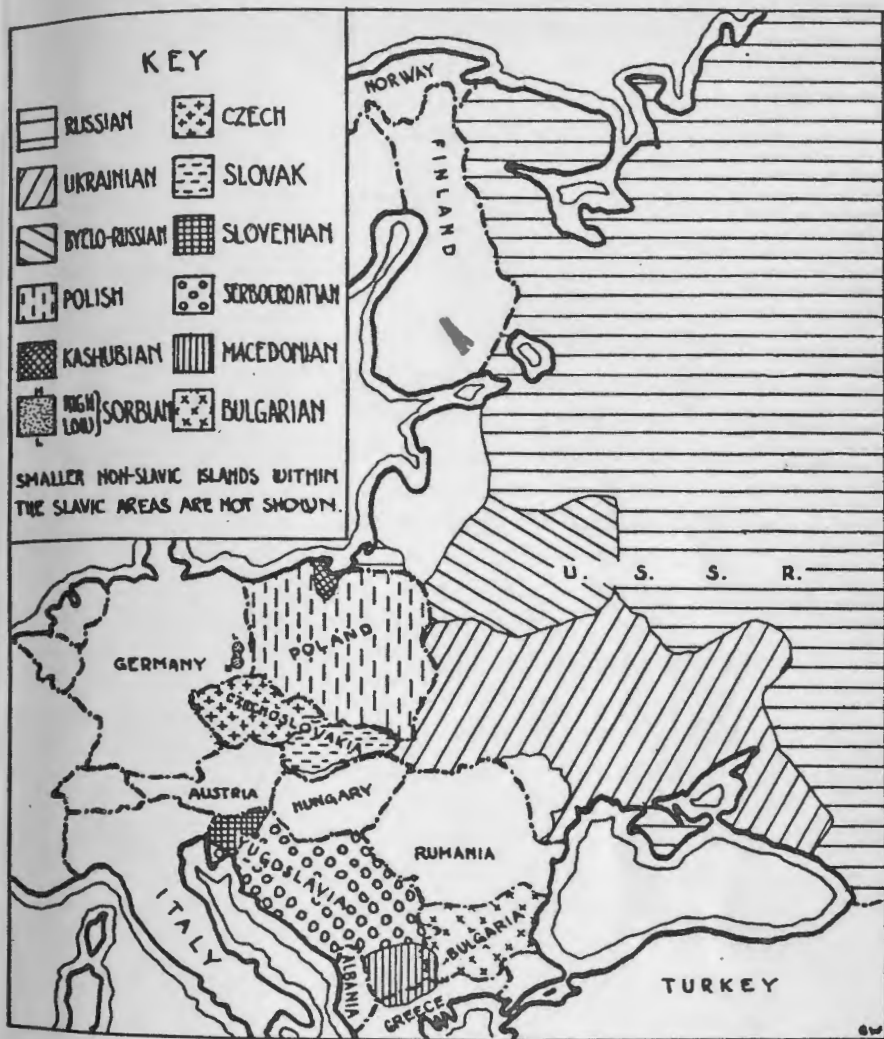
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APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES IN PRESENT-DAY EUROPE

MAP PREPARED BY G. WEINREICH

DISTRIBUTION, SUBDIVISIONS

AT THE PRESENT TIME the Slavic world comprises thirteen languages each with a distinct literary standard. In the usual classification they are distributed into three groups—Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic.

Eastern Slavs. (1) **RUSSIAN** (Great-Russian) is spoken as a native language by the preponderant majority (73 per cent) in the Russian SFSR and by minor groups in the other Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Moreover, being the principal cultural and state language of the USSR, it is employed as a second tongue in nearly all parts of the Soviet Union that have non-Russian native populations. The study of Russian is promoted on a vast scale in the school programs of all, especially Slavic, states within the Soviet sphere of influence; the official Soviet phraseology labels Russian as "the future world language of Socialism." (2) **UKRAINIAN** (Little-Russian, Ruthenian) is the native language of the vast majority in the Ukrainian SSR and of minor groups in the RSFSR and some other Republics of the Soviet Union. Outside the USSR, there is a compact Ukrainian minority in Northeastern Slovakia. (3) **BYELO-RUSSIAN** (White-Russian, White-Ruthenian) is the major language of the Byelo-Russian SSR. According to official Soviet estimates, at the start of the Second World War there were in the Eastern Hemisphere some 99 million native speakers of Russian, over 36 million of Ukrainian, and up to 8 million of Byelo-Russian.

Western Slavs. (4) **POLISH** is the native tongue of the overwhelming majority of the present population of Poland, of 100,000 Poles in the Těšín district of Czechoslovakia, and of a vanishing minority in those parts of pre-War Poland incorporated into the USSR; in all, at least 21 million speak Polish in the Eastern Hemisphere. (5) **KASHUBIAN** is spoken in Poland by some

200,000 people on the left bank of the Lower Vistula. To the northwest, away from this compact Kashubian area (in the Stolp district), survive the last few families that still know **SLOVINCIAN**, an archaic variant of Kashubian. These are the remnants of the **POMORANIAN** group which in the early Middle Ages extended from the Lower Vistula to the Lower Oder and was later Germanized. The Pomoranian group together with Polish belongs to the larger unit of the so-called **LEKHITIC** languages, which also includes **POLABIAN**, the former language of the Elbe (Laba) area. The last remnant of Polabian on the left bank of the lower Elbe (**Dravāno-Polabian**) died out toward the middle of the eighteenth century, but is known through a few vocabulary lists and short texts recorded about 1700. The other extinct Lekhitic languages are known only from isolated words and proper names, mostly toponymic. The Kashubs were alternately under Polish and German rule and thus were subjected both to a heavy Germanization and to a strong influence of the closely related Polish language. At the present time Kashubian is treated as a regional vernacular, and its cultural role is limited to a few folk publications, plays, radio programs, and social gatherings. (6) and (7) **LOW** and **HIGH SORBIAN** (Lusatian, Lower and Upper Wendish) are spoken by some 150,000 people on the Upper Spree. Surrounded by German, they form two neighboring linguistic islets, the northern one being **Low Lusatia** (**Dolna Lužica**) in Prussia and the adjacent part of Saxony with its center at Kottbus (**Chošebuz**), and the southern one being **Upper Lusatia** (**Hornja Lužica**) in Saxony with its center at Bautzen (**Budyšin**)—the former Protestant and the latter Catholic. Together with the disappearing Eastern Sorbian dialect around Muskau (**Mužakow**), these are the last remnants of a linguistic group that was quite extensive during the Middle Ages and bordered Polabian on the North, Polish on the East, and Czech on the South, forming a linguistically intermediate zone between these three languages. After the Second World War both Sorbian languages have been, for the first time, introduced into primary and secondary schools of Lusatia. (8) **CZECH** is, since the postwar transfer of the German minority, almost the only language of the whole western part of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia

and Moravia including the Czech part of old Silesia). Adjacent to this compact area, there are small Czech communities in Kladsko and Upper Silesia (both belonging to present-day Poland). (9) SLOVAK is the predominant native language of Slovakia (an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia). In Europe Czech is spoken by over 8½ million and Slovak about 3 million people.

Southern Slavs. (10) SLOVENIAN is spoken in the Slovenian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia) and in small adjacent areas of Austria and Italy. (11) SERBO-CROATIAN covers the greatest part of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. In the Europe of 1940 Slovenian was spoken by almost 1½ million and Serbocroatian by some 11 million people. The standard language of the Greek Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats is the same, except for a few lexical variations and the adaptation of the Russian alphabet by the former and of the Latin by the latter. (12) MACEDONIAN is the prevailing language of the Macedonian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia). The central dialect, belonging to the Western Macedonian group, has recently been elevated to the status of a standard language. There are about a million native Macedonians including those in the adjacent areas of Bulgaria and Greece. (13) BULGARIAN is the dominant language in Bulgaria. At the end of 1940 it was spoken by about 6 million people in Europe including Bulgarian colonies in the USSR and Bulgars in the part of Dobrudja that remained under Rumania.

Incomplete data on the extent of some of the Slavic languages in the United States are given in the 1940 census: 585,080 people with Russian as their mother-tongue; 83,000 (?) with Ukrainian; 2,416,320 with Polish; 520,440 with Czech; 484,360 with Slovak; 178,640 with Slovenian; 153,080 with Serbocroatian. From the Canadian census of 1951 we may cite the following figures indicating the mother tongue: Ukrainian, 352,323; Polish, 129,238; Slovak, 45,516; Russian, 39,223; Serbocroatian, 11,031.

As a consequence of World War II, western Byelo-Russia was detached from Poland, and the western Ukrainian areas from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania and were incorporated into

the USSR; the Polish and Kashubian sections of Germany passed to Poland; some Slovenian and Croatian dominions of Italy to Yugoslavia; and a part of Dobrudja was returned from Rumania to Bulgaria. The total number of Slavs in the world is now over 200 million. Except for a few border minorities and Americans with Slavic mother-tongues, all Slavic peoples, save the Sorbs, live in states with a Slavic majority and state language—USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

Between the three Eastern Slavic languages there are intermediate dialectal areas. Russian is divided into Northern, Southern and transitional (Middle Russian) dialects, each of them with archaic islets presenting salient common features. Ukrainian dialects are classified into Northern, Southeastern, Southwestern, and Carpathian groups; the marginal dialects (called Rusnak) of the latter group are Slovak-influenced. Byelo-Russian is divided into two dialects—the Northeastern and the Southwestern, disclosing a stronger Polish impact. Polish contains, besides various border dialects, two fundamental groups: Great and Little Polish in the Northwest and Southeast respectively. Kashubian comprehends two types of dialects: the Southern, and the Northern, which includes Slovincian. In Czech there are Bohemian, Central Moravian, and Silesian groups, with transitional dialects from group to group and from Czech to Slovak and to Polish. Slovak consists of three dialectal types: Central; Western, closely linked with Czech; and Eastern, connected with Polish and Ukrainian. Slovenian exhibits great dialectal variety. Serbocroatian from East to West presents three basic groups: Štokavian, Čakavian, and Kajkavian which is transitional to Slovenian. Bulgarian is divided into three basic dialects: Western, Northeastern, and Southeastern. Macedonian sets up a scale of intermediary dialectal zones between West Bulgarian and Štokavian.

PROTOSLAVIC; EXPANSION

PROTOSLAVIC (Primitive Slavic), which substituted (1) *s*, *z* for advanced *k*, *g*, and (2) *x* for the old *s* preceded by *i*, *u*, *r*, *k*, was a Western offshoot of the satem-group of Indo-European languages

HISTORY OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGES

SLAVIC LITERARY ACTIVITIES begin in the ninth century with the rise of the first Slavic national state, Great Moravia, where two Byzantine missionaries brought up in Macedonia (Salonika), St. Cyril (Constantine the Philosopher, an erudite polyglot, formerly professor at the University of Constantinople) and his brother, St. Methodius, organized in the 'sixties a national church with services in Slavic. For this purpose they translated the Bible, liturgic and other ecclesiastic texts into the Slavic dialect spoken in the Salonika region, patterning it after the Greek model and adapting it to the Czechoslovak linguistic habits of Great Moravia. Since the dialectal differentiation of the primitive Slavic language at that time was insignificant, there were no obstacles for the spread of this Macedonian vernacular among the great majority of the Slavs as their first written and liturgic language. The literary activities of the two Slavic apostles were preceded only by a few primary Christian texts (such as the Baptismal Vows, the Paternoster, Credo, etc.) translated probably in Great Moravia in the early ninth century, partly from Latin, partly perhaps from Old High German, and preserved in later copies. The Moravian mission was forcibly terminated in 885, after some two decades of work, but it had given the Slavs many standard translations from Greek and occasionally from Latin, as well as original homilies, legends, prayers, and poems in a new but highly elaborate literary language adaptable for scholarly and poetic expression. Moreover, it bequeathed to them the lasting idea of the propriety and the necessity of using the mother tongue for all, even the highest, cultural purposes. This literary language, called by modern scholars OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC (Old Slavic, or inaccurately Old Bulgarian), penetrated from the late ninth to the eleventh centuries into the whole Slavic world except for its Northwestern margin. It produced several local variants: the MORAVIAN recension itself is known to us only indirectly through later copies made in other areas, the BOHEMIAN recension, which exhibits Latin influence, is preserved as far as indigenous manuscripts

and shares the fusion of *a* and *o* with the majority of this group. Common isoglosses testify a close and prolonged neighborhood with Germanic, Iranian, probably Thracio-Phrygian and foremost with Baltic, which is tied to Slavic by significant innovations both in vocabulary and in grammatical and phonemic, especially prosodic, features. Old loan-words from Iranian pertain mostly to spiritual, and those from Germanic to material culture. Contact with Altaic and Finno-Ugric languages seems to be confined to the late stage of Protoslavic and has left but scanty vestiges in its vocabulary. The long evolution of Protoslavic, which took around three millennia, can be traced up to its final stage—the entrance of the Slavs onto the historical scene (fifth–sixth centuries), the oldest foreign records of Slavic proper and common nouns (fifth–seventh centuries), the formation of the first hereditary Slavic states (ninth–tenth centuries), the appearance of Slavic written literature (ninth century), and the final dissolution of the Slavic linguistic unity toward the beginning of our millennium.

The territory of present-day Poland, Byelo-Russia, and Northwestern Ukraine seems to exhibit perceptible vestiges of the oldest Slavic settlements. According to the first detailed literary account about the Slavs, the sixth century A.D. witnessed a strong Slavic expansion to the South, West, and East: The Slavs swarmed over the Peloponnesos during the seventh century, but were eventually driven back from Greece. With Charlemagne began the protracted retreat of the Slavs in the West and the gradual Germanization of the Elbe and Oder basins in the Northwest and of the Slavic regions of Bavaria and Austria in the Southwest. In the tenth century the Southern Slavs became separated from the Western because of this continuous German offensive toward and the Hungarian intrusion from the East; later they were cut off also from the Eastern Slavs by the extension of Rumanian. While the expansion of the Western and Southern Slavs was curtailed and even repelled during the early Middle Ages, that of the Eastern Slavs has never stopped and particularly their colonization of the East still continued, checked only in the Bering Sea area in the late nineteenth century.