Recent Work from St. Petersburg, II
(Balkan Studies, Slavic Linguistics and Ethnolinguistics)

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1. Malyj dialektologičeskij atlas balkanskix jazykov. Materialy vtorogo rabočego soveščanija. Sankt-Peterburg, 19 dekabrja 1997 g. [*Small Dialect Atlas of the Balkan Languages. Proceedings of the Second Workshop. St. Petersburg, December 19, 1997*]. A. N. Sobolev (ed.); Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Linguistic Studies, Department of Comparative Indo-European and Areal Studies; St. Petersburg, 1998. 139 pp.

This booklet, issued in a printing of 100 copies, contains materials related to the work on an *Atlas* of Balkan languages, a venture conducted jointly by specialists from both St. Petersburg (Linguistic Institute and University) and Moscow (Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies).

The first part of the book (pp. 6-26) is dedicated to the theoretical problems of compiling interlingual regional atlases. G. P. Klepikova, who has been one of the principal authors of the *General Carpathian Dialect Atlas*, summarizes the main results of this work, which is almost finished (five of seven projected issues have been published). In her article "From the experience of work on plurilingual linguistic atlases" (pp. 6-15), she comes to the conclusion that the Carpathian linguistic community as revealed through this work is characterized by common words and semantic isoglosses reflecting cultural features shared by speakers of all the languages of the area. Such common elements are expressed by similar semantic devices in different languages: thus the name for a plough serving to prepare the ground (*Vorpflug*, Rus. *predplužnik*) incorporates the word for "iron": Romanian *fieru plugu-lui*, Ukrainian *perédne žel'izo* (lit. "frontal iron"), Eastern Slovak *spodn'e žélezo*, Transylvanian Hungarian *hósszuvọs*, Dialectal Serbian (in Romanian Banat) *dlgo jelézo* (p. 11).[1]

[1] These data might be an important addition to the classical *Wörter und Sachen* study of Haudricourt and Delamarre 1986, pp. 181-182 (*Vorpflug*, related pictures and terms from

A. N. Sobolev, in an article "On the principles of the project of a *Small Dialect Atlas of the Balkan Languages*" (pp. 16-26), gives a brief survey of the discussion surrounding the Balkan linguistic league (for which a comparison to other similar problems, such as the Meso-American zone, as discussed in recent publications, might be useful). Former atlas projects are criticized as lacking theoretical background. In a future atlas, syntactic, lexical and cultural data from selected points on the Southern-Slavic, Albanian, Greek, Turkish and Eastern-Romance dialectal territories will be collected by interviewing speakers and transcribing dialectal texts.

The second part of the collection contains works on Balkan dialectology (pp. 27-77). M. I. Domosileckaja discusses the main aspects of the "Albanian-Eastern-Romance Comparative Notional Dictionary of Cattle-Breeding" that she has been compiling (pp. 27-36). The dictionary is based on a comparison of Albanian and four Eastern Romance languages: Romanian, Istro-Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian. 478 isoglosses have been found. Those which include all five languages reflect probable Paleo-Balkanic substrate words, which is considered to be evidence of a common substrate for all the Eastern-Romance languages and of its closeness to a Paleo-Balkanic ancestor of Albanian (p. 35). The distribution of Latin words among the isoglosses points to a common territory in which all the corresponding ethnic groups had been Latinized.

S. V. Zajceva's article "From the results of a systematic analysis of Štokavian lexics" (pp. 37-48) provides a critical appraisal of modern attempts in this area, after the brilliant beginning by Koradžić. The author has compiled a dictionary-atlas of the names of domestic animals that includes 283 semantic units and 597 lexical items. Five of them belong to a specific vocabulary characterizing the Balkan-Carpathian area.

A. Ju. Rusakov's article "On the classification of the Romani (Gypsy) dialects of Europe" (pp. 49-58) presents a brief sketch of existing points of view; the author has succeeded in working through some of the most recent studies, although literature on the topic is growing so rapidly that it is difficult to keep up. From the point of view of Indo-European studies, one of the

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Central Europe), 311-315 and map VI (the diffusion of plough elements in Europe; the Carpathian area is included into a neighboring zone).

most interesting questions concerns the isoglosses that might reflect original subcontinental differences among Indo-Aryan dialects. In spite of some of the difficulties stressed by the author, the difference between *s*-forms in Vlach *som* "I am" and Central and Northern *hom* (p. 50) can go back to a Middle Indo-Aryan sound change, although its morphophonemic use is considered to be late.[2]

The article by A. L. Sobolev "The dialects of Eastern Serbia and Western Bulgaria" (pp. 59-77) describes the intermediary zone between Southern-Western and Southern-Eastern Slavic dialects, the atlas of which he has prepared for print. The bundles of isoglosses that characterize major portions of the intermediary area, in which Proto-Slavic **tj, *dj* became *č, ž* (and not *št, žd*, as Bulgarian), as well as the various dialects inside it, are circumscribed by enumerating corresponding features.

The third part of the volume (pp. 78-129) publishes the results of recent expeditions. A. A. Novik presents "Materials of an anthropological expedition to Dukağin (Northern Albania)" (pp. 78-94). A participant in the journey (which took place in September of 1996) was the author's teacher Ju. V. Ivanova. This mountainous area has preserved some interesting features of Northern Albanian culture and language. Words and rites connected to the folk calendar and festivals (pp. 83-86), the birth of a child (p. 86), marriage (pp. 86-89), and death and funerary ceremonies (pp. 89-93) are briefly discussed.

A. A. Plotnikova writes of "An expedition to Eastern Serbia (the village of Donja Kamenica)", which took place in August of 1997 (pp. 95-105). She gives a vivid picture of a multilingual situation in which speakers of a local (Timok or Torlak) dialect (belonging to the above-mentioned intermediary zone) would like to consider it as a separate language different from both Bulgarian and Serbian. Hostile feelings towards Gypsies as strangers who are ritually "impure" are revealed both in beliefs (about a church being made impure by gypsies so that mythological creatures had to purify it, p. 95) and in some expressions (*ciganče* "a child who has died unbaptized", from *cigan-*

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[2] Bakker, Matras 1997, p. XVIII.

"Gypsy", p. 98). Ethnolinguistic data on some other beliefs and rites are briefly mentioned.

I. A. Sedakova provides materials from "An expedition to the Bulgarian village of Ravna (Provadij community, Varna district, Bulgaria)", conducted in August of 1997 (pp. 106-117). She used questionnaires from the projected atlas, and discusses difficulties connected to their structure. Particularly interesting are her remarks on Turkish and Greek elements in the dialectal vocabulary.

A. N. Sobolev publishes "Selected materials on the Central Bulgarian dialect of the village of Gana" (pp. 120-129). From the materials of an expedition conducted in July-August 1996, the author has chosen several fragments of answers to geographical portions of the lexical questionnaire and several ethnolinguistic texts (on March as an angry woman, on the abduction of a bride, etc.).

In the fourth part of the book, A. N. Sobolev publishes a review of volume 1 (1997) of the study *Das slavische Lehngut im Albanischen,* by Xh. Ylli (pp. 130-135). The reviewer insists on the possible role of the areal principle in establishing the chronology of these borrowings.

As a supplement, A. A. Plotnikova publishes "An addition to the 'folk calendar' section of the ethnolinguistic questionnaire of the *Small Dialect Atlas of the Balkan Languages*" (pp. 137-139). Twenty detailed questions are designed to elicit answers on mythology and rituals from speakers of non-Slavic ethnic groups. In them a scheme for a common Balkan ethnolingistic structure can already be seen.

On the whole, the book produces a favorable impression. The relatively young linguists who have joined in this endeavor are clearly very active and thoughtful. One hopes to see all of those materials that have been readied for publication — maps, dialectal texts and other collected materials, and whole atlases — actually printed as soon as possible. The history of Russian linguistics is full of unfinished projects and lost manuscripts. It would be extremely sad if this sort of history were to repeat itself in this case.

2. Osnovy balkanskogo jazykoznanija. Jazyki balkanskogo regiona. Časť 2 (Slavjanskie jazyki) [*Fundamentals of Balkan Linguistics. Languages of the Balkan Area. Part 2 (Slavic Languages)*]. A. V. Desnickaja and N. I. Tolstoj (eds.); Nauka Press, St. Petersburg, 1998. 276 pp. [ISBN 5-02-028389-4]

This book (as with its corresponding "Part 1", which preceded it eight years ago [Desnickaja 1990]) is the delayed result of a project put forward by Agnija Vasil'evna Desnickaja, the well-known specialist in Albanian and comparative Indo-European linguistics. More than twenty years ago the project had been discussed in detail, an initial advisory committee was formed (its composition has changed several times since then), and preliminary conferences were held to discuss the theoretical background of the work. As stated in a short preface (p. 3), both the editors died without seeing the completed manuscript. After Desnickaja's death in 1992, the work was interrupted. The main person to revive it and to organize the successful continuation of the first part was A. B. Černjak, whose plan for the volume was realized by a team of authors that included some specialists invited by him. According to the new plan, this volume deals only with the Slavic languages of the Balkans, while the other dialects (such as Turkish, Romani [Gypsy], Armenian and some others) will be discussed in "Part 3", with Eastern Romance and Albanian having been covered in the first part.

The volume opens with a short but quite informative chapter on "The penetration of Slavs into the Balkans", written by P. V. Šuvalov (pp. 5-28). The author combines archaeological data and early written sources to arrive at a reliable picture. A critical survey of existing contradictory theories in a section on "The modern state of archaeological studies of the early Slavs" (pp. 5-8) is based on the safe assumption that an ethnic label attached to an early archaeological culture should be considered suspicious if there are no written texts to support it. According to the author, there are few real traces of Slavic settlements earlier than the VIth c. A.D. We are on safer ground discussing evidence concerning "The advance of the Slavs toward the Danube River between 375 and 527 A.D." (pp. 8-11). A number of Byzantine writers mention Slavic tribes by that time. The author supposes that in the 520's, Slavs had integrated with other ethnic groups, such as Eastern Germanic (Gothic), Eastern

Iranian, Northern Thracian, Hunnic and Turkic Bulgar peoples (p. 9). While linguistic traces of contacts with the first two groups are evident, this cannot be said about the rest, with the notable exception of Thracian-Balto-Slavic correspondences. (It seems strange that Baltic tribes whose close links to Thracians and other Paleo-Balkanic tribes seem clear in the light of studies of the past few decades are not mentioned in this survey.) Established facts testify to the historicity of Slavic raids to the North of the Balkans in 518-544 (pp. 11-12), beyond the Balkan mountains in 545-552 (pp. 13-14), as well as later, in 577-589 (pp. 14-16). As the author shows, by that time Slavs were systematically robbing Balkan areas without settling there. As the Empire became weaker at the turn of the VIth and VIIth centuries, a large Slavic migration took place in 604-657 (pp. 18-22). As a process that can be followed through historical records, this event seems particularly important for Indo-European studies in general, since here a movement that led to a split into several dialects is documented historically.

S. R. Toxtas'ev contributes a chapter on "The oldest documentation on Slavic in the Balkans" (pp. 29-57). It contains a list of ancient ethnonyms and toponyms that have been supposed to be Slavic. One might have preferred that the discussion, which partly continues detailed comments that appeared in a recent collection of ancient materials related to the Slavs (Litavrin 1991), had been conducted in a less subjective tone. The author is probably right in stressing the controversial character of some of the etymologies. Still, it would have been possible to dwell longer on those hypotheses that are reliable, and to reduce some of the polemical portions of the presentation, which have no place in an encyclopedic handbook of this kind. Several points of detail may be mentioned here. Toxtas'ev's remark on a probable Slavic form **Struměnĭci* rendered as Στρυμονῖται (Xth c., p. 39) is not quite clear, since the underlying Paleo-Balkanic term Στρύμων is known from ancient Greek lists of rivers; if it is supposed that the Slavic form was derived from the old name, some additional arguments should be provided. Definitely wrong is the Slavic attribution of Βερεγάβων, allegedly from the Slavic **bergŭ* "mountain" (p. 40). Since this word is a relatively late Germanic borrowing in Slavic, other possible explanations (p. 41) are preferable. The conclusions arrived at concerning the linguistic features of the various words discussed (pp. 45-47) are

not quite realistic, as the number of acceptable Slavic explanations for these names is small and their chronology and spatial distribution vary considerably. Finally, in a section on Slavic elements in Greece (pp. 49-52), the author discusses some corrections suggested by Ph. Malingoudis to the recently reprinted study of Vasmer on this subject (*Die Slaven in Griechenland*[2], 1970).

Despite some controversial points of view, the first two chapters provide a historical introduction to the study of the spread of the Slavic dialects in the Balkans. As noted in the preface (p. 3), the rest of the book has been written in a different format. Each of the following chapters is structured as an encyclopedic entry on a separate modern language, including characteristics of its structure and its modern dialects, its development and periodization, the nature of the written sources and remarks on the history of its study. The historical sections of these chapters, which continue some of the discussion from the beginning of the book, are intermingled with remarks on the modern linguistic situation, the number of speakers, and other data that might be useful for readers interested only in each particular language. There is a great deal of repetition, some of which seems unnecessary. Thus the origin of the names of some languages is discussed both in the second chapter and in those sections where the corresponding language is described. At the same time, the book lacks a chapter on Old Church Slavonic and its written monuments in the Balkans, a decision which is mentioned (but not explained) in the preface. Although some aspects of this material are discussed particularly in connection to Macedonian, the contribution of the different Slavic dialects to the Old Church Slavonic texts has not been studied in sufficient detail. This makes the historical parts of the book less oriented towards written sources. The book, in sum, is not a unified whole. It can be read rather as a collection of partly intersecting articles dedicated to similar problems. Nevertheless, in spite of this structural defect, the various authors have succeeded in presenting interesting new viewpoints that make reading the book quite rewarding.

A long chapter on Slovene is written by A. D. Duličenko (pp. 58-113). In its historical part, the author accepts the idea of an "Alpine Slavic community" (*alpska slovanščina,* p. 64) that included, besides Slovene, also three

groups of such dialects which, after they had become part of the Serbo-Croatian dialectal unity, received names according to variant forms of the interrogative-relative pronoun (*kaj, ča, što*): Kajkavian, Čakavian, Štokavian (p. 64, less resolutely on pp. 82-84, see also the next chapter written by A. N. Sobolev, p. 120). According to Ramovš's view (as presented by Duličenko), the last-named of these split from the Alpine group earlier than the rest. After the split of Čakavian a Proto-Slovene-Kajkavian subgroup remained. In the course of describing different points of view on this topic, Duličenko makes use of old-fashioned terminology, with reference to a large number of 'protolanguages'. Since for Duličenko (as well as for the other authors of the book) dialects seem to present the real objects of the discussion, it might have been preferable to stick to linguogeographical terminology in describing relations between them, without resorting unnecessarily to "Neo-grammarian" terms.

From the point of view of the Alpine community it is not easy to explain the existence of many isoglosses uniting Proto-Slovene and Proto-Slovak (p. 85). In order to study this problem properly, one should discuss the role of the Hungarian intrusion that divided these two Slavic dialects. Although this might have led to enlarging the geographical area under investigation, without such an approach one cannot arrive at a complete picture of the differentiation of the Slavic dialects.

To the XIth c. belongs the first written document in Old Slovene, the so-called Freising (= Brižin) fragments. Together with many Slovene scholars, the author does not consider them a document of Old Church Slavonic (p. 93). While some new Slovene features are already present in this text, it might nevertheless be important to stress certain very archaic semantic features, such as the meaning of the form *pas-em* "we preserve (oaths)".[3] Slovene is an exceptionally archaic Slavic language. Some features of nominal derivation that might be traced to Indo-European elements in Proto-Slavic have been preserved only in Slovene, as for instance **-es-* stems like *iž-es-* "yoke". Although, as shown in this chapter, Dualis forms gradually become transformed or disappear, Slovene is still the only Modern Slavic lan-

[3] On the similarity to Hittite and Tocharian contexts cf. Toporov 1959; Ivanov 1981, p. 208.

guage that has these forms. From the point of view of the later history of the dialects, which constitutes, to be sure, the main problem for the authors of the volume, such archaisms are less valid than innovations. But if a language presents, as does Slovene, such an unusual balance of archaic and innovating features, there is a need to discuss this rare quality, which surely calls for some explanation. (The Alpine landscape and associated difficulties of communication may be suggested as a possible factor.)

Among recent phonemic structural changes with some typological importance, the gradual disappearance of the phonological feature of palatalization should be noted. At the earliest reconstructed period the opposition of palatalized and non-palatalized consonants (which characterized, according to Roman Jakobson, all the languages of the Eurasian linguistic league) existed in Proto-Slovene (p. 64). In the modern period there remain only two pairs of phonemes with this feature (/n/ ~ /n'/, /l/ ~ /l'/), and even here the feature tends to disappear (p. 69, cf. p. 123 of the following chapter, on Serbo-Croatian).

The chapter on Serbo-Croatian is written by A. N. Sobolev (pp. 114-155). He returns to the problem of the earliest relations between Slovene and Kajkavian (pp. 127-128). Sobolev accepts P. Ivić's view of the relation between the Eastern and Western goups of Southern Slavic dialects (pp. 139-140, where again the term 'protolanguage' is used, in a way that does not seem quite correct, to mean a bundle of isoglosses). This chapter stresses the necessary difference between strictly dialectological and extralinguistic aspects. The author opposes the one-sided view of N. Tolstoj concerning the religious feature as the only differential feature important for determining the border between Serbian and Croatian (p. 126). From the discussion of dialectal and ethnic relationships, it emerges that these might have been studied separately, but only to some extent. In Serbo-Croatian historical dialectology, immense difficulties result from the mass migrations caused by the Turkish conquest (pp. 135-136). One suspects that more recent events may end up producing similar linguistic results. (Unfortunately, older written documents in Serbo-Croatian and Church Slavonic texts with Serbian features are not studied in the volume.)

A chapter on modern Macedonian is written by R. P. Usikova (pp. 156-188), something which has become possible only after the end of Soviet schol-

arly censorship, which made it extremely difficult even to mention Macedonian. In this chapter Macedonian is characterized both in its relation to Bulgarian and other Slavic dialects of the Balkans, and as a language that has acquired features of the Balkan linguistic league. A brief description of Macedonian features in Church Slavonic texts (pp. 162-163) is quite useful, but would have been much more comprehensible if other texts without such features had been discussed; perhaps such an addition can still be incorporated into Part 3 of this series.

The chapter on Bulgarian is written by A. N. Sobolev and A. B. Černjak (pp. 189-245). The section on the ethnic and political history (pp. 189-202) is quite detailed. As a continuation of the description of the written documents (pp. 202-206), the authors provide a valuable supplement (pp. 233-237), listing all Middle Bulgarian texts that have been studied in special publications. For each text, information is supplied as to its date, dialect, and some other features. As most of the texts have been studied either recently or in old and obscure publications, this supplement will become an important working tool for specialists.

Finally, A. D. Duličenko's chapter on "The Language of the Ruthenians in Serbia and Croatia" (pp. 247-272) represents an unusually interesting contribution. Ruthenians moved to these areas only in the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries. Their language presents especially intriguing features for the theoretical study of the mixture of closely-related dialects. It presents, in particular, a bundle of isoglosses uniting it with Carpathian Ukrainian and Eastern Slovak dialects, and thus appears as a dialect intermediary between the Eastern and Western Slavic areas.

The book, to conclude, contains a number of interesting sections. It deserves high praise for the freedom with which it is written and for its discussions of some of the most difficult questions surrounding the linguistic situation in the Balkans.

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