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**Українізми в італійській мові
(з паралелями в інших європейських мовах)**

Останні соціополітичні події, що спричинили зміни в українському суспільстві, сприяли безпрецедентному поширенню українських слів у всіх європейських мовах, зокрема в італійській. У статті аналізується функціонування терміна "ucrainismo" в італійських лексикографічних джерелах, розглядаються традиційні, вже засвоєні українізми в італійській мові та лексеми на позначення сучасних українських реалій, що проникли в міжнародні мас-медіа внаслідок фактів Євромайдану. Також проводяться паралелі контекстуального вживання нових українських слів в італійській та інших західноєвропейських мовах.

Ключові слова: українізми, лексика, італійська та українська мови, Майдан.

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**ANCIENT STYLISTICALLY-MARKED BORROWINGS
IN UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE
(EXAMPLIFIED BY WORDS MEANING SPEECH ACT)**

The paper examines ancient substrate elements in the Ukrainian language that were learned in the pre-Slavic period as expressively colored words, in particular with a negative evaluative connotation. Foreign-language verbs and verbal formations that describe the act of speech, like the modern "schprekhaty" (speak German), "pshekaty" (speak Polish) and so on, were an important source of replenishment for the Slavic vocabulary. In this group the author includes such Slavic words as "hovoryty" (speak), "balakaty" (chat), "provadyty" (speak insistently), "bazikaty" (chatter), "lyapaty" (babble) etc. The etymological connection tokens of the words "chytaty" (read) and "pysaty" (write) are also examined. Most of these words entered the Ukrainian vocabulary as a result of communication between ancient Slavs with the speakers of various other Indo-European languages.

Key words: Goths, exoticisms, expressive vocabulary, etymology, Iranian languages, lexical borrowing, Scythians, substrate.

Expressively colored words of foreign origin often displace native equivalents while losing their expressive meaning or gaining new connotations. We believe that the role of the stylistically-marked borrowings, exoticisms in particular, as a source for replenishing the language vocabulary is somewhat underappreciated in literature, including etymology. Here are several eloquent examples.

The Goths' *govor*

It is known that German languages spoken by Gothic tribes ruling over the Ukrainian lands in the middle of the first millennium AD had a significant influence on the formation of Slavic dialects. Goths introduced Christianity to this land and established a state with a capital on the Dnipro (it is not known where exactly). The Gothic king Ermanaric waged war against the Slavs, but some also must have served him.

Some of the Goths were assimilated by the Slavs and adopted the Slavic language while changing it, as it often happens, in the process. The Ukrainian language has a number of words of Gothic origin, such as: *купити* "buy", *хліб* "bread", *полк* "regiment" and others. It was the Goths, in our opinion, who left the Slavs the word *зговорити* "speak".

It is accepted that *зговорити* is a secondary relative to an ancient word **govorъ* (**gavorъ*) [*ЕСУМ* 1, 542]. *This token is registered in many Slavic languages, but its origin is debated. According to the Etymologic Dictionary of Slavic Languages: in Bulgarian зóвор means "language, dialect", in Macedonian зовор – "speaking, talking; dialect, speech, declaration", in Serbo-Croatian зóвoр – "language", in Slovenian gôvor – "language, conversation", in Czech hovor – "conversation", also Hovor – personal name, hovora – "loud talk, conversation", dial. hovor "loud talk, noise", in Slovak hovor "conversation, language", in Polish (old) howor – "language, conversation", "conspiracy", (dial.) "voice", in Old East Slavic зoвopъ – "noise", "conspiracy", in Russian зóвор, dial. зoвopa – "communication, dialect", "conversation", "language" (arch.), in Ukrainian зóвip – "dialect", in Belorussian (dial.) зóвap – "conversation", зaвoрка – "dialect, speech" [ЭССЯ 7, 75–77].*

It is assumed that this word originated from the onomatopoeic root *gov-*, *gav-* [ECYM 1, 542]. Comparisons are made with Latin *gavilēt* "engage in loud merriment, sing without words (also of the nightingale)", *gaurāt* "whistle, rage", *gauda* "complaint", *gaura* "chattering", Lithuanian *gaūsti* "make noise, sound (about bells)", Old High German *gikewen* "call", Old English *ciegan* (from Germanic **kaujan*), Old High German *kuma* "complaint", Greek γάος "moaning, complaint", γοάω "complain, mourn", Old Indian *gávate* "sounds", *jōgive* "announce, yell" etc.

Hence, in Slavic languages the semantics of this word has developed along the following lines: "speaking, speech act"; "dialect"; "noise, yelling". Apparently, the meaning of "speaking" has originated in the Proto-Slavic times and is the primary one. As to the connections with non-Slavic matches, they do not appear quite convincing, including the connections with Baltic words. The root *gov-*, *gav-* can be connected to any of the consonant onomatopoeic formations – *zavkamu* "bark", *zoïkamu* "exclaim oh!", *zykamu* "call", *zukamu* "hiccup", *zycmu* "buzz" etc., while the Latvian *gaura* can be compared with *teptomamu*, *teptamu*, *zepzomimu* "cackle" and others. This, however, does not explain much.

At the same time it is known that Gothic *gawaurdi* (*-au-* is pronounced as *-o-*) means "talking, conversing". This prefix formation comes from *wardi* (in English – *word*) [Balg 1888–1889, 132].

The prefix *ga-* in Gothic was rather productive. It is known to Slavs, in particular, from another word borrowed from the Goths – *zapazð* "okay", which came from *razda* "language, speech". **Garazds* – "able to speak well" [ECYM 1, 470].

In our opinion the word **govorъ* in Slavic languages was influenced by the Gothic language (**gavorъ* < **gavor(db)* < *gawaurdi*), at first, apparently, as an exoticism and could have meant "speaking in Gothic", **gavoriti* – "to speak Gothic", and could have had negative connotation, such as *unpexamu* meaning "speak German".

This root has lost its "exotic" connotation and in the modern Ukrainian language is neutral in meaning.

Once met a rattler, a gossip and a babbler

At the same time numerous ancient exoticisms from the same group of synonyms have kept the expressive marking, though losing their "exotic feel", i.e., their connection to foreign reality.

The word *балакати* means "talk, chat, speak" [ЕСУМ 1, 123]. The etymologic dictionary explains this word as a derivative from *бал-* "conversation, chat" and rightly refers to the token of *бали* "talks, chatting", which "can be viewed as a Proto-Slavic formation with the suffix *-l-* from Indo-European **bhā-* "tell" (this is where the Ukrainian *баяти, байка* come from) [p. 127, 157].

The question is how this word came to the Proto-Slavic language since there is no Baltic root *bal-* with a similar meaning.

The answer to this question can be found in Indo-Iranian languages, of which dialects were, probably, spoken by Scythians, for example. The Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages [Turner 1962–1966, 528] includes an article on **bōll* "speak". In various languages of this group one can encounter such forms of this word (the list here is not exhaustive, as a complete list would have taken up too much space): Prakrit *bollai* "speaks", Kashmiri *bōlun* "said", Lahnda *bolan*, Punjabi *bolṇā*, Bengali *bolā, balā, balāna* and others with the meaning of "language, speech, talk, mention, promise, words; to speak, say". In Prakrit *bōllaka* means "a great talker".

Therefore, the words *бали, балакати* are likely borrowed and from the very beginning must have had rather negative meanings. Perhaps, *балакати* used to mean to speak one of the Iranian languages – incomprehensible, euphonious (or on the contrary – fine, lordly?). Something like *пшекати* "to speak Polish" from the more recent past.

There is another token in the Ukrainian language from the same group of synonyms with a like root but markedly stronger stylistic coloring: *бовкати, бовкнути* – from Proto-Slavic **bьlkati*. Let us suppose that the word's onomatopoeic root [ЕСУМ 1, 219] was influenced by Iranian **bal-*, **bol-*. The same can be said about *белькотати, белькотіти* "to babble" [p. 166] and a very telling *балаболка* "babbling" – with both related roots.

Баляси in the meaning of "chats, nonsense" is in the same line. Saying *баляси точити* "make something on a lathe; chatter" from woodcutting ventured into this family of synonyms converging with *баляси*-chats on the basis of consonance [p. 129].

The words *балагура* and *балагурити* [p. 123] have joined substrate roots from two languages – Iranian *bal-* and Gothic *gur-* (from *govor-*).

The word *базікату* "chatter" as well as *басні* "empty talks" come from the same Indo-European root **bhā-* "to tell" [p. 114, 148]. And again there are no roots *bas-* or *baz-* in Baltic languages.

Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages notes in many of these languages the word *bhāṣā* "speech, language" [Turner 540] and variations: *bhāsa*, *bas*, *baha* and others meaning "language, word, song, saying". Therefore it is plausible that Slavic *басні*, *базікату* and other related words were influenced by the language of Iranians. Georgian *baasi* "chat" is apparently of the same origin.

Ляпати "blabber" is another expressive word from this synonym nest, which we believe is not just a simple case of onomatopoeia as might appear. It means "to speak without thinking, to chatter". It is common in most Slavic languages, which places its origin in the Proto-Slavic times. It probably originated from an exclamation *ляп* "splash" [ЕСУМ 3, 341], but it is this meaning that could have evolved under the influence of another language. Words *лопотати*, *ленетати* "to babble" are of the same root.

In Indo-Iranian languages **lapa* means "talking" (root *lap-* "chatter"). Derivative meanings in various languages include: "talkative; babbler; word, speech; chatters". In Pāli *lapaka* means "one who mutters" [Turner 634] – compare that with Ukrainian: *ляпак* "windbag" [ЕСУМ 3, 341]. *Lāpati* "chatters", derivatives – "talks"; **lāpana* "talking". In Kashmiri *lapar* – "a loquacious fellow full of nonsensical and foolish talk, a chatterer, a jabberer" [Grierson 1916–1932, 529]. Georgian *lap'arak'i*, which means "chat, conversation", is, perhaps, of the same Iranian origin.

As for *ленетати*, Etymologic Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language notes the connection between this word and Old Indian *lāpati* as well as with lexis of other Indo-European languages. This

word is probably inherited (not borrowed) by Ukrainian from the Indo-European times.

At the same time, the word *жебоніти*, *жабоніти* "to babble, make noise, buzz" is of unclear origin [ЕСУМ 2, 190], in our opinion, is also an exoticism, the same as *шпрехати*, *балакати*, *говорити*. The token *zabān*, *zubān* is found only in some Iranian languages, in particular Persian and Tadjik (*zabon*). It means "tongue; language, dialect, idiom, speech" [Steingass 1892, 608]. Amongst the Slavs it can be recognized in the word *жаба* "toad". So it looks like language of some Iranian tribes living on the banks of the Dnipro, which used this word, sounded like croaking. *Жебоніти* probably meant "to speak that "toad" language".

The origin of the native Slavic lexis *казати* "to say, tell" could be possibly traced to the same group of substrate elements. Researchers [ЕСУМ 2, 340–341], in particular, connect *казати* to Old Indian *kā'satē*, which means "shines, is visible", and Indo-Iranian words that mean "to see, to regard; watching". (Let it be noted here that *қазиya*, which in Urdu means "declaration, proposition, determination; history, narrative; quarrel, broil", most likely does not have any connection to the Slavic root).

Enough of that *pravada*!?

Провадити, which means "to tell, assert, insistently repeat the same thing", appears to be a typical Slavic word if one looks at its morphology and phonetics. *Провадити* is considered cognate with *водити* "to lead" and *проводити* "to conduct" [СУМ 7, 140–143].

At the same time, Indo-Aryan languages [Turner 494] have an ancient lexis, which forces us to doubt the origin of this word: *pravāda* "speaking forth; talk, rumour". In various Indo-Iranian languages it has different etymologic variants of the word: "report; long story; useless talk; epic poem, ballad" to name but a few. In Kashmiri [Grierson 772] *prawād* means "a proclamation, a crying out".

The comparative dictionary [Turner 494] notes the root *vad*, the same as we isolate it in Ukrainian.

Looking at the morphological parallels in Ukrainian and Indo-Iranian as well as the word's semantics, we believe that it came to

Ukrainian from Iranian and cannot be considered as an etymological match to the Indo-Iranian words.

Perhaps, the meanings of the borrowed *провадити* "to speak insistently" and native Ukrainian *провадити* "to lead, carry out, conduct" converged.

Where did *мова* come from?

The origin of this word (*мова*) does not have a satisfactory explanation, while the root *мов-* (*молв-*, **mьlv-*) does not have matches outside of Slavic languages. Etymologic Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language provided only a brief definition: Proto-Slavic **mьlva* "noise", **mьlviti* "to buzz"; the origin is not definitely determined; it is considered to be an onomatopoeic formation [3, 491–492]. Etymologic Dictionary of Slavic Languages is more insistent on the onomatopoeic origin [ЭССЯ 20, 225–226]. Indo-Iranian lexicons do not provide additional clarity.

Still, we propose here that this word appeared under the influence of Indo-Iranian languages, which is evidenced by its phonetics and morphology.

Words ending in *-va*, particularly verbal nouns, are often found in Indo-Iranian languages: *palāva* "straw"; *plava* – "flood" from *plávatē* "floats"; *ārāva* "cry"; *rāva* "roaring"; *drāva* "speed, flight" from *drāvati* "runs"; *bahutva* "abundance"; *dāsatva* "slavery"; *śrāva* "hearing"; *prasrāva* "urine"; **bhāṣārava* "language"; *bhāvā* "being, thing, condition" and others. In the aforementioned Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages by Sir Ralph L. Turner, close to 2 % of all title words end in *-va*. In Slavic languages the number of such words (for example: *слава* "fame", *пирва* "abyss", *страва* "dish", *злива* "downpour", *булава* "mace", *битва* "battle", *заграва* "glow", *ностава* "posture" and others) is lower and, in our opinion, many of them were influenced by Iranian.

Moreover, the combination of sounds – syllable-forming *l* or *r* between two consonants – is characteristic for Old Indian and Proto-Slavic languages: Proto-Slavic *vlkь* "wolf" compared to Old Indian *vṛka*; Slav. **mrtь* "death" – Old Ind. *mrtá*; Slav. **mrkn* "to grow dim" – Old Ind. *mrđú* "soft, weak"; Slovenian *krk* "neck" – Old Ind. *krka* etc. This common feature of both language groups (in Slavic

languages it is, most likely, substrate) has been retained in the contemporary Indian branch and in some of the Slavic languages.

Hence the word *мова* (**mlva*) could have appeared in Iranian (or Slavic-Iranian) languages of tribes living on the banks of the Dnieper similar to *bhāvā*, *plava*, *drāva* etc. as a noun that identifies the process that can be expressed by a verb – speaking, talking, buzzing.

By the way, it is possible that the figurative meaning ("to say nonsense") of the word *молоту* "to grind" developed under the influence of the verb **mьlviti*, which originated from *мова-молва*.

I read, therefore I think

Let us also look at two other words that may have Iranian origin and were absorbed by the Slavic language as exoticisms but have long since lost their expressive connotation.

We do not know for sure whether "prehistoric" Slavs could read and write, though historians have reasons to believe that they could. We know nothing about the writing of Scythians and other Iranians that lived on this territory. However, the origins of the words *читаму* "to read" and *писаму* "to write" provide some evidence of their literacy.

The word *читаму*, is etymologically linked to *чуму* "to respect", *почтливый* "deferential", *честь* "honour", and it has close Indo-Iranian relatives: *cittā* "visible; thinking, mind" [Turner 260]. "Comparative Dictionary..." notes the following meanings of the derivative words *čit*, *čēth*, *cetāna*, *citāunu* etc. in various Indo-Aryan languages: "intention, will, understanding, intelligence, memory, attention; to ponder, inform, think, decide; to look at, to come to one's senses".

Baltic languages also have related words: Lithuanian *skaityti* "to read, count", Latvian *skaitīt* "to count" [*Фасмер IV 367*]. It is believed that in Slavic words there is alteration between **čit*/**čbt* (Ukrainian *чум-/чм-*); however, it is possible that the history of these words differs.

Чумаму "to read" with its current meaning could have been acquired by Proto-Slavs as a result of interaction with Iranians, which is evidenced by the semantics of Indo-Iranian words congenial to *чумаму* ("to inform, think, decide"; **uc-cittaka* "very

intelligent" – compare to the Ukrainian читака "prolific reader", with prefix uc- meaning "very", in Russian очень). Another piece of evidence of the borrowing is the Georgian k'ith-va "reading", evidently of the same origin.

Even if we believe that the ancient Dnipro-area tribes did not have indigenous writing, some of their compatriots, without a doubt, were literate, i.e. could read and write in foreign languages. Therefore, there must have been a word for this intellectual process. That word could have been Iranian *čīta-, which over time became Slavic čīta-.

Painted Beauty

As for писання "writing", its root could have come to Ukrainian in Indo-European times, though in a different meaning – ністрявії, неспуї "motley" (root *pъs-). The meaning "to write, draw" is found only in Slavic, Baltic (Lithuanian pižšti "draw", Prussian peisāi "write" [ЕСУМ 4, 360, 375–376], and some Indo-Iranian languages. In Slavic and Baltic languages the meaning could have evolved under the influence of the same Aryan languages that were prevalent in the Dnipro basin in the first century B.C. Among the native speakers there were numerous literate persons without whom trading and diplomacy could not have managed.

The root piś- in Indo-Iranian has the meaning of carving (incl. carving meat), mintage. The semantic connection to писання "writing" is quite clear. Pēša, from the same root, meant "ornament", pēšalā – "adorned, lovely, pleasant, beautiful" [Turner 464], pēšakāra – "female embroiderer", quite literary "the one who makes an ornament". We can see connections of this root to Ukrainian писанка (pysanka) "decorated Easter egg", писанкарство "making decorated Easter eggs", розписувати "decorate Easter eggs", розписний "decorated" and the expression неписана краса "unpainted beauty".

Old Persian takes us even closer to the Slavic meaning: *nipēšayati "writes" (from piś-). In Tadjik navyshstan means "to write" (root vysh-), in Ossetian fyssyn – "to write" (fys-).

Therefore, нусати "to write" in our opinion is also a substrate word, which reminds us of the ancient, in particularly cultural, links of the Proto-Slavs, or even "Balto-Slavs", with Iranians.

Thus, exoticisms and other expressively colored borrowed words, particularly those with a negative evaluative connotation, have played an important role in forming the vocabulary of Slavic languages. Especially "resilient" among such "exotic" words were those verbs and verbal forms with the meaning of the process of speaking.

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Древние стилистически маркированные заимствования в украинском языке (на примере слов, обозначающих речевой акт)

В статье рассматриваются древние субстратные элементы в украинском языке, усвоенные в праславянский период как экспрессивно окрашенные слова, в частности с негативной оценочной коннотацией. Важным источником пополнения славянской лексики являлись иноязычные глаголы и отглагольные образования, обозначающие процесс речи, возникшие по образцу современных "шпрехатъ", "пшекатъ" и под. К такой лексике автор относит считающиеся исконными славянские слова "говорить", "балакатъ", "болтатъ", "ляпатъ" и пр. Также анализируются этимологические связи лексем "читатъ" и "писатъ".

шинство из этих слов вошли в украинскую лексику в результате взаимодействия древних славян с носителями других индоевропейских языков.

Ключевые слова: *готы, экзотизмы, экспрессивная лексика, этимология, иранские языки, лексические заимствования, скифы, субстрат.*

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Давні стилістично марковані запозичення в українській мові (на прикладі слів, що позначають мовленнєвий акт)

У статті розглядаються давні субстратні елементи в українській мові, котрі були засвоєні в праслов'янський період як експресивно забарвлені слова, зокрема з негативною оцінною конотацією. Важливим джерелом поповнення слов'янської лексики були іношомвні дієслова та віддієслівні утворення на позначення акту мовлення, на кшталт сучасних "ципрехати", "пиєкати" тощо. До такої лексики автор відносить питомі слов'янські слова "говорити", "балакати", "провадити", "базікати", "ляпати" тощо. Також аналізуються етимологічні зв'язки лексем "читати" й "писати". Більшість із цих слів увійшли в українську лексику в результаті взаємодії давніх слов'ян з носіями інших індоевропейських мов.

Ключові слова: *готы, экзотизмы, экспрессивная лексика, этимология, иранские языки, лексические заимствования, скифы, субстрат*

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LES PROBLEMES DU PLURILINGUISME DANS LES PAYS FRANCOPHONES

L'article présente quelques aspects de l'existence du plurilinguisme dans les pays francophones tels que : la Belgique, la Suisse, le Canada, la France, aussi bien que les opinions différentes des experts sur les problèmes de la coexistence des langues au sein d'un pays et les modèles du contrôle de la diversité linguistique. On a également défini la place qui occupe chaque langue dans tel ou tel pays et on a tiré une parallèle avec l'Ukraine.

Mots-clés: *bilinguisme, plurilinguisme, pays francophones, code, code meshing.*

L'actualité de la recherche est déterminée par un des problèmes du développement et de la coexistence des plusieurs langues au sein d'un pays.