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The Role of Historical South-East Dialects in the Formation of the Ukrainian Literary Language (1798–1830s)

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study¹ is to highlight the relationship between the rise of a new, vernacular-based literary language and the role of the dialectal component on the development of this new literary language; and to examine some dialectal features typical of the Ukrainian literary works penned during the late 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. The historical dialectisms will be selected in accordance with two main criteria: a) frequency of their use in the examined texts; b) recurrence in modern non-standard speech² like Suržyk, i.e. a mix of the Ukrainian-Russian languages. Furthermore, this research aims to corroborate a thesis referred to elsewhere³ in the literature. According to this thesis, the Ukrainian dialectal elements play a fundamental role in the formation of contemporary Suržyk. For this reason, it is important to differentiate more specific Ukrainian dialectal features from those derived from extraneous sources, e.g. Russianisms⁴.

¹ I wish to thank the Austrian Research Society “Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft” for its support. See: MOEL-Projekt 277.

² It needs to be added that some of the reported “dialectal” features also occur in the high style writings of modern literary Ukrainian. These forms, as we shall see later, also may be regarded as archaisms, high register words and/or expressions etc. However, the average Ukrainian speaker is inclined to evaluate them either as authentic Russian words or as an effect of the latter on Ukrainian.

³ Cf. Del Gaudio (2010: 139–209).

⁴ We are aware of the presence of West Slavic elements, and Polish in particular, that entered into Standard Ukrainian via *prostaja mova* before the formation of the new Ukrainian literary language; nonetheless, they are not the object of main focus in this contribution.

The emergence of the new vernacular-based Ukrainian literary language at the end of the 18th century and its relation to the local dialects and varieties of preceding literary languages, such as *staroukrajins'ka mova* and Church Slavonic, remain topical in Ukrainian literary and linguistic investigation, notwithstanding several reliable studies⁵.

Bulachovs'kyj (1956: 5–10) posed two basic questions related to the origin and development of the Ukrainian language that can be summed up as follows:

a) When and how did a written language that can be acknowledged as the modern Ukrainian literary language appear for the first time?

b) Which written documents do contain the linguistic evidence typical of the modern language? When did those documents first appear?

The first point can apparently be answered with a certain ease (*ibid.*). As to the second question, it is definitely more difficult to find a plausible answer before identifying a certain epoch. This issue becomes even more complex if one endeavors to understand the role of historical dialects in the formation of the new literary language and the relation of the written language to the oral vernaculars (dialect; colloquial speech; etc.).

A similar question has recently been addressed by Danylenko (2008a; 2008b). In his studies, he effectively summarizes the language historic interpretation of the fundamental period for the Ukrainian language development, sketching the most accredited scholarly views.

One tendency, represented by I. Bilodid, M. Žovtohrjux, V. Rusanivs'kyj and V. Peredrijenko, sees continuity in the development of literary Ukrainian from the Middle Ages to the writings of Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj. In their opinion the latter was not so much a creator of the new literary Ukrainian, but rather an innovator of previous literary tendencies as traces of those tendencies can be found in previously existing texts. The opposite view, defined by Danylenko (2008b: 82) like the populist theory, sees a disconnection between the Ukrainian literary works of the past epochs and the innovation introduced by Kotljarevs'kyj. This theory is purported by F. Žylko, O. Horbatch, S. Jermolenko, and L. Masenko. This position that envisages a “break” in the Ukrainian language tradition spanning approximately one hundred and fifty years (mid-17th century until 1798) was also maintained by Mečkovskaja (2004: 277–278). Shevelov (1966: 14), on the other hand, seems to partially adopt a position between the two scholarly tendencies illustrated above when he writes, “(...) Letzten Endes ist er (Kotljarevs'kyj) durchaus auch kein Sprachrevolutionär. Der Bruch zwischen der Sprache der Literatur des 18. und des 19. Jahrhunderts ist bedeutend, aber kleiner, als man annimmt”⁶.

⁵ Levčenko (1945); Bulachovs'kyj (1956); Shevelov (1966); Peredrijenko (1979) etc.

⁶ Overall, Kotljarevs'kyj is not a language revolutionary. The break in the literary language of the 18th–19th c. is significant yet not to the extent one expects. (Translated by the author.)

Also fundamental, however, as Danylenko (2008a: 3) points out, is the relationship existing between “the gradual changes occurring in the distribution of genres and literary languages throughout the 18th century and the transformations in their dialects foundations”. In the following sections we shall discuss some current issues about the formation process of the new Ukrainian literary language and analyze the recurrent dialectisms of some early 19th century writers.

2. HISTORIC AND SOCIO-LINGUISTIC ASPECTS

An outline of the historic and socio-linguistic events that created the conditions for the development of the new Ukrainian language (end of the 18th – beginning of the 19th c.⁷) is truly essential. Such an approach enables both an appraisal of some of the causes which led to the emergence of a new Ukrainian literary language as well as an evaluation of its relationship to the vernacular (“*narodna rozmovna mova*”) and dialects⁸.

The end of the 18th century and the first half of the following century was characterized by the rise of national, cultural, and political turmoil in most European states. The former *status quo* had been undermined by the insurgence of dormant ethnic groups and their national aspirations. The national movements did not affect all emerging European populations at once. The degree of national aspiration often took place in subsequent stages and was tightly connected to socioeconomic development, the domestic political situations of the respective dominant nations and states⁹, and cultural contingencies. The awakening of the neglected cultures marked the initiation of those national movements (Kappeler 2000: 114–116). Generally speaking, the first who began to research and support the language, culture and history of those populations were small groups of intellectuals. The cultural, linguistic and historic identification implied the search for ethnic and national identity. In this general European socio-cultural milieu, one needs to consider the sociocultural and linguistic situation of the emerging Ukrainian nation.

⁷ An overview of the complex language situation of 18th century Ukraine is essential in order to comprehend the formation process that eventually led to the rise of a new Ukrainian literary language. Research on the formation of the Ukrainian language on its popular basis before the publication of Kotljarevs’kyj’s *Eneid* (1798) was carried out by Peredrijenko (1979).

⁸ We shall differentiate “vernacular” from historical dialects. We indicate here that “vernacular” in the broadest sense means the oral language spoken by ordinary Ukrainians; it differs from other literary languages in use at that time, e.g. *staroukrajins’ka mova*; *slovenoros’ka mova*; etc. The term dialect will be applied to a more limited geo-linguistic diffusion, thus characterizing local speech patterns.

⁹ Most European populations in the 18th century lived in multi-ethnic states like the Austrian and Russian empires. They were for this reason, with the due differences, politically and culturally subject to the dominating ethnic elite. Those people, for the most part, did not even have their own written language nor did they have their own literature.

The cultural and linguistic development of the Ukrainian lands that were subject to the Russian empire was slowed down. The intolerance was particularly aimed at restricting the diffusion of linguistic varieties other than those officially supported by the Russian government, as for example the Church Slavonic of Russian redaction, or the emerging new Russian literary language.

In a broader sense, one can say that the “Ukrainian¹⁰” in usage at the end of the 18th and the early 19th centuries could have only been learned in so called “clerical schools” (*дяківські школи*), which were financed directly by the pupils’ fathers. However, this basic education in Ukrainian was restricted to a limited number of people. Ordinary people spoke a vernacular based on their local dialects whose features can be partially traced back to the *interludes* or *intermezzi* of the 18th c. The language of the interludes was a partial representation of the spoken language, but it was still mediated through literary expedients according to the parameters fixed by the teachings of the “three styles” in vogue at the Kyjiv-Mohyla Academy¹¹.

In addition, the language of the interludes, especially in the 17th c., does not always appear neatly differentiated from literary Ukrainian, particularly with regard to morphology (Rusaniv’s’kyj 2002: 120–121). In later interludes (18th c.), a new praxis became the rule when each personage was portrayed as speaking his own language or dialect. Rusaniv’s’kyj (2002: 122) pointed out, “Отже, інтермедії XVII – початок XVIII ст. відбивають ту мовну ситуацію, яка склалась на той час в Україні” (...) A few pages further (*ibid.*, 137), this concept is emphasized once again: “Українці розмовляють українською мовою, поляки – польською, литвин – білоруською, москаль – московською etc.”¹².

Another factor influencing ordinary people’s oral language was the geopolitical partition of the Ukrainian lands. A few educational institutions (*гімназія*),¹³ located on the Dnieper Left Bank in Ukraine, were tolerated by the Russian government mainly for practical and political reasons. The support of the local upper class, and for the most part, the nobles, was an indispensable tool of local government (Bilodid 1958: 141–142).

In his rigorous research, Danylenko (2008b: 104) after Kohut (1988: 258–76) remarks that the “Russification” was never seriously impeded by the Ukrainian élite since the majority of the “little Russian” nobles were inclined to consider the empire as their own state and actively supported the Russian state in shaping the culture.

¹⁰ It has to be pointed out that the word “Ukrainian” could be interpreted differently since a unitary Ukrainian literary language did not yet exist at that time.

¹¹ Also, see: *Ukrajins’ki intermediji, peredmova*, <http://litopys.org.ua/ukrinter/into1.htm> (03.07.07); also Markov’s’kyj (1962: 97–124).

¹² “Therefore, 17th – early 18th c. interludes exactly reflect the peculiarity of the language situation in Ukraine at that time ... Ukrainians speak Ukrainian, Poles – Polish, Lithuanians – Belarussian, Muscovites – Muscovian etc.” (Translated by the author.)

¹³ The lyceums were a link between the only two Ukrainian universities, respectively the University of Charkiv (1805) and the University of Kyjiv (1834) and the middle schools.

The formation of a new Ukrainian literary language, as mentioned earlier, was connected with the process of national self-identification. The formation period conventionally extends from the second half of the 18th century to the first half of the 19th century. The time span covering the last quarter of the 18th century and the period immediately preceding Ševčenko's activity (1840s) is crucial for the formation of the new literary language. A necessary condition for the creation of a new national and cultural consciousness was the conception of a new language which could combine and unify the former written varieties of literary Ukrainian with the emerging vernacular of the ordinary people (Bilodid, 141). The old literary language(s), used mainly for literary purposes, as for example the so-called "old literary Ukrainian" (*стара книжна мова*), gradually yielded to the pressing language situation of the 18th century. It is worth noting that the 18th century, particularly its first part, was still marked by a rather complex language situation, an inheritance of past epochs.

The process of consolidation of the new literary language is quite articulated and began much earlier than it may appear at the initial stage of analysis. The 18th century played a fundamental role in the emancipation of the vernacular (*narodna roz-movna mova*) which laid the foundation for the emergence of the new literary language whose vernacular-based features, however, had already been attested in the literary texts of earlier epochs¹⁴.

A crucial factor for the future emancipation of the new literary language based on a vernacular was, in Peredrijenko's (1979: 19–63) view¹⁵, the gradual loss of the traditional style differentiations that characterized the first half of the 18th century. The style confusion actually generated an overlapping of language formulas, grammatical constructions, and lexical items that led to an overwhelming presence of colloquial elements. Language elements typical of the lower population strata, which had originally been used as literary expedients to stigmatize the speech of the roughs, especially in the so-called interludes, began spreading even in the written

¹⁴ However, language patterns devising language features typical of the new literary language can be found in texts of popular origin of previous centuries; they are apparent in 16th–17th c. ballads (*dumy*), popular verses etc. Cf. Z literary XVI–XVIII st. In: *Ukrains'ka literatura. Chrestomatija* (1967: 33–46).

¹⁵ He distinguishes two main stylistic levels of literacy. One is a traditional pattern of the three styles: high, middle and low respectively. (We shall remember that this traditional partition was destined to have vast echo also in Russian literature. Cf.: M. Lomonosov's theory.) The other one is a structurally functional level. According to the traditional tripartition, the "high" style was used to write tragedies and odes; the "middle" style was meant for elegies, memoirs and chronicles; and the "low" style was confined to interludes and fables. The structurally functional level instead adopted the following lingual and stylistic subdivision: belles-lettres / fiction, political, social, scientific, commercial, and confessional essays. The first part of the latter subdivision, representing the structurally functional level, is also used in contemporary Ukrainian (*ibid.*).

form and gradually replaced the former literary languages – the *slov''janorus'ka mova* and the *prosta mova*.

The coexistence of the two literary language varieties and the vernacular language (*narodna rozmovna mova*), their parallel function – not to mention the contact with other languages, for example, Russian and Polish, or a learned contact with Greek and Latin – considerably reduced the lines of demarcation between the different language systems. The affirmation of the new literary language was, as previously mentioned, a gradual process spanning a relatively long period of time (*ibid.*, 32).

One can add that Ukraine's educated persons, particularly during the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, were striving to belong to a larger intellectual, cultural and linguistic community. The attempt to unify all East Slavs and the necessity to be understood in Russia forced them to cultivate an artificial literary language, referred to as *slavenoros'ka* or *slov''janorus'ka mova*¹⁶. This language variety, based on a modernized version of Church Slavonic, was codified in Smotryc'kyj's grammar (1619); it was also known as Meletian Church Slavonic and was designed for all Orthodox Slavs¹⁷, fostered by the Kyjiv Academy and accepted as such.

The *slov''janorus'kij jazyk* relied, in terms of grammar and lexis, more on the "old tradition"¹⁸ than on the *prosta mova*; furthermore, it was widely used in both the Ruthenian and Russian territories. Another fundamental aspect is that the

¹⁶ Cf. For the definition, aspects and the importance of the "*slavenorosskyj jazyk*" in the development of the Ukrainian and Russian Literary Languages, see: Del Gaudio (2009a; 2009b).

¹⁷ As Shevelov (1979: 568–569) points out "(...) the creators of the new version of Church Slavonic had no ambition and even no desire to restore it in its purity or in the Euthymian recension. Their Church Slavonic was intended more practically than philosophically or even theologically. (...) Although the Meletian version of Church Slavonic was generally accepted in the Ukraine, adherence to it varied in practice, depending upon the training and the zeal of various authors. Some managed to apply the prescriptions with amazing consistency, so that Ukrainianisms in their writings are limited to those few accepted by Smotryc'kyj. (...) Others allowed more licences so that, in practice, the whole gamut of shades and transition between Meletian ChSl and the *prostaja mova* can be discovered in the writings of the time. (...) Even the name they most frequently used for it was less often *slavenskyj* and more often *slavenorosskyj*, i.e. ChSl as used and codified in the Ruthenian and Russian lands".

¹⁸ "Але поруч із новою літературною мовою в українській літературі сильна була й течія, що міцно трималась своєї давньої мови, тільки помітно розбавленою живими словами й формами. Це т. зв. Славенороська мова, «широкий і велико-славний славенський язик», особливо підтримана Граматикою (1619) Мелетія Смотрицького. Більшість наших письменників писали цією мовою, вона ж панувала і в Церкві, і в науці, хоч скрізь була помітно захитана новою літературною мовою". (Ohijenko 2004: 159–160). [Translation: Along with the new literary language, there was a strong tendency in the Ukrainian literature to hold on to its ancient language, though vividly mixed with colloquial words and forms. This was the so-called *Slavenoros'ka mova*, "the great and glorious Slavenskyj jazyk" particularly sustained by Meletyij Smotryc'kyj's Grammar. Most of our writers wrote in this language; it dominated in Church and science, yet its swing towards the new literary language was evident.]

Ukrainian society again accepted a kind of diglossia: Church Slavonic (*jazyk slavenorosskyj*) vs. *prostaja mova*. Pure specimens written in one of the two languages were extremely rare. Both languages were combined in various proportions and almost every text revealed a mixed and transitional character (Shevelov 1979: 569). It is therefore essential to define precisely the kind of the language and the proclivities of the author before analysing a text of that period (*ibid.*).

This literary language, however, was rather distant from common language practice. Thus common speakers perceived it, to a certain extent, to be an artificial one. The affirmation of this academic variety was detrimental for the further existence of the “*prostaja mova*”¹⁹, which was eventually replaced during the 18th century. It must however be recalled that the “high” literary varieties were not completely free from the influence of the vernacular, thus allowing a certain degree of interaction. At this point, it is essential to recollect that the sociolinguistic situation in the Hetmanate began to take a different shape after the defeat of Mazepa (1709). The use of the vernacular found gained more ground even in literary creation, thus overcoming the former opposition: *jazyk slavenorosskyj* vs. *prostaja mova*, and leading to a tripartite system with some traits of triglossia (Rusanivs’kyj²⁰ 2002: 148; Danylenko 2008: 3).

Later in the 18th century, particularly after the publication of Lomonosov’s *Ruskaja grammatika* in 1745, the emancipation of the new Russian literary language from the traditional Church Slavonic models²¹ and the intensification of the pro-Russian language policy in Ukraine gradually led to restrictions on the *slovenoros’ka mova* spheres of use. The latter, in fact, contradicted the *ukazy* (edicts) issued by Peter I and his successors²², according to which all books printed in Ukraine

¹⁹ The *prostaja mova* was one of the written languages used by both Ukrainians and Belarusians during the 16th and 17th c. This literary language was based on the Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Belarusian) chancery language and developed into a literary language on account of its multifunctional character. The rules of the *prostaja mova* were based on its common usage, not on codification. Cf. Moser (2002: 221–260).

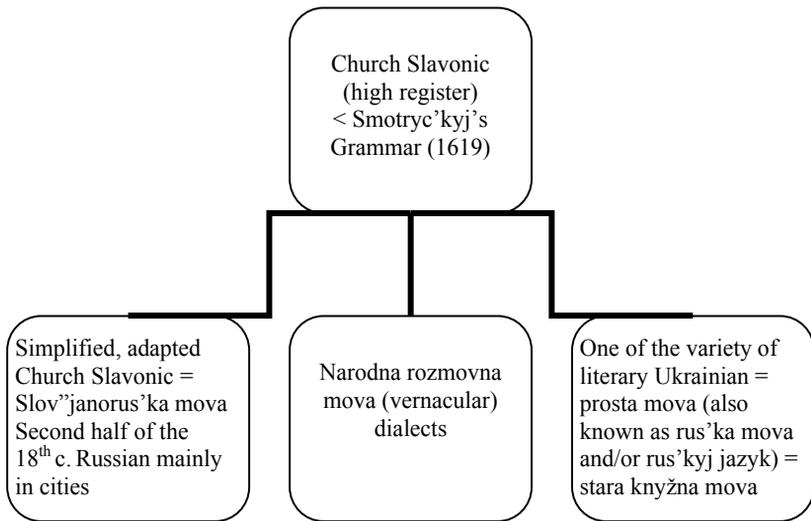
²⁰ He writes “Література високого звучання тепер видавалася або слов’яноруською, або й тодішньою російською мовами, а розважальні твори почали з’являтися народною мовою. Отже, три мови використовувалися в культурному житті України XVIII ст.: староукраїнська, слов’яноруська (або російська) і народна українська”. [Translation: Literature of a high register was now rendered either in slov’janorus’kyj or the Russian of the time, whereas entertaining works (plays etc.) began to appear in the vernacular. Therefore, in 18th century Ukraine there were three languages in use: old Ukrainian, slov’janorus’kyj (or Russian), and the Ukrainian vernacular.]

²¹ We shall be reminded here that the *slovenoros’ka mova* / *jazyk slavenorosskyj* was one of the basic literary languages used in Russia. This variety was one of the main paradigmatic sources of the new Russian language. In fact, Russian structurally and lexically resembles the Church Slavonic model more than modern Standard Ukrainian.

²² Among the edicts directed to restrict the free use and development of the Ukrainian language varieties, one can mention: the ukaz of 1720 issued by Peter I “according to which books have to be printed, in Kyjiv and Černihiv, in a language that must not differ from the Muscovian language”. Other *ukazy* date back to 1721 and 1727. See: Rusanivs’kyj (2002: 129).

should not diverge from the Russian pronunciation. Such a language situation and the absence of local reference models, especially after the reign of Catherine II (1762–1796), favoured the gradual emancipation of the vernacular. In the opinions of some prominent scholars²³, the vernacular did not represent a significant dialectal differentiation. This intrinsic peculiarity determined its potentiality, rendering it suitable to accomplish the functions of a generalized popular literary language. Furthermore, the emergence of the Russian literary language, especially during the second half of the 18th century, considerably complicated the sociolinguistic panorama of the Ukrainian lands subject to Moscow.

A schematic illustration better elucidates the complex language situation of the Ukrainian lands before the rising of the new literary language on its south-eastern base:



Nonetheless, the old literary patterns continued to survive in specific literary genres well until the first quarter of the 19th century. The fading of those patterns was not a sudden, but a gradual process²⁴. According to a common interpretation (Bilodid 1958: 141; Peredrijenko 1979: 21 ff.), the written varieties of “Ukrainian” became increasingly inadequate. Elements of the colloquial language penetrated into an ever-growing number of the old literary language formulas and grammatical constructions, undermining its system and structure.

²³ See: Bulachovs'kyj (1977, vol. 2: 29); Matvjas (1998: 29).

²⁴ See above.

In the 17th and 18th centuries oral language samples spoken by common people were mainly confined to the stylistic representations of specific characters, and it was a typical feature of “low” genres²⁵. As Peredrijenko (1979: 51) states, “the popular spoken language in the 18th century was widely consolidated in the prose: folkloristic texts²⁶, chronicles, memoirs, legends and narratives”²⁷.

The vernacular remained unchanged in popular verses and songs. However, the language used in those popular versifications was not always consistent; it often reflected the authors’ idiolects, cultural level and metrical exigencies²⁸.

At the turn of the 18th century, apart from the printed literary language, a large quantity of non-printed manuscripts based on the vernacular began to circulate. It was during this period that the emerging Russian literature became widespread among the educated people of Ukraine. Ukrainian chants, songs, verses etc., were collected between the 1770s and 1790s in various Russian folkloristic editions. The interest in such popular collections brought about an increasing curiosity toward the “lower” genres and consequently toward the language of the common folk.

The interest in the Ukrainian folk culture and language increased noticeably among the Russian scholars during the first part of the 19th century. It is not incidental that in the 1790s O. Pavlovs’kyj began to work on his “Grammar of little Russian dialect” (*Grammatika malorossijskago narečja*) which was published in St. Petersburg in 1818 (Peredrijenko 1979: 63). Although far from being comprehensive, it played a fundamental role in the eventual acceptance of spoken Ukrainian as a literary language. This grammar describes the basic phonetic and morphological features of the new Ukrainian language; in addition, it offers a short dictionary, some textual exemplifications and outlines of an orthographic system based on phonemic principles.

This period of time also coincides with the foundation of a few universities. The first eastern Ukraine’s University was founded in Charkiv in 1805, followed by the University of Kyjiv in 1834. It should be recalled that the Ukrainian lands subject to Austrian rule had a University in L’viv as early as 1784²⁹.

²⁵ See: above.

²⁶ It must be added that it is often very difficult to trace a neat boundary between the oral colloquial language (vernacular) and the language of folklore.

²⁷ Жива народна мова XVIII ст. широко закріплюється у прозі: фольклорні, літописні, мемуарні тексти, легенди і повісті.

²⁸ Also Rusanivs’kyj (2002: 151).

²⁹ At the University of L’viv, it was permitted to teach and learn the following subjects: Old Ukrainian literary language (*staroukrajins’ka mova*); *Slov’janorus’ka Mova*; in addition a chair of the Ukrainian Department was inaugurated. In 1786–1787 a Decree of the Austrian Emperor Joseph II declared the Ukrainian vernacular (in its western variant) a regional and national language of the people living in those provinces. The enlightened reforms, however, lasted only for a short period. Within the first two decades of the 19th c. Polish gradually replaced Ukrainian in many institutions, and many Ukrainian schools were suppressed and kept in check. One of the reasons for the *staroukrajins’ka mova*

The consolidation of the vernacular as a literary language is obviously connected with the publication of a whole series of reviews, almanacs, and dictionaries of “little Russian” which appeared between the 1820s and 1840s (Bilodid 1958: 142–143). Playing a significant role in the standardization process of the Ukrainian language³⁰ were these dictionaries: *izjasnenie malorossijskich rečenij* (1793) of F. Tumans’kyj; *Sobranie malorossijskich slov* (1798) added to the first edition of Kotljarevs’yj’ Eneid; V. Lomykovs’kyj’s *slovar’ malorossijskoj stariny* (1808); *Kratkij malorossijskij slovar’* (1818), a compendium to Pavlovs’kyj’s grammar, as well as the creative works of several writers, and miscellanies of popular poetry, e.g. *Opyt sobranja malorossijskych pesnej* (1819) collected by Certeljev; Maksymovyč’s *malorossijskie pesni* (1827) and *Ukrainskie narodnie pesni* (1834); Sreznevs’kyj’s examples of oral popular creation collected in the miscellany *Zaporožskaja staryna* (1833–1838) etc. In addition the publication of journals in Charkiv (edited in Russian), as for example the “Ukrainskij vestnik” (1816–1819), in which articles in defense of the autonomy of the Ukrainian language appeared, further sustained the formation process of the new Ukrainian literary language based on popular speech³¹.

The transition from the written literary plurilinguism of the pre-national period and the formation of a unitary national language was characterized by a new factor: the substitution of the old forms of the Ukrainian literary language with a language of popular origin. This phenomenon took place in Ukraine at the end of the 18th century when a new trend in culture and literature was set throughout Europe. All European populations began to develop a keen interest in their popular traditions including oral language creations. The old view that the language of the illiterates was “vile” began to decay. This literary tendency also reached the Russian Empire, thus encouraging the idea of a national rebirth (Ohijenko 2004: 189). In this cultural context, one can interpret Kotljarevs’kyj’s creative work (1798), which set the emergence of the spoken popular Ukrainian language (*narodna ukrajins’ka mova*) apart from the former literary varieties. The significance of Kotljarevs’kyj as the “initiator” of the new Ukrainian literary language and the key role played by his

functioning was the privileged position of the clergy in the domain of culture. A whole series of grammars were also compiled in western Ukraine: e.g. *Hramatyka jazyka slaveno-ruskogo* written by Mohylnyc’kyj in 1823; the preface was written in Polish in 1829, and it was only in 1910 that the grammar was published; Lučkaja’s *Grammatica Slavico-Ruthena* was written in Latin (1830) and published in Budapest etc. Those grammars, apart from Church Slavonic, also represented language aspects of the local spoken forms of speech, although only the normative grammar was considered the *slov’janorus’ka* (Moskalenko 1974: 65–85). The first grammar of Ukrainian that was written in German and printed in Galicia (Peremyšl’ 1834) was the *Grammatik der ruthenischen oder kleinrussischen Sprache in Galizien*. This grammar, however, was considered an unacceptable attempt to combine elements of different languages, e.g. Russian, Belarusian, Church Slavonic, Ukrainian etc.

³⁰ See: Hnatjuk (1960: 44–51).

³¹ For a more detailed account, see: Matvijas (1998: 29–30).

Eneid in the development of the new Ukrainian language, was initially recognized by I. Franko and advanced later by Levčenko (1946) in his *Narysy z istoriji ukrajins'koji movy peršoji polovyny XIX stolittja*³². However, as Shevelov³³ (1993: 8) appropriately remarked “the authors of such works did not envision creating a new literary language, but merely recorded various “Little Russian dialects”; e.g. the northern in Nekraševyč, the Poltava in I. Kotljarevs'kyj, and the Charkiv in H. Kvitka-Osnovjanyenko”. In this connection, it is worth highlighting the importance that an author like Nekraševyč had in his time, although it is generally underestimated today (Danylenko 2008: 12). He basically wrote in three languages: slavenorosskyj, in a variety of late Middle Ukrainian (*staroukrajins'ka mova*), and the vernacular. The vernacular was used not only in comic dialogues, reminiscent of interludes, such as Jarmarok (1790), A letter to [...] Filěpovyč (1791), and Zamysl na popa (late 18th century), but also in *Ispověd'* (1789) which presents a more complex language than the typical satirical dialogue (*ibid.*). In this respect Rusanivs'kyj (2002: 147) remarks that the vernacular of Nekraševyč can be considered the precursor of Kotljarevs'kyj's language (“Нарешті, мову народну І. Некрашевича можна назвати попередником І. Котляревського”), and adds that the vernacular was first heard in the Polissian territory (“уперше народна мова зазвучала з теренів Полісся”). This statement, lately maintained by Danylenko (2008a: 11–15), fits well into Shevelov's (1966: 10–15) theory on the significant role that the Černihiv dialectal territory played in the formation of the new Ukrainian literary language, thus anticipating and, to a certain extent, affecting the language choice of south-eastern writers. The attitude toward the vernacular changed and acquired new vigour as a possible standard language later, when various writers, such as M. Šaškevyč, A. Metlynsky, and M. Kostomarov, raised the possibility of a serious, full-fledged literature based on the vernacular. This process went through the “synthetic forge” of Ševčenko, who was the first to combine the use of archaisms and Church Slavonicisms with a geo-dialectal dimension, recurring to accessible dialects. Thus, the southern dialectal base of Modern Standard Ukrainian became established (Shevelov 1993: 8).

First of all, the Ukrainian “ethnos”, in the long period of its historic development, found itself in conditions of administrative and territorial fragmentation, often coinciding with states whose language, cultural and religious orientation differed significantly. In addition, there was no unitary cultural center. The “Ukrainian” culture and language were, therefore, permeated by impulses of various derivations (“centers”). This situation led to a contradictory ethnolinguistic development that lasted until 1945 (*ibid.*).

³² See: *Žanry i styli v istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* (1989: 133).

³³ Cf.: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*. Vol. V.

3. HISTORICAL UKRAINIAN DIALECTS

Historically, the Ukrainian linguistic territory comprised of two groups of dialects: the Northern and the Southern ones³⁴. Their boundaries underwent considerable changes as a result of various migration waves and the shift of historical and political borders.

Interaction between the literary languages in use in Ukraine and the local dialects is more or less evident and thus plausible³⁵. The languages in use at the time of the Kyjivan Rus' (until the 14th c.) were Church Slavonic of *Rusian* redaction³⁶, the old *Rusian* literary language (*davnja rus'ka mova*), and presumably different oral varieties³⁷. The presence of dialectal elements in Church Slavonic texts was minimal; dialectal features were slightly more noticeable in the literary written variety of Old *Russian*. Dialectal features typical of the oral language(s) are practically nonexistent; they can only be partially reconstructed after a careful examination of the extant texts. It is reasonable to believe that some of the dialectal characteristics of the modern language were contained *in nuce* as early as the 11th–12th c.

In the Middle Ages, after the collapse of the Kyjivan Rus' (1240), or even earlier, the south-western dialectal group played a crucial role in the continuation of the chancery literary language of the Kyjivian Rus', evolving into the so-called *aktovodilova pysemnist'* (juridical language)³⁸. The contribution of other dialectal groups, as for example the Middle Dnieprian and Polissian dialects, was minimal. A few elements of different dialectal provenance penetrated the written language varieties. Before the end of the 16th c. documents from the Middle Dnieprian territory were scarce. With the gradual revival of Kyjiv as a cultural center of the Ukrainian lands during the 17th c. the quantity of written documents originating from that area increased.

On the whole, the development of larger geopolitical conglomerates and the increasing commercial and cultural contacts between different territories should have contributed to the generalization of interdialectal features. In the case of the Ukrai-

³⁴ It is worth reminding that originally the Ukrainian ethnic people occupied the following areas: the Middle Dnieper, Polissian (North of Kyjiv and the Černihiv-Sivers'kyj region), Volhynian, Podilian, Galician, Bukovynian, and Transcarpathian areas. After the Tatarian incursions of the 13th–14th centuries, the population of the Middle Dnieper territories was considerably reduced (Žylko 1966: 21).

³⁵ Hrycenko (1993: 285) maintains that late 18th and early 19th c. Ukraine was also characterized by the co-existence of a few oral varieties. They all derived from different dialectal bases and were functional in different territories.

³⁶ Traditionally, one can speak of different redactions of Church Slavonic from the early 12th c. (Bilenka-Svystovyč, Rybak 2000: 20).

³⁷ Pivtorak (2004: 84) speaks of two oral language varieties: the oral dialectal speech of popular origin (*usne narodne dialektne movlennja*) and the oral literary koiné (*usne literaturne koiné*), respectively. In the scholar's opinion, the most widespread form of the oral language was the popular speech characterized by a series of dialectal variants.

³⁸ See: also Bevzenko (1980: 18–20).

nian lands, the development of towns in the modern epoch (16th – early 18th c.) only partially led to the formation of an interdialectal language. This anomalous situation was also shaped by the use of different linguistic codes depending upon geopolitical spheres of influence. The foreign states to which Ukrainian territories were subject did not facilitate the creation and development of a written language of popular origin, enriched by an interdialectal role. Moreover, the use of the older literary traditions³⁹, as for example Church Slavonic (and its varieties) or the old Ukrainian literary language, definitely slowed down the merger of an interdialectal *koiné* based on popular speech. In fact, Ukraine's cities, as political, cultural and economic centers, were subject to Russification in the East and to Polish, German, Hungarian, and Rumanian influence in the West. This explains why the Ukrainian language arose and developed relatively late based on local dialects, and not on the colloquial variety of a city, as in the case of several other European languages⁴⁰.

Another essential aspect of the new Ukrainian literary language development is related to the gradual change of the dialectal basis of the old Ukrainian literary language (*staroukrajins'ka / prostaja mova*) throughout the late 17th–18th c. The latter gradually shifted away from its West Ukrainian basis in favour of the northern dialectal traits where the Černihiv territory played a decisive role. Such a change can be explained by the cultural role that this area performed in the late 17th century, and by the works of a few outstanding men of letters for example, Nekraševyč⁴¹. The northern dialects continued to influence the neighboring Poltava and Charkiv dialectal areas. In this respect, it is essential to remark that the northern Ukrainian dialectal areal at that time would have extended farther south than in the present Ukrainian geo-dialectal distribution (Hancov 1924: 4; Shevelov 1966: 15; Danylenko 2008a: 13). This situation favored the rise of the new Ukrainian literary language based on the Middle Dnieprian dialects. This language went through a selection process which also unified the elements of the other two dialectal groups in one system⁴².

The relatively close interaction between the south-eastern dialectal groups, and the Middle Dnieprian subgroup and the Ukrainian vernacular in particular, can be regarded as an explicit peculiarity of the emergence of the new Ukrainian literary language. It is important to recall that at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century the bulk of dialects, particularly South Kyjvian, the Poltava, and the Slobodan (Charkiv area) dialects, laid the foundation for the new language as evidenced by their relative uniformity and many common features.

³⁹ Cf. section 1.

⁴⁰ Russian, for example, was based on the speech of Moscow just as British English was on the speech of middle-class London.

⁴¹ As Danylenko (2008a: 12–13) points out: “in comparison to the language of Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida*, the language of Nekraševyč already appears normalized, with a large number of elements that were later incorporated into new standard Ukrainian”.

⁴² Ukrainian dialectology adopts the term *nariččja* to refer to a larger territorial group of dialects.

Nonetheless, the south-eastern dialectal group, if compared to the Ukrainian literary language exhibits divergences in grammar, especially from the second part of the 19th century onward. They are immediately apparent in the morphology, lexis, and, to a lesser extent, phonetics (Matvijas 1990: 142).

The Ukrainian dialects were originally subdivided into two categories: north-eastern and south-western, from which the present-day northern and south-western dialectal groups are derived. The issue about the formation of the south-eastern group remains a controversial one. A lack of written documents from the south-eastern territories between the 14th–15th centuries has brought about discordant opinions. A relatively recent view tends to regard the Middle Dnieprian dialects – the nucleus of the entire south-eastern group – as archaic as the northern and south-western dialectal groups. As Matvijas (1990: 105) points out, the lack of proof seriously questions this assumption.

Since this article is primarily concerned with the existing relationship between the south-eastern dialects and the new Ukrainian literary language (1798–1830s), it is reasonable to postulate the more archaic characteristics of the northern and south-western dialectal groups. According to this interpretation, the former two groups had already begun to take shape before the establishment of the Kyjivan principality (9th–10th c.); while the formation of the south-eastern dialects goes back to the 16th–17th centuries. It was the time when south-eastern Ukraine, being freed from the Tatars, was gradually resettled by people migrating from the northern and south-western regions. The unity of the south-eastern dialects was caused by the migration process and the merging of the dialects spoken by the people of the two most archaic dialectal areas (Shevelov 1993: 996–997).

Among other fundamental factors which facilitated the conditions for the prominence of the Poltavo-Kyjivian dialects in the formation of the new literary language, the following should be mentioned:

a) a regained geopolitical and cultural central role of the Kyjiv-Poltava areas after the unification with Russia (1654) (external factor);

b) a more compact inner integrity of the Poltava-Kyjivian dialects, particularly at the morphosyntactic and lexical levels (internal factor), especially if compared to a strong territorial differentiation of other historic dialectal groups, e.g. the south-western ones⁴³.

Therefore, south-eastern dialects within their actual boundaries arose relatively late. The initial centre of this dialectal group was the Middle Dnieprian local dialect which began taking shape as early as the 13th–14th centuries as a consequence of the interaction between the older north-eastern dialectal systems with the south-western ones. The latter began to prevail over the former due to the consistent flux of the population moving from the Volynian, Podillian, and partially Galician lands into

⁴³ Cf. Vaščenko (1957: 345–349).

the Middle Dnieprian territory. In the 16th and 17th centuries people speaking the Middle Dnieprian dialect represented a highly mobile segment of the population. They settled in the newly acquired territories of the Slobodan and Steppe regions of Ukraine, thus constituting the dialectal nucleus of those areas. Consequently, the Slobodan and Steppe dialects are relatively modern if compared to the Middle Dnieprian ones. They began to take shape only in the 16th century. The territory of the Slobodan dialects overlaps with the historical borders of Slobodan Ukraine; just as the Steppe dialects are basically inherent in the geographic area of the former province of *Novo Rossija* (Novorosijs'ka gubernija)⁴⁴. The south-eastern dialect group, therefore, being the outcome of the historical interaction between the original north-eastern and south-western dialect groups cannot be directly associated with the former more archaic dialectal groups. Its formation represents some sort of supra dialectal compromise. For this reason, there is a certain degree of relatedness between the majority of south-eastern dialects and the new Ukrainian literary language⁴⁵.

Until the first quarter of the 19th century, the old Ukrainian literary forms continued to survive in the territories that were subject to the Russian Empire⁴⁶ despite the emergence of a new literary variety based on the generalized dialectal features of the Middle Dnieprian group of dialects. In Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia), on the other hand, the creation of the western variety of the Ukrainian language – one, based on popular speech – took place later. The first attempts to codify the south-western (Galician) variety of the literary language⁴⁷ go back to the publication of *Rusalka Dnistrova* (1837). This kind of literary language began to actively develop, especially from the second half of the 19th century onward (Žylko 1966: 24)⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ The political and administrative areas at the time of the Russian Empire were subdivided into “*gubernija*”. This different geopolitical arrangement of the Ukrainian territories complicates the attempts of dialectologists to reconstruct those dialects, since the contemporary Ukrainian regions do not always correspond to the czarist subdivision. In addition dialectal phenomena are not reported in their historic perspective on the dialectological Atlas of the Ukrainian language. Cf. *Atlas ukrajins'koji movy* (1984–2001).

⁴⁵ For a more detailed account of the historic facts which led to the formation of the different dialectal territories, particularly the Middle Dnieprian dialect group, see: Matvijias (1990: 105–112).

⁴⁶ Cf. section 1.

⁴⁷ It is true that modern Standard Ukrainian is primarily based on the South-Eastern group of dialects; those are spoken more precisely in the South Kyjvian, Čerkasy and Poltava regions. However, it has been significantly influenced by the dialects of the south-western regions where L'viv was an important cultural center. This influence has been exerted especially with regard to lexis and phonology. As a result, one may justifiably speak of a bi-dialectal basis of Standard Ukrainian even though the Eastern contribution is certainly more important (Shevelov 1993: 947).

⁴⁸ The Ukrainian literary language in its south-eastern variety began acquiring the role of a supra-regional / national variety approximately in Sevčenko's epoch (mid of the 19th c). Efforts to unify the south-eastern with the Galician varieties were made before the Octo-

Elements of the dialectal derivation of the Middle Dnieprian provenance (the basis of the new Ukrainian language), are attested in the low genres of literary Ukrainian as revealed in several written sources. Folkloristic genres, particularly *dumy*⁴⁹ and popular songs, were largely diffused throughout the Ukrainian dialectal territory between the 16th–18th c., thus contributing to the development of interdialectal traits.

Oral language elements of the colloquial language of popular origin (*narodno-rozmovna mova*), as mentioned in the previous section, began consistently penetrating the literary genres in the late 17th and 18th century. Consequentially, it is reasonable to assume that the vernacular, having the function of a mostly spoken language, was much closer to its dialectal substratum than other language varieties.

At the end of the 18th c., the old literary language(s) gradually began to give way to the emerging variety; a few decades later they ceased to exist. They were officially replaced either by the Russian language, or by the new Ukrainian literary language. The old literary varieties still in use in the 18th c. continued to be partially used in the early 19th c. The old literary patterns were either employed in their authentic form for particular literary works, as for example in specific language contexts, for authentic citations etc., or they appeared in revised versions. In both cases the old language patterns were combined with a new kind of emerging literary language and did not exclude the stylistic devices typical of the Russian literary language. According to a certain perspective (Rusaniv's'kyj 2002: 134–135) one can state without hesitation that the factors⁵⁰ destroying the old Ukrainian literary languages (*staroukrajins'ka* = *prostaja mova* and the *slov''janorus'ka mova*) created the preconditions necessary for the new Ukrainian language to develop freely.

The new literary Ukrainian language, particularly in its initial stage, had a large diffusion in the belles-lettres. Drawing their language resources from the underlying south-eastern dialects, classical authors of the new Ukrainian literature, as for example I. Kotljarev's'kyj, H. Kvitka-Osnov'janenko, T. Ševčenko, just to mention a few, moulded in their works a highly refined literary language, thus contributing to the creation of a new Ukrainian literary variety⁵¹.

ber Revolution (1917). Although Ivan Franko, for example, favored the use of a popular language based on its south-western variety, he understood the importance of sustaining the creation of a unitary Ukrainian language with its south-eastern nucleus. The fusion of both varieties and the consequent standardization process was accomplished toward the end of the 1930s. (Žylko 1966: 23–27).

⁴⁹ They can be defined as a kind of Ukrainian heroic poems narrating, for example, the brave deeds of Cossacks.

⁵⁰ In the 18th c., the parallel use of two rather “artificial” literary languages (distant from the spoken language of the average people), like the *slov''janorus'ka mova* and literary Russian, while replacing the old Ukrainian literary language, opened up the possibility for the emergence of a new language. This new Ukrainian literary language was not based on the Church Slavonic tradition but mainly on the vernacular.

⁵¹ Matvijas (1998: 59) observes that the new Ukrainian literary language in the phase of its later development (second part of the 19th c.) was not only characterized by the interaction

After the Ukrainian language had stabilized in the second half of the 19th century, the use of dialects became primarily a distinctive mark of the peasantry.

In the 20th century, also due to the influence of the media (press, radio, TV etc.), education etc., some elements of the literary language increasingly penetrated into the language spoken in rural areas. This process was more rapid in the domains of phonetics and morphology and less in those of syntax and vocabulary. The opposite influence of dialects on the standard language, still extensive in the late 19th century, has become insignificant since the 1930s – 1940s⁵².

4. THE LITERARY LANGUAGE DIALECTISMS IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY (1798–1830s)

There are some basic reference sources for a dialectological investigation of the Poltava-Kyivian dialects. The oldest records, mainly formal and commercial documents, go back to the second part of the 17th century. Nonetheless, they also represent restrictions on an appropriate study of dialectological phenomena since their quantity is scanty and the oral, dialectal speech of the time is mediated through the filter of literacy and specific, conventional business formulas and clichés. Moreover, their spelling has not always been uniform. Nevertheless, some dialectal features did penetrate the administrative acts of the local Poltava government (*aktovi knyhy pol'tavs'koho urjadu*) along with other official documentation. Elements of the spoken language are vividly exemplified in Kotljarevs'kyj's writings and in Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's pioneering prose⁵³.

However, in Kotljarevs'kyj's works, it can be postulated that through the filter of written conventions and specific literary formulas typical of the low burlesque genre,⁵⁴ there is a mediated presence of colloquial and dialectal elements which were still partially in vogue at the end of the 18th century. On the whole, one can say that Kotljarevs'kyj's language sufficiently represents the Poltava “dialectal” speech⁵⁵. Bulachov'skyj (1954, N. 3: 243) characterizes Kotljarevs'kyj's language as follows: “Нет сомнения, что его язык во всем своем морфологическом костяке и по всей своей основной лексике является действительно говором полтавским⁵⁶”.

of varieties (south-eastern, northern and south-western) but also by regional differentiation. The line of demarcation between regional features is generally not as distinct as that of the main variety. The south-western variety is, however, more peculiar as it represents a more articulated regional and local differentiation if compared to the south-eastern and northern varieties.

⁵² See: *Dialects* (Encyclopaedia of Ukraine 1993, vol. 4, 666–667).

⁵³ See: commentary § 3.2

⁵⁴ This postulation is also stated in Vaščenko (1957: 26).

⁵⁵ Here the word *dialectal* has to be understood in its wider connotation – as a synonym of local, regional.

⁵⁶ There is no doubt that his language in its entire morphological framework and basic lexis (vocabulary) is really the dialect of Poltava. (Translated by the author.)

Finally, another precious, and more reliable source of dialectal material, apart from the traces found in the literary creation of the Ukrainian classical literature⁵⁷, can be found in ethnographic and folkloristic collections dating back to the first decades of the 19th century⁵⁸.

In this section we will examine dialectal features of the south-eastern dialects, particularly focussing on the dialectisms of those early 19th century writers representing the Middle Dnieprian and Slobodan speech varieties. Likewise, we intend to illustrate recurrent morphological and syntactic dialectal features of the Middle Dnieprian and Slobodan dialects. Attention will be also devoted to phonetic and orthographic aspects. Eventually, we shall consider recurrent lexical features typical of the literary texts of the 19th century.

Nonetheless, it is important to draw attention to those specific lexemes which are clear dialectisms from a predominantly synchronic perspective, especially when compared to contemporary standard Ukrainian. Some of the dialectal features, with regard to their regional provenance, can also be considered archaisms since they have gradually disappeared from the standard literary language, yet occurred with consistency in the literary works of 18th and 19th c.

It is safe to assume that the Ukrainian dialectal territory, at the turn of the 19th century, manifested dialectal peculiarities different from a present-day dialectal area⁵⁹. Some dialectologists⁶⁰ maintain that many features have receded over the course of time, generating a modification of the original isoglosses.

In addition, the ongoing standardization process, particularly intense after the country's independence (1991), has caused an alteration in average speakers' language awareness and consciousness⁶¹. Forms, originally belonging to a specific

⁵⁷ Classical authors of the pre-Ševčenko period are Kotljarevs'kyj, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, Jevhenyj Hrebinka, Kvitka-Osnov'janenko etc. See: Solod (2008: 94–131).

⁵⁸ Most of the printed versions of ethnographic and folkloristic collections appeared during the 19th c. The older manuscripts are likely to be found in Russian editions of the 18th century. The majority of those exemplifications, however, have been collected within the 19th and early 20th c.

⁵⁹ It seems reasonable to assume that the dialectal difference, especially in phonetics and morphology, was not particularly significant between modern south-eastern dialects and those of the early 19th c. Cf.: Data of the Ukrainian Linguistic Atlas (*Atlas ukrajins'koji movy*).

⁶⁰ As stated by Hrycenko (15.05.2008) in a conversation at Ukraine's Academy of Sciences Department of Dialectology in Kyiv (*Akademija nauk*). Also see: *Atlas ukrajins'koji movy*.

⁶¹ See: Language awareness: "A term used especially in (educational) linguistics, to refer to an informal perceptive and critical response to the use of language by oneself and others, including the awareness of relevant terminology (metalinguistic awareness). A particular impetus was given to the task of promoting linguistic awareness in the early 1990s, when new perspectives on language teaching/learning in schools came to be adopted in several countries" (Crystal 2003: 256). See: Hnatjuk, L. (2004: 397–402).

dialectal territory, and consistently represented in the classics of the time are perceived today as extraneous to the Ukrainian language⁶².

A further difficulty is signified by the absence of dialectal atlases and historical records of the time when the new literary language was shaping. This deficiency definitely limits a researcher's ability to compare and interpret the dialectal data with due accuracy. Therefore, as has been mentioned above, some of the grammatical constructions and lexemes, which will be analyzed in this paper, can also be interpreted as archaisms and relics of the older varieties. It needs to be added that some of these dialectal elements (presumed archaisms) are reported in the fourth part of the 3rd volume of the Atlas of the Ukrainian language (*Atlas ukrajins'koho movy*, vol. 3, 2001)⁶³. This conclusive section is devoted to all those dialectisms (phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical), which for different reasons have not been illustrated in the cartography. They still need to be published since they are a valuable aid to the dialectologist⁶⁴.

The dialectal features reported in the scheme below are directly derived from the following primary sources: Kotljarevs'kyj's works (1769–1838); Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's writings (1790–1865); Hrebinka's fables (*байки*) and poetry (1812–1848); Pavlovs'kyj's grammar (1818); Maksymovych's chants collection (1827); Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's tales (1778–1843)⁶⁵.

We tried to reproduce those grammatical dialectisms consistently occurring in all literary works studied during our examination. The language of Hulak-Artemovs'kyj (1790–1865) appears slightly closer to the contemporary standard, evidencing a reduced number of dialectisms and archaisms if compared with other contemporaries such as Kotljarevs'kyj. This can be either accounted for by his original local dialect (“hovirka”) of the Kyjiv-Čerkasy area or by the influence of the dialect of the Volhynian region where he spent time and wrote his masterpiece *Pan ta Sobaka* (1818). Of all writers who came from the Slobodan Ukraine, Kvitka-Osnov'janenko

⁶² The average speaker, in fact, either considers words of dialectal origin and words attested in the Ukrainian literary tradition before the formation of the new literary language (such as *ждать; время, год* etc.) Russianisms in Ukrainian, or stigmatizes them as Suržyk. See: Hnatjuk, L. (2006: 115–124); Del Gaudio (2008: 335–362).

⁶³ From now on abbreviated as AUM.

⁶⁴ Cf.: AUM (2001 vol. 3, 76): “Незалежно від того, виявляє чи не виявляє матеріал з конкретного питання програми ареальні розрізнення, надається чи не надається для картографування, він є важливим джерелом для вивчення просторових виявів української мови на різних рівнях її структурних і заслуговує на публікацію”. (No matter whether or not this material reveals the definite program issues of areal distribution, whether or not it is reported for the cartography, it is a basic source for the study of geo-linguistic features of the Ukrainian language at different levels and in different structures and, therefore, deserves to be published. (Translated by the author.)

⁶⁵ It is important to recall that the above mentioned authors wrote in both Ukrainian and Russian.

ko, on the other hand, reproduced his local dialect more extensively⁶⁶. Finally, it should be recalled once again that equivalents for most reported constructions and lexemes can also be found in literary extracts that were produced between the 16th and the early 18th century and belong to the “low”, popular style, as for example the Ukrainian *dumy*⁶⁷.

Morphological and Syntactic Dialectisms
<p style="text-align: center;">Adjectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The long form of feminine and neuter adjectives in oblique cases is recurrent; e.g.: подякував стару^ю суку, Еней за добру^ю науку (Enejida 1982: 104). – In Kotljarevs’kyj, the nominative plural of adjectives often ends in -и; for example <i>чесни, гарни, повни</i>. – The comparative form лучче is still prevalent in the writings of most early 19th century authors. Sometimes it occurs as a doublet form of the standard <i>краще</i>; e.g.: як лучче, краще приборати (Enejida 1982: 112).
<p style="text-align: center;">Adverbs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – тогді does not undergo the simplification process as in standard Ukrainian. The same applies to: нігде; – скільки and тільки are still the prevalent forms⁶⁸; – тута, today a mainly colloquial form, is particularly consistent in Hulak-Artemovs’ky (1978–28). <p style="text-align: center;">Parallel forms⁶⁹:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – потом and потім – сюди and сюда – туди and туда
<p style="text-align: center;">Conjunctions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – In Kotljarevs’kyj the coordinative conjunction но is prevalent; although the present standard але also occurs. – In Hulak-Artemovs’kyj, on the other hand, але is the main variant. – Use of the adversative conjunction та – Хоть (See: AUM; vol. 3; part 4; p. 78)

⁶⁶ Matviĵas (2003, p. 2: 38) wrote: “З усіх письменників, які походили із Слобожанщини, Г. Квітка-Основ’яненко місцеву говіркову мову відобразив найвиразніше”.

⁶⁷ See: *Narodni pisni i dumy (XVI – počatku XVIII st.). Ukraĵins’ka literatura. Chrestomatia* (1967: 33 ff.).

⁶⁸ It is still used in Western Ukrainian dialects. Informant: Ivan Petryšyn (former senior lecturer at the Kyjiv Linguistic University).

⁶⁹ These parallel forms particularly occur in Kotljarevs’kyj’s writings. However, they are also used by those characters who are supposed to represent the typical Middle Dnieprian speech of those days.

Nouns

- The ending **-a** in the genitive singular of masculine nouns prevails over the ending **-у**, even in those cases where the contemporary norm requires **-у**; e.g.: зібрав всіх вітрів до двора (Enejida 1982: 38) etc.
- The dative singular of masculine nouns prefers the **-у/-ю** forms.
- The nominative plural of the nouns with the suffix **-in** end in **-e**.

Prepositions⁷⁰

- Consistent use of the etymological prepositions **од**, and parallel use of the current standard **від**. The former preposition is still quite widespread in the contemporary northern Poltava area. (See: AUM, vol. 1, chart 269.) Most of the verbal compound forms take the prefix **од**; e.g.: чужее отдавав в печать (Enejida 1982: 89), **од** всіх бурлак (36).
- **к** often replace standard **до**⁷¹; e.g.: *к чортам*; *к Еолу* (< Enejida 1982: 36–37); мене боги *к тобі* послали (66).
- The prepositional construction **по** + dative is constantly recurrent in Kotljarevs'kyj; e.g.: *по городу* тогді гуляла (1982: 41); Еней *по березу* попхався (1982: 40).
- The form **меж** + gen., as in **меж нас** (Hrebinka 1984: 141), instead of the standard між нами.

Pronouns

- The demonstrative *сей, сес, ся* today is confined to a marginal dialectal area; it was still productive in early 19th century. Standard forms alternated with them. (See: AUM, vol. 1, chart 299.)
- Pronouns preceded by a preposition do not always show an epenthetic consonant **н** as in standard Ukrainian; e.g.: *на його, до їх, на єї* (Hrebinka 1984: 145) – but also: *од неї*, etc. (See: AUM, vol. 1, chart 226; AUM, vol. 3; chart 51.)

Verbs

- The form without syncope **єсть** instead of standard **є**. See: AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 80.
- The suffix **-ova** <*ова*> instead of the normative **-uva** <*ува*> is prevalent in the infinitive; e.g.: а він її поціловав (Enejida 1982: 40); тут танцювала викрутасом (Enejida 1982: 43). Many scholars are inclined to consider it a feature from the older (northern Ukrainian) literary tradition. I incline to think, on the other hand, that it was a widespread form in the 18th c., covering larger dialectal areas. Today such forms have lost ground. They are mainly confined to the northern part of the Polissian dialects and are more sporadic in the Kujyivian, Čerkasy and also north-eastern Žyomyr region. (See: AUM, vol. 1, 179.)
- The first person of verbs such as *хожу, сижу* show a simplification <*ж*> instead of the normative *дж*. (See: AUM, vol. 1, chart 254; AUM, vol. 3, part 1, chart 57.)
- Occurrence of the predicative form **ні(є)льзя** + infinitive; e.g.: що *нільзя* оком змігнуть (1982: 85); всього ти в кліточці по саме *нєльзя* маєш (Hulak-Artemovs'kyj 1978: 47).

⁷⁰ A recurrent prepositional construction made up of **о** + the **locative case** (e.g.: подумать *о біді* своєї) and designated for the topic expressed by the indirect object was not reported above. I hold the view that it is a reminiscence of older literary forms which survived in literary expressions of the early 19th c. Moreover, these forms are not attested in the Atlas of the Ukrainian language and have come up sporadically when used by the elderly social-nonmobile speakers who were interviewed during my field work in Ukraine (2006–2007). See: Chapter 2. Del Gaudio (2010).

⁷¹ The construction (*k* + dat.) is still present in some Western Ukrainian dialects, e.g. Boyko. Informant: Ivan Petryšyn. See: above.

- Parallel forms of infinitive **-ТЬ** and **-ТИ**. (See: AUM, vol. 3, part 1, chart 56.)
- If the stress is on the first syllable, the third person singular form of present tense (2nd conjugation) drops the final dental **-Т**; e.g.: *но́се, хòде* etc. (See: AUM, vol. 3, part 1, chart 59.)
- The third person singular of the present tense (1st conjugation) is often contracted: *зна; дума* etc. For example: *Той Добрість не зна, не бачив і не чує* (Hulak-Artemovs'kij 1978: 19). The Atlas of the Ukrainian language shows that these forms are still characteristic of a part of the Poltava area and transitional towards the Charkiv region. (See: AUM, vol. 1, chart 258; AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 79.)
- More specifically about Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's language, one can observe the following:
 - 1) the third person singular of the present tense (1st conjugation) ends in **-ЕТЬ**; e.g.: *плачеть*;
 - 2) the third person plural of the present tense (2nd conjugation) ends in **-УТЬ**; e.g.: *бачуть; роблють* etc. (The non palatalized ending [т] in the verbs of 3rd person plural is also possible).

Orthographic and phonetic outcomes:

a) The etymological [o] and [e], independent of their accented position, do not consistently pass into > [i] in the new closed syllables; as in *боль, походить* etc.; e.g.: *возьми на плечі* (Enejida 1982: 78).

This is particularly visible in Kotljarevs'kyj's works and in the chants collected by Maksymovyč. According to Čaplenko (1970: 33–34) Kotljarevs'kyj reflected in his orthography the phonetic and morphology of his own dialect⁷². Deviations from the contemporary norm with consequent discrepancies of the expected outcomes⁷³ may ultimately depend on two factors. On the one hand, it can be explained by insufficient dialectological studies in the field of historical Ukrainian phonetics but may have been caused by the influence of bordering, transitional dialects.

I am inclined more toward the latter possibility since within the last two centuries many dialectal features have receded under the influence of normativization, and subsequent standardization processes. In fact, the Ukrainian language Atlas registers language peculiarities which used to cover a considerably larger area as marginal phenomena. In Maksymovyč's (1962: 25–27) preface to Ukrainian chants for example, he specifies that he adopts etymological orthography in rendering the

⁷² Kotljarevs'kyj's orthography relied on the etymological principle and was typical for the popular variety of the Middle Ukrainian (*stara ukrajins'ka mova*) in the late 18th c. He used an alphabet graphically similar to Russian, although the pronunciation of many phonemes did not correspond to the Russian realization. For a detailed account of Kotljarevs'kyj's spelling, see: Matvijas (1998: 30–31).

⁷³ In fact, Kotljarevs'kyj's dialect has provided a basis for the Modern Ukrainian literary language.

Ukrainian pronunciation of <o> and <e> as [i]. He marked those words with a circumflex accent; e.g.: *кѡнь*⁷⁴.

On the contrary, in the first chapter of Pavlovs'kyj's grammar⁷⁵, he remarks that "Малороссіяне не знають особаго що-та своимъ буквама; ибо всѣ онѣ суть либо Славенскія церковныя, либо Россійскія гражданскія" (little Russians do not know much about the use of their letters, using either Church Slavonic or Russian graždanka). Further, he explains that Ukrainians pronounce <o> as [i]; he adds that in some areas, especially closer to Lithuania, the pronunciation approximates that of a diphthong [uj]; [ju].

b) Larger diffusion of the half palatalized lateral [л'] is graphically rendered as the hard lateral; e.g.: *білиѣ*⁷⁶.

c) Absence of prothetic *в* in a number of cases, e.g.: *огонь, уxo, улица* etc. (See: AUM, vol. 1, chart 136; AUM, vol. 3, part 1, chart 22.)

d) <ф> is orally realized as [xv] as in *хварба, хвенна* etc.; the orthography, however, retains the letter <ф>, e.g.: *фарба, фенна*⁷⁷.

e) Pavlovs'kyj (1818: 2) reports that the letter <ѣ> was pronounced as "Russian soft /j/"⁷⁸.

Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's language, although part of the south-eastern group of dialects, presents some peculiarities typical of the Slobodan dialectal area around Charkiv; they can be summarized as follows:

f) In a large number of cases, absence of the alternation between [o] and [i] in the new closed syllables; e.g.: *радость, бідность* etc. (Also, see: AUM, vol. 1, chart 64.)

g) Progressive assimilation [й] > [н]; e.g.: *заньмається* (23); *поприньмали*⁷⁹ etc.

⁷⁴ He also added that chants are subject to greater variation for rhythm exigencies. Moreover, they were orally transmitted, their original pattern often being changed, from a generation to the next and from one region to another (Maksymovych 1962: 19–20).

⁷⁵ The first grammar of the Ukrainian colloquial language (*narodnorozmovna mova*) illustrates phonetic and grammatical peculiarities of the new Ukrainian language compared with Russian. A kind of "short dictionary" reporting current Ukrainian vocabulary, sayings, proverbs, and patterns chosen from the first literary works are extrapolated to complete the grammar. It should be added that this dictionary contains more than 1100 words (Rusaniv's'kyj 2002: 230).

⁷⁶ For a generic illustration of early 19th century authors, see: Matijas (2003, n. 2: 35–46).

⁷⁷ See: Pavlovs'kyj (1818: 2–3). This peculiar phonetic realization of the labiodental fricative is still widespread in large Ukrainian areas, particularly among elderly people – dialect and Suržyk speakers; for example *кофе* > *кохве*. Cf. AUM, vol. 1, chart 97 ff.; AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 81.

⁷⁸ It is worth specifying, as Matijas stresses (2003, n. 2: 38), that Pavlovs'kyj oriented his grammar based on the Middle Dnieprian and Slobodan dialects of the south-eastern group, although his original speech belonged to the east Polissian dialects (the area around Sumy, as can be seen by the use of certain forms: *весілле* "wedding", *чаго* "why", *нільзя* "it is not permitted" etc).

⁷⁹ Also, see: Matijas (2003, n. 2: 37).

h) Parenthetic [н] after [м]; e.g.: мнясо (33)⁸⁰. (See: AUM, vol. 1, chart 91; AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 80.)

i) The adverb **ице** in the cited authors often occurs with a prothetic *i*.

4.1 LEXIS

In line with the aim of this study, we shall exemplify in this section only those dialectal lexemes which occur with a certain consistency in all of the selected literary works. For this reason, specific local dialect, pertaining to a single author's language, will not be considered here.

The dialectisms illustrated below have mostly been singled out from the contemporary Ukrainian standard, although they continue to survive at a regional level and in the speech of the elderly population. These dialectal elements have been officially replaced by other words of different dialectal provenience or by already existing doublets (synonyms). Other illustrated words are still reported in normative dictionaries but their use is generally avoided since they are often perceived as imported elements, due to their morphosemantic similarity to Russian and are thus stigmatized as Russian words or Suržyk⁸¹.

The fact that many of the listed lexemes have survived at a colloquial and a regional level in the speech of ordinary people can only support the previously claimed thesis that they constitute the basic vocabulary of the Ukrainian-Russian "mixed language" or Suržyk⁸².

The exclusion or restricted usage of certain words from the modern standard also depends on a few factors, such as intrinsic tendencies toward the development and standardization of the Ukrainian language⁸³.

⁸⁰ Also, see: Bevzenko (1980: 231).

⁸¹ These lexemes occasionally come up even in the speech of educated people. For example Professor Matvijas always prefers the adjective **трудно** (difficult) to the more common and currently used **важко**. Or, for example, in the introduction of the *Hovory ukrajins'koji movy* (1977), the verb **ждати** is still preferred to a widely accepted **чекати**. One can even add that in many speakers' view this is the only standard form.

⁸² On the whole, we demonstrated that many lexical items are originally of historical and dialectal derivation and specific to the Ukrainian reality; yet they are not the sole outcome of the "deleterious" influence of Russian upon Ukrainian, thus rejecting the current purist approach and an apparent pro-Ukrainian language policy typical of the post-Independence period. Cf.: Del Gaudio (2010); atn. Ch. 4 – 5.

⁸³ As Ohijenko (2004: 328) keenly pointed out, "Письменники по шевченкової доби часом свідомо й виразно дбали, щоб їх літературна мова якнайменше була подібна до мови російської, щоб росіянин, читаючи український твір, не розумів його мови, й уже тим самим змушений був признати, що українська мова – це справді окрема мова. Така ідеологія не була корисна для розвою нашої літературної мови, бо позбавляла її багатьох тих виразів, які збереглися до нас як стародавнє спільне культурне добро. Не корисно нам відкидати своє стародавнє слово тільки тому, що воно однакове зо словом російським". (Writers in the post-Ševčenko epoch tried to render their language, at times consciously and openly, in a way that it was the least similar to the Russian language. This was done on purpose so that a Russian when reading

The following partition below and the classical authors' headings were made for the sake of clarity, i.e. to vividly illustrate the language of those literates. Each of the reported authors' language and dialectisms could be an object of separate study.

Kotljarevskyj's works (1982)⁸⁴: Врем'я (109); кріпко (43); ти ждеш (37); обіщаюсь (37); послідня (39); год⁸⁵ (70); город (1982: 41); плоха (45); одвід (119); оддыхать (70); совіт (112); дома (113); вийти за муж (231); трудно (230); обутий (82).

Hulak-Artemovs'kyj (1978): Кождий; з радошою; люде; мірковать; вп'ять⁸⁶ = again (20).

Hrebinka (1984): Бумага (142); определити; оддать (1984: 142–143); огонь⁸⁷; улица⁸⁸; одвіт (142); літ⁸⁹ (= років) etc.

Pavlovs'kyj's dictionary (1818): неділя (46) = Sunday; week; скілько/кілько = how much (58).

Kvitka-Osnov'janenko⁹⁰ (2005): вп'ять – оп'ять [vol. 1, 232]; где (29) [vol. 1, 256]; год (34) [vol. 1, 268]; город [vol. 1, 287]; діло (25) [vol. 1, 361]; жона (43) [vol. 1, 455]; завжди (11) [vol. 1, 474]; кріпко (17) [vol. 2, 42]; лучче (15) [vol. 2, 83]; муж (43) [vol. 2, 157]; м'ясо (33) [vol. 2, 136]; начинати⁹¹ (38) [vol. 2, 225]; нада [vol. 2, 184]; нужда (6) [vol. 1, 284]; одвід [vol. 2, 313]; отець⁹² [vol. 2, 351]; отвіт/одвід [vol. 2, 351]; парень [vol. 2, 382]; нічого не получили (41) – получати – получить [vol. 2, 42]; письмо [vol. 2, 423]; первий/перший [vol. 2, 412]; до нього привикли (39) / привикати – привикнути [vol. 2, 665]; ранше [vol. 3, 92–93]; радость (56) [vol. 3, 86–87]; родителі (86) [vol. 3, 117–118]; свідитель (35) [vol. 3, 183]; совіт (7) [vol. 3, 278]; стыдно (44) [vol. 3, 339]; тож

Ukrainian literary text was unable to understand its language, and thus was forced to admit that Ukrainian was really a different language. Such an ideology was not useful for our literary language development since it deprived it from many of those expressions that lived on as part of our common cultural heritage. It is not constructive to reject our own ancient word only because it is identical to Russian. (Translated by the author.)

⁸⁴ The year next to each author's name refers to the time of publication. The number in brackets refers to the page of that particular edition.

⁸⁵ AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 77.

⁸⁶ The adverb *оп'ять* or its allomorph *вп'ять* is a probable Russianism, but it occurs quite often in many writings in the early 19th c.

⁸⁷ Forms like *озеро*; *огонь* etc., without epenthetic *v*, are still common in contemporary dialects. (See: AUM, vol. 1, chart 140.)

⁸⁸ Cf.: AUM, vol. 1, chart 139; AUM, vol. 3, p. 22.

⁸⁹ Cf.: AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 77.

⁹⁰ Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's lexical dialectisms are reported according to a double criterion: the page number of the edition used followed by the reference from the language dictionary of Kvitka-Osnov'janenko's works (*Slovník movy tvoriv* 1978, vol. 1–3). A few recurrent dialectisms will only have the dictionary reference since they have been added to the list.

⁹¹ Also, see: *начальник* [vol. 2, 224].

⁹² Cf.: AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 77.

(42) [vol. 3, 417]; цвіточк⁹³ (8) [vol. 3, 581–582], etc. Expressions до послідного разу (33), cf. послідній [vol. 2, 611]; щось змінилась, cf. змінити [vol. 1, 615]; А чого? І сам не зна (12): cf. знати [vol. 1, 583]; не споминай (10) [vol. 3, 306–307]; часів три не бачились, cf. час⁹⁴ [vol. 3, 592]; усе рівно (5) [с. 495, т. 3] etc.

4.2. COMMENTARY

Kvitka-Osnov”janenko’s lexis deserves particular attention for a few reasons. Firstly, he represents his own dialect in an idiosyncratic way while still preserving many of the south-eastern characteristics. Secondly, the specificity of his vocabulary depends on the author’s versatility in a realistic representation of the speech of his native region. Finally, he was the first prose writer to experiment with the new Ukrainian literary language, which had not yet been fully integrated into a supra-national language. The introduction to the dictionary of Osnov”janenko’s works (1978, vol. 1: 1) reports: “Г. Квітка-Осн⁹⁵ов’яненко увійшов в українську літературу як новатор, як основоположник її прозових жанрів. Він сміливо ввів до літературного вжитку живу українську мову, довів здатність її обслуговувати широкі культурні потреби народу. Ось чому творчість Г. Квітки – найвидатнішого українського письменника до шевченківської доби – становить собою нецінне джерело для вивчення процесу формування нової української літературної мови на живомовній основі”⁹⁵.

Most of the selected dialectal items were defined by Čabanenko (1992)⁹⁶ as “words of old *Rusian* heritage⁹⁷”.

It has been proved that many of the above reported lexemes (with minimal morphophonemic adjustments) are also functional in standard Russian. This does not necessarily imply the influence of an external language. Those words, in fact, are also quite common in Western Ukrainian dialects as are attested for example in the Galician and Boyko western dialectal subgroups. In the latter, however, a direct Russian influence was virtually absent.

⁹³ Cf.: AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 81.

⁹⁴ *Проміжок часу, рівний 60 хвилинам; одиниця рахунку часу.* [Period of time, equal to 60 minutes, time unit; translated by the author.]

⁹⁵ H. Kvitka-Osnov”janenko entered the Ukrainian literature as an innovator and initiator of the Ukrainian prose genre. He dared to introduce the colloquial language into literature, thus demonstrating its suitability to meet the extensive cultural needs of the people. This is why the (creative) work of H. Kvitka – the most prominent Ukrainian writer of the pre-Ševčenko period – represents an invaluable source for the study of the formation of the new Ukrainian literary language based on a vernacular. (Translated by the author.)

⁹⁶ See: Commentary on the register of Low Middle Dnieprian Dialects.

⁹⁷ “Слова – давньоруські успадкування, що перебувають поза межами літературної норми”. [The words of old Rusian heritage, functioning beyond the norm of the literary (standard) language. Author’s translation.]

A fundamental indicator of the specificity of such dialectisms as *кpinкo*, *дiлo*⁹⁸, *збiздa* etc., is the pronunciation of [i] in place of the former [ě] <ѣ> not only in the Middle Dnieprian area, but also in some south-western dialects like the Boyko dialects⁹⁹.

It is not surprising that many lexemes which were functional in the old Ukrainian literary varieties (16th–18th c.) are still attested in specific dialects as confirmed by both the analyzed main sources and dictionaries. Their occurrence only confirms our initial argument that the former Ukrainian literary varieties have not suddenly disappeared but some grammatical chunks and certain words gradually converged into the new literary language.

5. CONCLUSION

The question related to the rise of the new Ukrainian language will always remain a topical one. Contemporary Standard Ukrainian is not the direct derivation of former literary varieties as is the case with other European languages, for example, Italian or, to a certain extent, German. The relatively new Ukrainian language variety has not emerged as the language of an influential political and cultural center like in the case of the English of London and the Russian of Moscow. Its formation was conditioned by a series of social and cultural, political and historic (extra linguistic) events which aimed to level and assimilate the former old Ukrainian language and culture to the “Great Russian” one. The apparent annihilation of most of the Ukrainian cultural and linguistic strongholds of the 17th century¹⁰⁰; the diffusion of the *slovenoros'ka mova* which strictly adhered to the Church Slavonic linguistic tradition¹⁰¹ and was particularly productive in the first half of the 18th century; and, finally, the diffusion of the relatively new Russian literary language, and consequences of the Russification process, especially since the second half of the 18th c., created the premisses for the emergence of a language which directly drew from its vernacular, the underlying dialectal base being its source. Nevertheless, the emancipation of the new literary Ukrainian language was not completely free of some old literary patterns, stylistic devices, and lexical structures of various provenances. These continued to have a certain impact on its development (for example Church Slavonic, in its *slovenoros'kyj* variety, and Russian). The interaction between a liter-

⁹⁸ AUM, vol. 3, part 4, p. 80.

⁹⁹ Cf. Hnatjuk, L. (2006: 122).

¹⁰⁰ It will suffice to mention here the most important publishing centers, as for example Kyiv, Černihiv, L'viv, Ostrih; the cultural centers like the Kyiv Academy etc.

¹⁰¹ In the aspiration of many Ukrainian scholars this language variety should have covered the functions of a “pan east-Slavonic” literary language. It was a resource to be also understood in the Muscovy.

ary language and its dialects is an essential component of the natural development of the language itself¹⁰².

The contribution of the south-eastern dialectal group of more recent formation, and particularly, the active function of the Middle Dnieprian and the Slobodan dialects as the basis of the new Ukrainian language, played a fundamental role in supplying the Ukrainian men of letters of the early 19th century with sufficient linguistic material. Undoubtedly, other dialects also had an impact on the formation and diffusion of the new Ukrainian literary language. Their contribution, however, occurred either later, as in the case of the Upper Dniestrian dialects (from 1837), or had a more limited influence (the eastern Polissian dialects). The latter dialectal influence was explained only briefly as a more detailed account of northern and western dialectal sources and would have gone beyond the scope of this paper.

In the section dedicated to the dialectisms, we tried to single out and analyze those dialectal features which still largely correspond to varieties spoken today given that they are not rigorously dialectal or regarded by speakers as Surżyk – the Ukrainian-Russian “bilingual mix”. The number of works examined in this paper is perhaps modest but it offers, due also to their representativeness, a clear picture of those language features which are considered dialectisms¹⁰³.

Finally, the Ukrainian dialectal lexis preserves precious material to study the evolution of the Ukrainian language passing on the old elements from generation to generation and functioning as an indicator of historical and cultural language changes.

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¹⁰² Today, many Ukrainian speakers lament that the imposition of a rather artificial Ukrainian standard is often distant from their regional spoken and written language varieties.

¹⁰³ See: Matvijas (2003: 36). The average Ukrainian speaker perceives many of the reported lexemes either as Russianisms or Surżyk words. Their similarity with the Russian literary language is easily explicable if we are aware that contemporary Russian began to develop on the basis of one of the literary language varieties, common to the old Ukrainian tradition, namely the *slov'janorus'ka mova*. Also, see: Hnatjuk (2006: 123).

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Abstract: *The Role of Historical South-East Dialects in the Formation of the Ukrainian Literary Language (1798–1830s).* The last quarter of the 18th century and the first part of the 19th century are fundamental for the development of the ‘new’ Ukrainian literary language. A correct interpretation of the historic-linguistic facts that led to the emergence of modern Ukrainian, e.g. the interaction of the dialectal substratum with the Ukrainian literary language(s), is also essential to appraise contemporary language variation and phenomena like Surżyk.

This article draws attention to the relationship existing between the formation of the ‘new’ Ukrainian literary language on its vernacular base and the role south-eastern dialects played in this crucial period. Specific dialectal features, typical of the Ukrainian literary works of the late 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, are also examined.

Keywords: Ukrainian dialects, history of the Ukrainian language, substratum, literary Ukrainian, Surżyk

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