［論文］

Vojvodina Rusyn Motion Verbs in the Context of Language Contact[1]

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1. Introduction

Vojvodina Rusyn is one of the literary variants of the Rusyn microlanguage, along with Prešovian in Eastern Slovakia, Lemkian in Poland, and Subcarpathian in Ukraine, forming a small linguistic exclave in the modern-day territory of Serbia (mainly in the Bačka and Srem regions) and Croatia (mainly in the Srijem and Slavonia regions). Unlike the other variants, which formed after the collapse of the socialistic regime, Vojvodina Rusyn has a long tradition as a literary language of Rusyns living in Vojvodina from the middle of the 18th century (Duličenko 2005: 612). Since the 1970s, it has been one of the official regional languages of the autonomous province of Vojvodina, along with Serbian, Croatian, Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian. Despite the official status of the Rusyn language in today's Vojvodina, according to the latest official censuses (RH 2011; RS 2011), the total number of those who speak this language as their mother tongue has decreased, comprising only 11,340 individuals in Serbia and 1,427 in Croatia. Moreover, in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010: 25), Vojvodina Rusyn is evaluated as "definitely endangered," meaning that it is in danger of extinction in the near future.

Most previous studies on Vojvodina Rusyn have mainly examined it in term of two aspects: the standardization of the Vojvodina Rusyn literary variant as an official regional language of the autonomous province of Vojvodina (cf. Ramač 2006; Međeši 2014 etc.), or sociolinguistic issues such as bilingualism, language interference, and the linguistic situation of Vojvodina Rusyns (cf. Međeši 2008; Ramač 2004; Fejsa 2004; 2015; 2019a etc.). Regarding the more concrete linguistic changes occurring in the structure of Vojvodina Rusyn, as they are often induced by language contact with neighboring or dominant languages, they are often treated as negative results of language interference and thus intentionally excluded from the literary norms of the Vojvodina Rusyn standard language. Due to the lack of studies from the perspective of language contact and language change, a number of less studied linguistic phenomena in Rusyn linguistics remains. Motion verbs are one such topic in general as well as in the context of language contact, except for some brief mentions (cf. Ramač 2006: 114; Međeši 2014: 138–140; Fejsa 2019b: 1–11). Vojvodina Rusyn, like other East and West Slavic

languages, has a certain number of motion verbs with a determinate-indeterminate distinction, such as *idti – xodit'* 'go, walk' in Russian and *iść – chodzić* 'go, walk' in Polish. In the contemporary language, however, there are some examples that do not correspond with the "expected" rules of usage of determinate and indeterminate verbs, most likely induced by language contact with the dominant Serbian and Croatian languages (cf. Okano 2020).

This paper aims to provide a detailed analysis of the changes occurring in the system of Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs in the context of language contact. Our analysis deals with not only the current situation but also the possible period of the occurrence of the "non-standard" usage by investigating the literary works published during the 20th century. Besides the usage of the motion verbs, great attention will be also paid to the usage of some verbal nouns derived from the motion verbs that have not previously been considered.

In Section 2, the general characteristics of the Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs will be discussed. In Section 3, the "non-standard" usage of the motion verbs in contemporary Vojvodina Rusyn will be analyzed in the context of language contact. In Section 4, we will observe some verbal nouns derived from the motion verbs and point out the relation between the usage of the motion verbs and the nouns in question. Section 5 attempts to determinate the period of the changes in the motion verbs and their verbal nouns based on the analysis of literary works and newspapers published in Vojvodina during the 20th century. Finally, the results of our analysis and concluding remarks are provided in Section 6.

2. General Characteristics of the Vojvodina Rusyn Motion Verbs

Vojvodina Rusyn possesses a lexico-grammatical category of so-called *motion verbs* (Russian: *glagoly dviženija*), much like other Slavic languages such as Russian, Ukrainian, Belarussian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Sorbian and Slovene. The motion verbs are divided into determinate verbs, typically expressing motion in one direction, and indeterminate verbs, typically expressing motion in various directions or non-directed motion. The verbs form pairs depending on the manner of motion expressed, cf. Russian: *idti – xodit'* 'go on foot, walk', *bežat' – begat'* 'run', *letet' – letat'* 'fly' etc. However, the systems for the motion verbs are different in each language, and the number of such verbs differs among the Slavic languages as well as according to experts. Kučerová (1974: 20–21), for example, notes an average of 13 pairs in East Slavic and 9 to 12 pairs in West Slavic languages. It is noteworthy that some pairs from this category are not strictly grammatically opposed to each other anymore, instead expressing different lexical meanings, cf. Russian *bresti* 'walk with difficulty' and *brodit'* 'wander' (Isačenko 1960: 313).

According to previous studies (Ramač 2006; RSS; Fejsa 2019b; Okano 2020),

Vojvodina Rusyn features 8 pairs of motion verbs: *isc – xodzic* 'go (on foot and by vehicle)', *vezc še – vožic še* 'go by vehicle', *bežac – behac* 'run', *ljecic – ljetac* 'fly', *hnac – honjic* 'hunt', *njesc – nošic* 'bring', *vezc – vožic* 'drive', and *vesc – vodzic* 'take'. The first counterparts of each pair are the determinate forms, while the second ones are the indeterminate forms. As in the other East and West Slavic languages, Vojvodina Rusyn determinate verbs such as *isc*, *bežac*, and *ljecic* depict motion in one direction. When the determinate verbs are used, the utterances appear with the denotation of Source, Path, or Goal of Motion, usually verbalized by a prepositional or adverbial construction.

(1)   a. *Von nješe*[DT] *kabel z vodu do zahradi.*
          'He is bringing a bucket with water to the garden' (Ramač 2006: 114)
          b. *Mac vedze*[DT] *dzecko do dzecinskej zahradki.*
          'A mother is taking her child to the kindergarten' (ibid.)

Although the determinate verbs tend to express the actual-continuous meaning of the imperfective, in some examples they are used in the context of repetitive or habitual unidirectional motion:

(2)   *Vona každe rano beži*[DT] *na avtobus, bo njigda nje ruši na čas z domu.*
          'Every morning she runs for the bus, since she never leaves home on time' (Međeši 2014: 138)

Indeterminate verbs such as *xodzic*, *behac*, and *ljetac* play the role of iterative counterparts, expressing unidirectional motion, when they appear with the same syntactic constructions as in the utterance with the determinate verbs. In this case, the indeterminate verbs always require the iterative interpretation, as their other meanings require other syntactic constructions.

(3)   a. *Von noši*[INDT] *vodu u kablox do zahradi.*
          'He [always] brings water in the bucket to the garden' (Ramač 2006: 114)
          b. *Mac každe rano vodzi*[INDT] *dzecko do dzecinskej zahradki.*
          'Every morning a mother takes her child to the kindergarten' (ibid.)

It is worth noting that Vojvodina Rusyn indeterminate verbs do not express motion there and back in the past tense, which is characteristic of East Slavic languages (cf. **Nješka som xodzel*[INDT] *do školi* '[literary] Today I went to the school'); it is instead preferred to use the

verb *buc* 'be' to communicate this meaning (cf. *Nješka som bul u školi* 'Today I was in the school'). This fact indicates that Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs can be classified as the Western type, as in West Slavic and Slovene, where the meaning of motion there and back is not grammaticalized.

The indeterminate verbs have a polysemic nature: besides the repetitive and habitual meanings of unidirectional motion, they also communicate non-directed and multidirectional motion. When they lexicalize non-directed motion, an indication of a place or an environment where the motion takes place is given. When it comes to multidirectional motion, a similar syntactic construction is used, but it expresses points the subject passes by, with the complex of these points constituting a complex trajectory of motion.

(4)   a. *U zahradi kolo plocika jakišik mali dreveni xižki stali, a kolo tix xižkox jakišik čudni muxi ljetali*[INDT].
        'In the garden near the fence, there were some wooden houses, and some strange flies were flying around them' (ZH: 2017/5)
        b. *Pačelo še mi obljivanje za Pasxu, bo še u nas tak nje xodzi*[INDT]*, alje mi xodzenje po špivanju na Viljiju nje bulo njezvičajne, bo i u nas isnuje tot običaj.*
        'I liked the watering on Easter, since we don't walk around like that, but walking with singing on Christmas Eve wasn't unusual, because we also have this tradition' (RS: 10.7.2016)

The indeterminate verbs can be also used to express the meaning of ability or possibility of motion. In this context, the Vojvodina Rusyn indeterminate verbs tend to accompany the auxiliary verbs expressing ability and possibility such as *moči* 'can' and *znac* 'be able to'.

(5)   – *Jak že, durni, odnješeš kurče ked anji ljetac*[INDT] *nje možeš, anji pljivac nji znaš, anji še na staru jablonju išče vipendrac nje možeš? – tak mu coška znuka šeptalo, alje Vasiljko toto šeptanje nje sluxal.*
        '– Fool, why do you take away the chicken, when you cannot fly, nor swim, and even cannot climb on the old apple tree? – The magpie whispered to him from inside like that, but Vasilko didn't hear this whispering' (ZH: 2013/10)

When the features demonstrated above are considered in the Slavic context, Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs can be said to share some similarities with West Slavic motion verbs:

(a) As in West Slavic languages, except Polish (Kučerová 1974: 22), the verbs inherited from the Common Slavic *ěxati and *ězditi 'ride' are absent in Vojvodina Rusyn, and the basic motion verbs *isc* and *xodic* inherited from the Common Slavic *iti and *xoditi cover not only the meaning of motion on foot but also motion by vehicle, which is usually lexicalized by *ěxati and *ězditi in East Slavic and Polish, cf. *Perši dva roki u Gimnaziji, Oksana xodzela*[INDT] *tri raz ročnje domu, a teraz xodzi*[INDT] *dva raz – vljece i vžime* 'The first two years in the grammar school Oksana used to travel home [from Serbia to Ukraine] three times a year, but now she travels two times – during summer and winter' (RS: 10.7.2016);

(b) As in Czech and Slovak, the Vojvodina Rusyn verbs expressing swimming and floating do not form a determinate/indeterminate pair (Ružička et al. 1966: 411; Kučerová 1974: 21). Whereas these closely-related languages possess two or three verbs of aquamotion that come from the same Common Slavic root *plou- but differ in lexical meaning (cf. Slovak *plávať* 'swim, flow, sail around' vs. *plaviti sa* 'sail in one direction'), Vojvodina Rusyn has only one verb, *pljivac* 'swim', which covers almost all situations of swimming, floating, and sailing (Kučerová 1974: 21; Okano 2018: 67–69; 2019: 33–36);

(c) Finally, as in West Slavic languages and Slovene, Vojvodina Rusyn indeterminate verbs do not allow the interpretation of motion there and back when used in the past tense; the verb *buc* is most frequently used in its locative meaning to express this.

3. Vojvodina Rusyn Motion Verbs in the Context of Language Contact

In the previous section, we observed that Vojvodina Rusyn features a group of motion verbs distinguished into determinate and indeterminate ones, as in the other East and West Slavic languages. When analyzing contemporary Vojvodina Rusyn language materials, however, some seemingly unusual examples can be observed, as briefly pointed out in the previous study (Okano 2020: 187–189). In this section, we will discuss the usage of some pairs of Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs in the context of language contact.

In contemporary Vojvodina Rusyn, there is a tendency to use the determinate verbs instead of the semantically corresponding indeterminate verbs in some contexts where usage of the indeterminate verbs would be "appropriate." This is observed with three pairs: *isc – xodzic* 'go', *bežac – behac* 'run', and *ljecic – ljetac* 'fly'.

The usage of the determinate *isc* instead of the indeterminate *xodzic* occasionally happens when the motion is indicated in a habitual or repetitive context. In this case, according to the introspection of Vojvodina Rusyn native speakers[2], it is more adequate to use the indeterminate counterpart. This neutralization may occur due to the cognate *ići* 'go' (< Common Slavic *iti) in Serbian and Croatian, which are dominant languages for the Rusyn

inhabitants of Serbia and Croatia. There is no determinate-indeterminate verb opposition in these two languages, and they distinguish neither unidirectional vs. multidirectional meanings, nor actual vs. repetitive meanings. For example, the Serbian/Croatian verb *ići* 'go' does not have an indeterminate counterpart and expresses both the determinate and indeterminate meanings, cf. *Sada idem u školu* 'I'm going to school now' vs. *Svaki dan idem u školu* 'Every day I go to school'. Due to the formal and semantic similarity between the relevant Vojvodina Rusyn and Serbian/Croatian verbs, it seems that Rusyn native speakers sometime do not really differentiate them, choosing *isc* instead of *xodzic*, as in (6).

(6)   a. *Pšičok ljubel isc*[DT] *z njima na poljo, bo tam mohol behac kadzi scel.*
        'The puppy loved to go to the field with them, because there he could run around wherever he wanted' (Međeši 2014: 138)
        b. *Rušali še na daljeku drahu taki, co še pred tim bali isc do druhoho valalu; taki, xtori njigda nje išli*[DT] *na hajzibanu, xtori nje znali jak šednuc i jak zisc z hajzibanu, dze isc, u kotrim naprjame, z kotrim hajzibanom...*
        'They left for the long journey, those who had been afraid of going to another village before that, who had never traveled by train, who hadn't known how to get on and get off from the train, where, in which direction and by which train to go' (HK)

We can observe a similar but a bit more complicated situation with the pair *bežac – behac*, with two factors of neutralization as to their usage. First, *bežac* 'run' tends to be used instead of the verb *scekac* 'run away, escape' because of the Serbian/Croatian verb *bežati* 'run away, escape', which is etymologically related to *bežac* (Međeši 2014: 139). Second, the difference between the determinate *bežac* and the indeterminate *behac* is not clear for Vojvodina Rusyn speakers whose dominant language is Serbian or Croatian due to the influence of the Serbian/Croatian equivalent *trčati* 'run', which does not distinguish between motion in one direction and many directions (Međeši 2014: 138–139; Fejsa 2019a: 18). As seen in the following examples, even in the written language we can find the "non-standard" usage of the determinate *bežac* instead of the indeterminate *behac*. Here, it is necessary to point out the non-coordination of the determinate *bežac* and indeterminate *xodzic*, which supports the fact that Vojvodina Rusyn speakers are not sensitive to the difference between the determinate *bežac* and indeterminate *behac*.

(7)   a. *Jak najaveli organizatore z Horjackogo družtva „Željeznjičar", učašnjiki budu bežac*[DT] *i xodzic*[INDT] *po dražki dluhokej 25,5 kilometeri.*

'As the organizers from the Highlanders' association "Railway man" announced, the participants will run and walk along the track for 25.5 kilometers' (RS: 25.11.2015)

b. *Veljo bežac*[DT] *pre dobru kondiciju i, ked še osoba odluči za ring, holjem pejc raz do tižnja ozbiljno trenirac.*

'It is necessary to run a lot for a good physical condition and, when a person decides for the ring, he/she has to train seriously at least five times a week' (RS: 8.12.2017)

The situation with the pair *ljecic – ljetac* differs from the situations which we have mentioned above: in contemporary Vojvodina Rusyn the determinate *ljecic* regularly appears in the contexts where the indeterminate *ljetac* is supposed to be used. According to the introspection of some young Vojvodina Rusyn native speakers[3], the indeterminate *ljetac* is considered as an archaism in their language sense, although more elder generations still can distinguish the semantic difference between them[4].

(8)   a. *Pingvini prestali ljecic*[DT] *skorej daskeljo milioni roki, medzitim voni ptici xtori najšvidše pljivaju, najhljibše še murjaju i najvekši su vodovo ptici.*

'Penguins stopped being able to fly a few million years ago, however, they are the birds who swim the most quickly, dive the most deeply and who are the largest water birds' (VN: 2016/4)

b. *Noj najvekša ptica na švece. Prave preto anji nje može ljecic*[DT]*, alje je u švidkim bežanju pravi šampion.*

'The ostrich is the largest bird in the world. That's exactly why it cannot fly, but it is a real champion in fast running' (ZH: 2018/6-7)

These kinds of "non-standard" usage are motivated by the following two related factors (Okano 2020: 188–189):

(a) Since there are only the brief mentions and notions on the determinate-indeterminate distinction in the Grammar of the Rusyn language (Ramač 2006: 114) and the Rusyn-Serbian dictionary (RSS)[5], the literary norm for the usage of the Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs has not been fixed in detail yet. Vojvodina Rusyn speakers, therefore, usually use these verbs by relying only on their language sense, without a norm which they can refer to when they are unsure.

(b) The language contact with Serbian or Croatian, which are dominant languages for the Vojvodina Rusyns, also influences this phenomenon. It is no coincidence that the verbs that are used "non-standardly" have formal equivalents in these languages, and it is quite possible

that Vojvodina Rusyn speakers sometimes do not differentiate these verbs in their native language and in Serbian/Croatian. As almost all Vojvodina Rusyn speakers are bilingual in Vojvodina Rusyn and Serbian/Croatian and they use the languages in various venues in their daily communication, this is not surprising.

The "non-standard" usage of the determinate verbs likely occurs when both of these factors occur simultaneously, as motion verbs whose usage is not neutralized face only factor (a), but not (b). It is worth adding that the Vojvodina Rusyn verbs differentiate the semantic opposition of the determinate and indeterminate verbs when it is the indeterminate verbs that are similar to Serbian/Croatian verbs, cf. *nošic – nositi* 'bring'; *vodzic – voditi* 'take'. The relation of factors (a) and (b) can be illustrated in the following way:
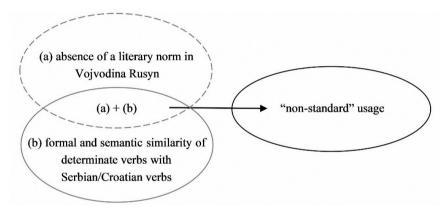

Figure 1. The mechanism of the "non-standard" usage of motion verbs in Vojvodina Rusyn
(Figure created by the author)

As these phenomena can be observed only sporadically, they do not constitute a categorical change induced by language contact. As seen in Section 2, the category of motion verbs still functions in contemporary Vojvodina Rusyn, and most of them maintain the determinate-indeterminate opposition. However, as this "non-standard" usage occurs not only in spoken language but also in literary language, it also cannot be considered to merely be language interference, which is most often to occur in spoken language. If the situation with *ljecic – ljetac*, which have almost lost their opposition, develops with the *isc – xodzic* and *bežac – behac* pairs, whose semantic opposition is now sometimes neutralized, then the majority of Vojvodina Rusyn speakers will no longer distinguish the determinate and indeterminate meanings, leading to the possible disappearance of this lexico-grammatical category from Vojvodina Rusyn.

4. Verbal Nouns Derived from the Vojvodina Rusyn Motion Verbs in the Context of Language Contact

The neutralization of the determinate and indeterminate verbs can be also observed in the usage of verbal nouns derived from these motion verbs. In Vojvodina Rusyn, as in other Slavic languages, abstract action nominals are regularly derived from verbs by adding the ending -*nje* to the verbal stem, cf. *pisac* 'write' > *pisa-nje* 'writing' and *čitac* 'read' > *čita-nje* 'reading'. Nominals formed from imperfective verbs usually express the process of the action denotated by the verbal stem. Action nominals are derived from indeterminate motion verbs in all Slavic languages except Polish, where they may be formed from either determinate or indeterminate motion verbs, depending on the verb, cf. *niesienie* 'bringing' (< *nieść*[DT] 'bring'), *chodzenie* 'walking' (< *chodzić*[INDT] 'walk'), *latanie* 'flying, flight' (< *latać*[INDT] 'fly'). The relevant verbal nouns in Vojvodina Rusyn are presented in the table below.

Table 1. Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs and the derived abstract action nominals

(Table created by the author)

Determinate verbs	Nouns from DT	Indeterminate verbs	Nouns from INDT
isc	**idzenje*	*xodzic*	*xodzenje*
bežac	*bežanje*	*behac*	*behanje*
ljecic	*ljecenje*	*ljetac*	*ljetanje*
hnac	**hnanje*	*honjic*	*honjenje*
njesc	**nješenje*	*nošic*	*nošenje*
vezc	**veženje*	*vožic*	*voženje*
vesc	**vedzenje*	*vodzic*	*vodzenje*

As seen in Table 1, only Vojvodina Rusyn indeterminate verbs regularly form abstract verbal nouns, but the two determinate verbs *bežac* and *ljecic* also have the corresponding verbal nouns *bežanje* and *ljecenje*. The question arises of whether there is any difference between verbal nouns derived from determinate and indeterminate verbs. In this section, we will analyze the usage of these verbal nouns in contemporary language materials, attempting to point out differences in the situations in which the verbal nouns in question are used.

4.1. The nouns *bežanje* and *behanje*

In the Rusyn-Serbian dictionary (RSS: 48), both *bežanje* and *behanje* are found with the meaning of 'trčanje; trka (running; race)'. Besides that, the former also expresses 'kas (horse's quick steps [but slower than a gallop])', whereas the latter has the meaning of 'nagon za

parenjem kod krave; parenje krave (urging cows to mate; mating of cows)' derived from the reflective verb *behac še* 'goniti se; voditi se (rut; mate [usually about cows])'. From the description in the dictionary, it is clear that both of these nouns have the common meaning 'running', but any potential nuances are unclear. First, we present some examples with the indeterminate-derived *behanje*:

behanje (< *behac*[INDT]):

(9)   a. *Vše bula barz uparta, i popri atletiki, zmahala še i u pejcoboju, u behanju, rucanju koplja, rucanju diska, rucanju kladiva i skoku do daljeka.*

‘I was always very persistent, and besides athletics, I competed in pentathlon, running, shot put, discus throw, hammer throw and long jump’ (RS: 19.4.2019)

b. *Teraz še zmaham u behanju na 400 i 800 meteri − hvari von.*

‘Now I’m competing in the 400m and 800m run – said he’ (RS: 17.11.2015)

c. *Znace za kotri sport še hvari že je vše popularnjejši? Anji fodbal, anji tenis, anji košarka, alje behanje.*

‘Do you know which sport is said to be the most popular? It is neither football, nor tennis, nor basketball, but running’ (RTV: 8.8.2018)

As seen from the examples above, the indeterminate *behanje* is used to express the meaning of ‘running’. However, there is also a certain number of similar examples with the determinate-derived *bežanje*:

bežanje (< *bežac*[DT]):

(10)   a. *Popri tim, xodza i na rižni sporti: pljivanje, fodbal u sali i badminton, a sobotami do poladnja maju tri sporti: bežanje, pljivanje i voženje na bicigli…*

‘Besides that, they engage in various sports: swimming, futsal and badminton, and on Saturdays until noon they do three sports: running, swimming and cycling…’ (RS: 23.9.2018)

b. *Tri tižnji pred borbu še trenira dva raz dnjovo, i to rano bežanje, a večar trening u sali.*

‘Three weeks before the match he trains twice a day, running in the morning, then training in the gym in the evening’ (RS: 19.7.2017)

c. *Predvidzena i obnova i opremjovanje zoz atletskima rekvizitami – osem pantljiki za bežanje, potim atletskix terenox za rucanje diska, mlatka i kulji i za daljinski i skoki do visoka.*

'The renovation and establishment of equipment with the athletic requisites – eight tracks for running, then athletic fields for discus throw, hammer throw, shot put, long and high jump' (RTV: 30.5.2019)

Since *bežanje*, derived from the determinate *bežac*, appears in identical contexts to *behanje*, we can conclude that the two nouns are used as absolute synonyms in contemporary Vojvodina Rusyn in the context of 'running'. This is also supported by the fact that there is no example in which both words are used in the same text, as every speaker chooses one of them to express the meaning of 'running'. On the website of the Rusyn weekly newspaper *Ruske slovo* (accessed 30.11.2019.), for instance, there are 17 examples with the indeterminate *behanje* and 26 examples with the determinate *bežanje*, which indicates that the usage of the determinate *bežanje* is becoming more frequent than the usage of the indeterminate *behanje* among Vojvodina Rusyn speakers, with the possibility of total replacement in the meaning of 'running' in the near future.

4.2. The nouns *ljecenje* and *ljetanje*

The situation with the nouns *ljecenje* and *ljetanje* is different from the situation with *bežanje* and *behanje*. The meaning of the determinate *ljecenje* is defined as 'flying, flight', whereas the indeterminate *ljetanje* is not included in the Rusyn-Serbian dictionary (RSS: 363). Some examples of *ljecenje* include:

ljecenje (< *ljecic*[DT]):

(11)   a. *Rozdumoval som o ljecenju i o šljebodi pticox, ta som scel ljecic.*
        'I thought about flying and about the freedom of birds, then I wanted to fly' (ZH: 2018/6-7)
        b. *Perše njepretarhnute ljecenje na relaciji London – Pariz, tirvalo tri hodzini i 56 minuti.*
        'The first continuous flight between London and Paris lasted 3 hours and 56 minuites' (MAK: 2015/3-4)
        c. *Olivera i nješka čežko podnoši ljecenje na avionu, alje zaš ljem často putuje.*
        'Olivera still hardly endures the flight by airplane, but she often travels' (RS: 3.6.2018)

The exclusive use of *ljecenje* is supported by the fact that there were 26 examples with the determinate *ljecenje* and no examples with the indeterminate *ljetanje* on the website of *Ruske*

slovo (accessed 30.11.2019.). We could identify only one literary example with *ljetanje*:

ljetanje (< *letac*[INDT]):

(12)   *I po vlasnim ljetanju svojo hnjizda zvic i svojim potomkom život darovac*.

        'And we need to nidify a nest by own flying and to gift life to our descendants' (MŽ)

The situation with *ljecenje* and *ljetanje* overlaps with the situation with *ljecic* and *ljetac*, which have almost lost their binary opposition in the contemporary language. Nowadays, the young generations of Vojvodina Rusyn speakers[6] consider the verb *ljetac* and the noun *ljetanje* to be archaic forms, using only the determinate forms.

      From the results of our analysis provided in this section, we can say that there is a tendency in the contemporary Vojvodina Rusyn literary language for the verbal nouns *bežanje* and *ljecenje* from the determinate verbs *bežac* and *ljecic* to be used instead of the verbal nouns *behanje* and *ljetanje* from the indeterminate verbs *behac* and *ljetac*. However, the situations differ in severity and fixedness in the contemporary language practice. *Behanje* and *bežanje* are used almost interchangeably, with the choice depending on the preference of the speaker but not on the meaning. On the other hand, *ljecenje* is widely used in the meaning of 'flying, flight', whereas *ljetanje* has almost disappeared and is usually considered an archaism.

5. Vojvodina Rusyn Motion Verbs in the Historical Context

In this section, we will address a historical aspect of these changes by focusing on the pair *ljecic – ljetac*, which has almost lost its binary opposition. The analysis of examples from literary works makes it possible to point out that the changes occurred during the 20th century. For example, Havrijil Kosteljnik (1886–1948) who is famous as an author of the first grammar of the Rusyn language in Vojvodina, also produced many poems and short stories, and in his literary works we can find some examples with the verbs *ljecic* and *ljetac*. In his usage, the determinate *ljecic* is used to depict unidirectional motion in the air ('fly in one direction'), whereas the indeterminate *ljetac* expresses non-directional motion in the air ('fly around'), as seen in the examples in (13):

(13)   a. *Zos samoho početku, nakedi ljem zbačela dajaku govlju, že ljeci*[DT]*, nahlo rucela zos hlavu i oštro patrela, jak ked bi u njej nađija ožila, alje doraz hlavu spuščela: poznala, že to nje von*.

        'From the very beginning, when the [female] stork saw another stork was flying, suddenly she threw her head up and saw sharply as if a hope had enlivened in

herself, but she immediately put her head down: she noticed that the other stork was not male' (HK)

b. *A na obedze, ked treba i umartoho zos dobrim spomnuc i tix, co živi ostali, pocešic, đido tutor ljetal*[INDT] *jak škorvanok medzi žemu i njebom, ta Bohu na slavu i ljudzom na pocešenje prehvarjal*.

'During lunch time, when it was necessary to remember those who are dead with only good things and those who remained alive, and to console them, "uncle tutor" flew like a lark between the earth and sky, and he spoke up words of praise to God and words of consolation' (HK)

These two verbs are also used in the literary works of other Rusyn writers, who were born in the first half of 20th century. However, the semantic opposition between them is sometimes not so clear here: for example, Osif Kostelnik (1903–1936; born in Petrovci) used both verbs in his literary works with little semantic difference between them; cf. the examples in (14). Mixajlo Kovač (1909–2005; born in Šid) also used the verb *ljetac*, but did not use *ljecic*, so we cannot judge precisely how he used these verbs; cf. the examples in (15).

Osif Kostelnik:

(14)   a. *Dze še jednomu zmerka, druhomu švita, a xto visoko ljeci*[DT]*, njizko pada*.

'Where it is dim for someone, it is light for the other, those who fly high will fall low' (OK)

b. *Ja čital u knjižkox, co mi išče od pokojnoho đida ostali, že na švet i narod pridze veljke nješčesce dok budu nad nami ljetac*[INDT] *veljki no nježivi taščki*.

'I read in the books which remained from my deceased grandfather that big sorrow will come to the world and people while large but dead sparrows will fly above us' (OK)

Mixajlo Kovač:

(15)   a. *Roki jak ptaxi, lastovki mili, / čarni i bili, / pod strexu panovu / či pod sluhovu / dnjuju-nocuju, / a vec še do vjedna zberaju / i do krajox njeznanix ljetaju*[INDT] *...*

'Years like birds, pretty swallows, / black and white, / under the eaves of the host / or the servant / stay day and night, / then they gather together / and fly to unknown regions...' (RR: M. Kovač)

b. *Lastovičko šestričko, / prez ljeto ljetaš*[INDT] *i brodziš... / Povedz, vše vješenji / za vodu veljku odxodziš?*

'Sparrow, my sister, / during the summer you fly around and wander... / Tell me,

why you always leave / behind the big water in autumn?' (ZH: 2017/11)

It was common for the Vojvodina Rusyn writers of this period to actively use both *ljecic* and *ljetac*, which is evident in the language of younger-generation writers such as Miron Kološnjaj (1930–; born in Ruski Krstur) and Hanča Papandriš-Harhaji (1943–; born in Petrovci).

Among the younger generation, however, some writers already did not distinguish *ljecic – ljetac*, using only the determinate *ljecic*. Some examples with *ljecic* in both meanings are found in the literary works of Đura Papharhaji (1936–2008; born in Ruski Krstur), as seen in (16).

(16) a. *Prestal Onufri račkovac. Narosli kridla, ta ljeci*[DT] *z hnjizda*.
   'Onufri stopped crawling. He grew his wings and is flying from the nest' (ĐP)
   b. *Julin nabiva z najvekšim panjvašom, hore, dolu, ljivo, pravo, kadzi ljem še obraci.*
   Ljeci[DT] *po dzvonjici naisce jak pravi Tarzan.*
   'Julin was beating [the bells] with the biggest rope up and down, left and right, wherever it turned around. He was flying around in the bell tower like a real Tarzan' (ĐP)

This kind of change is also observed with the verbal nouns *ljecenje* and *ljetanje*, as discussed in the previous section. In the language of H. Kosteljnik, there is an example of *ljetanje*, from the indeterminate *ljetac*, having the meaning of 'flying, flight', whereas Đ. Papharhaji uses the determinate *ljecenje* (< *ljecic*[DT]) in the same meaning instead[7].

Havrjil Kosteljnik:
(17) *Tu špivanki njeprestane presladke hurčanje, / tu jej jagod taščka kridlox do njeba ljetanje*[INDT]*, / tu še mlade šerco z ohnjom svojim rozpaljuje, / tu še ljubov – radosc joho hlasom prehvarjuje.*
   'Here constant sweet buzzing of the song, / here as if it is flying of the sparrow's wings to the sky, / here the young heart is burning with the fire, / here is love – the joy sounds with his voice' (HKZ)

Đura Papharhaji:
(18) *Rucal som ix prez pojdovi oblačok do dvora i proboval za jix ljecenjom*[DT] *hvizdac, jak ked bi hviždžali z visoti viruceni bombi.*
   'I threw them [the steel airplanes] through the window of the attic, and tried to

whistle while they were flying as if they were whistling with the bombs dropped from the sky' (ĐP)

When it comes to the verbs *bežac – behac* and their nominals, the situation is slightly different. In literary works, the indeterminate verbal noun *behanje* is regularly used in the context of 'running,' as seen in (19), but there is no example of the determinate *bežanje* with this meaning. The same situation can be observed in the language of mass media in the first half of the 20th century: in the Rusyn newspaper *Russka zarja* (1934–1940), no example of the determinate-derived *bežanje* is found, while the indeterminate-derived *behanje* is used in the context of 'running' twice (RZ: 5/1939, 3/1940). This situation differs in the contemporary language of mass media, where the determinate *bežanje* appears more often than the indeterminate *behanje*, and from this, we can assume that the neutralization of the determinate and indeterminate verbal nouns started to occur at least during the last several decades.

(19)   *Nje znal som či stanula preto že mnje posluxala, či prave tedi už počuvstvovala vistatosc od napruženoho* $\underline{behanja}$^{INDT}.

'I didn't know whether she stopped [walking] because she had listened to me, or just then she had already felt tired of a strained running' (ĐP)

Based on the analysis provided in this section, we can conclude that the semantic correlation of the pair *ljecic – ljetac* was gradually lost probably by the mid-20th century, and the usage of the determinate *ljecic* instead of the indeterminate *ljetac* became normal in literary language. It is quite possible that the verb *ljecic* prevailed because of its formal similarity to the Serbian/Croatian equivalent *l(j)eteti* 'fly'. At the same time, the usage of the determinate verbal noun *ljecenje* also became more popular and finally overcame the indeterminate verbal noun *ljetanje*. We demonstrate in the table below the distribution of the verbs *ljecic*, *ljetac*, and their verbal nouns during the 20th century.

Table 2. The distribution of *ljecic*, *ljetac*, and their verbal nouns during the 20th century
(Table created by the author)

	ljecic^{DT}	*ljetac*^{INDT}	*ljecenje*^{DT}	*ljetanje*^{INDT}
Beginning of 20th century	+	+	–	+
Mid-20th century	+	+	+	–
Latter half of 20th century	+	+/–	+	–

On the other hand, the situation with the pair *bežac – behac* has remained stable in literary language. The verbal noun *behanje* is also regularly used in the literary language, and the usage of the verbal noun *bežanje* instead of *behanje* occurs only in the contemporary language of the mass media which is considered to have more colloquial features than the language of literature. Their distributions are presented in Table 3:

Table 3. The distribution of *bežac*, *behac*, and their verbal nouns depending on genre
(Table created by the author)

	bežac[DT]	*behac*[INDT]	*bežanje*[DT]	*behanje*[INDT]
Mass media	+	+	+	+
Literature	+	+	–	+

6. Concluding Remarks

As in the East and West Slavic languages, Vojvodina Rusyn features the lexico-grammatical category of motion verbs that distinguish determinate and indeterminate verbs. These verbs express the unidirectional motion vs. multidirectional motion opposition when they have different syntactic structures, and the actual motion vs. repetitive motion opposition when the Source, Path, or Goal of motion is indicated. The Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs can be classified alongside West Slavic and Slovene, as they share the feature that indeterminate verbs cannot express the meaning of motion there and back in the past tense.

The result of the analysis in this paper shows that the indeterminate verbs *xodzic*, *behac*, and *ljetac* are sometimes replaced by their determinate counterparts *isc*, *bežac*, and *ljecic* even in literary language. We pointed out that this neutralization is motivated by the existence of formally and semantically similar verbs in the dominant languages (Serbian and Croatian) as well as the absence of a detailed literary norm for the usage of the motion verbs in the Vojvodina Rusyn standard language. In the contemporary language, the *ljecic – ljetac* pair has almost lost its binary opposition between unidirectional and multidirectional motion, and there is a tendency for the determinate *ljecic* to be used in both the determinate and indeterminate meanings.

The "non-standard" usage of the determinate verbs is also observed in their derived verbal nouns. The noun *bežanje*, derived from the determinate *bežac*, is used as an absolute synonym for the noun *behanje*, derived from the indeterminate *behac*, in the meaning of 'running' in the language of the mass media. Moreover, the noun *ljecenje*, derived from the determinate *ljecic*, is the only one with the meaning 'flying, flight', whereas the noun *ljetanje*, derived from the indeterminate *ljetac*, is now considered an archaism.

In the historical context, the pair *ljecic – ljetac* was regularly used until the beginning of the 20th century in literary language, but over the first half of the century the pair gradually lost its correlation, until finally *ljecic* began to cover both meanings. Along with that, the noun *ljetanje* was also replaced by the noun *ljecenje* during the first half of the 20th century. The noun *behanje*, on the other hand, has been regularly used in the meaning of 'running' in literary language, and its neutralization with the determinate *bežanje* occurs only in the language of the mass media. This can be explained by the fact that the pair *bežac – behac* retains its binary opposition, with neutralization occurring only occasionally.

Changes in the usage of Vojvodina Rusyn motion verbs are ongoing, and it is quite possible that new ones will occur in the near future. It is necessary for further studies to confirm the results of this research via additional analysis of a greater number of language materials (both spoken and written) in order to not only fully describe these changes but also reveal the mechanisms behind them.

Abbreviations

DT   determinate

f.   female

INDT   indeterminate

m.   male

Notes

[1] This paper is the result of the research project "A Synchronic and Diachronic Study on the Semantics and Etymology of Verbal Lexis in Vojvodina Ruthenian" (JSPS KAKENHI Grant number JP19K20808) financed by the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science. The primary version of the paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Japan Society for the Study of Slavic Languages and Literatures on March 20th, 2019, at The University of Tokyo. I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful and valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

[2] Our informants are 9 Rusyn native speakers with higher education, who are of varying ages and birthplaces: 4 males born in 1957 (Kucura), 1969 (Ruski Krstur), 1983 (Vrbas), and 1991 (Novi Sad); 5 females born in 1948 (Ruski Krstur), 1953 (Ruski Krstur), 1961 (Ruski Krstur), 1967 (Ruski Krstur), and 1991 (Novi Sad).

[3] Of the 9 informants, 4 younger native speakers born in 1967 (f.), 1983 (m.), and 1991 (m./f.) answered that the indeterminate *ljetac* is archaic for them and that they use only the determinate *ljecic*; 1 native speaker born in 1969 (m.) stated that he uses both of the verbs, but is aware that other younger people do not use the indeterminate *ljetac* anymore, while the other 4 informants born in

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1948 (f.), 1953 (f.), 1957 (m.), and 1961 (f.) regularly use both of them, differentiating the determinate and indeterminate meanings.

[4] It is worth mentioning that there is no notion about the archaicity of the verb *ljetac* in dictionaries or about the usage of *ljecic* for both the determinate and indeterminate meanings (RSS: 362, 363; SRNJa 1: 675, 676).

[5] In the Rusyn-Serbian dictionary, there are special notions 'u jednom pravcu (in one direction)' for the determinate verbs and 'svuda, u više pravaca (everywhere, in several directions)' for the indeterminate verbs. These notions come with the 8 pairs of motion verbs including the pair *ljecic – ljetac* (RSS: 362, 363), but as shown in Section 3, these verbs have almost lost their binary opposition in contemporary language, or at least in the language of younger generations.

[6] Although the indeterminate *ljetac* is considered as an archaic verb by those who are born around or after 1960, the indeterminate-derived *ljetanje* is used by none of our informants and all of them answered that they use the determinate-derived *ljecenje* in reference to 'flying, flight'.

[7] This situation can be confirmed by the examples from the Rusyn newspaper *Russka zarja* (RZ) published during 1934–1940 (1934–1936 published as *Zarja*) in Novi Sad, where both the verbs *ljecic* and *ljetac* can be found, but there is no example of the indeterminate *ljetanje*, whereas there are 4 examples of the determinate *ljecenje* meaning 'flying'. This fact indicates that the indeterminate *ljetanje* was replaced by the determinate *ljecenje* before this period.

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Руски дїєслова рушаня у контексту язичного контакту

Канаме Окано

У тей роботи представена анализа хаснованя руских дїєсловох рушаня зоз оглядом на даєдни пременки хтори ше обачую при тих дїєсловох як пошлїдок стаємного и цесного контакту зоз сербским и горватским язиком. Руски дїєслова рушаня образую лексично-граматичну категорию хтора ма опозицию одредзеного и нєодредзеного дїєслова як, наприклад, *исц – ходзиц, бежац – бегац, нєсц – ношиц* и др. У роботи указане же ше у сучасним язику обачує тенденция заменьованя нєодредзених дїєсловох зоз одредзенима: одредзени дїєслова *исц, бежац* и *лєциц* зявюю ше дакеди место одвитуюцих нєодредзених дїєсловох *ходзиц, бегац* и *лєтац* аж и у писаним язику. Таке мишанє звичайно мотивоване зоз ис489ованьом формалнє и семантичнє подобних дїєсловох у доминантних язикох (тє. сербским и горватским), тиж так зоз хибеньом детальнєйшей норми у руским стандардним язику. Попри тим, у сучасним язику (поготов у язику младих) дїєслова *лєциц* и *лєтац* скоро страцели їх опозицию медзи одредзеним и нєодредзеним значеньом, и обачує ше тенденция же одредзене *лєциц* покрива и значеня нєодредзеного *лєтац*. Таке "нєстандардне" хасsnованє мож обачиц и у хаснованю даєдних дїєсловних меновнїкох. У язику масових медийох ше меновнїк *бежанє* од одредзеного *бежац* хаснує як абсолютни синоним ґу меновнїку *беганє* од нєодредзеного *бегац* у значеню 'беганє'. Цовцей, меновнїк *лєценє* од одредзеного *лєциц* функционує як єдини за виражованє значеня 'лєценє', покля меновнїк *лєтанє* нєодредзеного походзеня уж архаизем у сучасним язику. Кед ше спатра зоз историйней перспективи, дїєслова *лєциц – лєтац* ше поряднє хасновали по початок XX вику, алє у цеку першей половки XX вику поступнє трацели їх опозицию док дїєслово *лєциц* нє почало виражовац и значеня дїєслова *лєтац*. Тиж замерковане же ше скоро у истим чаше меновнїк *лєценє* почал хасновац место меновнїка *лєтаня* и подполно го заменєл до першей половки XX вику. Мишанє меновнїка *бежанє* зоз меновнїком *беганє*, з другого боку, случує ше потераз углавним у язику масових медийох и ма лєм оказионални характер, алє тото мож обяшнїц зоз фактом же пара *бежац – бегац* ище чува свою семантичну опозицию. У заключеню представени резултати анализи и замеркована потребносц детальнєйшей анализи хтора уключує до себе векши язикови материял же бизме составели полне описанє таких пременкох та одкрили механїзми хтори ше крию за нїма.