[講演]

Pragmatic Motivation as a Factor for Lexical Differentiation in Slavic and Balkan Languages

Marjan Markoviki

In this article I will discuss several lexical features at various levels of linguistic structure where pragmatic motivation is the dominant factor. Some of these features are examined from a Balkan point of view and others are viewed from a Slavic perspective. Certain elements of common Balkan pastoral terminology will be explained with regard to their etymologies and geographic spread. In the same way, but going deeper into semantic motivation, the terms for 'clothes' will be analyzed. The Slavic perspective on lexical differentiation will be explained through the analysis of the words for 'hunt' and 'hunting' and how the relevant lexical items extend across all Slavic-speaking territories, again with an analysis of their pragmatic motivation. All these lexical features show us how historical, cultural, and geographical circumstances can influence communication, as well as how pragmatic motivation is one of the dominant factors in acquiring a common interpretation of the world around us.

Microsystems, especially those in whose formation two or more languages/dialects were involved, offer significant possibilities for various directions of research. One such perspective is oriented towards confirming/specifying knowledge concerning mutual interferences in a broader area, such as the so-called Balkan linguistic league, while a different perspective may show us how far inherited linguistic features have developed with the aim of adapting more easily (from a communicative aspect) to the said microsystems. The issues that I will present deal with interferences in the fields of terminology and semantics, where pragmatic motivation is identified as one of the criteria.

1. Balkan Pastoral Terminology

I will begin with the issue of Balkan pastoral terminology according to the questionnaires from the Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас - ОКДА (General

Carpathian Dialectal Atlas). Here, I will present only a few lexemes (out of 150 that have been dealt with) which best illustrate the results of linguistic contact in the Balkan area. It is interesting to note that this terminology extends to a much broader area, provisionally called Carpathian, primarily due to the migrations and the nomadic lifestyle of Balkan shepherds.

'A dark-colored sheep'

In Macedonian, this is *murga*, similar to the Aromanian word *murg*. This word has Balkan origins. In Albanian, *murg* means 'dark, black', the same as in Romanian, where it means 'dark, reddish-brown'. The word is of Indo-European origin, having entered the Latin language (*amurca*) through Greek. On the islands of the Adriatic Sea, as well as in Italy, words derived from this root are used to express olive oil residue which has a dark red color. This word also has some ties with the Latin *mauro* meaning 'dark'.

'A hornless sheep or goat'

The Macedonian language has the word *wyma*, as does the Aromanian, *shuta*. This word, in the context of pastoral terminology, is represented in all the languages of the Carpathian and Balkan areas, and for this reason there are several explanations concerning its etymology. One of them is that the word *shuta* originates from the Albanian language (in Albanian, *shutë* means an animal without horns) and that it was brought north by the Balkan shepherds, much in the same way that the majority of Balkan pastoral terminology was introduced into other languages. Another explanation is that the word has Slavic roots because the prefix *ko*- in *košuta* - 'forest animal' is found only in Slavic languages. However, the word *cuka*, *cuko*, meaning 'hornless goat' can also be found in the Alpine regions of Switzerland. Because of this, some linguists consider that this word belongs to the pre-Indo-European substratum.

'An animal with small ears'

Both Macedonian and Aromanian have the word *чула*. The root *čul*, meaning 'an animal with small ears' has Balkan origins. This word has the same meaning in the languages of the Carpathian area. Thus, in Romanian it is *oae ciulă* - 'a sheep with small ears', in Hungarian - *csula*, in Czech - *čulka*, in Ukrainian and Moldavian - *чула*. Z. Gołąb (Голомб 1959) claims that this word originates from the Proto-Slavic verb **čuj..*, *čuti* 'sense, notice', more precisely, from the participle with the -l inflection. The South-Slavic word was taken as a loanword into Aromanian and Romanian, and it was then spread into other languages by Balkan shepherds.

'A barren sheep'

There is a word both in Macedonian and in Aromanian to express this concept, and that is the word $\it stira / shtira$. This is a pastoral term - Balkan and Carpathian. It can be found in most of the Carpathian and Balkan languages. For example, in Polish - $\it s(z)tera$, $\it s(z)tyra$; in Czech and Slovak - $\it stira$; in Moldavian - $\it umup_3$; in Serbian/Croatian - $\it stirkinja$; in Albanian - $\it shtjerr\ddot{e}$. The word has Indo-European origins, i.e. from an Indo-European root * $\it ster-$ and was spread through the Greek word $\it otelog_{\it stirpo_{\it sti$

All these examples show that in terms of pastoral terminology most of the Balkan and Carpathian languages have a common lexical and semantic fund which, despite being prone to the various phonetic and morphological rules of the individual languages, clearly illustrates the mutual influences and their results.

These influences from the microsystems moved towards a broader area. In that sense, interference can occur even upon casual contact, as in the case of features that are spread by a nomadically-mobile population, especially in the case of specific terminology.

2. Clothing Terminology in a Slavic and Balkan Context

Within the framework of the Macedonian dialects as part of the most widely understood Slavic dialectal system, the etymology and semantics of some clothing terminology evoke special interest.

According the question L1205 'верхняя одежда' from the Общеславянский лингвистический атлас (Common Slavic Linguistic Atlas) there following answers for clothing in the Macedonian dialects: облека, алишта, пл'ачки, одело, згорниште, горни рувет, горна руба, облекло, горна дрешка, руби, уб'лекw, уб'л'ака, халишти, пру'мена, рухо, халишта.

Here I will present the following terms: *pyбa*, *дрешка* and *пљачки*, whose semantic motivation has gone beyond the borders of the Balkans.

The word (горна) дрешка has Slavic roots. It originates from Proto-Slavic *derti, in Old Church Slavonic drěti. There are several vowel alternations, and so the words razdor, odora (in Serbo-Croatian) originate from the same root. In Lithuanian we have dirit, in Latvian drat, whereas the Indo-European root is *der- (to remove the skin, to skin).

Skok (1971:151) notes that the word pyoa is a loanword from Turkish (from the

Turkish word *uruba*), originating from the Italian *robba*, which itself originates from the German *rauba*. In Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbian it appears with an **o** instead of **u** (*ruba*). It is also present in the Romance languages. In Albanian the word *rrobe* is used.

The word $n_h auku$ is a Balkan word of Greek origin, in terms of the base (plak), and with a Slavic suffix (-ka). In Greek there is $\pi \lambda a \kappa o vo$, in Hungarian - pliaska, in Aroamanian - plaska, in Turkish - plaska, in Albanian - plaska.

The semantic component that refers to the words: *pyбa*, *дрешка* and *пљачки*, leads us to a meaning which is almost identical to the other Indo-European languages, and that is the meaning of 'booty, prey, plunder'.

The word *py6a* originates from the Italian *roba*, which itself originates from the German *rauba*, with an original meaning of 'booty, prey, plunder', as well as that of 'suit'. In German the word *plunder* exists, meaning 'rags, old clothes', whereas plunderung means 'stealing, looting, *plundering*'. We can link *py6a* with Old High German *rouba* 'vestments', from West Germanic **raubo* 'booty' (cognate with Old High German *roub* 'robbery, breakage'), In English the words *plunder* and *robbery* have the same meaning as the words *zpe6exc*, *nьачка*, and the word *robe*, meaning 'long, loose outer garment', is from the Germanic source **raubo* - 'booty'. In Istro-Romanian there is the word *rubača* which refers to shirt, as well as 'prey, booty'.

In the Macedonian dialects the word **пљачки** refers to clothes, clothing, wardrobe, whereas **пљачка** means 'robbery'. In Albanian *plaçkë* means 'load, baggage'.

We have already mentioned that the word *òpewka* originates from the Proto-Slavic verb *derti, which means 'to skin, to remove the skin'. Again, both meanings of prey, booty and clothes interweave. According to Skok (1971:437), in some Croatian dialects, the word *odora* means both 'clothing' and 'prey, booty'. The words *poderina* 'old dress' and *deračina* 'robbery' can also be found. In Lika the words *izdor* and *odor* appear with the meanings of 'property' and 'prey, booty', respectively. In Romanian *odor* means 'wealth, precious stone', which indicates the source of booty.

These intersections of the meanings of 'prey', 'booty', and 'clothing' can be explained by the fact that in battles among tribes, the clothing of the defeated was a central element of the plundered booty. All of this serves to show us how identical the semantic motivation was in terms of clothing terminology among many Indo-European peoples. Metaphorical semantics reveals itself to be a very broad field which sometimes manages to bring the Indo-European languages closer to a great extent.

3. Hunting Terminology in the Slavic Dialects

In this section we will look at the terminology for *hunting* which can be found throughout the whole of Slavic territory within the *Общеславянский лингвистический атлас*. From the analysis of the question L 2155 'охота на диких зверей и птиц' regarding the collected material (consisting of 850 lexemes from 850 inhabited places [points] from all Slavic territory), we can differentiate 11 basic roots or stems.

Hunting terminology in the Slavic languages is rather differentiated and it has several motivations: maintaining the inherited term *lov* 'hunt', as in Macedonian, Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian; transferring the meaning - as in Russian (oxota); generalizing to one hunting technique - as in Polish, Slovak and Czech.

The material offers an abundance of information, concerning lexical and derivational differentiation of terminology for *hunting*, and it also reveals various cultural influences within the Slavic area.

- Forms of the lexeme *lov can be found as unique throughout all of Macedonian and the rest of South Slavic territory, with the exception of Slovenian territory, where other lexemes besides *lov are used. It is interesting to note that this lexeme is also found in Sorbian (Lusatian), and the plural form *lovy appears in one Polish and one Russian point, as well.
- The lexemes *polovanje*, *polovačka*, *polovka* originate from *pole (< *poljo) and can be found in Polish, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Belarusian. The lexeme *polovanje can be found in some parts of Ukrainian and Belarusian territory. It is interesting to note that lexemes with the root *pol- and with the meaning 'hunt' appear in none of the other territories, nor in any Russian point.
- The third lexeme that appears over a large territory is *oxota. The basic meaning of this lexeme is 'wish, desire, intention, good will' and it is present over a broad Slavic area. In Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian, besides the said meaning, the lexeme *oxota also carries the meaning 'hunt'. One of the archaic meanings of this lexeme is also 'amusement of the nobility', which can actually be connected with the meaning 'hunt' since one of the amusements of the noble classes was in fact hunting. The lexeme *oxota with the meaning 'hunt' completely covers Russian territory, as well as parts of Belarus and Ukraine.
- The lexemes from the root *strěl- are found in only two points in the Czech Republic and the Ukraine, and once again only one way of hunting is expressed (with a weapon).
- The lexemes derived from the root *gon- 'chase, pursue' can be found throughout the whole territory of the Czech Republic (the most common is the form honba), and also in some points in Poland (near the Polish Czech Republic border), as well as in one Sorbian point.

Here, again, there is a generalization in terms of one hunting technique, having to do with hunting game (with the help of dogs or falcons). The etymology is known (*gnati - *goniti).

There are several lexemes of non-Slavic origin that are used to express "hunting", such as *jage*-, *vadas*, and *caccia*, which can be found on Slovenian, Sorbian and Kashubian territory, and also in northern Poland, where German cultural influence was very strong. The same can be said for Hungarian cultural influence, which was strong in the southeastern part of the Ukraine as well as in the two Slovak points located in Hungary.

All of this shows that hunting as an activity is a part of the local cultural tradition of the Slavic peoples. This can also be seen from the sharp borders of the areas that coincide with the former cultural influences of various states.

Conclusion

Summarizing the three sections of this paper, it can be said that in terms of areal linguistics there are several factors that are involved, above all, pragmatic and semantic impulses, which have an influence on a grammatical-structural level. We have seen how, for example, on-going, dynamic, contact contributed a given Balkan terminology (specifically, pastoral terminology) to cover an extensive area as far as the Carpathian region, then, how an inherited semantic motivation from a broad Indo-European concept (clothes = booty) has imposed itself on clothing terminology in the Macedonian dialects, how the cultural influences of various states/societies have imposed themselves on hunting terminology in the Slavic dialects, all with the aim to ease and facilitate communication and enable a common understanding of the world.

Literature:

Балканская филология, отв. редактор А. В. Десницкая, Ленинград 1970.

Видоески Божидар, Југозападните македонски дијалекти со посебен осврт на битолското говорно подрачје, посебен отпечаток, МАНУ, Скопје 1988.

Видоески Божидар, *Македонските дијалекти во Албанија*, Литературен збор, год. XXXII, Скопје 1985.

Видоески Божидар, *Меѓујазичниот контакт* (на дијалектно рамниште) како фактор за дијалектна диференцијација на македонскиот јазик, Реферати на македонските слависти за XI меѓународен славистички конгрес во Братислава, посебен отпечаток, Скопје 1993.

Видоески Божидар, Охридско-струшките говори, Прилози IX 1, МАНУ, Скопје 1984.

Видоески Божидар, *Тенденции во развојот на македонскиот дијалектен јазик во XIX и XX век*, Прилози II 1-2, МАНУ, Скопје 1977.

Георгиев В., *К вопросу о балканском языковом союзе*, Новое в лингвистике, выпуск VI, Москва 1972.

Голомб Збигњев, Генетички врски меѓу карпатската и балканската сточарска терминологија и улогата на словенскиот елемент на ова подрачје; Македонски јазик, год. X, 1959, книга 1-2.

Голомб Збигњев, За "механизмот" на словенско-романските односи на Балканскиот полуостров, Македонски јазик, год. XXI, Скопје 1970.

Голомб Збигњев, *Значењето на македонскиот јазик за балканистичките студии*, Пристапни предавања на новите членови на МАНУ, Скопје 1974.

Демирај Шабан, Балканска лингвистика, Скопје 1994.

Илиевски Хр. Петар, Балканолошки лингвистички студии, Скопје 1988.

Јашар-Настева Оливера, *Македонскиот јазик и другите балкански јазици*, Предавања на IV семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура, Охрид 1971.

Јашар-Настева Оливера, *Местото на македонскиот јазик во Балканската јазична заедница*, Предавања на XXII семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура, Охрид 1989.

Конески Блаже, Граматика на македонскиот јазик, Култура, Скопје 1981.

Конески Блаже, Историја на македонскиот јазик, Култура, Скопје 1982.

Настев Божидар, Аромански студии, Огледало, Скопје 1988.

Общеславянский лингвистический атлас : Серия лексико-словообразо-вательная : Выпуск 8 : Профессии и общественная жизнь Warszawa, 2003.

Тополињска Зузана, *За прагматичната и семантичната мотивација на морфосинтаксички балканизми*, Прилози XVI, МАНУ, Скопје 1992.

Трпкоски Вангел - Трпку, Власите на Балканот, РО "Напредок"-Тетово, Скопје 1986.

Фридман Виктор, Граматикализацијата на балканизмите во македонскиот јазик *Македонски јазик*, бр. 51-52, 2000-2001. 31-38.

Capidan Theodor, Aromâni, Dialectul aromân, Academia romanâ, București 1932.

Caragiu-Marioteanu Matilda, Fono-morfologie aromânâ, Academia romanâ, București 1968.

Fiedler Wilfried, Bucholz Oda, Albanische Gramatik, Leipzig 1987.

Friedman A. Victor, *The Gramatical Categories of the Macedonian Indicative*, Slavica Publishers, Inc., Columbus, Ohio 1977.

Friedman A. Victor, *Gramatical Categories and a Comparative Balkan Grammar*, Ziele und Wege der Balkanlinguistik, Band 8, Berlin 1983.

Gołąb Zbigniew, *Szkic dialektu Arumunów macedońskich*, Prace językoznawcze, eszyt 4, Kraków 1961.

Gołąb Zbigniew, *The Arumanian dialect of Kruševo in SRMacedonia SFRYugoslavia*, MANU, Skopje 1984.

Papahagi Tache, Dicționarul dialectului aroman, Bucuresti 1974.

Trifunoski Jovan, Die Arumunen in Mazedonien, Balcanica II, Beograd 1971.

Weigand Gustav, Die Aromunen I, II, Leipzig 1895.

Weinreich Uriel, Languages in Contact, Mouton, The Hague 1970.

Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, Petar Skok, Zagreb, 1971 Słownik etymologyczny języka polskiego, Aleksander Bruckner, Warszawa, 1957 Български етимологичен речник, Българска Академия на науките, София, 1971 Słownik etymologyczny języka polskiego, Franciszek Sławski, Krakow, 1958-Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum, Franz Von Miklosich, Wien, 1865 Этимологический словарь русского языка, Макс Фасмер, Москва, 1986