Feature Title: Лѣтопись Lietopis' Chronicle

Article Title: 7 November 1981, Oxford: Meeting of the Slavic and East European Medieval Study Group


Part 2: “Linguistic Variation in Roumanian State Documents” by C.M. MacRobert (73-74)

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Journal Title: Polata Knigopisnaia

Issue Date: December 1982

Publisher: William R. Veder, Vakgroep Slavistiek, Katholieke Universiteit, Postbus 9103, 6500 HD Nijmegen (Holland)


Appears in:

Community: Hilandar Research Library

Sub-Community: Polata Knigopisnaia

Collection: Polata Knigopisnaia: Volume 6 (December 1982)
In contradistinction to the sampling methods adopted by Biblical scholars working with continuous texts of the gospels, a very effective method of grouping together textually related gospel lectionaries has been found. This ascertains the precise lection boundaries in each lectionary and in the lists and rubrics of continuous gospel manuscripts, working systematically through the known Greek manuscripts, century by century, to determine the development of the Byzantine gospel lectionary and the norms for each stage of that development. Bearing in mind the twelve different ways in which a scribe could work when he set about producing a new copy of a lectionary, depending upon the existing codices at his disposal, it is then necessary to deduce why any given lectionary should have deviated from these norms.

Those lectionaries which contain the same deviations from the norms form small sub-groups which, when tested linguistically, have been found to have descended from a common archetype, whether the sub-group tested was Greek or Slavonic.

Our investigation has shown that most of the variations found in early Slavonic Saturday-Sunday lectionaries are also to be found in certain Greek lectionaries. They indicate the continuing influence of the Greek models upon the Slavonic manuscripts, although a very few unusual features may have arisen in the Slavonic field. In the case of Slavonic weekday lectionaries characteristics developed in the East Slav areas that have not been found as yet in Greek manuscripts even though the Greek influence continued in the South Slav areas. These characteristics form convenient criteria by which sub-groups may be quickly discerned. Even more interesting is the light the above method sheds upon the reasons why the characteristics have developed.

Those Slavonic manuscripts which have followed Greek models closely are more difficult to resolve into sub-groups, and it is their small deviations from the Byzantine norms that repay careful study.
LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN ROUMANIAN STATE DOCUMENTS
C.M. MacROBERT

The state documents of the late fourteenth and fifteenth century in Wallachia have been the subject of controversy, because the variety of Slavonic language in which they are written has been taken by some (e.g. Bernştejn 1948) to reflect a tradition of spoken Bulgarian North of the Danube, while others (e.g. Djamo-Diaconită 1971) regard it simply as a written, chancery usage. Whichever view is taken, close analysis of the documents reveals that they are written in a mixture of two linguistic varieties, both Bulgarian in origin but one is distinctly conservative and consciously literary, while the other is not far removed from the Early Modern Bulgarian attested in seventeenth-century Bulgaria.

In order to minimize the Serbian influence which increases with time in these texts, only documents dated before 1462 were examined. The editions of Kaluzniacki 1878, Bogdan 1905 and Panaitescu and Mioc 1966 were used, and the documents split into two groups: one, more formal in style, consisting of charters granting or confirming gifts of land, mostly to monasteries; and the other, less formal, consisting of trading charters and letters. Each group was further divided in two at the date 1430, which is roughly the time from which Serbian features show a slight increase.

Within each document a distinction was drawn between the formulaic, and therefore linguistically conservative, opening and closing sections and the central section which expresses particular provisions and by nature of its content cannot be entirely formulaic. The formulae of the land charters are especially well developed and are repeated almost verbatim from one document to another, but formulaic elements can also be detected in the apparently more spontaneous letters.

All these contexts were examined for one feature, the relative occurrences of infinitives (as complements of verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs) and of an alternative construction, the finite clause introduced by the conjunction da, which came to replace the infinitive in Bulgarian. The land charters were found to contain over twice as many infinitives as da-clauses; but the great majority of these infinitives occurred in formulaic or high-style passages, leaving only a handful of nonformulaic occurrences, governed by the verb xoteti (which also functions as the future auxiliary) or by the adjective volen, and dating mostly from before 1430. The nonformulaic da-clauses
complemented a wider range of governing expressions but also occurred almost exclusively before 1430. These distributions suggest that the language of these documents became more standardized and conservative with time.

In the less formal trading charters and letters the overall numbers of infinitives and da-clauses were about equal, but infinitives were found with a considerably smaller set of governing expressions, and when formulaic constructions had been discounted, the distribution of the infinitive could be limited to its complementary use with about eight governing expressions, mainly xotět, nedeite, mošti and volen. It was difficult to draw conclusions about chronology, because the bulk of these documents post-dates 1430; but it was striking that the few examples of a shortened infinitive preposed to its governing verb (a characteristic construction of Early Modern Bulgarian) occur before 1440. (Details and examples can be found in my unpublished doctoral thesis of 1980.)

An examination of the pronouns used in the land charters essentially confirmed the usefulness of the approach outlined above. The formulae of opening and closing sections, especially those with religious connotations, were found to employ a limited range of traditional pronouns, whereas the non-formulaic central section and also the formulaic but secular minatory clause admitted innovations, such as egov, negov, togov, sezi, toizi, Što used as a relative pronoun, and go (or ga) as an alternative to ego. Furthermore, the variety of pronominal forms in these sections is considerably greater before 1430 than afterwards.

It thus appears that internal analysis of the documents can distinguish between traditional formulaic language and the relatively innovatory linguistic usage which was characteristic of the early documents in the corpus. It is notable that Moldavian documents of the same date do not display these usages, but employ different types both of Slavonic and of traditional formulae.

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