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### SLAVICISMS IN KRIEVIANIAN REVISITED

When I studied the Krievianian vocabulary, as recorded and analysed in Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann's fine monograph (1871), I noted many Latvian-looking loanwords, but also some words that I interpreted as Slavic rather than Latvian. Later, when I discovered that the great Baltic-German scholar Johannes Sehwers (1940) had published a detailed analysis of the Latvian loanwords in Krievianian, I was surprised to see that he — a reputed expert in Latvian, especially Old Latvian — had judged virtually every non-Finnic word in Krievianian as a borrowing from Latvian. I therefore decided to study this problem myself and the result was published in Nilsson 1991. The main findings can be summarised as follows.

A new Polonism *kappalüsch* 'hat' (Pol. *kapelusz*) was discovered, in addition to the previously known *drigand* (Pol. *drygant*) 'Hengst' which had already been recognised by Jānis Endzelins (see Sehwers 1940 : 75).

Three words which J. Sehwers had judged to be Latvianisms were interpreted by me as Old Russian borrowings, which had probably entered into the "Pre-Krievianian" language, i.e. a dialect of Vote, when they still lived in Ingermanland, before they were taken away in captivity to the Bauska area in Latvia by German Knights. The words are: *nätäl* 'week', *sabakad* 'boots', *suht-* 'judge-; court-', from Old Russian *neděla*, *zapogъ/sabogъ*, *sud-*.

Two new Slavisms not previously described by either F. J. Wiedemann or J. Sehwers were also proposed: *osered* 'lake' (cf. russ. *озеро*) (as a weak alternative, I mentioned dialectal Latgalian<sup>1</sup> *azars*; in any case, Latvian *ezers* should be ruled out), and *šalutti* 'er hatte Mitleid' (cf. russ. *жалеть*).

In a recent interesting paper on Krievianian by Enn Ernits (1996), attention is paid to vocabulary as well as phonological and morphological interpretation of the Krievianian dialect. E. Ernits mentions the Polonism *kappalüsch* and quotes Lauri Posti (1941) as the source for this etymology, and claims *drigand* and *pehrwe* 'Farbe' (allegedly < Pol. *barwa*) as additional Polonisms. However, already J. Endzelins and J. Sehwers had stated that *drigand* ultimately was either mediated via Lithuanian

<sup>1</sup> I am aware of some instances in the Krievianian corpus where Latvian loanwords, which in the Standard Latvian language have an open *e* or *ē*, are rendered in Krievianian with an *a*, suggesting that indeed dialectal Latvian may be reflected in the corpus. This matter needs a separate study, however. I also pointed out in my 1991 paper that some of the Slavisms mediated into Krievianian by Latvian show features more similar to Old Belorussian than to "standard" Old Russian, for instance "cokanje", like in the Latvian word *civēks* 'human being, man', Krievianian *silvegs*.

from Polish, or even could have come directly from Polish. J. Sehwers (1940 : 76) quotes Krievinian *pehrwe* 'colour' as a loanword from Latvian *pērve*, adding that he did not make up this Latvian word ad hoc to explain Krievinian *pehrwe*. He had mentioned this Latvian word already in his dissertation about German loanwords in Latvian, where he writes: "Ihre Häuser und Geräte mit Farbe anzustreichen, lernten die Letten erst von den Deutschen, und aus dem Deutschen stammen auch die Benennungen für den Maler, die Malerwerkzeuge und die Farben: *mālderis* Maler, mnd. *māler*; *peřumanis* [---] Färber; *pindzele* Pinsel; *peřve* Farbe, aus mnd. *verwe*,<sup>2</sup> *pernica* Firnis, mnd. *fernis*" (Sehwers 1918 : 127). Moreover, E. Ernits (1996 : 258) also noticed the early Slavicism *suht-isänd*, described by T. K. Nilsson (1991 : 188).

Summing up the Polonisms of Krievinian, credit must go to L. Posti (1941 : 232–233) for discovering *kappalüsch*, to J. Endzelins (quoted by Sehwers 1940 : 75) for clearly stating that *drigand* may be a direct Polish loanword, and to J. Sehwers (1940 : 76) for explaining Krievinian *pehrwe*, which can not be regarded as a Polonism (E. Ernits's view), but rather as an indirect Germanism, mediated into Krievinian in the usual way as a Latvianism. The case also illustrates the difficulties involved in the study of minor dialects, as papers devoted to them are few and far between: I had by a lucky slump found J. Sehwers's 1940 paper and evaluated it in my own work, but I had missed L. Posti's 1941 paper, whereas E. Ernits, who knew L. Posti's paper and evaluated it, seems to have missed J. Sehwers's and T. K. Nilsson's papers, as well as K. Mühlenbachs' and J. Endzelins' dictionary (ME).

This little report is simply intended to stress the possibility that Krievinian may have absorbed loanwords already before the period of their captivity in Latvia, and that in all likelihood such loanwords could have come from Old Russian. As for the early Slavicisms in Krievinian, claimed by T. K. Nilsson (1991 *passim*), nobody seems to have scrutinised them and commented on them so far. However, now that E. Ernits (1996) has provided two additional possible cases (*gräatsima* and perhaps *sera* 'Dach') the point I tried to make hopefully looks even stronger. To me, the issue has a little bit more significance than just the usual squabbling about this or that detail in an isolated etymology: it raises the principal question of whether it is possible to discern an older loanword stratum (here: from Old Russian) in a target language (here: Krievinian/dialectal Votic) which is under constant interference pressure from a third language (here: Latvian) which itself has absorbed old loanwords from the same donor language (Old Russian) as our target language. Another intention of the present short note was to call for a debate on this issue. Further contributions, hopefully also from Slavists, are awaited with keen interest.

## REFERENCES

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<sup>2</sup> Thus, the word does not come from Middle High German as E. Ernits writes, but from Middle Low German. The word is also recorded by J. Endzelins (in ME III 202) with this note: "... die Farbe, vorzügl. Oelfarbe U. Nebst li. *perva* und estn. *wārv* aus mnd. *verve*", so it is difficult to understand E. Ernits's comment "Für kreew. L. *pehrwe* 'Farbe' hat der Unterzeichnete keine Entsprechung aus dem Lettischen gefunden" (1996 : 256).

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### И СНОВА О СЛАВЯНСКИХ ЗАЙМСТВОВАНИЯХ В КРЕВИНСКОМ ДИАЛЕКТЕ ВОДСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

Автор рассматривает польские и древнерусские заимствования, которые встречаются в кревинском диалекте водского языка.