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A DROP IN THE OCEAN OF INK. ANOTHER CONTRIBUTION TO THE
DISCUSSION ON THE ORIGIN OF MODERN STANDARD RUSSIAN

To Gerta Hüttl-Folter -
on the occasion of her
sixtieth birthday

As Rieger puts it, on the subject of the origin of Modern Standard Russian (MSR) "wyłano już morze atramentu",¹ and in spite of some measure of agreement, e.g. on the point of departure and the outcome of the process by which MSR was formed,² a good deal of confusion has been generated, not so much by inadequate or inaccurate presentation of the known facts as by the failure to make the necessary distinctions as to the kind of fact which is being described.

The starting-point of the process under discussion is often taken to be the whole of the period of diglossia, i.e. approximately the 11th to the 17th century. However, in the course of six centuries, Russian Church Slavonic (RChSl) changed to a considerable extent, although this is recognized only in general terms (in addition to the Second and Third South Slavonic Influence and the influence of Russian itself, there are other factors). The vernacular changed even more radically, and there is only an indirect relation, not one of unbroken continuity, between the East Slavonic dialects of Kievan Russia and the Russian of Muscovy.³ All these changes, however, in so far as they were completed by the middle of the 17th century, are in themselves of slight relevance to the problem, and there is much to be said for taking as starting point the state of language obtaining in the second half of the 17th century, that is the period when Muscovy had acquired parts of the Duchy of Lithuania, with resulting increase in contact with the West, at first through Poland and then more directly after the accession of Peter the Great, and this is the approach adopted by many scholars. The latter, however, seem to imply that this point of origin is characterized by the use of two languages (diglossia)

and the end result, MSR, is a single language (hence the use of such terms as "*splav*"). But the two "languages" (what they are in fact is dealt with below), either taken separately or as functioning as a whole, are not the equivalent of the final language, as they are restricted in function and do not amount to a standard language, as has been shown by Isatchenko.⁴

Hüttl-Folter⁵ compares the situation in medieval Russia to that obtaining in Western Europe, in particular in France until the 9th century, but there is an essential difference: in Western Europe, Latin and the vernacular languages were at that period in complementary distribution as written and spoken language, whereas Old Russian (OR) had its own written form⁶ which, although based on the spoken language, had the characteristics of a written language, in particular the high degree of "*normirovanost'*" which is attributed by Ferguson to the high variety.⁷ The chancery language cannot at any stage have been regarded as a deviation from the norm, as it had its own, and it was just as much "*obrabotannyj*" as Church Slavonic, but for different reasons, mainly the need for clarity and adherence to precedents which are characteristic of legal and administrative language. The absence of textbooks and of formal instruction does not imply the absence of teaching by example and practice, and although as a result there were more floating areas and ragged edges than in a more formally codified language, it is not possible to state that RChSl is more uniform and stable than OR in its written form, as the fluctuations are spread over a long period and a wide area, reflecting the chronological and geographical differences in the spoken language.

There is hardly any competition in the grammatical forms in texts of the same period originating from the same area, and some government offices, in particular the *Posol'skij Prikaz*, achieved a high standard of uniformity. Ludolf's aphorism "*scribendum est slavonice, loquendum est rusice*" is striking but does not correspond to the facts, as the bulk of writing in 17th century Russia was in a language which in spite of some borrowings from RChSl (and other languages) is unequivocally Russian, witness the large collections of existing material and the likelihood of

a great deal more being lost as it became irrelevant with the passage of time.

The prestige of the chancery language must have been lower than that of RChSl because the medieval contrast religious/secular implied the contrast higher/lower, but as written language OR was also in contrast with spoken language, and accessible only after overcoming the hurdles of literacy, knowledge of the code and ability to understand formally set out thoughts. Ability to compose texts in this language would be even more difficult to achieve, and was confined to an elite. These characteristics of a written language are shared by the OR chancery language and RChSl, which are in complementary distribution as regards the subject-matter of the texts. The point of interaction is between the two written languages, with another very different point of interaction between the written and spoken forms of OR. These two kinds of interaction should not be confused, and the type of diglossia described by Ferguson, where the written and the spoken languages are not only functionally, but also formally different, is not the same as the type obtaining in pre-Petrine Russia, where there is a functional and formal split at the level of the written language, superimposed on the (more usual) split between written and spoken language. Broadly speaking, the medieval European written languages are based either on the vernacular or on a different language. Medieval Russian combined both types and it is this unique configuration which is the origin of the problem.

The subsequent formation of the standard language could have taken place on either of two lines of development:

- 1) The chancery language, constantly revitalized by the spoken language and fortified by numerous borrowings from ChSl and elsewhere, becomes the basis of MSR (this is the line favoured, *inter alia*, by Obnorskiĭ and Černych).
- 2) RChSl takes over the functions of the chancery language and becomes the sole written language; later it becomes the standard language and displaces the spoken language, first among the educated, then, to a lesser degree and with a much higher tolerance of heterogeneous elements, among the masses (this is the

theory propounded by Šachmatov and later by Unbegaun, who took it to the extreme).

(1) is of course more plausible, but it is easily disproved if only by a comparison of 17th century Russian and MSR. (2) is not only improbable, but can be disproved by a comparison of 17th century RChSl and MSR. The competition between two written languages resulted in what looks like the defeat of both competitors *as systems*. RChSl which had already partly disintegrated became the language of the Church, and no longer exercised any influence on the development of MSR, the elements which played a decisive role being mostly lexical and torn out of their original context. The Russian chancery language also disintegrated owing to the impact, partly of ChSl, but also of West European influences and chiefly to its inadequacy for purposes other than those for which it was evolved.

In this sense there is no continuity between the languages of pre-Petrine Russia and MSR, and this is what Isatchenko meant when using the term *bezjazyčie*.⁸ This did not, however, prevent the Russians from writing, and they did not suddenly switch to another language, but used the material available, and in this sense continuity was preserved. The study of individual elements as they were preserved, developed or discarded is necessary as a preliminary to elucidate the formation of MSR, but it should not be forgotten that a language is a "système où tout se tient", although it is not impenetrable and is in a constant state of flux. The fact that individual elements are available, and have a particular distributional value, even when they are taken together as a whole, does not necessarily imply that we have a language, even a partial one rather than the national standard language which comes later.

Analysis of the texts of the period of diglossia has not yielded any conclusive evidence in establishing in which of the two "languages" in question some of the texts, notably the *Povest' vremennykh let*, are written. The two extremes of what is in fact a continuous spectrum have been variously described as (R)ChSl, the Russian recension of ChSl, or the written literary language, and OR respectively, but the description of the texts which lie

in between has suffered from confusion between two distinct phenomena, resulting in the erroneous labelling of the language of some texts as a third language (or language variant) of mixed origin. The "language of the texts" is not a literary language or even a "language of literature", but simply the language of text X,Y,Z... etc., that is, the description of text X....etc. The "language in which text X is written" is found by comparing its description with descriptions of various languages until positive identification can be made.

The description of text X itself can be carried out in two stages:

- (a) Description of the system, including a list of the lexical units, and particularly of the free or stylistic variants and their distribution. This will yield, among other data, that a frequent word in the text is *grad*, and that it has a partial synonym *gorod*. The choice of one or the other variant may be determined by subject-matter, collocation or other motives. It will also be found that there is a word *brat*, which has no synonym.
- (b) The genetic composition of the elements described in (a) can be ascertained, including the origins of the vocabulary. This will yield that *grad* is of ChSl origin, whereas *gorod* is East Slavonic; *brat* belongs to both languages, but the meaning "brother in a religious community" is of ChSl origin, being a calque from Greek.

It is evident that if the result of (b) is used to explain the selection of the free variants described in (a), the result will be nonsense, since (i) the motive for the selection of one element rather than the other from the pair *grad/gorod* cannot be its genetic origin, although this must be ascertained first to find out how it became available and provides clues for the motivation; and (ii) although strictly speaking the two units are two different words which can to some extent be used interchangeably because they are synonyms, and happen to be also cognates and therefore phonologically similar, this criterion can hardly be applied to these texts, as psychologically they are variants of the same word and we are investigating the motives for choice of one or the other at a given point in the text, not

the reason for their co-existence in the *language* of the text (which it is proposed to establish and is not given *a priori*). This becomes obvious when we are dealing with *brat*, which could be treated as two words, of ChSl and ESl origin respectively, and we would then have to conclude that the author had selected one of them although the outcome of the selection was not observable!⁹

The point at issue is not that the language of the texts is of heterogeneous *origin*, particularly lexically (as Larin remarks, any language can have numerous loans and still not be "mixed"), but that semantically equivalent elements of heterogeneous origin are used side by side with a degree of free variation which is not made more convincing by the persistent and ingenious search for motivation, ranging from the contrast "religious/secular subject-matter" to "amount of space left on the line". Free variation of that extent and nature, the choice being apparently motivated, if at all, by the most diverse causes, requiring the mobilisation of the most varied presuppositions as regards the psychology of the medieval authors and compilers, really amounts to an admission that these texts, in particular the *Povest' vremennykh let*, are written in a kind of macaronic language (Larin does make this admission in spite of his use of the meaningless term "language type")¹⁰. This does not, however, detract from their possible value as sources of the history of the language.

One of the languages of 17th century Russia was "Russian", that is a definitely ESl language, as is proved by the existing texts in the chancery language which reflect the spoken language in a regularized form. This was not a national language as defined by Isatchenko, but it was a complete language in the sense that it possessed all the levels found in a natural living language, including a written form.

The other language, RChSl, did not have a distinct phonological system, only isolated phonological features contrasting with Russian phonology, and at the crucial time (end of the 17th century), its morphological system had been partly penetrated by

Russian forms. This can be seen most strikingly when we consider the extreme end of the spectrum, the language of the Bible, where one expects least penetration, since the content was regarded as sacred and therefore not to be tampered with, and the text is not original but a copy, however remote, of the original Old Church Slavonic text. Examples of this penetration are: ¹¹

- 1) No second palatalisation in the loc. sing. of o-stems.
- 2) Dual often replaced by plural.
- 3) Many examples of nom. plur. of o-stems without second palatalisation.
- 4) Many examples of gen. plur. masc. in *-ov*, of dat. plur. in *-am*, and instr. plur. in *-ami*.
- 5) Some examples of loc. plur. of o-stems in *-ach*.
- 6) Acc. plur. can be as nom.
- 7) Acc. plur. of jo-stems in *-e* very rare.
- 8) In the neuter declension the dual is often replaced by the gen. sing. (= masc. dual).
- 9) The short form of adjectives is no longer found in the instr. sing., the loc. can be either in the short or long form. In the plur. the short form survives only in the nom./acc. and partly in the gen.
- 10) The OCS demonstrative pronoun *t*" appears as *toj*, and is declined as in Russian.
- 11) The nom. sing. masc. of the present participle active is in the new form in *-ěčij*.
- 12) The nom. sing. masc. of the comparative of adjectives is likewise in the new form in *-ij*.
- 13) The aorist has no second person singular.

It is evident that since the Bible is to a certain extent the yardstick by which RChSl can be measured, these features when encountered in a text of the period cannot be labelled as "Russian" (i.e. not ChSl), but only of "Russian (i.e. ES1) origin", and therefore are no indication as to the language in which the text is written.

The state of diglossia was partly eliminated in the course of the 18th century, and prominence has been given to the so-

called "theory of the three styles", particularly as expounded by Lomonosov, by those who favour the hypothesis of a conflation of Russian and ChSl rather than either of the two extreme theories mentioned above. Isatchenko dismisses the view that the "theory of the three styles" was a decisive point in the development of the standard language as "philological folklore",¹² on the ground that it had lost its relevance when the genres for which the high style had been prescribed went out of use, and were replaced by new genres such as the fable, the lyric poem, the story and the novel which were not provided for in Lomonosov's theory. This is naturally correct so far as it goes, but does not explain why Lomonosov's theory was not a decisive factor in the process which started before ChSl elements were finally relegated to the status of archaisms or adopted into the literary language; and why the polemics on the subject continued long after odes and heroic poems were no longer fashionable. It seems therefore that the theory needs closer examination.

The "theory of the three styles" is of classical origin, and Lomonosov introduces it in his translation of Quintilian's definitions. The terms he uses are *prostoj*, *veličestvennij ili vnušitel'nyj*, and *libo posredstvennyj libo pestryj*. The middle style is therefore characterised by its mixed nature. According to Vomperskij,¹³ it is already mentioned in 1617-9 by Makarij in his *Ritorika*, where it is termed *mernyj*¹⁴, Usačev's *Ritorika* (1699) states it is a mixture of the two others¹⁵, but, as Vomperskij points out¹⁶, the middle style cannot be derived from such works, as they deal with *two* contrasting modes, ornamented and non-ornamented speech. Others (Prokopovič and Bužinskij) characterise the middle style as intermediate between the two others.¹⁷ This entity which has no features of its own is obviously the result of a determined effort to divide everything into three. Lomonosov himself follows this traditional pattern when he classifies ChSl and Russian words into three categories. The ChSl words are defined as (i) obsolete, (ii) little used but understood by literate people, and (iii) in common use. Russian words are (i) common to Russian and ChSl, (ii) not found in ChSl, and (iii) "low". Thus the criteria he

applies are different for each language, since not all ChSl words in common use are also found in Russian, and words categorised as obsolete fall outside the category "known to Russian", whereas the "low" words are part of the "Russian but not ChSl" section.

In order to simplify the picture, one can leave out the categories "ChSl obsolete" and "Russian low", since they are proscribed and therefore irrelevant to the discussion, and represent Lomonosov's scheme as follows:

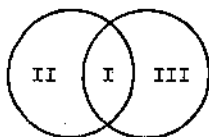


According to Vomperskij the new language is the union of both sets. The definition of each style, however, shows that what Lomonosov intended is not quite what is read into the definitions. The high style is virtually entirely ChSl, with a few loans. Even interpreting this liberally, ChSl alone would not be able to provide a language adequate for the needs of the genres for which it is proscribed (heroic poems, odes, and prose speeches on important matters, i.e. homilies and panegyrics). It would in particular be deficient in the terminology needed for secular oratory, as the panegyrics of Prokopovič and Lomonosov himself show. The low style is not, as one might expect, Russian with a few common loans from ChSl, but the Russian elements *not found in ChSl* ("*kotorych v slavenskom jazyke net*"), plus a few ChSl words. We are obviously dealing here not with the whole lexis, as the Russian words which happen to be also found in ChSl are essential even for the limited range of the

low style, and there is no reason for excluding them since they are just as frequent in Russian as in ChSl.

That there is some confusion here is even more obvious when we come to the definition of the middle style, which, as Vomperskiĭ points out, is less clearly defined but seems to consist of the elements which are common to Russian and ChSl, with a few judiciously selected ChSl elements. This is of course untenable, as although the intersection of Russian and ChSl is a large area, it excludes the elements which are different in Russian and ChSl and nevertheless belong to the central core of the language. In fact, Lomonosov is dealing with synonyms, not with the much larger body of words which do not have synonyms, and have a very similar distribution in both languages. When the writer needs the lexeme for "night", he must choose between *nošč'* and *noč'*, there is no middle ground, no other word available, and virtually no difference in distribution except for bound usages like *jako tat' v nošč'i*. This is where Lomonosov advocates a "judicious use of ChSl words", the author can use either form indiscriminately provided he does not resort to little-used words, does not pile up ChSl elements or juxtapose them incongruously with Russian forms. It does not cover the case where there is no Russian word available, only when there is a choice, i.e. free variation. This has no connection with the development of a neutral prose style, where there is very little room for synonyms unless they only partly overlap in distribution, no room for phonetically partly identical words without semantic differentiation, and very little scope for free variation.

Škljarevskij¹⁸ makes the same error as he describes the make-up of the three styles as follows:



Style I consists of I and II (i.e. ChSl; as has been pointed out above, this is insufficient for Style I (the high style) even if one admits some loanwords).

Style II consists of I and III (i.e. Russian) with a few elements from II. This means the Russian language as it was in Lomonosov's time, with some loans from ChSl. This is also insufficient for the need of the genres for which the middle style is thought appropriate (plays, letters in verse, satires, eclogues, elegies, and particularly the prose genres, historical writings and scientific treatises).

Style III is based on III in Škljarevskij's diagram. This is not possible at all as it excludes possibly more than half of the Russian vocabulary on the grounds that these words happen to coincide with ChSl words. Below he states that Style II includes *some* elements from I, therefore it excludes *some* elements from I, which leads to the absurd conclusion that *some* words are totally excluded although they belong to the section of words common to ChSl and Russian.

This statement of the problem is, however, fallacious. The union of two sets is the total set of elements which are present in the two given sets, *each element being recorded only once*. Therefore there is no such thing as the intersection of language A and language B. It is generally assumed that if, e.g., 70% of the words in a text belong to language A, and 10% to language B, the remaining 20% being ambiguous, then the 20% also consists of words of language A, and, vice-versa, if 70% belong to language B, and 10% are loans from A, then the doubtful 20% belong to language B. A better way of stating the position would be to set up a postulate that words which are identical phonologically, belong to the same morphological category, and overlap semantically, cannot be borrowed. All that can happen is extension of meaning if the semantic overlap is partial (e.g. *brat*). If the position is formulated thus, and we have a text where, e.g., 50% of the words are identical in languages A and B, and 25% belong to language A and 25% to language B, then the 50% cannot be stated to belong either to A or B, any more than the text can be shown to be written in A or B. These words are a blend of the corresponding words in A and B, and the language of such a text is a mixture of A and B, although psychologically the situation may be quite

different.

In fact, the words (and other elements) which belong to the "intersection" of Russian and ChSl, that is, the elements which could be of either Russian or ChSl origin, must *all* be used in all styles, and in many cases are unavoidable as they have no synonyms outside that intersection.

Lomonosov distinguishes between a high, a middle and a low style only on the level of lexis, he does not mention the middle style in his grammar or his rhetoric, where he contrasts Russian and ChSl and is concerned with the use of a form appropriate to each lexical unit (genitive in *-a* for ChSl masculine nouns, in *-u* for Russian nouns, participles to be formed only from ChSl verbs), or with its collocation (not *troa bojar'* but *tri bojarina*). The choice of grammatical elements is therefore determined by the lexical elements.

Lomonosov tried to organise synonymy for the purposes of poetic usage, not in order to create a standard language. He takes diglossia for granted, and makes no attempt to eliminate it, only to regulate it. What he means is that certain words can be replaced, for stylistic reasons, in individual instances where there is a synonym available in another category, when the author must make an appropriate choice according to the criteria set out in the theory. There are only two sets, and where there is no synonymy (that is, in the great majority of cases), if the required element is in the ChSl only sector, and there is no Russian equivalent, the ChSl element must be selected, and similarly when there is no ChSl element the Russian element must be selected. These situations are less likely to arise in the middle style. If an element appears in both the ChSl only and the Russian only sector, and there is no synonymy, that is, it is not the case that there is a word in the "intersection" which would be just as acceptable, the choice is between ChSl or Russian consistently, or free variation. Free variation is then eliminated in the language, and the result is a (genetic) mixture.

Modern scholars tend to treat this theory as if it concerned varieties of a modern standard language, although in scope it is even more restricted than the "literary language" of the pre-

ceding period. The theory of the three styles is not, either in origin or as evolved for a particular usage by Lomonosov, a theory about the styles, or the composition, of a written language, or of the language of literature, it is solely a theory concerning the devices which are available to the author of works whose aim is to evoke a response in the reader or hearer, as opposed to imparting information, i.e. "rhetoric", hence the term *vnúšitel'nyj*. This includes prose genres such as the homily and the panegyric, but it relates chiefly to the practice of poetic expression, and therefore includes most of literature since serious literature at that period means bound speech, and prose genres such as the novel and the short story are regarded as too low on the scale to be included.

The composition of the language of poetry is very different from that of prose, in the sense that in the latter the neutral elements are the basis on which the individual style is built; the quality of the style is derived from the deviations from the neutral standard. The norm with which these deviations are in contrast is itself established not in the language, but may be peculiar to a person, a period, a genre, a literary work or even a section of a work. Such an outlook is, however, not typical of the 18th century at first, and the theory of the three styles was an attempt to eliminate idiosyncrasy and establish a norm, that is a variety of language which is appropriate for each recognised genre. The "styles" are only the framework within which the author is to operate, and deviations are permitted as "poetic licence", hence the unsystematic and apparently haphazard discrepancies between theory and practice. It is obvious that in "good" poetry the use of poetic licence will appear motivated, whereas in an inferior work it will be mechanical and meaningless.

Il'inskaja defines poetic licence as "deviation from the norm" ¹⁹. These deviations give greater flexibility to the language of poetry, and include Slavonicisms only as a constituent element among others. Other elements are archaisms (*oko*, infinitive in *-ti*), and even forms which belong to the spoken language (*rukoj* for *rukoju*), and artificial forms (*odnak* for *odnako*). These forms provide words with a different number of syllables

(*breg* for *bereg*), a different place of stress (*ukrasilo* for *ukrásilo*), different rhymes (*dennica* for *zarja*).²⁰ Since these forms are marked as belonging to the high style they are unmarked for the genres for which the high style is prescribed. In the middle style, which can contain elements from the high style and is not very different from it, these forms are frequent and their use is dictated more by technical convenience than by style. As Il'inskaja points out²¹, the ChSl and Russian elements become interchangeable in the middle style, the contrast is neutralised, they become indicators of poetic style in general.

Later poetic licence becomes restricted, deviations from the neutral are described as false poetic licence, true poetic licence being a deviation from the norm for stylistic effect²², but this implies that a norm has been established, which was not yet the case in Lomonosov's time. Whereas the archaisms and artificial forms are excluded, as contributing nothing except technical means, the ChSl elements are retained much longer as their value is stylistic. For this reason prefixes used in word formation (*vs-*, *so-*) disappear earlier because they are semantically identical with the Russian forms. But even the words which have different connotations and are syntagmatically bound eventually disappear, and none of the "poeticisms" has survived into MSR.

The establishment of a norm for poetic language has little to do with the evolution of a neutral style or the fixing of neutral elements in the language. But the emergence of a neutral style is the prerequisite for the establishment of a language of prose fiction, and the ultimate establishment of a standard language, as all the stylistic variants which are essential for the proper functioning of a language depend on the neutral core by virtue of which they acquire their stylistic value by contrast.

It is therefore obvious that the language of poetry offered no basis for the development of a standard language. This came about with the language of prose as starting point. At first there was no language for prose fiction to build on. In the story of "*Alexander, the Russian Nobleman*", this absence of a suitable language is felt very strongly. The language is adequate for the

description of "low love, woman as temptation, the snares of the devil", and, on the other hand, love for an ideal woman who raises her admirer above wordly desires. But in the section where Alexander meets Elinor, the pastor's daughter, and the pair fall in love, there is no possibility of a love scene or any communication between them. When they want to express their feelings they seize a musical instrument and sing an "aria": only poetry can deal with a subject which is neither coarse nor elevated. At the other end of the century, the love scenes are still poor as regards dialogue in prose. In the comedies, where dialogue is the only possible form, the characters are contrasted by "low" speech, showing they are uneducated, coarse and uncourtly, or else they speak in a literary style far removed from ordinary speech, signalling their moral excellence. The most important element of prose fiction, the love story told for its own sake, not as a warning or an example, comes later, and even its central element, the love scene with dialogue, comes later still. It is obvious that there was a demand for this genre, but no language to embody it. Imitation of real conversation was of course out of the question before the age of realism, but on the other hand the readers could not identify with the pompous language of the "positive" characters. Purple patches were admissible in descriptions, but the dialogue had to be simple. Even Puškin divides poetry and prose as imaginative and factual representation, he does not allow for a middle ground where fiction is imaginary but plausible events described in a refined, artificial but unpretentious language.

As late as 1848, Vjazemskij points out that whereas in poetry *ušta* is the neutral term rather than *rot* which is marked as rather vulgar, even in polite conversation *rot* is not only neutral but alone possible.²³ The two registers have obviously little in common, we are still at the stage of partial diglossia. Strangely enough Vjazemskij contrasts poetic usage with a totally different register, not with prose fiction.

ChSl words are retained, and new words are created using ChSl morphemes, in entirely different spheres, those of science, technology, the press, literary criticism and prose fiction which

are new genres not included in Lomonosov's treatises, not because they did not exist but because they were outside the scope of imaginative writing for which the theory of the three styles was devised as a technical help in the making of poetry. Lomonosov himself wrote a great deal of prose, using an established medium, and was not looking for that neutral style which would be needed for prose fiction, which required an "ennobled" version of the conversation register coupled with a "poeticised" version of the descriptive register.

Isatchenko has pointed out that neither Russian nor ChSl separately can be regarded as the source of MSR. That they cannot be regarded as its source when taken together, as the result of some conflation in a "middle style", is shown by the fate of the ChSl elements in 18th century Russian. Duplication is eliminated in favour of Russian, not ChSl, in the language of poetry, although this is only achieved in the 19th century. As Isatchenko says, *dvojazyčie* was followed by *bezjazyčie*.²⁴ He goes on to say that the new language was based on French, but he is dealing with syntax. The building material, the lexis, although strongly influenced by borrowing from foreign sources, remains Russian with a large ChSl component which requires explanation.

According to Lotman and Uspenskij,²⁵ the later polemics first concerned the constitution of the language and only towards the beginning of the 19th century became polemics on literary style. They make some perceptive remarks on the multiplicity of dichotomies involved, none of which overlaps completely (ChSl/Russian, literary/colloquial, artificial/natural, archaic/modern, foreign/familiar, among others), and emphasise the part played by West European influences. The work published with this important article, Bobrov's *Proisšestvie v carstve tenej*, is essentially a lampoon on the Karamzinists, and the object of derision is the "new style" and its abundance of western, mostly French, loans, to which is opposed the noble style of a mythical pagan medieval bard. The authors examine this work in detail, but they concentrate their attention on the criticism of the speech of the

Galloruss, and this is what justifies the subtitle of this article. There is some ground for this in the fact that Šiškov wanted to regulate "general use", not "particular use" which cannot be codified,²⁶ but he meant the language of literature, for according to him the language of society had nothing to do with the language of literature. His opponents were arguing from an entirely different position. According to Lotman and Uspenskij the contemporary translations of prose fiction are full of ChSl elements, including cases where a Russian equivalent was available, as the translators were trying to achieve a literary style. This inability to avoid the Scylla and Charybdis of inflated pomposity and colloquial pedestrianism was due to the fact that there was no neutral style, cf. Kajsarov's complaint "*po russki tol'ko molimeja Bogu ili branim našich služitelej*"²⁷ and Vigel's praise of Karamzin "*do nego ne bylo u nas inogo sloga, krome vysokoparnogo ili ploščadnogo*"²⁸. Katenin said he knew that the new school was derisive about ChSl, but how was one to write epics, tragedies and even "*važnuju, blagorodnuju prozu*".²⁹ The answer from the opposing camp was, of course, that one didn't, and the dispute was about genres, and ultimately about subject-matter. Quarrels on style and the use (or misuse) of language are external symptoms of disagreement on deeper issues, and those who complain of what Šiškov and his adherents called "*porčá jazyka*" are really expressing their dislike of their opponents' social origin, personality or politics.

Lotman and Uspenskij do not go into the section of Bobrov's work devoted to literary criticism (as opposed to criticism of the *Galloruss*'s speech), which is placed in the mouth of Bobrov's Lomonosov. This criticism ranges from what are properly termed stylistic defects of a linguistic nature (wrong register, mostly incongruous collocations such as *dnes'* and *vospet'*³⁰ but also uses which have no bearing on the language controversy, insipid adjectives such as *milyj* and *prijatnyj*, bad collocations such as *vstrečajas' s lunuju*,³⁰ infelicitous metaphors, such as *tuč'i svezd*, and mixed metaphors, e.g. *sluch lovit s žadnost'ju grom solov'ja*,³² through bad rhyme (*zret'/prostert'*), wrong stress, poverty of imagination, too bold oxymoron (*v nej stydlivaja*

rumjanost' / dershko govorit: ljubii)³³ to ignorance of facts (Muslims do not remove their headgear as a sign of respect)³⁴ and nonsense (*likuem zvuki*). Bobrov's Lomonosov finds Karamzin's poem "*Zakony obsuđajut...*" acceptable in form but objects to its content on the ground of moral turpitude. In fact, the controversy has shifted from accusations of being in the wrong register (*smes' slavenskogo s Novoruskim*), which was what Lomonosov wanted to guard against, to accusations of being in the wrong genre, then in the wrong subject-matter: if Karamzin's story is true it should be buried in silence, if fiction it is no credit to the author, and errors of style are preferable to moral obliquity. The "language controversy" is in fact about something more restricted than the national language, or more extensive, reflecting the social and political upheaval of pre-Romanticism.

By this time we are dealing not with the ChSl language, but with Slavonicisms (inherited or newly created words). Lotman and Uspenskij show that Slavonicisms can be characteristic of the innovators as well as the archaists, that Karamzin wanted the "old words" to be given a new meaning, "*predlagat' ich v novoj svjazi*",³⁵ and that Šiškov himself used ChSl elements as neologisms.³⁶ Slavonicisms could be characteristic of Russian or national, as opposed to foreign, style, they could be despised as being "*meščanskij jazyk*", or be regarded as democratic, e.g. by the Decembrists.

The solution of the problem is to be sought elsewhere, in the work done in the period of *bezjazyčie* by the writers and editors of the genres which were not included in the canon of literature, and did not fall within the scope of the legal and administrative language. These are the texts mentioned by Shevelov: the newspaper, the textbook, to which should be added diplomatic reports, tracts, and political pamphlets.

Škljarevskij mentions the work of Polikarpov as editor of the *Vedomosti*,³⁷ whose language is essentially that of the *Posol'skij Prikaz* which Peter the Great recommended for translations. Translated texts play a significant part in the process, and the translators had been educated in the Ukraine and Belorussia, they were often pupils of the Kiev Academy. Other in-

fluent creators of language were the people who had travelled to Western Europe but had been educated in the ChSl tradition. Hüttl-Folter mentions Kantemir, Lomonosov and Trediakovskij, but points out that Trediakovskij alone satisfies the criteria of being in a position to exert influence, being thoroughly steeped in the Orthodox tradition, and being familiar with French.³⁸

The name of the language itself is of some relevance. In Muscovy it was termed *slavenskij* (also spelt *slovenskij*) *jazyk*, and this is the term used by Trediakovskij. Maksimov's grammar (1721) is called *Grammatika slovenskaja*. In the 17th century a term *slavjanorosskij* begins to appear; it is borrowed from Ukrainian ChSl and denotes Moscow ChSl. It is the language glossed in Berynda's dictionary, and of several texts which were adapted for use in Muscovy. Kopijewicz's grammar of 1706 is called *Rukovedenie v grammatiku vo Slavjano-Rossijskuju ili Moskovskuju ko upotrebleniju učaščichsja jazyka Moskovskogo*, showing its foreign origin (the Russians never referred to their language as *Moskovskij jazyk*, this is a back formation from the term *Moskovskoe Gosudarstvo*). Trediakovskij also used the term *slavjanorosskij*, he applied it to ChSl. Lomonosov himself used *slavenskij* to designate the language of the Bible, but his grammar was called *Rossijskaja grammatika*; in the *Predislovie o pol'se knig cerkovnyh* he speaks of *trech rodov rečenij rossijskogo jazyka*. In the Academy Dictionary of 1789-94 the written language is called *slovenorossijskij jazyk*, and some words are marked as *slovenskij* (also *slavenorossijskij*, but this term is only applied to ten words).

This usage has led Soviet scholars to attribute the meaning "of mixed ChSl and Russian composition or origin" to *slavjano-rossijskij*, and to elevate it to the status of the forerunner of MSR. This compound is, however, not of the type *russko-boľgarskij* (e.g. *slovar'*), but of the type *drevnerusskij*, i.e. the term *slavjano-* qualifies the second element. It denotes Moscow RChSl in the 17th and 18th century, first as the Ukrainian equivalent of *slavenskij*, then, as the latter could also mean "Slavonic" (either as a linguistic or ethnic term), as the Russian term for the literary language.

Notes

1. RIEGER J. 1975, "Problem pochodzenia rosyjskiego języka literackiego - problem okresu Państwa moskiewskiego", *Slavia Orientalis*, Vol. XXIV, 57.
2. KEIPERT H. 1971, "Zur Geschichte des kirchenslavischen Wortschatzes im Russischen", *ZsSlPh*, XXXV, 148-9, where it is stated that concentration on the beginning and end or result of the development of the process has pushed the problem of the development of RChSl into the background.
3. Even I.S. ULUCHANOV (*O jazyke drevnej Rusi*, 1972) hops unconcernedly from the 11th to the 17th century.
4. ISATCHENKO A.I. 1975, *Mythen und Tatsachen über die Entstehung der russischen Literatursprache*, Wien: Österr. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Kl., Sitzungsber., Bd. 293, 5. Abhandl., 48.
5. HÜTTL-FOLTER G. 1978, "Diglossia v drevnei Rusi", *WslJb*. 24, 120.
6. *Ibid.*, 122
7. Cf. C.H. FERGUSON 1959, "Diglossia", *Word*, vol. 15, 325-340. HÜTTL-FOLTER (*ibid.*) does mention this, but does not draw the conclusion which offers itself, that the legal and administrative language must be intelligible to all, hence the increased use of the vernacular in Western Europe mentioned p. 121.
8. ISATCHENKO A.V. 1978, "Kogda sformirovalsja russkij literaturnyj jazyk?", *WslJb*, 24, 130.
9. When dealing with a later period ŠKLJAREVSKIJ speaks of synonymy concealed by homonymy. (ŠKLJAREVSKIJ T.I. 1968, *Istorija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (pervaja polovina XVIII v.)*, Charkov).
10. LARIN B.A. 1975, *Lekcii po istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (X-seredina XVIII v.)*, M.: "To prichoditsja libo prisanat', što my imeem delo so smešannym charakterom jazyka v naibolee važnyh i cennyh pamjatnikach, libo protavodit' nastlie nad očevidnymi faktami". 23.
11. The following points are taken from S. BULIČ 1893, *Cerkovno-slavjanskije elementy v sovremennom literaturnom i narodnom russkom jazyke*, Č. I, S.-P., which consists of a complete analysis of the language of the Russian Bibles of 1589 (the Ostrog Bible), 1668 (the Nikon Bible), and 1741. These three editions differ in several respects, and the points listed here are only a brief generalisation.
12. ISATCHENKO A.V. 1968, "Lomonosov i teorija trech stilei", *Československá rusistika*, Vol. XIII (3), 150.
13. VOMPERSKIJ V.P. 1970, *Stilističeskoe učenie Lomonosova i teorija trech stilej*, M.

14. Ibid., 28.
15. Ibid., 32.
16. Ibid., 36.
17. Ibid., 76-8.
18. ŠKLJAREVSKIJ, 57-61. ISATCHENKO also fails to represent Lomonosov's theory accurately, as he defines the middle style as consisting of the words found in both ChSl and Russian plus some Slavonicisms (type *ruka* + type *vzyvajū*). What Lomonosov actually says is that the middle style must consist of Russian words (i.e. type *ruka* + type *govorju*) plus some ChSl words "*odnako s velikoju ostorožnoŝt'ju*". This "great caution" is needed because this is the area of synonymy or free variation.
19. IL'INSKAJA I.S. 1970, *Leksika stichotvornoj reči Puškina*, M., 9.
20. Ibid., 15.
21. Ibid., 51.
22. Ibid., 60.
23. Ibid., 61. A more appropriate term would be "dilexia". It was inherited from true diglossia, exploited for stylistic purposes, and finally discarded in the 19th century. As Shevelov has shown, there is no lexical free variation in MSR based on the contrast ChSl/Russian.
24. ISATCHENKO, "Kogda sformirovalsja...", 130.
25. LOTMAN JU. and B. USPENSKIJ 1975, "Spory o jazyke v načale XIX v. kak fakt russkoj kul'tury", in: *Učenyje Zapiski Tartuskogo Gos. Univ.*, vyp. 358, Tartu.
26. Ibid., 237.
27. Ibid., 223.
28. Ibid., 243.
29. Ibid., 224.
30. Ibid., 268.
31. Ibid., 268.
32. Ibid., 274.
33. Ibid., 265.
34. Ibid., 272.
35. Ibid., 265.
36. Ibid., 203.
37. ŠKLJAREVSKIJ, 36.
38. HÜTTL-FOLTER G. 1970, "Thoughts on the turning point in the history of literary Russian in the 18th century", *IJSLP*, 13, 128.: "those ChSl words and morphemes which were incorporated into the new language had to be liberated from

their narrow religious context". The use of existing or newly-coined Slavonicisms in new collocations, often calqued from West European languages, is central to the whole process, and for this the demise of ChSl as a secular literary language was a prerequisite. Cf. HÜTTL-FOLTER's "Zusammenhänge zwischen dem sprachlichen Erbe und der neueren russischen Literatursprache", *Wslzb*, Bd. 25, 1979, 26-47, where the question of continuity is treated in terms of individual lexical items. It remains that the undoubted sources of MSR lexis, that is, RChSl, Ukrainian and Belorussian ChSl, the chancery language and the spoken language (the latter an unknown quantity), are all dead ends *as systems* and the problem is how free or stylistic variation was eliminated.