

FROM *G* TO *H* AND AGAIN TO *G* IN UKRAINIAN Between the West European and Byzantine Tradition?*

1. On the distribution of *g* and *h* in Ukrainian

1.1. “g” and “h” in modern Ukrainian orthography

In 1933, after the waning Ukrainianization came to its logical halt with the arrival in Ukraine of Stalin’s plenipotentiary, Pavel Postyšev, a sweeping purge in linguistic matters, in particular in spelling, was immediately launched by supporters of the Russian speech habits (Shevelov 1989, 141-174). Although introduced furtively and cautiously, the revised spellings appeared more radical than was justified by the speech habits of any speakers of Ukrainian. Words that had a form deviating from the Russian before the Xarkiv spelling reform of 1928/1929 were now consistently adjusted to the Russian usage. To adduce a most telling example, while admitting the pronunciation of *g* in some onomatopoeic, affective and naturalized medieval borrowings, the corresponding letter sign “г” (hereafter “g”) was dropped from the Ukrainian alphabet, apparently at the instigation of Postyšev. Like the dismissal of loan forms like *xemija* ‘chemistry’ and *ljampa* ‘lamp’, patterned obviously on the Polish counterparts, the ban of the letter “g” from public use was not a drastic innovation for the speakers of East-Central Ukrainian, which already had loan words in the form mediated by Russian (ib., 163). Šerex [Shevelov] (1951, 375), who followed consistently the orthographic rules of 1928/1929, admitted that “the sound *g* is not proper to the Ukrainian language at all”, and is mostly encountered in “the artificial pronunciation by the intelligentsia”, e.g.: *gava* ‘crow’, *gedz* ‘gadfly’, *ganok* ‘porch’, *gelgaty* ‘to cackle’, *gazda* ‘host’, *gatunok* ‘sort’, *gandž* ‘flaw’, *gvalt* ‘uproar’, *gvynt* ‘screw’, *gedzkatysja* ‘to be capricious’, *gešeft* ‘deal’, *gyrlyga* ‘shepherd’s stick’, *gnit* ‘wick tender’, *gont* ‘shingles’, *graty* ‘grating’, *gryndžoly* ‘small sledge’, *grys* ‘shorts, pollard’, *grunt* ‘soil, earth’, *gudzyk* ‘button’, *gulja* or *gurgulja* ‘bump’, *dzyga* ‘peg top, whirligig’, *dzygari* ‘clock’, *dzyglyk* ‘stool’, *džygun* ‘libertine’. Remarkably, the sound *g* in the above words was accepted in the literary language of Soviet Ukraine (Nakonečnyj 1969, 391f.).

It is natural that the letter “g” made its way back into the third, revised edition of the Ukrainian Orthography in 1990, on the eve of the break-up of the Soviet Union. In new historical conditions, the return of this letter heralded the revival of the Ukrainian language, thus expanding its functional status, which had been shrunk under the predominant use of Russian over the last several centuries. What is more remarkable in this respect is that this letter, as in the 1920’s, has remained a bone of contention between two groups of specialists. There are those who wish to expand the use of the letter “g” into both native words and the majority

of loan forms, including common nouns. The proponents of this stance (cf. Zaxarkiv 2001, 81f.; Farion 2002, 82) prefer going further than was agreed upon in the first all-Ukrainian Orthography of 1928/1929, which introduced the use of “r” (hereafter “h”) in loan words of Greek origin and mediation, and of “g” (for foreign *g*) in loan words of Latin and modern origin or mediation (UP-1929, 64). They are ready to readapt the borrowings, both old and recent, to the Polish-Latin model, adjusted, however, to the phonological systems of English, Romance (with elements of French, Spanish and Italian), and German, which serve as mediation-languages, e.g., Ukr. *Grenada* vs. Fr. *Grenade*, Ukr. *Margerita* vs. It. *Margherita*, Ukr. *gimnazija* vs. Pol. *gimnazium* and the like (Hablevyč 1996, 78-80)¹. In fact, while dismissing the Russian mediation in borrowing new lexemes, these normalizers are predisposed to offer instead other mediation-languages with the English phonemic pattern serving as a basis for adopting some forms from non-Indo-European languages.

There are, however, those normalizers who reject an excessive reintroduction of the “g”. One of them, Rusanivs’kyj (2002, 97) admits the pronunciation of *g* in some onomatopoeic and old borrowings mediated by Polish, of the type *ganok* ‘porch’, *grunt* ‘soil, earth’, but does not support the use of the letter “g” in all borrowings with the sound *g*. According to Rusanivs’kyj, this innovation is likely to infringe on the phonetic nature of Ukrainian and its “orthographic transparency”. Yet as a kind of compromise, the latest draft of the Ukrainian Orthography (PUP-2003, 99), edited by Rusanivs’kyj, proposes, in addition to long-naturalized words as cited above from Šerex [Shevelov] (1951, 375), to limit the letter “g” to “those borrowings which are not translated but transliterated”, e.g., *gudbaj* (< Eng. *goodbye*), *al’ter ego* (< Lat. *alter ego*). As for the rest of loan proper names, PUP-2003 admits two parallel spellings, either with *g* or *h*, e.g., *Gete* next *Hete* (Gr. *Goethe*), *Gdans’k* next to *Hdans’k* (Pol. *Gdańsk*). The latter approach has been recently adopted in “The New Orthographic Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language” (NOSUM, 108f.), which provides two spellings, with *g* or *h*, for all geographical names, e.g., *Grenada* next to *Hrenada*.

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¹ The author remains most likely unaware of the Middle Ukrainian tradition in rendering MPol. *gimnazja/gimnazya* and *gimnazjum* (Lat. *gymnasium*) with the help of *b* (never *g*): MUkr. *bimnazija* (Vil’na/Vilnius, 1616) (SUM 16th-17th c., VI, 210) or *bimnazium* (Kyiv, 1632) (Titov, 291). While propounding a regional, Galician spelling, *gimnazija* (Želez., 168), which was introduced under heavy Polish influence in the late 18th – early 19th c., the revival of such *g*-forms testifies to the predominance of cultural and political factors in adopting particular orthographic means.

A similar vista of the distribution of *b* and *g* in modern Ukrainian orthography has recently been advanced by a more moderate normalizer, Nimčuk (2002, 46), who strongly recommended the reintroduction of the so-called “brief rules” prepared at the time of the Hetmanate (1919) and approved by the Commissariat of Education in 1921. Contrary to the all-Ukrainian Orthography of 1928/1929, which caused orthographical havoc in rendering foreign *b* and *g*, the rules of 1919, as well as the draft of the Ukrainian Orthography prepared in 1926, better reflect the distribution of these sounds in Ukrainian-speaking territory (id. 1991/3, 14f.). This is why, in the draft of the Ukrainian Orthography of 1999 (PUP-1999, 18f.; cf. PUP-1926, 64), Nimčuk endorsed the use of the letter “h” in all common nouns regardless of the presence of *g* or *b* in the underlying foreign form, while in the proper nouns the choice of the letter “h” or “g” should correspond to the foreign sound, either *b* or *g*, except for the Greek borrowings which are always used with “h”. More explicitly, this approach is manifested in the third, revised and expanded edition of the National Ukrainian Academy’s orthographic dictionary (OSUM), which is based on the revised 4th edition of the Ukrainian Orthography (UP-1993). Containing more than 143,000 entries, this dictionary provides under the letter “g” around 150 lexemes, including, to be sure, numerous derivatives, which are all onomatopoeic and naturalized borrowings only. Remarkably, the same number of lexemes with the initial letter “g” is found in the Large Dictionary of Modern Ukrainian (2001), which offers, however, around 170,000 entries (Busel). Yet apart from the derivatives, the total number of the corresponding bases does not exceed 60!

Although envisaged as conceptually complementary, the above two drafts of the modern Ukrainian Orthography (PUP-1999 and PUP-2003) demonstrate a common approach and, notably, reiterate some ideas expressed by Ohijenko in 1927, a year when an all-Ukrainian Conference on spelling convened in Xarkiv. While emphasizing the Byzantine tradition in strengthening the Ukrainian pharyngeal *b*, especially in Greek loan words as early as the 8th to 10th c., Ohijenko (1927, 162-166) distinguished between the Ukrainian native *b* and “alien *g*” which already in the 14th c. due to Polish mediation started spreading in Ukrainian. According to him, the earliest German borrowings with the stop *g* became quickly ukrainianized, e.g., *borb* ‘debt’ (< Gr. *Borg*), *cebla* ‘brick’ (< Gr. *Ziegel*), albeit the “alien” and “unnatural” *g* was mostly retained in later loan words of Polish mediation, e.g., *dzygari* ‘clock’ (< Pol. *zegar* from Gr. *Zeiger*), *gvynt* ‘screw’ (< Pol. *gwint* from Gr. *Gewinde*) and the like. Moreover, Ohijenko refuted any possible inconsistency in using both *g* and *b* in the Central-Eastern Ukraine under possible Russian influence, and asserted instead that the pharyngeal *b* is “our old feature” which is never to be disregarded.

1.2. Dialectal distribution of *g* and *b*

Leaving aside some impressionism in confronting two spelling traditions, roughly labeled Byzantine and Polish-Latin, Ohijenko's conclusions seem to fit well with a modern dialectal distribution of *g* and *b*. Ziłyński (1932, 97, 101) offered a clear-cut distinction of two consonantal subsets in Ukrainian related to the use of *b* and *g*. According to him, the sound *g* is in fact an alien sound – “głoska *g* jest właściwie dźwiękiem obcym” – in the Ukrainian language and is used primarily in its western literary standard and dialects, especially in the loan words like *geografija* ‘geography’, *legenda* ‘legend’ and others; in the eastern literary language, as well as in its dialects, the pharyngeal *b* is used instead of foreign *g*, even in recent borrowings of the same type, e.g., *beobrafija*, *lebenda*. Ziłyński deemed it necessary to stress that the velar *g* is retained, nevertheless, in East Ukrainian in a limited set of old borrowings from Polish, a fact which was likewise discussed in later literature (e.g., Żylko 1966, 66-68). In this regard, reliable examples, not yet subject to heavy interferences, are found in a series of dialectal studies, published in the late 1920's. Thus, in his description of a northern Ukrainian Blystavyci dialect (Kyiv region), which still retained by that time its indigenous phonemic system, Hładkyj (1928, 115) cited a group of 14 *g*-forms, which are commonly encountered also in other dialect areas and in standard Ukrainian, e.g., *grunt* ‘soil’, *gnit* ‘wick tender’, *gudzik* ‘button’, *gedz* ‘gadfly’. On the other hand, in a dialectal sketch of the Poltava region, published by Buzuk (1929), there was no mention whatever of the pharyngeal *g* in the phonemic system of the corresponding dialects, which might indirectly testify to a highly peripheral status of this sound in this dialect area.

Remarkably, in the course of time, the isoglosses of *g*- and *b*-forms appear not to have undergone drastic changes. At present, the sound *g* is retained in the peripheral dialects, which have remained under heavy Polish influence (Czyżewski 1994, 243, map XXIII). For instance, examples like *granata* ‘grenade’ or *brygada* ‘brigade’ are commonly attested in the bulk of the southwestern dialects (save for some Volhynian and Podolja dialects), as well as in some northern Ukrainian dialects (AUM, II, map 119). Thus, although made in a fairly broad-brush way, Ziłyński's distribution of *g* and *b* in Ukrainian has been recently represented in one of the “finalizing dialectal maps”, which divides the whole Ukrainian-speaking territory into two *g*- and *b*-areals (AUM, III, part 3, map 19). These dialect areals fit well in a statistical overview of the records from the northern and southeastern Ukrainian regions, which was undertaken by Perebyjnis (1969, 322f.). This author proved that, along with the phonemes /dž/ and /dz/, the phoneme /g/ demonstrates the lowest rate of usage, 0.013. The dialectal data extant from the 1920's and the above statistics do not allow us to support, without serious reservations, Nimčuk (1991/3, 18) that the above rate shows the recent “decline of this phoneme in the *langue* and *parole*” in the Ukrainian language.

1.3. Socio-cultural underpinnings vs. linguistic argumentation: in search of consensus

The current situation, with the reintroduction of the letter “g”, is remarkably reminiscent of the 1920’s. The first all-Ukrainian orthography of 1928/1929 compromised by using *b* in loan words of Greek mediation, and *g* in loan words of Latin and modern European origin. Yet, prescribing a new pronunciation for each part of the country constituted a linguistic experiment, which, according to Shevelov (1989, 132f.), had little chance to succeed in the conditions of a bilingual intelligentsia and the low level of education among other social groups. In 1989, the year of re-introduction of the letter “g” to Ukrainian orthography, Shevelov, as if predicting future debates over new spelling rules, argued that such an experiment could hardly succeed even in an independent state.

It would be tempting to treat the above orthographic discrepancy in using *b* and *g*, which is discernable even in the latest drafts of the Ukrainian orthography, as a corollary of the long-standing contest between “Byzantine” vs. “Western European” tradition. This contest, first outlined in the 1920’s by Ohijenko, has been recently revived by Nimčuk (2002, 46); it provides only socio-cultural clues as to why the Ukrainian phonemic system still resists expansion of the new *g*, especially in East Ukrainian. I will try instead to come to grips with this problem in expanding its traditional philological explanation. First of all, I will make a brief survey of the historical data, thereby ascertaining prevailing patterns of dialectal distribution of *g* and *b* in the Ukrainian-speaking territory. Finally, I will offer a new structural perspective on the phonemic status of the above sounds using both phonemic and acoustic features, first elaborated as a system by Jakobson and Halle, and subsequently applied to Ukrainian by Andersen and Flier (see section 3.2). All this, I hope, will help also solve some problems in the implementation of new spelling rules for the transliteration of foreign proper nouns in new Ukrainian orthography.

2. Historical evidence

2.1. Problems in chronology and interpretation

It is commonly maintained that the pharyngeal *b* in Ukrainian arose from the fricative γ as a result of the spirantization of $*g$ in the vast area from the Bavarian frontier to the Oka, to wit, in Czech, Slovak, Upper Sorbian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, and South Russian, as well as in some westernmost dialects of Slovene and some northwestern čakavian dialects of Serbo-Croatian (Vondrák 1924, 360f.; Trubetzkoy 1925, 292). Van Wijk (1932, 74), who posited the change $g > \gamma > b$ for the individual Slavic languages, treated this development as seemingly purposeless, since it was unclear, why the change of *g* to γ brought about a voiced counterpart for the old voiceless x , thus leaving the old k outside the voicing correlation.

Trubetzkoy (1925, 292f.) offered a more persuasive scenario, which posited the spirantization of **g* as a dialectal change in late Common Slavic. To corroborate his view, he mentioned Slovak **kzde* ‘where’ which became historically [gde] (spelled *kde*) with a new *g*; apparently, after the loss of *z*, when *k* by assimilation to *d* became *g*, the change *g* > γ was no longer operative. Shevelov (1977, 138, fn 3) noted that Trubetzkoy failed ostensibly to apply the same example to Ukrainian. Otherwise, it could have led to the conclusion that Ukrainian *g* passed into γ after the loss of weak jers, especially if one assumes that MoUkr. *de* ‘where’ came from *bde* through a similar sequence of changes, *kzde* > *kde* > *gde* > *bde* > *de* (id. 1979, 349).

Quite a different argumentation was offered by Andersen (1969), who treated the lenition of Proto-Slavic **g* to γ as parallel to a series of lenitions of palatal stops which had arisen through the velar palatalizations, traditionally called the First, Second, and the Third palatalizations, and dental deiotations, resulting in new palatal stops as reflexes of **tj* and **dj*. Having determined two concentric dialectal isoglosses reflecting the lenition of **g* in Slavic, Andersen (1977, 8f.) assumed that in the core area (Ukrainian, Belarusian, Slovak, and partially Czech), the reinterpretation of **g* as the voiced/lax counterpart of *x* apparently occurred before the fall of jers. Interestingly, this chronology accords generally with the theory accepted in Ukrainian linguistics (Zovtobryj et al. 1979, 168f.), which, however, stops short of explaining the retention of **g* in the environment after *z*. Andersen assumed that, since in this period clusters of fricative plus fricative were not admitted – all obstruent clusters consisted of stop plus fricative – the lenition could not affect original clusters like **zg*, which, in the core area, have been preserved as fricative plus stop: *zg* in Bel. *rozga*, Slk. *razga*, or *zk* in Ukr. *rizka*. In a transitional zone (South Russian, Upper Sorbian and partially Czech), the lenition apparently occurred after the fall of jers, since the cluster **zg* is reflected as *zγ*, e.g., SRus. *rozγa*, or *zb*, e.g., Cz. *růzba*.

However, Shevelov (1979, 355), who dates the spirantization of **g* at the second half of the 12th c. or beginning of the 13th c., defined the change *zg* > *zk* as a morphological one which could have occurred much later, although the cluster *zg* is still found in Transcarpathia, e.g., between the Uh and the Labirec’. According to him, when after the loss of jers the alternation *o* : # developed, the group of forms like *mozgu*, *rozga* was expanded by forms with *-o* before zero endings: *mōzg* became **mōzog*, *rōzg* (gen.pl.) – **rōzog*; then this *-og* was associated with the suffix *-ok* : #*k* and *k* was introduced in all forms with *g* which are still attested in the 17th c. Plausible as it may seem for Ukrainian, this explanation appears less convincing for the rest of Slavic forms, in particular in the core dialectal area. The latter zone is known to contrast with the transitional zone, comprising South Russian, Upper Sorbian and some Czech dialects, which, ac-

ording to Decaux (1957, 50), might have introduced per analogiam the cluster *zb* instead of *zg* after the loss of jers.

Although it is outside the scope of this paper to address the issue of the spirantization/lenition of **g* in full, it would be instructive to briefly review some of the controversial forms in both written records and dialects. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the interchange of *g* with *j* in some Old Rus'ian texts of the mid-12th c. which was interpreted by Shevelov (1979, 352) as a calque of the Greek change *g* (γ) > *j* before front vowels: *Gurgevskyi* (Hyp. 1091), *ko Guręgovu* (Hyp. 1095), *Gurgev* (Hyp. 1114) next to *Juręeva* (Hyp. 1174), *Juręii* (Hyp. 1224), which all seem to go back to Grk. Γεώργιος, cf. also *anęelomę* 'angel' (dat. pl.) (Hyp. 1110) next to Grk. ἄγγελος. Shevelov also pointed to Old Rus'ian forms like *Djurdi* (Hyp. 1135) and *sę Djuręemę* (Hyp. 1157), which may testify to the pronunciation of [g'], ruling out *b*, thus inferring that about the years 1135–1157 *g* had not yet changed into *b*. To his mind, the [d'] forms cannot have been introduced by the 15th c. Russian copyist of the Chronicle and must go to the original text. To prove this hypothesis, he mentioned the interchange of *g/g'* with *d/d'* which is frequent in some Ukrainian dialects, primarily in the Bukovyna-Pokuttja, Hucul and some Dniester dialects. It is likely to have been transplanted into North and even Southeast Ukrainian, e.g., WUkr. (Suceava region) *mig'* ~ *mid'* 'copper' (Pavljuk, Robčuk, 48), WUkr. (Hucul) *gego* ~ *dedo* 'father' (Rieger, map 3), WUkr. (Transcarpathian) *legin'* ~ *ledin'* 'lad' (< Hg. *legény*); NUkr. *gle* ~ StUkr. *dlja* 'for' (Lysenko, 63; AUM, I, map 133; II, map 90; for southeastern examples and detailed comments, see AUM, III, 247).

Yet, in view of central and southern Russian dialectal material, as well as early Old Rus'ian evidence, one must cite Avanesov (1974, 183-184) who drew a parallel between the interchange of [g'] ~ [d'] with the interchange of [k'] ~ [t'] and [g'] ~ [j], the latter most likely reflected in Old Rus'ian spellings like *ana ręina*, *knęeinęa*, *anęelę*, *u jęvanęjeliję* as opposed to *genvarę*, *geta*, *alilugia* and others (Šaxmatov 1915, 177; Sobolevskij 1907, 127). For our case, of utmost importance is a similar interchange between γ and *j* in certain modern southern Russian dialects (including some Ukrainian dialects of the Voronež region), which, on the whole, are characterized by a relatively high degree of sharpening, traditionally called palatalization (Avanesov 1974, 182, 184, fn 1); e.g., [nagá] (nom.sg.) ~ [nají] (gen.sg.) 'foot'. According to Kasatkin (1999, 200-203), already in Old Rus'ian in the environment before the front vowels, the corresponding phonemes /g/ and /j/ were not distinguished, thus undergoing a neutralization rule. The Old Rus'ian letter "h" was used to render the phoneme /g/ in the strong position, e.g., *noga* and *nogi*, whereas other orthographic means could refer to the phoneme *j* as in *moja* (sg.f.) and *moi* (pl.) 'my'. In other cases, the choice of the letter(s) allegedly depended on orthographic tradition, and could therefore have brought about some misspellings, among which *g* rendering the etymological *j* was most common. Conse-

quently, Kasatkin (1999, 201) inferred, that, first, the phoneme /j/ and the “velar” phoneme, rendered by the letter “h”, were not distinguished in certain environments in Old Rus’ian; second, this neutralization could be realized only if the voiced “velar” was pronounced as a spirant like [g].

The above hypothesis seems to be at odds with Shevelov’s chronology. Assuming the neutralization of the phonemes /g/ and /j/ for the mid-12th c. examples cited by Shevelov, it is possible to posit the spirantization of *g much earlier, presumably prior to 1063 when the well-known inscription *ana r̄inda*² was made. Remarkably, this date coincides with the commonly accepted chronology of the spirantization of *g in Old Ukrainian dialects (Žovtobrjux et al. 1979, 167f.). At any rate, one can recognize this change as the manifestation of a specific tendency structurally motivated in the prehistory of all Slavic dialects, in particular Southwest Ukrainian (cf. Andersen 1977, 9), which tended historically to intensify its palatalization by shifting it to a more back articulation. The latter shift could have brought about the interchangeability of *j* not only with palatal(ized) dentals, abundantly attested in modern Ukrainian dialects (AUM, I, map 133; AUM, II, maps 89, 90; Shevelov 1979, 687, 693), but with the laryngeal γ in some western Ukrainian dialects (Kalnyn’ 1973, 209), including Bojkian, e.g., *porij* ‘threshold’ (: *poroba* gen.sg.), *snij* ‘snow’ (: *snibu* gen.sg.) (Shevelov 1979, 742).

2.2. Attestations in middle Ukrainian texts

It is commonly accepted that the appearance of a new sound *g* in Ukrainian was triggered by the loss of the *jers* somewhere in the 12th c. (Nimčuk 1990, 7), which introduced voicing assimilation in new obstruent clusters, e.g., *velyk̄o den̄o* ‘Easter’ with the *k* realized as voiced [g]. The distinction between phonetically conditioned variants and phonemes aside, it is remarkable, however, that the appearance of the corresponding phoneme *g* can be placed only in the late 14th c. when a special digraph “кґ” (hereafter “kh”), was invented to denote foreign *g*: MUkr. *kbrunt̄o* ‘land property’ (1322, 1389) from MPol. *grunt* (< MHGr. *grun̄i*), *kbvaltom̄o* ‘by force’ (1460) (SSUM, I, 267, 271) from MPol. *gwalttem* (SSP, II, 524f.)³.

² This is a Cyrillic inscription made presumably by a Kyivan courtier in a charter issued in 1063 on behalf of King Philippe II of France and his mother Queen Ann from Kyiv, in which the second word is a Cyrillic transliteration of the Lat. *regina* ‘queen’. Contrary to the conventional theory (Žovtobrjux et al. 1979, 168), Shevelov (1978, 62f.) hypothesized that the lack of *g* before *i* cannot be deemed a reflection of the Old Ukrainian pronunciation, since in France by that time, *g* before front vowels had changed into either *j* or *dž*. Shevelov (1977, 142) was seemingly at a loss as to what Cyrillic letter would render the foreign $\gamma \sim j$, positing both the letter “g” and “k”, which is “the most usual substitution in such cases” (id. 1978, 62). We are inclined to treat this spelling traditionally, thus positing for this word the spirant *g* or *b*, although in its interchange with the palatal glide *j*.

³ This digraph recalls apparently the Greek digraph, $\gamma\chi$, with the same sound value. There is, however, no solid ground for positing the Byzantine influence in inventing the Ukrainian digraph, as proposed by Nimčuk (1990, 8). In addition to the

Available evidence indicates that this custom started among those scribes who used the so-called *prostaja mova* in Polish chanceries, while the first reliable instances of its use in Ukraine seem to date to the 15th c. (*Švytrykbajlo*, 1424) (Rozov, 102). On the whole, it is not surprising to encounter this digraph in the Latin transcriptions of Cyrillic charters, e.g., *kbwatt* ‘violence’ (= Ukr. *gvalt*), *kbwattom* ‘by force’ (= Ukr. *gvaltom*) and the like, as compared with the *g* in correct reverse transliterations, e.g., *burgabria* ‘judge’ (SSUM, I, 132; SSP, I, 177). Nevertheless, the foreign *g* in common words was rendered in the 15th c. more often than not with the help of the standard letter sign “h”, which could easily refer also to the Ukrainian [g] or [h] (Nimčuk 1990, 8): *bruntō* ‘soil’ (1430), *bvaltom* ‘by force’ (1460), *bourbōmistrō* ‘mayor’ (1463) (SSUM, I, 131f.) from MPol. *Bur(g)mistrz* (< MHGr. *Bürgermeister*; SSP, I, 178).

The use of the digraph in the 14th – 15th c. seems to have been limited primarily to the proper names, such as *Dovkbovdō* (1401), *Bedikboldō* (1407) (Rusaniv., 34, 35; see Rozov, 38, 47, 48), although this spelling device was also found in other words. This was brought about by a flood of Latin and German words, which, in the 16th c., started streaming into Galicia and the adjacent territories from Poland. The influence of the Polish-Latin pronunciation of the stop *g* was so heavy that this sound began spreading over the words of the Byzantine provenance, which originally contained the fricative *b* related to the Greek γ . To give the most telling instances of Ukrainian words of Greek origin, which acquired a new *g* under the Polish influence, one can mention *kbramatyka* ‘grammar’ (1589) as attested in a fraternity school document, and *kbrets(ō)kyj* ‘Greek’ (16th c.) (Tymč., 648). Moreover, some Ukrainian borrowings showed the Polish *g*, arisen as a result of regressive voicing assimilation, e.g.: *kbvoli* ‘at one’s wish’ (16th-17th c.) from MPol. *gwoli* ‘secundum voluntatem’ (SSP, II, 532) (< *k woli*), *kbrečy* ‘aptly’ (16th c.) from MPol. **grzeczy* (< *k reczy*) (Tymč., 641, 648; Tymč.-MS, 197), not attested in SSP.

From these facts, Shevelov (1977, 149) inferred that the spelling of *kb* did not necessarily point to the reintroduction of *g* in Middle Ukrainian outside of Transcarpathia and possibly Bukovyna. Rather, this may have been an orthographic device to preserve in Cyrillic the identity of proper names as spelled in the Roman alphabet. Even in the 16th c. this sound was a feature of the educated, a fact which can explain sporadic attempts to use the Latin letter *g* instead of the digraph. In 1619, Meletij Smotryčkyj (Grammars, 140, 143, 145), who offered a cursive version of the Greek letter “gamma” to refer to the stop *g*, placed this letter sign “r” alongside *f*, *ks*, *ps*, and *tb* as being *strannaja* ‘alien’, and specifically warned in Orthographic Rule No. 4 against confusing *g* and *b*, referring to the lexeme *odygírja*, a rarely encountered foreign word, next to *bora* ‘mountaine’, a

relatively late arrival of the $\gamma\kappa$ -digraph in Greek (see Shevelov 1977, 148, fn 32), one should account somehow that the Ukrainian digraph was first implemented in Polish chanceries, minimally influenced by the Byzantine orthographic tradition.

commonly used Slavic word. The grammarian himself followed his own rules rather consistently, while using the new letter sign in almost all loan forms, regardless of their provenance, either from Latin or Greek: *orfografija* ‘orthography’, *diftong* ‘diphthong’, *grammatika* ‘grammar’, *logika* ‘logic’, *teologija* ‘theology’ and the like (ib.).

The revised orthographic norms, first explicitly introduced by Smotryc’kyj within the Church Slavonic tradition, were commonly admitted into later secular texts, written both in the newly codified Church Slavonic (*jazykō slavenorosskyj*), as used in the Ruthenian and Russian lands, and in the vernacular (*prostaja mova*), an incipient medieval literary standard of the Ukrainians and Belarusians. Leaving aside the vicissitudes of the codification of the *prostaja mova*, one can aptly reconstruct this language in a prototypical Middle Ukrainian written text as a kind of translation from a real or only virtual Polish text. According to Moser (2002, 242f., 244), such a prototypical text appears to be the corollary of the “Ruthenization” of the Polish system; in case of a real written text, such a conversion may sometimes be reduced to a mere change of alphabets. Since most speakers of *prostaja mova* were more likely to think in Polish than in Ruthenian (Ukrainian), they were predisposed to pronounce Ukrainian words in a Polish manner, thus introducing some foreign phonetic segments into Ukrainian “prototypical texts”.

Unlike the pharyngeal *b* found in long-naturalized Greek words in Middle Ukrainian religious writings, and especially in the Holy Scriptures, the new letter “g” is found in both common and proper nouns of non-Slavic origin in most printed and copied texts, including: homiletic and catechetical works of the Greek-Catholic Church, primers, grammars, dictionaries, and poetry. Suffice it to mention Pamva Berynda’s *Leksykonō* (1627), which contains such Greek forms with the Polish *g*: *pargaminō* ‘parchment’, *pelgrimō* ‘pilgrim’, *pedagogō* ‘pedagogue’, *pedagogija* ‘pedagogy’, *dogma* ‘dogma’, *filologō* ‘philologist’ and the like (Ber., 54, 78, 101, 104, 119, 196, etc.); it is not surprising that, save one *kb*-spelling in a rather traditional lexeme *kbvaltovnoe* (n.sg.) ‘sudden’, Berynda consistently used the Latin letter to denote the corresponding Polish sound (Veselovs’ka 1927, 321). The same phonemic pattern, not discriminating between foreign *g* and *b*, is retained in the Latin *Leksykonō*, compiled by Slavy nec’kyj in 1642 in Kyiv, in the Slavonic-Latin *Leksykonō* by Korec’kyj and Slavy nec’kyj, compiled in 1649 or before, also in Kyiv. The anonymous “Synonima slavenorosskaję”, compiled in the late 17th c., in the Hetmanščyna, displays a reversal of Berynda. The same non-discriminating tendency is discernable in the manuscript collection of poems, many of them in vernacular, compiled ca. 1690 somewhere in the South Černihiv or North Poltava region by Klymentij Zynovijiv: e.g., *gra(m)matika* ‘grammar’ (KZ, 137).

On the whole, the situation with the new *g* in right-bank Ukraine, including Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovyna, and some northern Ukrainian territories, appears representative from the point of view of its implemen-

tation, especially in view of the fluctuation *g~b* in some loan words. It would be tempting to posit a split phonemic system for the so-called “prototypical texts” in *prostaja mova*, either with the “alien *g*” as realized by the “Polish-thinking Ruthenians”, or without *g*. Examples are the following: *boldovati* ‘to pay homage’ (1435) next to *kboldovati* (1388) (Rozov, 43, 133) from MPol. *bołdować; babaty* (Ber., 69) next to *khabaty* ‘to bother’ (Kraków, 1539) (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 178) from MPol. *gabać* ‘vexare’ (SSP, II, 372); *banebnyj* ‘indigent’ (1583) (Tymč.-MS, I, 170) next to *kbanebnyj* (1583) (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 190) from MPol. *ganiebny/ganiebni* fluctuating with *baniebny* ‘fastidiosus, detestabilis’ (under the influence of MCz. *banba?*), MPol. *bańba ~ gańba* (SSP, II, 537, 538); *barbarz* (1599) (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 192) from MPol. *garbarz* ‘coziarius’ (< MHGr. *Gärber*) (SSP, II, 383), *bvozdb* ‘nail’ (1489) next to *gvozdb* (1631) (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 197f.) from MPol. *gwóźdz* ‘clavus’ (SSP, II, 532); *bazofilakija* ‘treasure’ (Gr. *γασοφυλάκιον*) in the Peresopnycja Gospel 1556-1561 (PG, 379) next to *gazofilakija* (1646) (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 181); *blina* ‘clay’ (Ber., 12) next to *glina* (Slav.-Kor., 439) or *kblina* (17th c.) (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 218) from MPol. *glina* ‘argilla’ (SSP, II, 415).

The digraph “kh” or the letter “g” is found sometimes in those borrowings, which are based on the phoneme for phoneme representation of the Polish words, e.g., *kblupstvo* ‘stupidity’ (1587) from MPol. *glupstwo* (cf. Bil.-Nos., 99, 126) as opposed to *blupost* (1596) in Lavrentij Zizanij’s “Leksys” (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 224), which is patterned on the Church Slavonic derivative in *-ostv* (MoRus. *glupost*); *kblaskaty* ‘fondle’ (1605) (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 216) from MPol. *glaskać* ‘mulcere’ (SSP, II, 418); *kbruntovne* ‘substantially’, e.g., in Berynda’a *Lekykonz* (1627) (Tymč., 650; Tymč.-MS, I, 198) from MPol. *gruntownie* ‘funditus’ (SSP, II, 505); *ščegulne* ‘on the whole’ from MPol. *szczególnie* (Nimčuk, 1991/1, 12), *kvaltovne* ‘by force’ (1597-1599) (Tymč.-MS, I, 195) from MPol. *gwaltownie* ‘per vim’ (SSP, II, 526) as opposed, on the other hand, to *banebne* (1598-1599) (SUM 16th-17th, VI, 189) from MPol. *baniebnie/ganiebnie* ‘ignominiose’ (SSP, II, 536).

Almost the same extent of interference is found in the late 17th-18th c. in Pidljaššja and Transcarpathia, where the new letter “g” was commonly used in all loan words, either borrowed from or mediated by Hungarian, Rumanian, and Slovak, in both printed books and manuscript texts (Petrov 1908, 47, 53, 111, 120, 130). One can mention *Grigorij* (MoUkr. *Hryborij*), *Gryga* (a last name from *Grygorij*) and other personal names which are attested in the late 18th c. *urbar* (census), in which the Hungarian scribes recorded verbatim the evidence given by peasants; *njagovskij*, an adjective from Rm. *Neag(ă)*, patterned on the village name *Njagovo*, cf. *Negova* (1415), *Nagiva* (1435), *Nagowa* (1474) (Deže 1967, 62); *grajcar* ‘a monetary unit’ with the hypercorrect *g* instead of *k*, if borrowed via Hg. *krajcár* (*krayzer* 1494-1495, *kreytzer* 1604) from Gr. *Kreuzer* (MNSz, II, 640); also *alnokšagnak* from Hg. *álnokság* (= Gr. *die Falschheit, die Gottlosigkeit*) in the Treaty of Michael (1692-1701); *valčakz* and *valčagz*

(second hand) from Hg. *váltság* (= Gr. *die Erlösung*), *bězoněšabě* and *bězoněšagě* (second hand) from Hg. *Bizonyság* (= Gr. *der Beweis*) in the Njagovo Gospel, written in the first half of the 18th c. These examples clearly testify that the Transcarpathian Ukrainians “tamen more Graecorum amant eam ut lat. *g* vel grace. *z* pronunciare” (Lutskay 1830, 3).

2.2.1. Minor changes: *k* > *g*

Returning to WUkr. *grajcar* and *grejcer* (Suceava region) (Pavljuk, Robčuk, 650) and some other examples of hypercorrect *g* like MUkr. *kbnotě* ‘knot’ (attested since 1545) from MPol. *knot* (< Gr. *Knotte*) (Bańkowski, 731; ESUM, I, 539), they should be distinguished from other cases of non-etymological *g* both in dialects and literary texts, in particular in those which are extant from the period of the heavy Polish interference in the 16th to 17th c. To summarize, these cases fall into several groups.

2.2.1.1. Affective vocalization of the etymological *k*

This change seems to have occurred mostly to the word-initial voiceless *k*: MoUkr. *gava* ‘crow’ or EUkr. (Xarkiv region) *gavega* (Manž., 181), which is a unique derivative from *kava* ‘jackdaw’ (ESUM, II, 333; Vasmer, I, 497); WUkr. (Transcarpathian) *geljux* ‘guts’ with a vocalized *g* from *kel’bux* which is paralleled in *tel’bux* (Hrinč., I, 390, 771), thus demonstrating the dialectal interchange of *k* with *t*; cf. also WUkr. *gelevo* ‘belly’ (Želex., I, 168) as a morphophonemic contamination of *geljux* ‘guts’ and *čerevo* ‘belly’. Among other examples, one can cite WUkr. *gergavka/gargačka* ‘throat’ (Želex., I, 168) or *gyrgačka* (Hrinč., I, 391) from **kyrkavka/kyrkalka* (< Sl. **kьrkь* ‘throat’; ESUM, III, 26), although it might have been modeled on Pol. dial. *gargaryzować* ‘to gargle’ from Grk. *γαργαλίζειν* (Karlłowicz, I, 805); WUkr. (Transcarpathian) *gyvtaty* ‘swallow’ (Hrinč., I, 391) from *blytaty* + *kovtaty*; MoUkr. *gygnuty* ‘to die’ (vulg.) or ‘to throw’ (Transcarpathian), ‘to push’ (Polissian) (Lysenko, 63) (< Sl. **kuk-* ‘to bend, wane’) (ESUM, II, 431); WUkr. (Hucul) *gagaradza* ~ *kakaradzy* ‘feces (of sheep)’ from Rm. *căcareáză* (Pavljuk, Robčuk, 96), *gark* ~ *kark* ‘nape of the neck’, *gucuran* ~ *kucuran* ‘potholder’ (Rieger, maps 60, 115, 148); EUkr. (Xarkiv region) *geruvaty* ‘to ride a horse, a cart’ (Manž., 181) from *keruvaty* ‘to drive, steer’; WUkr. *garyta* ‘cart’ (Hrinč., I, 389) from Pol. *kareta* (< Gr. *Karrete*) (Vasmer, I, 532); NUkr. *goldun* ‘magician’ (< *koldun*) (Lysenko, 63); most likely, also WUkr. *gogoz* (pl.) from Rm. *coácăze* ‘currants’ (Pavljuk, Robčuk, 97). Less numerous cases of affective vocalization are attested word-medially or -finally, cf. WUkr. *lomygaty* ‘to beat by a stick’ (Hrinč., I 912), EUkr. and NUkr. *kbliaga* ‘rainy weather; rivulets’ (Manž., 193; Hladkyj 1928, 115).

2.2.1.2. Distant assimilation

Several cases of distant assimilation can be placed in the late Middle Ukrainian period. Well documented are the following examples: MUKr. *zgljaganyj* (17th c.), derived from *gljagъ* ‘curdled milk’ (< *kljagъ* < *kljab*; ORm. **cl’ag*) (Vrabie 1967, 153f.; Scheludko 1926, 130), WUKr. *gljag* ~ *kljag*, *gljeg* ~ *kljeg* (Pavljuk, Robčuk, 87); WUKr. and StUkr. *girlyga/gyrlyga* ‘shepherd’s stick’ (Želex., I, 169; Hrinč., I, 391) from *kyrlyb*, borrowed from Rm. *cîrlig* (Scheludko 1926, 130; Vrabie 1967, 158)⁴; MUKr. *kbolekba* (cf. Pol. *kolegá*) (1669; Tymč., 645); *gugljarъ* ‘magician’ (1693; Tymč., 645) next to *kugljarъ* (1627; Ber., 97) from MPol. *kuglarz/kuglerz* ‘praestigiator’ (1393; SSP, III, 460). These changes are reminiscent of anticipative spellings, based on the anticipative psychological mechanism, especially for loan words with less comprehensible morphophonemic structures.

2.2.1.3. Assimilation in voicing

This type of assimilation is attested in a few lexemes which are borrowed from Polish or occur in some western Ukrainian dialects with a phonemic voicing system (see section 3.2). Both Polish and Southwest Ukrainian have shown a historical tendency to develop neutralization before all obstruents, e.g., MPol. *slotkey* [tk] from *śłodki* [dk] ‘sweet’ with the sequence MT (mediae, voiced + tenues, voiceless) realized as TT (tenues, voiceless + tenues, voiceless) (Stieber 1973, 120), and *gdy* [gd] ‘when’ from *kdý* [kd] (SSP, II, 389) after the loss of *jers* with the neutralization of the type TM → MM (Andersen 1986, 240-243). In view of the sequence of changes, *kzde* > *kde* > *gde* > *bde* > *de*, reconstructed for Ukrainian, one can treat Ukrainian adverbs like *kbdy/gdy* (Pol. *gdý*) ‘when’, *kbde* (Pol. *gdzie*) ‘where’, *negdy* ‘never’ (Pol. *nigdy*) (1631; Volkovyč, 102, 105, 121) and their derivatives of the type *kbde-kolvekъ* ‘wherever’ (Pol. *gdziekolwiek*), *kbde-koly* ‘when’ (Pol. *gdziekoli*) (Tymč., 641, 642; SUM 16th-17th, VI, 199f.) as Polish borrowings proper or rare southwestern Ukrainian forms which underwent regressive voicing assimilation in obstruent clusters without the spirantization of **g* as in Polish, cf. WUKr. (Transcarpathian) *dogde* (< *do* + *kzde*) ‘that much’ (Nimčuk 1969, 81). Contrary to the above forms, more common dialectal Ukr. *bde* (= StUkr. *de*), *nibde* (= StUkr. *nide*), *nibdy* (= StUkr. *nikoly*) (Hrinč., I, 1102, 320; Bil.-Nos., 244) show the *k* (> *g*) first assimilated in voicing to the following dental *d* and subsequently lenited into pharyngeal (or laryngeal) *b*.

To sum up, the above minor changes of *k* into *g*, determined by semantic (2.2.1.1) and phonetic (2.2.1.2 and 2.2.1.3) factors, occur in different dialects, but for most of these the precise geography is not

⁴ The same lexeme, *gerlyga*, is cited as South Russian in SRG (VI, 166) with reference to Dal’s dictionary (Dal’, I, 349; Vasmer I, 266). Dal’ attributed this form to the Novorossijsk region which could have accepted this form from the southeastern Ukrainian, being in contact with the Romanian-speaking territory.

known, except for the general observation of overwhelmingly higher concentration in the west of the country (Shevelov 1979, 626).

2.3. Later attestations in southeastern Ukrainian

Contrary to the southwestern and the bulk of the northern dialects, which over several centuries were exposed to Polish influence, the situation of *g* in southeastern Ukrainian dialects appears to be rather precarious. Sharing most features with South and North Ukrainian, these dialects, which are historically the most recent, and the largest and the most influential in Modern Ukrainian, have long been inconsistent in accepting the new *g*. The Meletian tradition in the church-service books, which basically used to distinguish the new *g* from *b*, was forcibly discontinued by the measures taken by the Russian government, in particular by the 1720 edict of Peter I, forbidding the printing of anything in Ukrainian but the canonic church books, which were to be uniform with the Russian ones.

The local administration, however, continued to stick to the orthographic tradition of the Hetman state chancery language throughout the first half of the 18th c. On the whole, the transition to Russian as the sole official language was gradual, long tolerating traditional spellings with the digraph “kh” or the Latin letter “g”, which would occur in both proper nouns and old Polish borrowings. Beside personal names, based on long-naturalized borrowings, as well as new renditions of some foreign, in particular Russian names of the type *Golecynъ* (DNRM, 381), the following examples from the local 18th-c. administrative documents (DDH)⁵, originating from different regions in the left-bank Ukraine, come into consideration: (1) *kb*-spellings: village name *Kbden'* (1704, Kyiv region) (184), *kbdy/kbdi* ‘when’ (1708, Novhorodok; 1753, Poltava), *kbrunt* ‘soil’ (1704, Starodub; 1775, Hluxiv) (261, 258, 277, 319) next to *brunt* (s.a., Hluxiv; 1775, Hluxiv) (188, 277); *instikbovati* ‘to instigate’ (1753, Poltava) (319), patterned on Pol. *instigować*; (2) *g*-spellings: *grunt* (1710, Hluxiv); *gvaltovoje* ‘forcible’ (1743, Poltava) (238); *gratki* ‘bars’ (1766, Perejaslavl' region) (328); personal name *Galagan* (1746, Lubni), originally ‘a copper coin’.

The same orthographic tradition is manifest in other genres of Ukrainian texts of the period under consideration (roughly 1720-1818). Pereverzev (†1794), a pioneer of contrastive study of the Ukrainian and Russian languages, distinguished between the “common [fricative] pronunciation” of the letter “g” and its realization as a stop *g*, which is more appropriate in foreign words⁶. Of particular interest is the “Grammatika

⁵ Unfortunately, this collection of documents was prepared rather negligently from the linguistic point of view. Surprisingly, the editors deemed it appropriate to eliminate in the indices several “out-dated graphic means”, thus substituting the letter “h” for the sound *g* rendered in documents either by the letter “g” or the digraph “kh”.

⁶ I am particularly thankful to Serhii Vakulenko (Xarkiv Pedagogical University, Ukraine) who brought my attention to Ivan Pereverzev’s primer, “Short Rules of the Russian Orthography [...]”, which was compiled in Xarkiv and published in Moscow

malorossijskogo narečija” by Pavlovskij (1818) who cited several words with the digraph “kh” to refer to a sound “pronounced like the Latin *g*”: *akbrus* ‘gooseberry’, *kbulja* ‘bump’, *kbrona* ‘bunch’, *kbalan’ci* and *kbalas’ki* ‘German pants’, *kbanki* (pl.) ‘steps in the porch’ (cf. NUkr. *ganki* in Lysenko, 62), *kbnit* ‘wick’, *kbvalt* ‘uproar’, *kbnypec* ‘shoemaker’s short knife’, *kbryndžoly* ‘small sledge’, *kbudzik* ‘button’, *kbudz* ‘bump’, *kljakbanyj* ‘curdled (milk)’, *kbradyna* ‘boundary’, *dzykblyk* ‘stool’ and some other forms (GP, 1, 38, 39, 68). The fact that Pavlovskij, originating from near Putyvl’ in the north of Ukraine, declared in his *Grammatika* that the preference was to be given to southern, Poltava-type dialects, is most telling for our case. While admitting a limited set of long-naturalized borrowings with *g*, the author apparently treated this sound as peripheral for the Ukrainian phonemic system.

A similar stance is more than obvious in the writings of Ševčenko, who is one of the main creators of a new full-fledged, (southeastern) dialect-based literary language. It is noteworthy that, apart from a unique *kb*-spelling in *kbvalt* ‘uproar’, cited in SŠ (I, 130), there is no other reliable attestation of the “new *g*” in the works of this author⁷. It is interesting to mention here Kuliš, another promoter of a new literary language, although open to Church Slavonicisms and West-European loan forms. As if emphasizing the alien nature of this sound to his *Sprachgefühl*, Kuliš opted in 1857 (ČR), instead of the digraph, for a Latin letter to render the new *g* in a few loan words, excluding, however, new borrowings from Russian: *gontovyj* ‘related to shingles’ (5), *galera* ‘galley’ (83) as opposed to personal names *Habin* (369) from Rus. *Gagin* and *Hvintovka* (203); cf. MUkr. *kbventovka* ‘rifle’ modeled on the corresponding Pol. *gwintówka* (Tymč.-MS, I, 196).

The same limited number of words with the sound *g*, alternating in most cases with *b*, is found in other eastern Ukrainian texts. To take another genre as an example, it is instructive to compare two dictionaries, which represent two different orthographic/phonemic patterns in rendering the foreign *g* and dialectal *g*. The first approach is exemplified in

in 1782 (2nd ed., 1787). A graduate from the Xarkiv Collegium, Pereverzev distinguished clearly in his “Short Rules” (currently being prepared by Vakulenko and Sylvia Archambault for a bilingual (Russian and French) publication) between Southeastern Ukrainian (e.g., *svij kin* ‘his own horse’), northern Little Ukrainian (e.g., *svuoj kuon*), and Great Russian elements proper. In face of manifold fluctuations in pronunciation of the letter “g”, especially in his native Kharkiv region, Pereverzev managed to single out the fricative pronunciation of the all-Russian “g”, which was typologically relevant for southeastern Ukrainian dialects (Wakulenko [Vakulenko] 1999).

⁷ Less reliable in this respect appears “A Concordance to the Poetic Works of Taras Shevchenko” (Concordance), which it is based on the Complete Collection of Ševčenko’s works in 12 volumes (1989-1990). The latter might have undergone some orthographic distillation according to the UP-1946. This is why the compilers are too hasty to claim that their Concordance can be used in conjunction with any edition of Ševčenko, thus failing to register the above *g*-form, excerpted from another edition. It should be recalled that from 1933 until 1990, the letter “g” was withdrawn from the Ukrainian orthography.

the Ukrainian-German dictionary, compiled by Želexivs'kyj and edited by Nedil's'kyj in 1886, which in some cases introduces the letter “g” in words without the corresponding etymological sound, e.g., *gospodar* ‘host, master’ (< Pol. *gospodarz*) and all possible derivatives like *gospodarka* ‘economy’ (< Pol. *gospodarka*), *gospodynja* (< Pol. *gospodyni*); *gimnazija* ‘gymnasium’ (< Pol. *gimnazja*), which were all used with *b* in Middle Ukrainian (Tymč.-MS, I, 186; SUM 16th-17th, VI, 210), *gimnastyka* ‘gymnastics’ (< Pol. *gimnastyka*) and others (Želex., 168f.). A totally opposite, “all-Ukrainian” approach is offered by a compiler of the Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary which, although prepared in Eastern Ukraine, was published in 1893 in L'viv, under the pseudonym of M. Umanec' and A. Spilka (US). In this dictionary, the letter “g” is retained in long-naturalized words, which are paralleled in some cases in *b*-spellings. Remarkably, the author adduces for such fluctuations first the *b*- and only secondly the *g*-spelling, e.g., *abrus* ~ *agrus* ‘gooseberry’, *banok* ~ *ganok* ‘porch’, while new borrowings are written largely with the letter “h”, e.g., *bazeta* ‘newspaper’, *heneral* ‘general’ and the like (US, 159, 160, 388) as opposed to *gazeta* (< Pol. *gazeta*), *general* (< Pol. *general*) in Želex. (167).

It follows from the above that the sound *g* has remained phonemically irrelevant throughout the late Middle Ukrainian period. Fluctuations in rendering the “new *g*”, especially in East Ukrainian (Modern Ukrainian) were triggered not by problems in implementing orthographic devices, designed to preserve in Cyrillic writings the identity of the “alien word”, but by the peripheral (extra-systemic) status of this *g* in the phonemic system of Modern Ukrainian.

3. In search of the internal motivation

3.1. Morphophonemic explanation: Trubetzkoy's-Shevelov's theory

In view of the historical vicissitudes of the “new *g*” (g_2), as discussed in sections 2.1–2.3, the question rises as to what might have determined the distribution of pharyngeal *b* and velar g_2 in different dialectal areas of Ukrainian. While generally following Trubetzkoy (1933), Shevelov (1977, 147; 1979, 356, 623, 625) advanced a wholly morphophonemic explanation, according to which the change $g > g$ introduced the complete identity of the two series, except for voicing, to wit, $g : \check{z} : z$ as $x : \check{s} : s$ next to $k : \check{c} : c$ with the velar and no spirants as alternants. Shevelov claimed that there was no resistance on the part of the phonemic system, inasmuch as it was asymmetrical (1) and remained so after the change (2). The subsystem of velars in (2) had a vacancy for *g* because *k* lacked a voiced counterpart, which might have created prerequisites for the reintroduction of *g* in the late 14th c.:

$$(1) \quad \begin{array}{c} k \text{ — } g \\ x \end{array} \qquad (2) \quad \begin{array}{c} k \\ x \text{ — } \gamma \end{array}$$

In offering mirror-image leveling (Žovtobrjux et al. 1979, 169; Czyżewski 1994, 240), this theory does not explain why one asymmetrical system developed into another asymmetrical system. Nor does it explain why, despite a flood of Western words from Polish with *g*, the indigenous *b* has thus far successfully resisted the expansion of *g*, especially in Southeast Ukrainian. It is not clear why contemporary Western (particularly English) forms, mediated by Russian which has lost since Lomonosov's times the sound *b* in most of the borrowings, retain consistently the Russian velar *x* as a substitute for the foreign *b*: StUkr. *xokej* from Rus. *xokej* (< Eng. *hockey*), StUkr. *xol* from Rus. *xoll* (< Eng. *ball*), StUkr. *xobi* from Rus. *xobbi* (< Eng. *bobby*) (UP-1993, 98). All this does not appear to fit into the phonemic voicing system ascribed traditionally to Ukrainian (Nakonečnyj 1951, 187f., 199).

3.2. Voicing sandhi in Ukrainian: Andersen's theory

An alternative explanation was elaborated by Andersen in a number of studies (id. 1969a, 1969b, 1977, 1986). According to him (Andersen 1969b, 167-169) Ukrainian has retained the distinction between tenues (voiceless, tense obstruents *p*, *t*, *k*, etc.) and mediae (voiced, lax obstruents *b*, *d*, *g*, etc.), implemented through a phonemic opposition based on protensity (tenseness), with voicing as a redundant feature. Tenseness, which was phonemic in the obstruent system of Common Slavic throughout its dialectal differentiation, might have tended to reduce the tenure portion of the lax stops to zero (Jakobson, Halle 1962, 550, 555), hence the Common Slavic deiotation and a series of lenitions of the Proto-Slavic **g*, which in Ukrainian, with the "media before media" rule for its obstruents, has been further modified to a pharyngeal *b*. The failure to lenite some reflexes of **g* in Central and North Russian, Lower Sorbian, Polish-Kashubian, Polabian, and in most of South Slavic area was due to the transition to a phonemic voicing system with neutralization before all obstruents (Andersen 1969a, 555f., 569).

Based on Andersen's (1986) typology of voicing sandhi in East and West Slavic, Flier (1994, 146-148) further elaborated two areal patterns in East Slavic with a gradation of subtypes in each. A northern pattern (most Russian and northern Belarusian dialects) shows the marks of a phonemic voicing system with neutralization before all obstruents, whereas a southern pattern presents evidence of phonemic protensity, or traces of it⁸.

⁸ According to Kasatkin (1999, 151, 137, 227-245), the evolution of the Russian phonetic system reveals itself in transition from a more tense articulation to a less tense articulation with the concurrent strengthening of distinctive voicing. He claims, however, that northern Russian dialects, as well as some western central dialects (e.g., Gdov in the Pskov region), manifest evidence of, to use Andersen's and Flier's terminology, phonemic protensity, which allegedly relates these Russian dialects to West Slavic, and represent most likely traces of Proto-Slavic and even Proto-Indo-European phonetics. Some reservations about the prehistorical traces aside, Čekmonas (2001, 387f.) is quite right to associate the northern Russian feature tense vs. lax not

With regard to Ukrainian, the latter pattern is characteristic of most eastern Ukrainian dialects and Modern Ukrainian, which demonstrate partial neutralization of the type TM → MM (*pros'ba* [z'b] 'request'), as opposed to western Ukrainian dialects, including western Polesian, Volhynian, Dniester, Podolian, Bukovyna, and Southwest Ukrainian dialects, which show complete neutralization: TM → MM, MT → TT (*duška* [šk] 'soul', dim.), and, in case of the most advanced southwestern dialects, before a word boundary (*did#* 'grandfather' [t]), including the pharyngeal *b*, although in a smaller territory as compared with the dentals and labials (Czyżewski 1994, 242; AUM, III, part 3, 243f.). From a historical perspective, one can assume that proto-Ukrainian had a phonemic protensity system that developed earliest in Southwest Ukrainian, is changing from a protensity to a voicing system farther east (West Ukrainian), but is maintained in the Eastern Ukrainian and Modern Ukrainian⁹.

It comes as no surprise that Southwest Ukrainian, which – judging by the sandhi phenomena – might have earlier shifted to phonemic voicing, tended to expand its obstruent inventory (through loan words or native expressive/affective formations, concomitant with morphophonemic changes, see section 2.2.1). Along with the “new *g*”, which pairs with a tenuis stop *k* in voicing, the above Ukrainian dialects introduced two other affricates, *dz* and new *dž*₂ as voiced counterparts (mediae) of *c* and *č*. The status of these affricates is precarious, since they have been used primarily in loan words and as means of affectivity and of onomatopoeia. Although documented scantily, these affricates appeared in Middle Ukrainian around the same period as the “new *g*”, within the 16th c. (Shevelov 1979, 627, 630).

At present, the maximum use of these sounds is observed in Southwest Ukrainian. The farther one goes east the fewer is the number of words in which they are used. Similarly to *g*₂, in some southeastern dialects these sounds have become either conspicuously optional or even fallen into oblivion, e.g., in the Starobil's'k dialects (AUM, III, part 3, maps 11 and 19; see also Shevelov 1979, 629). The disappearance seems to be at odds with another assumption of Andersen (1969b, 168f.; 1986, 244), ac-

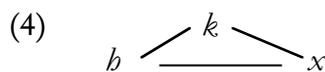
with West Slavic but with “East Slavic South-West”, comprising “the bulk of Ukrainian dialects”. This conclusion comes in tune with a southern areal pattern (southern Belarusian and Ukrainian dialects) of obstruent voicing properties as offered by Andersen (1986) and recently elaborated for the Ukrainian-language territory by Flier (1994).

⁹ It should be noted that Ukrainian mediae in the environment before tenuis or word-finally are fully voiced only in a deliberate style of diction. In a more casual style, they tend to be partially voiced and may be articulated without glottal vibrations (Andersen 1969b, 158). Exactly this articulation has been recently singled out by Dorošenko (1998) to be introduced in the new Ukrainian Orthography, since all obstruents in the bulk of Ukrainian dialects are realized, according to him, as tenuis in the position of neutralization. As a bilingual (Ukrainian and Russian), Dorošenko seems to have confused the neutralization in Southwest Ukrainian, which is characterized by a phonemic voicing, with a similar neutralization in some southeastern dialects, which have long been under a heavy Russian influence. The latter possibility was rightly emphasized by Muromceva (2000) in a critical reply to Dorošenko's suggestion.

ording to whom “in Ukrainian and Belarusian”, where the tense vs. lax opposition was retained, the inherited marked tenues *k*, *c*, *č* implied the existence of corresponding unmarked segments, i.e., the mediae *g*, *dz*, *dž*. In view of the dialectal data, taken chronologically and, what is more important, strictly areally, one is tempted to state that the above pairing tends to be realized primarily in those southwestern Ukrainian dialects which are more advanced in their development towards a voicing system (AUM, I, map 107; II, map 91; III, part 1, map 17 and comments in p. 225)¹⁰.

3.3. On the “velar status” of the Eastern Ukrainian pharyngeal *b*

Additional comment is due on those Western European forms in Ukrainian, which retain the Russian velar *x* as a substitute for the foreign *b* (see section 3.1). For this case, it is worth mentioning Trubetzkoy (1939, 116f., 133), who posited for the laryngeal *b* (which tends, for example, in Czech to be grouped with the velar series) a particular “indeterminate status”. Certain details aside, the Eastern Ukrainian pharyngeal *b*, especially if pronounced without glottal vibrations, can be tentatively treated as a member of the velar series. To draw a parallel with the innovative three-member system of stops in Classical Greek (3), the Ukrainian velar series (4) tends to be represented by a three-member correlational bundle, *b*, *k*, *x*, which is implemented through the correlation of tenseness, the correlation of occlusiveness, and the correlation of voicing. As a member of the first correlation, *b* appears as a media partner to the tenuis *k*, which, as the occlusive member of the second correlation, stands in a relation to the velar *x* (*k* : *x* = *c* : *s* = *č* : *š*). As in all other Slavic languages which knew the development **g* > *γ* > *b*, the Ukrainian velar *x* correlates with its voiced partner *b*, thus making up another bilateral proportional relation (*b* : *x* = *z* : *s* = *ž* : *š*).



¹⁰ This correction, introduced into Andersen’s theory, appears ever more convincing in light of another assumption, discussed by this student. According to Andersen (1969, 567f.), a phonological system in which a mellow stop is not opposed to a corresponding mellow fricative presents the possibility of reducing the tenure portion of the lax stop to zero; furthermore, each time a new lax stop arose which was not opposed to a corresponding fricative, it would be subject to this lenition rule. Returning to Southwest Ukrainian, as discussed in this section, one can treat its phonological system in a twofold way: (i) if interpreted in terms of residual distinctive protensity, this system appears unstable: due to the lack of the fricative counterpart, its newly introduced lax stop *g* may become subject to secondary lenition, which, however, is not historically corroborated; (ii) if interpreted in terms of transition to distinctive voicing, this system also appears unstable, although this time its *g* strengthens its pairing with its tenuis partner, thus tending to expand the distinctive feature of voiced vs. voiceless, a tendency which is supported by dialectal data.

It follows, therefore, that Eastern Ukrainian *b* could scarcely belong to a special pharyngeal series, which seems not even to exist in this language. It belongs instead to use Trubetzkoy's words, to the universal velar series, for which, from the standpoint of the Eastern Ukrainian phonemic system, only the fact that tip of tongue and lips do not participate is of relevance (Trubetzkoy 1933, 267-269; 1939, 116f.).

4. Concluding remarks

In light of the correlations outlined in section 3.3, it is quite natural that Eastern Ukrainian/Modern Ukrainian can easily absorb loan words, mediated by Russian, with *x* in place of the foreign (Western European) stop *b*. On the other hand, borrowings with the foreign *g* experience difficulties in penetrating into the Eastern Ukrainian phonemic system, which unites in one series of phonemic localization the phonemes *b*, *k*, and *x*, but not, as has been mentioned, *g*. The latter phoneme, along with the affricates *dz* and *dž*, is more common, primarily because of Polish influence, in Southwest Ukrainian, which has been developing distinctive voicing among its obstruents (AUM, III, comments in p. 253).

Vis-à-vis the phonemic argumentation proper (which is also supported by historical evidence and relative chronology as discussed in sections 2.1–2.3), it is not worthwhile treating the orthographic fluctuations in the use of “h” and “g”, observable in Ukraine since the late 14th c., within the context of the West European/Latin-Polish vs. Byzantine/Russian tradition. Otherwise, the essentials of linguistic development would be replaced by cultural and political predilections, resulting in new linguistic experiments like the notorious rules about the rendition of foreign *g* and *b* in the all-Ukrainian Orthography of 1928/1929. Cultural and political distinctions aside, the above orthographic fluctuations have actually been determined by a phonemic conflict between two different obstruent systems, operative in Southwestern Ukrainian and in Eastern Ukrainian/Modern Ukrainian. That is why, in order to bring back a *sensus linguisticus* into newly revived orthographic debates, it would be reasonable to opt for the phonemic protensity system, which is historically and typologically more characteristic of Modern Ukrainian.

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