

A LOVE TRIANGLE?
SURZHYK IN ITS RELATION TO RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN

Discussion:

- Russian (R) and Ukrainian (U) in contact
- Resulting hybrid language(s)

cf. *surzhyk* (S) commonly treated as an ‘impure, mixed language’: a sociolect structurally based on **Ukrainian** with a heavy admixture of **Russian** elements with a pejorative connotation in view of the new purist language ideology in independent Ukraine

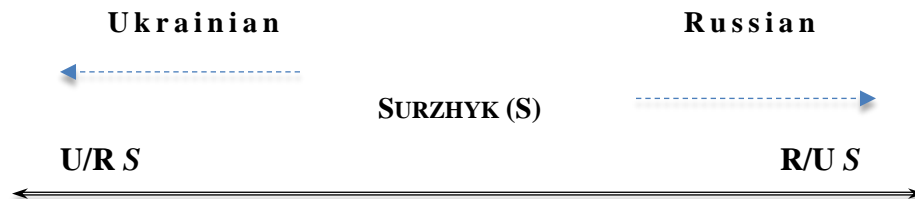
cf. *Trasjanka* in Belarusian

- Interrelations between the major players within the ‘love triangle’ in both synchrony and diachrony :

Ukrainian – S – Russian

Hypotheses:

- The hybrid language **S** contaminated by Russian looks fuzzy depending on the interplay of many factors:
 - speech communities (dialects)
 - boundaries of languages (dialects) in contact
 - level of pressure from the ‘big’ Russian culture
- The hybrid language **S** can be of several types:
 - U/R S** – U is the matrix language and R is the embedded (contributing) language
 - R/U S** – R is the matrix language and U is the embedded (contributing) language
- The hybrid language **S** is a linguistic discourse (defense) used against the assimilationist pressure from Russian



I. SYNCHRONIC DIMENSION

Three main approaches toward *surzhyk* and Ukrainian and Russian in contact:

- (a) ‘emotionally-charged’ (or extralinguistic)
- (b) sociolinguistic

(c) linguistic

I.1. THE EMOTIONALLY-CHARGED APPROACH: Masenko (2008), Moser (2009)

(1) the linguistic mix (hybrid language) is chaotic and can hardly be systematized

(2) the emergence of *surzhyk* in the late 17th c. was allegedly provoked by the marginalization of the Ukrainian speakers in the process of their Russification and denationalization

Conclusion: ‘Little Russian’ *surzhyk* appeared allegedly as early as 1720 (Moser 2009)

The term ‘Little Rus’ came to Kyiv/Kiev in the early 17th c. from Western Ukrainian lands. Metropolitan Jov Borec’kyj (†1631) seems to have established the tradition of viewing the Little Russians (Ukrainians) and the Great Russians (Russians) as brothers who together constitute a family (Danylenko 2011)

Shortcomings:

- no reference point for judging purity and impurity
- equation of different sociolinguistic situations in Ukraine of the late 17th and early 21st c.
- the opposition between Church Slavonic of the Ukrainian recension vs. the secular vernacular (Ruthenian/Ukrainian) is not taken into consideration (Danylenko 2006)

I.2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH: Bilaniuk (2004, 2005)

(1) urbanized peasant *surzhyk*

(2) village dialect-*surzhyk*

(3) Sovietized-Ukrainian *surzhyk*

(4) urban bilinguals’ *surzhyk*

(5) post-independence *surzhyk*

Shortcomings:

- The above types are variants of a fairly unitary Ukrainian-Russian *surzhyk*;
- In this hybrid, Ukrainian and Russian serve intermittently as the matrix and embedded languages, cf. **U/R and R/U S**

I.3. THE LINGUISTIC APPROACH: Flier (2000, 2008)

In lexical code mixing, Russian lexical items become adapted in accordance with the Ukrainian phonology and morphosyntax:

R/U *vumnyj* ‘wise’ with the prothetic *v-* (Shevelov 1979, 58-59) from R *umnyj*

R/U *ponjav* (m. sg. pret.) ‘understand’ with word-final [w] (Shevelov 1979, 418-42) from R *ponjal*

R/U *razhovarjuvaty* ‘to speak’ with the Ukrainian derivational suffix *-’uva-* (< *-ova-*) from R *razgovarivat’* (Danylenko 2008b, 68)

R/U *zdivajet’sja* (3 sg. pres.) ‘to mock’ (from R *izdevaetsja*) with *-d-* used by analogy to forms like *zdijmaty* ‘to raise’ due to a metanalysis in Middle Ukrainian, cf. *pody-jmaju* changed into *po-dyjmaju* (1 sg. pres.) with the new root ready for use with other prefixes, notably *z-* (Shevelov 1979, 277), U *pi-dijmaju*, also *z-dijmaju* ‘I raise’

Shortcoming:

all the above spatiotemporal varieties are variants of a fairly unitary Ukrainian-Russian *surzhyk* (**U/R S**), although both Ukrainian and Russian present conditions favorable to change (Flier 2008, 53)

II. HISTORICAL DIMENSION

II.1. THE ACCULTURATION OF MUSCOVY IN THE 17TH C.

Ukrainian served during the 17th c. as a tool of the acculturation of the Muscovite society and its written language (Shevelov 1980, Cymblisty 1991)

(a) the idea of an all-Russian nation was promoted initially by Orthodox clerical circles in Ukraine (Jov Borec’kyj) and especially in *Synopsis*, a history of the origins of the Slavo-Rossian people (*Slavěno-Rossijskij narod’*) published in Kyiv in 1674 under the patronage of Inokentij Gizel [Innozenz Giesel], the archimandrite of the Caves Monastery in Kyiv (Plokhly 2006, 230)

(b) the Third South Slavic influence (of the Meletian Church Slavonic) in Russia (Shevelov, Tolstoy, u.a.):

pronunciation of *g* as a pharyngeal *h*, e.g., *blaho* ‘boon’

pronunciation of the *jat*’ as [i], e.g., *věra* [vira] ‘faith’, etc.

(c) the standard language of the Russian Empire remained during the 18th c. bidialectal — southern (Little Russian, i.e. Ukrainian) and northern (Great Russian) (Danylenko 2008a): the period of a mutual, though very shaky, influence on both languages (Taranenko 2007, 121)

II.2. DECULTURATION OF UKRAINE FROM THE 18TH C. ONWARD

FROM BILINGUALISM TO DIGLOSSIA

In the late Russian Empire, the Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism was turning into diglossia because of severe restrictions on Ukrainian-language publications in the Russian Empire from the mid-19th c. (Danylenko 2010)

(a) The Valuev circular (1863):

[The Censorship Administration] could “license for publication only such books in this language that belong to the realm of fine literature; at the same time, the authorization of books in Little Russian with either spiritual content or intended generally for primary mass reading should be ceased” (Miller 2003, 264)

the alleged complicity of the Ukrainophiles with Polish plotters

the translation of the Gospels into Ukrainian vernacular by Moračevs'kyj in 1860
(Vulpus 2005)

(b) The Ems decree (1876)

The degree of hybridization was small at that time due to the ethnic division of the Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking strata and inadequate schooling in Russian

First samples of hybridization seem to date to the late 19th and the early 20th cc. (Shevelov 1989, 9): Myxajlo Staryts'kyj's famous 1883 comedy "After Two Hares" (Flier 2008, 41-42)

The emergence of *suržyk* was heralded by the policy of Ukrainianization in the 1920s

II.3. PERIODS OF RUSSIAN UKRAINIAN CONTACT

| Period | Languages in contact | Type of language contact |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| I 1569-1709- 1750s | Ukrainian Church Slavonic (UChS) / Ruthenian / Polish / Latin / Hungarian vs. Russian Church Slavonic (RChS) / 'common language' | UChS and Ruthenian as matrix languages codeswitching and language mixing |
| II 1709-1750s- 1798 | Bidialectal (Ukrainian-Russian) Church Slavonic (U-R ChS) vs. Ruthenian | UChS and RChS as "matrix dialects" vs. Ruthenian as a matrix language codeswitching and language (dialect) mixing |
| III 1798-1863 | "Great Russian" vs. "Little Russian" (Ukrainian) | Russian and Ukrainian as matrix languages: codeswitching and language mixing |
| IV 1863-1880s | "Great Russian" vs. "Little Russian" (Ukrainian) | Russian and Ukrainian as matrix languages: codeswitching and language mixing Pejorative connotation of the Ukrainian-Russian mix (early <i>suržyk</i>) |
| V 1880s-present | Russian vs. Ukrainian | Ukrainian and Russian as matrix languages: codeswitching, language mixing and fused lects emergence of <i>suržyk</i> |

1569 – the Union of Lublin between Poland and Lithuania

1709 – the victory of Peter I over Charles XII of Sweden and Ivan Mazepa, Hetman of Ukraine, at Poltava (strengthening of the Imperial presence in the Ukrainian Hetmanate (Cossack State))

1798 – the publication of Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida* written in the Ukrainian vernacular

1863 – the enactment of the 1863 circular of Petr Valuev limiting Ukrainian-language publications

SAMPLES BY PERIODS

Period I

A) Ruthenian as a matrix language:

[...] *ego etiam*, и азъ також(де), Мухаиль, *недостойный*, множае грѣшихъ отъ всѣхъ *скотовъ*, “*скотень быхъ*”, Господи, “у тебе” [...] (*Logosъ*, 1691-1692) (Muxajlo Andrella of Rosvyhove, 1637–1710) (L: 112) (Danylenko 2008c)

B) UChS as a matrix language:

Gore! gore! Ахъ! gore! Нестерпимой муки!
В *гортань достася* ада, не *точию* в руки!
Горе! *Палит* мя *пламен*, палит мое тѣло,
Из утробы дышущій, – горе! – *палит* зело; [...] (1721) (Dmytro Tuptalenko) (Komedia, 142)

Period II

A) Ruthenian as a matrix language:

Понеже еще в(ъ) прошломъ году *зарученной* дочерѣ моей Анастасіи за *бунчукового товариша* *н/а/на* Петра Савича, по *обосторонному согласію* *н/а/шему*, положень к(ъ) совершенію сватбы *прійдучого* *м/е/(с)/я/ца* сентября 6 числа термѣнъ, того ради якъ протчихъ пріятелей моихъ просиль я в(ъ) домъ мой до Городища на оное число *прибыть<, >* [...] (1752) (PL, 130:121–22)

B) UchS/RChS as a “matrix dialect”:

Аще бых не *ведал*, яко *сицево* именованіе от любленія происходит, *непшевал бых быти ironiam, simile illi, ubi lupus ovium pastor appellatur: o praeclarum ovium custodem lupum*. Но понеже любе закон [...] (early 18th c.) (Stefan Javors’kyj) (Ternovskij 1866, 548)

Period III:

A) Ukrainian and B) Russian as matrix languages:

- Та’дже твій Охрім вже вмер, – казав голова.
- І *состоїт* *ісключенним* із *ревизьких сказок* і з *общественних відомостей*, [B] – підхопив писар, мотнувши патлами, і покинув писати.
- Та знаю, що вмер, – казала Векла – і стоїть *заклученним* у *відомості*, як пан писар *пописьменному* каже... [A] (1841) (Kvitka-Osnovanenko, 314; cf. Masenko 2008, 6-7)

Period IV:

A) Ukrainian and B) Russian as matrix languages: **early Suržyk**

Голохвостий. Потому здесь у меня такое смертельное воспаление завелось, што *аж шипить*. *Проня*. Когда б заглянуть *можно было* вам у *серце*. [B]

Голохвостий. [...] Я би кожну *мінуту* одмикав ваше серце і *смотрѣл* би; не мився б, не помадився б, не пив, даже не курился би по три дні, та *всьо* б *смотрѣв* би. [A] (1883) (Muxajlo Staryts’kyj; cf. Flier 2008, 41-44)

Period V:

A) Ukrainian and B) Russian as matrix languages: **Suržyk**

Я з дітьми все *сполняла*, дітей *уважала*. Я молода була, а *возраст* дітей всякий. Всьо равно я вмiла, знала, *понiмала*. Навчили мене, *сознанiє* було, любить надо, тогда буде в *жизні* все правильно. І все нам удачно всiгда буде. А потом ще побула я п’ять *лет*, уже менi надоiла робота, я попросилась: *пiду* на всякi рiзнi роботи [A] (Masenko 2008, 28)

Договориться ще треба, чім його красить: ілі металіком (там дороже чуть буде), ілі обичьной краской. [...] Нормальні хлопці, простіє, без етіх, знаєш. Побалакали. Не, ну таке саме лучче время для мене, понимаєш – через три неділі [B] (Del Gaudio, Tarasenko, 2008, 325)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Auer, Peter. 1999. From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 8 (4), 309-32.
- Del Gaudio, Salvatore, Bohdana Tarasenko. 2008. Suržyk: aktual'ni pytan'ja ta analiz konkretnoho prykladu. In: Besters-Dilger, Juliane (ed.). 2008. *Movna politika ta movna sytuatsija v Ukrajinі*. Kyiv: Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija, 316-39.
- Bilniuk, Laada. 2004. A typology of suržyk. Mixed Ukrainian-Russian language. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 8 (4), 409-25.
- Bilaniuk, Laada. 2005. *Contested Tongues. Language Politics and Cultural Correction in Ukraine*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.
- Brogi Bercoff, Giovanna. 2005. Plurilinguism in Russia and in the Ruthenian lands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The case of Stefan. Javors'kyj. In: Ivanov, Vyacheslav, Julia Verkholantsev (eds.). *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the Late Middle Ages*. Moscow: Novoe izdatel'stvo, 9-20.
- Cymbalistyj, Petro. 1991. *Ukrainian Linguistic Elements in the Russian Language, 1680-1760*. London: The School of Slavonic and East European Studies.
- Danylenko, Andrii. 2008a. The formation of New Standard Ukrainian: from the history of an undeclared contest between Right- and Left-Bank Ukraine in the 18th century, *Die Welt der Slaven* 53 (1), 82-115.
- Danylenko, Andrii. 2008b. The new Ukrainian standard language (1798) – between tradition and innovation?. In: Christina Y. Bethin (ed.), *American Contributions to the 14th Congress of Slavists in Ohrid, Macedonia, 2008*, vol. 1: Linguistics, Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 59-74.
- Danylenko, Andrii. 2008c. Polemics without polemics: Myxajlo Andrella in Ruthenian (Ukrainian) literary space. *Studia Slavica Hung.* 53 (1), 12-46.
- Danylenko, Andrii. 2010. The Ukrainian Bible and the Valuev circular of 18 July 1863. *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 28 (1), 1-21.
- Danylenko, Andrii. 2011. Mykola Khanenko: “With a dispatch of seven cucumbers fresh...”: A case study of linguistic mentality in the eighteenth-century Hetmanate. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 29/1-4 (2007): *Ukrainian Philology and Linguistics in the Twenty-first Century*, ed. by Michael S. Flier, 225-56.
- Flier, Michael. 2000. Suržyk: the rules of engagement. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22, 113-136.
- Flier, Michael. 2008. Suržyk or suržyks? In: Hentschel, Gerd and Siarhej Zaprudski (eds.), *Belarusian Trasjanka and Ukrainian Suržyk*. Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, 39-56.
- Komedia – Dmytro Tuptalenko, Komedia na Roždestvo Xrystovo. In: Rjezanov, Volodymyr. *Drama ukrajins'ka. 1. Starovynnyj teatr ukrajins'kyj*, part. 4: *Škil'ni dijstva rizdvjanoho tsykladu*. Kyiv, 96-145.
- Kvitka-Osnovjanenko – Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, Hryhorij. 1969. *Tvory u vos'my tomax*, vol. 3. Kyiv: Dnipro.
- Masenko, Larysa. 2004. *Mova i suspil'stvo. Postkolonial'nyj vymir*. Kyiv: Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija.
- Masenko, Larysa. 2008. Suržyk: istorija formuvannja, sučasnyj stan, perspektyvy funkcionuvannja. In: Hentschel, Gerd and Siarhej Zaprudski (eds.), *Belarusian Trasjanka and Ukrainian Suržyk*. Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, 1-37.
- Moser, Michael. 2009. Russisch, Ukrainisch und Suržyk des 18. Jahrhunderts in der Privatkorrespondenz ukrainischen Frauen. In: Besters-Dilger, Juliane, Fedor B. Poljakov (eds.). *Die russische Sprache und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert: Tradition und Innovation*. Frankfurt am Main, etc.: Peter Lang, 289-322.
- Issatschenko, Alexander V. 1980. Russian. In: Schenker, Alexander M., Edward Stankiewicz (eds.). *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development*. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 119-142.

- L: Logosъ, in: A. Petrov (ed.), *Materialy dlja istorii zakarpatskoj Rusi IX: Duxovno-polemičeskie sočinenija iereja Mixaila Orosvigovskogo Andrelly protiv katoličestva i unii*. Teksty. Praha 1932, 1–69.
- Nekvapil, Jiří. 2003. O vztahu malých a velkých slovanských jazyků. *Lětopis* 50, 113–127.
- PL – Peredrijenko, Vitalij Arkadijovyč (ed.). *Pryvatni lysty XVIII st.* Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1987.
- Stavyts'ka, Lesja, Volodymyr Trub. 2007. Dvomovnist': zmišuvannja ta vzajemodija mov. In: Stavyts'ka, Lesia (ed.). *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'ka dvomovnist'.* Linhvosotsiokul'turni aspekty. Kyiv: Pul'sary, 31–120.
- PL – *Pryvatni lysty XVIII st.*, ed. Vitalii Arkadiiovych Peredriienko. Kyiv 1987.
- Plochy, Serhii. 2006. *The Origins of the Slavic Nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shevelov, George Y. 1979. *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*.
- Shevelov, George Y. 1980. Ukrainian. In: Schenker, Alexander M., Edward Stankiewicz (eds.). *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development*. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 143–160.
- Shevelov, George Y. 1989. *The Ukrainian Language in the First Half of the Twentieth Century (1900–1941). Its State and Status*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.
- Taranenko, Oleksandr. 2007. Ukrainian and Russian in contact: attraction and estrangement. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 183, 119–140.
- Vulpus, Ricarda. 2005. *Nationalisierung der Religion. Russifizierungspolitik und ukrainische Nationsbildung 1860–1920*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag (Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, 64).