German Lexical Borrowings in the Chronicle of Barkuľabava and in the Memoirs of Theodore Jeľuľšeľski

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I

Introduction

The manner in which German words appeared in Middle Byelorussian (15th-17th centuries) is a complicated question.

The academician Je. F. Karskij, the first to study the more important foreign lexical components in the Byelorussian language, held that many of the words of German origin came into Byelorussian through the medium of the Polish language. In addition to this, Karskij also admitted the possibility of some words being borrowed directly from the German, or by the medium of Yiddish. He believed this to be so in the case of many words connected with commerce, the smith and carpentry trades, for these activities were usually in the hands of the Jewish population.¹

The Teutonic Order began its colonising in the Baltic lands from the 13th century. Their influence is felt in the language from the second half of the 14th century. Direct borrowing from German would most likely concern these earlier times, when there existed direct trade relations between the population of Byelorussia's northern cities and the German merchants of Riga and Gotland. Poľack and Viciebsk in due course also became Hanseatic cities.²

In the Baltic lands at one time a Low German dialect was to a certain extent the colloquial and trading language, and even the grand dukes of Lithuania made use of this dialect, in addition to the local Byelorussian language, in their various dealings with Livonia. Trade agreements and documents of that time were often drawn up in the form of the corresponding German documents.³

The earlier contacts between Byelorussians and Germans were by the spoken word, later by the written and printed word. As a result of Magdeburg law a number of Germans came to Byelorussia. This furthered more direct contacts and more direct borrowing of German

1. Je. F. Karskij, *Belorusy. Vvedenije k izučeniju jazyka i narodnoj slovesnosti*, vol. I, Vilna, 1904, p. 159.

2. I. I. Cartko, 'Praniknieńnie hiermanizmaľ u leksiku starabletaruskaj movy', *Viešci Akademii Navuk BSSR. Seryja hramadskich navuk*, 1, Minsk, 1966, p. 121.

3. A. Ja. Bachańkoľ et al. (eds), *Histryčnaja leksikatohija bieľaruskaj movy*, Minsk, 1970, p. 117.

vocabulary. The colonising Germans who came were specialists in the field of military matters, tradesmen, merchants and agriculturists.⁴

None the less, we should not underestimate the role played by Polish in bringing German words into the Byelorussian language of the 16th and 17th centuries. Karskij and later authors who studied this problem agree that practically all the Germanisms found in Middle Byelorussian were also found in the Polish language of the same time and that these German loan-words in both languages are either identical or similar in phonetic and morphological structure.⁵

The influx of Germanisms seems to coincide with the appearance of Polonisms in Byelorussian. However, we can still consider them a separate lexical category, because often semantically, as well as phonetically, they can be clearly recognised as words derived from German.

Jews began to come to Byelorussian territory in the 13th century. They settled in many Byelorussian towns and practised commerce, trades and medicine. That they became closely involved with the Byelorussian population can be shown by the fact that their Yiddish language, in effect a dialect of medieval German with an admixture of Hebrew and other elements, took on a special Byelorussian 'colour' — often showing *akaŋnie*, *ciekaŋnie* and *dziekaŋnie*, as well as in vocabulary.⁶ Phonetic criteria have been employed to establish the medium of Yiddish, but, since many words have very similar or identical forms in Polish, the evidence can hardly be considered conclusive.

The Byelorussian language adapted the German words to its own phonetic system. The fact that a good number of these German loan-words still remain in modern Byelorussian is evidence that they are now completely integrated into the language.

Two very interesting works of late 16th and 17th century Byelorussian are quite similar in character and embrace roughly the same period of time. They are the *Chronicle of Barkuľabava* and the *Memoirs of Jeľušeŋski*, Assessor of Navahrudak. The two works, however, differ both in style and content. In many ways they complement one another. The *Chronicle* gives us much information about village life and ordinary people, who are almost entirely ignored in the *Memoirs*.

The *Chronicle of Barkuľabava* was written by an unknown author — an inhabitant of the village of Barkuľabava, in the region of Bychoŋ, in the present-day Mahiloŋ province in the eastern part of Byelorussia. He probably belonged to the lower Orthodox clergy and was closely associated with the life of the ordinary villager and peasant. The *Chronicle* describes events taking place in the area of Mahiloŋ, Poľack and, of course, in the environs of the village of Barkuľabava itself, between the years 1563 and 1608, and after a break gives a short incomplete entry for 1633.

4. *ibid.*; Cartko, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

5. A. I. Zuraŋski, *Historyja biełaruskaj litaraturnaj movy*, I, Minsk, 1967, pp. 118-19; Cartko, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

6. U. Weinreich, 'Yiddish and Colonial German in Eastern Europe: the differential impact of Slavic', *American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists*, The Hague, 1958, pp. 372-4.

The work dwells in detail on facts and episodes of local life, nature, the conditions of peasant life, and interesting happenings which took place in Barkulabava. Ordinary people and village life interest the unknown author more than the affairs of the nobility, political events and religious polemics. About these events he often writes inaccurately regarding names and dates.⁷

In often picturesque words, the author reveals the moods and feelings of his contemporaries. The language of the *Chronicle* is the living Byelorussian as spoken by the ordinary people, and is remarkably free from Polish and other foreign influence. It may well be said that the linguistic tradition of Skaryna is further developed in the *Chronicle*. Comparatively few lexical Polonisms are found, the author often using Byelorussian words to enrich the concepts which are rendered by Polonisms in other documents.⁸ None the less, we shall see that it still contains a number of German loan-words.

The *Memoirs* of Theodore Jeŭlašeŭski, Assessor of Navahrudak, cover the period 1546-1604. Jeŭlašeŭski was of minor noble stock, who were 'interested in Ruthenian writing, made translations, propagated them, wrote their own works, occupied various elected civil positions and at that time were ready to fulfil the desires of the lords, the patronage of whom was often more important for the lesser nobility than state service'.⁹

We have little information about Jeŭlašeŭski other than what he tells us himself. He was born on 7th February 1546 in Lachavičy, in western Byelorussia, into an Orthodox family. Later he became a Calvinist but remained on good terms with both Orthodox and Catholics. He gained much by self-education, and because of his deep knowledge of law he enjoyed the admiration of his friends. He made a name for himself as a jurist and in 1579 was sent to parliament. Jeŭlašeŭski took part in the drafting of the Rules of High Court (Tribunal). He died in 1604.¹⁰

Shortly before his death he began to write his memoirs, which his successors called the *Dzióŭnik*. This work, which is based on concrete experiences, provides us with a whole gallery of his contemporaries, a vivid picture of the social life of the Byelorussian nobility in the second half of the 16th century, and some aspects of political events in Byelorussia during an important and interesting epoch of her history.

The language of the *Memoirs* is Middle Byelorussian, as used in state documents and contemporary works of literature. However, no

7. V. V. Barysienka, *Historyja bielaruskaj dakastryčnickaj litaratury*, I, Minsk, 1968, pp. 261-2.

8. M. I. Karniejeva-Pietrušan, 'Mova Barkulabaŭskaha letapisu', *Pracy Instytutu movaznaŭstva AN BSSR*, III, Minsk, 1957, pp. 94-111.

In the composition of the *Chronicle*, in addition to the author's own experiences, other elements are incorporated which were copied from other sources. Although in the copied sections one can recognise a more polonised and 'bookish' language, these sections do not contain a greater amount of Germanisms than the original writings of the author himself.

For further information on the *Chronicle* and its language see V. Volski, *Narysy pa historyi bielaruskaj litaratury epochi feodalizma*, Minsk, 1958, pp. 70-5; Barysienka, op. cit., pp. 260-8; Zuraŭski, op. cit., pp. 342-6.

9. Karskij, op. cit., III, 1921, p. 108.

10. Barysienka, op. cit., pp. 254-5.

other example of Byelorussian writing of the time illustrates in such a degree the influence of the Polish language as do the *Memoirs*. Jeŭlašeŭski's style is smooth but there is a definite leaning towards complicated sentence structure, very much revealing his membership of the legal profession.¹¹

In examining the German lexical borrowings in these two works one finds that the *Memoirs* have more German loan-words than the *Chronicle*, that there is a certain number of words found in both works, as well as some peculiar to each.

The texts used in this study are:

'Barkulabovskaja letopis' [ed. A. N. Malcev], *Archeografičeskij ježe-godnik za 1960 god*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 291-320.

'The *Memoirs* of Theodore Jeŭlašeŭski, Assessor of Navahrudak (1541-1604)' [trans. and annotated by A. Nadson], *JBS*, I, 4, London, 1968, pp. 269-348.

Abbreviations used:

C	—	<i>Chronicle of Barkulabava</i>		
J	—	<i>Memoirs of Theodore Jeŭlašeŭski</i>		
ahd.	—	Old High German	l.	— Latin
and.	—	Old Low German	mb.	— Middle Byelorussian
cs.	—	Common Slavonic	mhd.	— Middle High German
cz.	—	Czech	mnd.	— Middle Low German
d.	—	Dutch	Mod. B.	— modern Byelorussian
fr.	—	French	nd.	— Low German
G.	—	(modern) German	pol.	— Polish

11. 11.

Transliteration:

The standard academic transliteration of Cyrillic texts is employed. The Middle Byelorussian phoneme *kr* is rendered by *g*.

II

Vocabulary

ARCYBISKUP, BISKUP '(Catholic) archbishop, bishop'

B-295 *mnogo bylo biskupov, panov rad*

B-305 *arcybiskup l'vovskij, biskup luckij*

J-290 *na mestcu korolevskom arcybiskup Jakub Uchanskij sidel*

J-298 *v majetnosti biskupstva vilenskoho*

J-298 *a biskup on cnotlivyj*

pol. cz. *biskup* from ahd. *biscof*.

BALKA 'beam, rafter'

J-294 *Januš mlynar stal na krajnej balce*

pol. *balka* from nd. *balke*; G. *Balken*.

BALVER (in other documents also BARVER, BARBER) 'physician'

J-318 *kazal židovi balverovi mazati sobe*

pol. *balwierz* from mhd. and G. *barbier*, l. *barba*. Note the partial dissimilation of *r*.

11. For full information about the *Memoirs* as well as a parallel translation of the text see A. Nadson, 'The *Memoirs* of Theodore Jeŭlašeŭski, Assessor of Navahrudak (1541-1604)', *JBS*, I, 4, London, 1968, pp. 269-348.

BLOK 'block, lifting mechanism'

J-290 u voze velikom, no to zahotovanom z *blokami*

pol. *blok* from mhd. and G. *block*

BUDOVATI 'to build'

B-317 *zbudoval* car Dmitr . . . kostel

J-326 *zbudoval* izbe sobe sam

pol. *budować* from mhd. *buode*

BUNT 'revolt, rebellion'

B-317 velikij *bunt* zabite, krovoprolite

J-306 u spiknieniu i *zbuntovaniiu* l'udskom zhinul

pol. *bunt*, mhd. *bunt*. There is no phonetic change in this word, but a notable semantic shift. Mhd. *bunt* is 'band, tie, league, alliance, confederacy'.

COFNUTI 'to retreat, go back, draw back, withdraw'

J-322 nazad se *cofnuvši*, po doroze i chrustok zostavili

pol. *cofać*, cz. *coufati*. Miklosich derives this from mhd. *zofen*, Brückner from the Bavarian *zaufen*, *zurückzaufen*.

CYBUL'A 'onion'

B-314 botvinje, *cybul'a*, maki

pol. *cybula*, mhd. *zwibolle*, *zibolle*, l. *caepulla*

DACH 'roof, shelter'

J-302 ktoroho *dach* pripuščonyj byl

pol. cz. mhd. *dach*

D'AKOVATI 'to thank'

J-330 *D'akuju* ja Tobe, Bože moj

pol. *dziękować*, cz. *děkovati*; mhd. *danken*, and. *danc*

DRABINA 'step ladder; (type of) wagon'

J-286 až *drabinu* z vesi prinesši

pol. cz. *drabina*, mhd. *trappe*, *trappen*, *treppe*

FAL'S 'untrue, false, dishonourable, in error'

B-301 listy *fal'sivyye* pisati

J-298 movami svoimi *fal'sivymi* nas ščipali

pol. *falsz*, cz. *faleš*, from mhd. *valsch*, *vals*, l. *falsus*

FOLGOVATI 'to follow, succeed, ensue'

J-288 mi v doroze *ufolgovat'* račil

pol. *folgować*, old cz. *folkovati*, from mhd. *volgân*

FOLVARK 'estate, small farm, property situated before the city'.

J-310 *folvark* l'achoveckij Pavl'ukovskij

pol. *folwark*, old pol. *forwark*, old cz. *forberk*, *folvark* from mhd. *vorwërc*.

Note here another case of *r* — *l* dissimilation.

FORTKA 'gate, door'

B-305 prijechali do kostela . . . do *fortki*

J-304 i perepustivši Volodimira za *fortku*

pol. *forta*, mhd. *phorte*, *phorze*, l. *porta*

FRASOVATI 'to disturb, make sad, worry'

FRASUNOK 'worry, care'

J-288 velce se *zfrasovala* i zdorove sobe popsovalaJ-288 po pervich chorobach moich i *frasunkach* svoich značne zdorovia urvalapol. *frasunek*, cz. *fresovati*, mnd. *fressen*, *vraz*. There is a semantic shift here. *Fressen* means 'to eat' (of animals). There is little to suggest 'worry' in the German usage of this word.

FRIMARK 'exchange'

J-290 *frimarkom* za Svisloč pustilpol. *frymark*, cz. *frimark*, mnd. *vrîmarket*

GRABIA 'count, baron'

J-330 pan *grabia* z TenčynaAccording to Miklosich, the oldest Slav borrowings are from the ahd. *grāvjo*, pol. *grabia*, cz. *hrábě*, mnd. *grāve*

GRUNT 'ground, foundation, justification, reason'

B-269 za Pečerskoje na tetoj storone *grunty*B-308 na vlasnom *grunte*J-316 zašli byli *grunt* Vereščačinpol. cz. mhd. *grunt*

GVALT 'force, punishment, obligation, violence'

B-299 velikije doždy *gvaltovnyje* domy podryvaliB-305 prave *gvaltom*, slyše, primušano do prisiahiJ-284 povetre *gvaltovne* v mesteJ-288 až juž *gvaltovne* mia v domu zlomaloB-314 zmordovanuju, *gvalčonuju*, ledvej živujuNote the adjectival derivatives. *Gvalčonaja* bears the identical connotation as the G. *vergewaltigt* (B-314).pol. *gwalt*, cz. *kvalt*, mhd. *gewalt*. Karskij derives this from the Yiddish *giewalt*.

HAMOVATI 'to stop, hinder, restrain'

J-304 priječavši, *hamaval* jeho.pol. *hamować*, mhd. *hemmen*

HETMAN 'commander-in-chief'

B-297 pan Andrej Hudovskij *hetmanom* bylpol. *hetman*, old cz. *hýtman*, *hajtman*, *hejtman*, *hutman*, nd. *hovetman*, mhd. *heuptman*.Miklosich derives this from G. *Hauptmann*.

HURMOM 'en masse, noisily'

B-303 rečy začatyj končiti i razječalise, a *hurmom* z narekanjemJ-328 zeštja tož z sveta l'udej zacnych *hurmom*pol. *hurmem*, mhd. *hurm* 'enemy attack'. This word is used adverbially in Middle Byelorussian. There is here also a semantic shift.

JALMUŽNA 'alms'

J-312 v mesto *jalmužnej* mel otrymati prezysk na dobrach panskichpol. *jałmużna*, cz. *almużna*, mnd. *almuosen*, ahd. *alamousan*, l. *eleemosyna*, Greek *eleemosyne*

JARMARK, JARMAROK 'bazaar, fair'

B-299 kupcom torhi albo *jarmarki* pootmenialiB-308 jako *jarmaročného* času kreščena byla u vannie pohružannaJ-320 šel do Lucka, v *jarmarok* prave

Note the interesting adjectival derivative in B-308. In J-320 we have an example of a svarabhakti vowel. We also have a semantic change here. Whereas mhd. *jårmarket* means 'annual fair', in Byelorussian it takes on the additional gloss of any 'bazaar'. pol. *jarmark*

KANCLER 'chancellor'

B-302 z jeho milostju panom *kanclerom*J-300 pan Zamojskij, *kancler*pol. *kanclerz*, G. *Kanzler*, l. *cancellarius*

KAPUSTA 'cabbage'

B-314 *kapusta*, botvinje, cybul'a, makiahd. *chapuz*, *chabuz*, pol. *kapusta*, l. *composita*

KAŠTAL'AN 'steward'

B-305 prislali pana Precbica, *kaštal'ana* kameneckohoJ-288 pan Mikolaj Pal'vis, *kaštal'an* menskijpol. *kasztelan*, mhd. *kastelân*, Italian *castellano*, l. *castellanus*

KELICH 'cup, chalice, goblet'

B-305 v *kelichu* vino u krov barzo špetnuju smrodlijuvu oberulusiapol. *kielich*, old. cz. *kalich*, *kelich*, mhd. *kelch*, *kelich*, l. *calix*

KL'AŠTOR 'monastery'

J-304 hde velkost' l'udej pešich v *kl'aštore* bylapol. *klasztor*, cz. *klášter*, *klášteř*, mhd. *klôster*, l. *claustrum*

KOŠT 'cost, expenses'

B-316 *koštom* velikim vybranychB-318 ubiory *koštovnyje* odeliJ-316 ves' *košovna* ot Hniezna

pol. *koszt*, mhd. *koste* — there is here a narrowing of meaning. Besides meaning 'worth, expenses', *koste* also means 'food, victuals, provisions'.

KRAMA 'shop'

B-306 mesto pobožnoje, domy, *kramy*pol. *kram*, mhd. *krām*

KUCHMISTER 'chief cook'

J-296 *kuchmistr* Kračok

pol. *kuchmistrz*, cz. *kuchář*. This word is in effect a compound word coming from mhd. *kuchen*, *küche* and mhd. *meister*.

LANCUH 'chain'

B-319 v *lancuh* kazali posaditiJ-316 mel pri sobe ze dvadciat osob *lancužno*

Note *lancužno* in J-316 'twenty persons in his retinue', a figurative use of the word. Miklosich derives this word from ahd. *lanici*, mhd. *lan*, *lanne* 'chain'. A similar word *lantzuc* exists in mhd. This is a war march of the whole land. In other Middle Byelorussian documents *lancuh* is to be found with this meaning.

LOTR 'bandit'

B-305 tych *lotrov*, mitropolita, ich vladyk ne vidali

pol. *lotr*, cz. *lotr*. Miklosich derives this from ahd. *lotar*, Matzenauer from mhd. *lôter*. Here again we have an example of a semantic shift. In ahd. and mhd. the word means 'good-for-nothing, *Taugenichts*'. In Czech and Polish the meaning has already changed to 'rascal, bandit, thief'.

MARGRABIA 'margrave'

J-300 *margrabia* brandenburskijmhd. *marcgrāve*; pol. *margrabia*, cz. *markrabě*

MARŠALOK 'marshal'

B-302 na samym roku *maršalka* obrali duchovnyjeJ-294 *maršalku* mozyrskomuJ-300 *maršalkoval* mezi poslami naš litvin

Note the svarabhakti vowel, as well as the verbal derivative.

pol. *marszałek*, cz. *maršál(ek)*, mhd. *marschal*

MIL'A 'mile'

B-295 na kolkonadcat' *mil'* stojatiJ-294 jechati *mili* z poltretejpol. *mila*, cz. *míle*, mhd. *míle*, l. *milia*

MLYN 'mill'

J-294 u *mlyna* l'achoveskohoJ-294 hde Janus *mlynar* stalJ-322 u toho *mlynka*J-294 gives us an example of a nominal derivative *mlynar* 'miller'.In J-322 we have an example of a diminutive *mlynok*, with a svarabhakti vowel.pol. *młyn*, cz. *mlýn*, ahd. *mulīn*, fr. *moulin*. Machek, s.v. derives this from the old German back to med. l. *molina*.

MORD 'murder, homicide'

B-314 *zmordovanuju*, gvalčonuju, ledvej živujuB-317 ich pobili, *pomordovali*B-317 vilikoje zabijstvo, *morderstvo*, krovoprolitstvoB-319 bivši i *mardovavši*

All contexts here show the word in a derived form. B-319 gives a striking example of Byelorussian *akańnie*, which seldom manifests itself in Middle Byelorussian documents due to strict adherence to an orthography based on Church Slavonic. pol. mhd. *mord*.

MUR 'stone wall, partition, protective separation'

B-302 v cerkvi sobornoj *murovanoj*B-307 tam že jeho *zamurovavši*J-304 pod *mury* skladajuči seJ-314 položene zamku, mesta, vod, mostov, *murovanych*pol. *mur*, mhd. *mûre*, *miure*, ahd. *mûra*, *mûri*, nd. *mur*, l. *murus*

MUSITI 'to be obliged to, must, have to'

B-310 končiti byste *museli*B-305 *prymušano* do prysiahi

J-288 a ja ješče oseni tot *musilem* Varšavu navediti

B-305 shows a derived form. pol. *musieć*, cz. *musiti*, mhd. *müezen*

OFERA 'offer, sacrifice'

B-304 ot toho namestnika patriarchovoho *oferovan*

pol. *ofiara*, cz. *ofěra*, ahd. *opfar*, l. *offere*

OLSTRO 'holster, pistol case'

J-286 zhinula mi byla ručnica korotka z *olstrem*

pol. *olstro*, nd. *holster*

PALAC 'palace'

B-316 hrozno vdarili na *palacu* samoho car'a

cz. *palác*, mhd. *palas*, *pa'ast*, fr. *palais*, l. *palatium*

PLAC 'square'

B-309 ale oni *plac* otrymali

pol. *plac*, mhd. *platz*

PL'AGA 'misfortune'

J-282 značnymi *pl'agami* otvražajuči

pol. *plaga*, mhd. *plage*, l. *plaga*

PLENDROVATI (in other documents PLUNDROVATI) 'to lay waste, to plunder'

B-318 zamki malyje *vyplendrovali*

J-320 *splendroval* majetnosti pana Kalinovskoho

pol. *plądrować*, *plondrować*, mhd. *plundern*

PULHAK '(type of) musket'

B-306 *pulhakov* velmi pri sobe množestvo mel

J-304 tedy mohut jeho z *pulhaku* zabiti

This word presents an example of a Slav-German compound.

pol. *pół-* 'half' and G. *Hacken* . . . pol. *pułhak*, G. *Halbhaken* 'hand fire-arm'

PUŠKA '(type of) weapon; box'

B-319 *puška* sažni tri i boleh

pol. *puszka*, cz. *puška*, ahd. *buhsa*, Greek *pyxís*

RADA 'counsel, advice, administration'

B-295 panov *rad*

J-288 pišu i detkom swoim *radu* moju

mhd. *rât*. Also derived from *rât*: UR'ADNIK 'official'

B-297 *ur'adnik* barkulabovskij

RATOVATI 'to rescue, save'

RATUNOK 'rescue'

B-310 a inšoho *ratunku* na tot čas otčizne našoj ne vidimo

J-292 me penezmi byl *poratoval*

J-292 me značne *ratoval*

J-296 o takovych *ratunku* myslila

pol. *ratunek*, *ratować*, cz. *retovati*, mhd. *retten*, *rettunge*

RATUŠ 'town hall'

B-301 ne tolko na *ratušach* i pri rynku

pol. *ratusz*, cz. *rathús*, a compound word, mhd. *râthûs*

RICER 'knight, cavalier'

B-295 i vsi *rycerstva* vsich zemlej

B-296 u sprave *rycerskoj* vojennoj

B-297 *rycer* i vojennik dobryj

J-294 dobrotlivyj i *rycerskij* pan

J-294 panove i *rycerstvo*

pol. *rycerz*, cz. *rytiř*, mhd. *řiter*

ROTA 'squadron'

B-318 otsel'a z Litvy, Ruckij z *rotoju*

pol. *rota*, mhd. *rotte*, from old fr. *rote*

ROTMISTR 'squad leader or commander'

B-297 *rotmistr* krolevskij, vojt disenskij

J-302 z'jechali se *rotmistrove* i žolnere

Compounded from *rota* and *mistr*. pol. *rotmistrz*, old cz. *rotmistr*, mhd. *rotmeister*

RYCHLYJ 'prompt, swift'

B-310 *rychlym* pribytem

J-294 ne *rychlo* z niej ukazal se

pol. *rychły* . . . Brückner derives this from G. *röcheln*, *rütteln* which cannot 'rattle, vibrate'. An example of transferred sense!

RYNOK 'market'

B-301 ne tolko na ratušach i pry *rynku*

J-314 v mestečku v Kozim *rynku*

pol. *rynek*, cz. *rynek*, *rynk*, mhd. *rinc*, *ring*. Note the intrusive vowel, as well as the semantic shift. *Rinc* in medieval German meant 'ring, circle, place, group of persons, assembly, of lawyers, etc'.

SKARB 'treasure'

B-302 panom *podskarbow*

B-306 a kramov z velikimi *skarbami* 400

J-284 pisar'a v *skarbe* korol'a

pol. *skarb*, ahd. *scērf* (d. *scherf*). Brückner curiously derives this word from G. *Korb*.

STODOLA 'granary, warehouse'

J-286 z voza mojeho v *stodole*

pol. *stodoła*, cz. *stodola*, ahd. *stadal*

ŠACOVATI 'to evaluate, tax'

J-302 *šacujučy* tu majetnost'

pol. *szacować*, mhd. *schützen*

ŠIKOVATI 'to put into order, equip, put into formation'

J-322 *šikovalise* v pol'u

pol. *szykować*, mhd. *schicken*

ŠKODA 'damage, shame, disadvantage'

B-301 a krivdy *škody* ne činily

B-302 Nikoli ni v čom *škoditi* ne majet

J-282 dla uterpenia velikich prihod, trudnostej, *škod*

J-298 čarami *preškoditi* to usilovali

J-300 *neškodene* byl jeho milost'

Derivations: *škoditi, preškoditi, neškodenyj*.

pol. *szkodz*, cz. *škoda* from ahd. *scado*. Germanic cognates: Scandinavian *skadha*, English *scathe*

ŠL'ACHTA 'nobility'

B-295 vsia *šl'achta* choruhavnaja

B-310 volnost'am *šl'achetskim*

J-286 nevesta stara *šl'acht'anka*

J-294 melem spravu tam z *šl'achetnoho* muža

pol. *szlachta*, cz. *šlachta*, from ahd. *slahte* 'slaughter, killing, race, origin, tribe, kind, type'. In compounds in G. the word can take the meaning of 'aristocracy', especially in later forms, v.g. *Geschlechtsname, Geschlechtsbaum, Geschlechtsfolge*.

ŠPEG 'spy, scout, informer'

B-304 zovučy jeho *špegom* z Belhoroda

J-306 prez falšivye *špegi* z nevelikim l'udom pripal

pol. *szpieg*, old cz. *špehěř, špehýř*, from mhd. *spēhaere*

ŠPETNYJ 'ugly, disgusting'

B-305 v kelichu vino u krov barzo *špetnuju* smrodlivuju overnulasia

pol. *szpetny*, cz. *špatný* from mhd. *spat* 'dry, arid, parched'

In Middle Byelorussian the meaning has been extended.

ŠTRAFOVATI 'to tax, demand'

J-302 *štrafujuči* o to zacnoho pana

pol. *strofować*, from mhd. *strāfe*

ŠTUKA 'piece, trick'

J-288 divne *štuki* vyrežal

pol. *sztuka*, from mhd. *stücke, stuke*. Here the sense of the word is widened in Byelorussian to mean 'slyness, trick' as well.

ŠTURM 'storm, disturbance, attack'

B-297 mocno i ochotne *šturme* meli

pol. *szturm* from mhd. *sturm*

ŠUKATI 'to seek, to look for' (here OŠUKATI 'to deceive')

J-318 panov v ich spravach *ošukovali*

ošukovati is derived from *šukati*. pol. *szukać*, cz. *šukati*, from nd. *soeken*, G. *suchen*

ŠVAGER 'brother-in-law'

J-324 z pomoč'u Korsaka, *švagra* svojego

pol. *szwagier*, cz. *švagr* from mhd. *swāger*

ŠVANKOVATI 'to falter, be deficient, lack'

J-322 u nebačnych l'udej na slave *švankovati* musel

pol. *szwankować*, G. *schwanken*

TAL'AR 'thaler' (unit of currency)

B-308 żyto kupovali čvert po *tal'aru*

pol. *taler, talar* from G. *Taler*

TANEC 'dance'

J-300 v nocy z *tancami* čineno

Note the intrusive vowel (svarabhakti). pol. *taniec*, mhd. *tanz*

TRAFITI 'to happen, come upon, hit'

J-282 udavši se na službu, *trafiali* me se taki pany
pol. *trafić* from mhd. *treffen*

TRUNA 'coffin, box'

J-292 ješče bez *truny* na stole pri stene
pol. *trumna*, mhd. *truhe*

URUHOVATI 'to mock, insult'

B-317 popov moskovskih *uruhovali*

pol. *uragać*. Brückner and Bułyka derive this from G. *rügen* 'to reprove, blame, (archaic) punish'.

VAHA 'weight, importance'

J-304 hamoval jeho, *rozvažajučy* tot nešťastnym pripadok

Rozvažati 'to consider, ponder, weigh in one's thoughts' is a derivative of *vaha*, pol. *waga*, ahd. *waga*, mhd. *wāge*

VANNA 'bath tub'

B-308 jako jarmaročného času kreščena byla, u *vanne* pohruženna
pol. *wanna*, G. *Wanne*

VAROVATI 'to make a condition, to beware, to confirm'

VARUNOK 'condition'

B-301 u vsemu jepiskopstvu cerkvi vostočnyja rimskija *varujem* i upevniajem

B-304 v druhoj izbe *varovavši* sobe tož

B-310 do *varunku* i bespečenstva

J-284 abym se perel'aknenia *varoval*

pol. *warować*, mhd. *wāren* 'to watch over, preserve'

VOJT 'major'

B-297 rotnistr krolevskij, *vojť* disenski

J-304 Avguštyna, *vojta* vilenskoho

J-304 i dachu *vojťovskoho*

Note adjectival derivative in J-304.

pol. *vójt*, cz. *vojť*, mhd. *voget*, *vogt*, *voit*, from l. *vocatus*

ZEGAR 'clock'

B-302 hodin *zegarovych* bolš p'ati pod poluden'

J-306 na calom *zegaru* hodiny 14

J-326 šest' hodin *zegarovych*

Note adjectival derivative in B-302 and J-326.

pol. *zegar*, from mhd. *zeiger* 'pointer, signal, hand of a clock, clock'.

Miklosich derives this from G. *Seiger*, from *sigen* 'sink', originally a sand or water clock.

ŽEGNATI 'to bid farewell, make the sign of the cross'

B-305 prijechal do kniažati, *požegnal*

J-296 *požegnali* poslove korol'a

pol. *žegnać*, cz. *žegnati*, from mhd. *segenen*, cf. Machek, s.v. l. *signare*

ŽOLNER 'soldier'

B-314 na tot čas *žolneri* ležali

B-317 nemilostivoje *žolnerstvo*

J-302 z'jechali se rotmistrove i žolnere

Note nominal derivation in B-317. pol. *żołnierz*, cz. *żoldnér*.

From mhd. *soldenaere* 'mercenary soldier'.

III

Linguistic observations

A. Semantics:

1. German loan-words from the *Memoirs* and the *Chronicle* still in use in Modern Byelorussian:

achviara, balka, biskup, budavać, bunt, cybula, dach, dziakavać, drabina, fałš, falvarak, fortka, hrunt, kancler, kapusta, kaštalan, košt, krama, łancuh, łotr, maršał, mila, młyn, mur, musić, plac, puška, rada, ratawać, ratunak, rycar, rynak, skarb, škoda, ślachta, śtraf, śturm, śukać, śvahier, taniec, trapić, truna, vaha, vanna, vojt, żahnacca, żaŭnier.

2. It is possible to place the German loan-words from the *Memoirs* and the *Chronicle* into these semantic categories:

a) *People and occupations*: arcybiskup, biskup, balver, grabia, hetman, kancler, kaštał'an, kuchmistr, lotr, maršalok, mlynar, ricer, rotmistr, śł'achta, špeg, švager, uradnik, vojt, żołner.

b) *Military terminology*: hetman, maršalok, olstro, plundrovati, pulhak, puška, rota, rotmistr, śikovati, špeg, śturm, żołner.

c) *Trade and commerce*: frimark, jarmarok, košt, krama, rynok, śacovati, tał'ar.

d) *Buildings, building trade, household*: balka, blok, budovati, dach, drabina, folvark, fortka, grunt, kl'aštor, lancuh, mlyn, mur, palac, plac, ratuš, stodola, truna, vanna, zegar.

e) *Farming and agriculture*: cybul'a, folvark, grunt, kapusta, stodola.

f) *Christianity*: arcybiskup, biskup, jalmužna, kelich, kl'aštor, ofera, žegnati.

g) *Miscellanea et abstracta, verba*: bunt, cofnuti, d'akovati, fałš, folgovati, frasunok, gvalt, hamovati, hurmom, mil'a, mordovati, musiti, pl'aga, ratunok, rozvažati, rychlyj, škoda, špetnyj, śtrafovati, śvankovati, tanec, śtuka, uruhovati, varovati.

When we examine and compare corresponding words in two different languages, we may see that some words have identical meanings in both languages. Loan-words differing in meaning may have an expanded meaning in the borrowing language, or the sense may have been narrowed. There are also words which have transferred sense or use in the borrowing language.

Words in the *Chronicle* and *Memoirs* identical in meaning in both German and Middle Byelorussian:

balka, balver, biskup, blok, buda, cybul'a, dach, d'akovati, fal'sh, fortka, frimark, grabia, grunt, gvalt, jalmužna, kancler, kelich, kl'aštor, košt, krama, kuchmistr, margrabia, maršalok, mil'a, mlyn, mur, musiti, ofera, olstro, palac, plundrovati, pulhak, puška, ratunok, skarb, šacovati, škoda, špeg, švager, tal'ar, tanec, truna, vanna, vojt, žegnati, žolner.

The above list accounts for more than half the words. Of the words not agreeing in both languages as found in the examined texts, the following are worthy of note.

Words having an expanded meaning in Middle Byelorussian:

mur in mb. is 'stone wall, partition, protective separation'; *mûr* in mhd. 'wall'.

frasunok 'sadness, turbation', in addition to its infrequent use in mb. as 'food'; mhd. *vraz* 'food (of animals)'.

štuka besides meaning 'piece' or 'bit', also means 'joke' or 'trick', a meaning not held by the mhd. *stücke*.

jarmark means any 'bazaar' or 'fair' not just the 'annual fair' implied by the mhd. *jârmarket* from which it is derived.

Words having a transferred sense or use:

bunt < mhd. *bunt* 'band, tie, league, union, alliance'. Perhaps we have an example here of lexical contagion: an alliance that is out to do no good.

hurmom 'en masse, noisily'; in mhd. *hurm* is 'enemy attack'.

lotr 'bandit'; in mhd. *loter*, from which the Byelorussian word is derived, means 'good-for-nothing'.

rynok 'market place, market'; cf. mhd. *rinc*, *ring* 'ring, circle, arena' etc.

šl'achta 'nobility', s.v.

špetnyj 'ugly, disgusting' is derived from mhd. *spat* 'dry'.

B. Phonetics:

The German loan-words found in the *Memoirs* of Theodore Jeŭla-seŭski and the *Chronicle of Barkuľabava* offer us some material for observing how the Byelorussian language modified the German words to suit its own phonetic system. One must here bear in mind that these words do not comprise all the German loan-words in Middle Byelorussian, and thus it is not possible to indicate all phonetic adaptations in this small study.

Vowels: The vowels *a, e, i, o, u* are common to both languages.

a common to both German and Middle Byelorussian: *dach, jalmužna, šl'achta, fal's, jarmark, krama*

a > *o*: *stodola, škoda*

a > *e*: *špetnyj*

e common to both German and Byelorussian: *špeg, žegnati*

e > *a*: *raturunok*

i common to both languages: *biskup, ricer*

o common to German and Middle Byelorussian: *folgovati, folvark, ofera, žolner, mordovati, lotr*

o > *u*: *biskup*

o > *a*: *kl'aštor*

u common to both German and Byelorussian: *kuchmistr, mur, lancuh*. Rounded vowels (vowels with umlaut) are not found in the Slavonic languages, thus German loan-words coming into Byelorussian lost this characteristic, e.g.:

ü > *u*: *štuka, uruhovati, musiti*

ö > *y*: *rychlyj*

Some mhd. diphthongs have become monophthongised on their way into Byelorussian, e.g.:

ei > *i*: *mistr*

au > *o*: *cofati*

Consonants:

b > *b* : *biskup, balka*
b > *p* : *kapusta*
b > *v* : *balver*
pf > *f* : *fortka*
f > *f* : *fal's*
p > *p* : *pl'ac, pl'aga*
g > *g* : *grunt, gvalt*
h > *h* : *hamovati, pulhak*
k > *k* : *košt, krama*
ch > *ch* : *dach, kuchmistr*¹²
ch, h > *š* : *puška*¹³

h > *Ø* : *olstro*
d > *d* : *dach*
t > *c* : *ricer*
t > *d* : *drabina*
t > *t* : *tal'ar, trafiti*
s > *s* : *mistr, stodola*
z, tz > *c* : *pl'ac*
s > *ž, š* : *žegnati, ratuš*
sch > *š* : *šacovati*
st > *št* : *šturm, štuka*
r > *l'* : *fol'vark*

12. H. Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, Tübingen, 1969, pp. 111-14.

13. P. Lessiak, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Konsonantismus*, Brunn, 1933, p. 80.

C. Morphology:

Changes in noun endings:

<i>e</i> > <i>a</i>	: pl'aga, rota, vanna, grabia, margrabia, cybul'a
<i>a</i> > <i>a</i>	: mil a, šl'achta (from ahd.)
<i>e</i> > $\emptyset$	: mur
<i>e</i> > <i>ka</i>	: fortka, puška
<i>e</i> > <i>ina</i>	: drabina
<i>en</i> > <i>a</i>	: balka
<i>aere, er</i> > <i>er</i>	: ricer, žolner, kancler, švager
<i>aere, er</i> > <i>ar</i>	: mlynar, tal'ar
<i>meister</i> > <i>mistr</i>	: kuchmistr, rotmistr
<i>er</i> > <i>or</i>	: kl'aštor
<i>or</i> > $\emptyset$	: lotr
<i>er</i> > <i>ro</i>	: olstro
<i>unge, ung</i> > <i>unok</i>	: ratunok, varunok

One-syllable German words taking endings in Byelorussian: rada, štuka, krama.

Compound words: ratuš, hetman, rotmistr, kuchmistr, folvark, jarmark, frimark, lancuh.

There are not many derivatives represented in the vocabulary of the two works examined in this study: biskupstvo, zbuntovanie, jarmaročnyj, gvaltovnyj, gvalčonyj, lancužno, mlynok, mlynar, morderstvo, murovanyj, prymušonyj, uradnik, ricerstvo, rickerskij, podskarbyj, neškodnyj, šl'achetnyj, šl'acht'anka, šl'achetskij, varunok, vojtovskij, zegarovyj, žolnerstvo.

Changes in verb endings:

n, en > *ovati*: d'akovati, folgovati, frasovati, hamovati, maršalkovati, mordovati, plundrovati, ratovati, uruhovati, šacovati, šikovati, štrafovati, švankovati

en > *ati*: cofati, žegnati

en > *iti*: musiti, škoditi, trafiti

Adjectives and adverbs:

-*ivyj* : fal'sivyj

-*nyj* : jarmaročnyj, gvaltovnyj, gvalčonyj, koštovnyj, murovanyj, prymušonyj, neškodnyj, špetnyj

-*vyj* : zegarovyj

-*skij* : rickerskij, šl'achetskij, vojtovskij

-*lyj* : rychlyj

In concluding this study of the German lexical borrowings in the *Memoirs of Theodore Jeŭlašeŭski* and the *Chronicle of Barkulaŭava* it is hoped one can see that these Germanisms did not remain 'foreign words' but have actually become part of the vocabulary of the writers of these documents, and in some cases have adapted themselves so well to their new linguistic milieu that they remain part of the Byelorussian language till today.

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