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Language Loyalty and Language Purity in a Language Contact Situation: South Australian Czech

Chloe Castle

Abstract: This paper is a parallel study to “Czeching Out a Language Contact Situation: Grammatical Replication and Shift in South Australian Czech” (Castle forthcoming) and investigates the reasons why grammatical borrowing and attrition processes occur within the South Australian Czech community. In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with six participants, yielding results including reports of cognitive pressure, structural influence and similarity, and outside societal pressure to speak English. Utilizing Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) framework, it was found that Czech Australian participant speech was marked by characteristics placing it at level three on the borrowing scale: function words and sentence structure are borrowed from English, which correlates with participant experience with a more intense level of contact and social pressure from the larger Australian majority. Additionally, “need” (van Coetsem 2000: 215), comprising social pressure, structural similarity, and cognitive pressure, is the key factor in grammatical borrowing, transfer, and attrition processes in the Czech South Australian community.

1. Introduction

This study aims to identify potential drivers of grammatical borrowing in South Australian Czech as established in Castle (forthcoming), including cognitive pressure to assimilate, gap filling, and increasing simplicity and structural similarity, with a focus on possible compounding sociocultural motivations. It also aims to explore reasons behind other grammatical phenomena occurring in the South Australian Czech community, including attrition processes and loss.

This paper interacts with and builds on findings from previous studies of Czech diasporic communities (Vaculík 2004, 2009; Dejmek 2007; McCabe 2016) and Czech as a diasporic language (Henzl 1982; Machann and Mendl 1983; Sherwood Smith 1991; Šašková-Pierce 1993; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Gallup 1998; Hannan 2004; Eckert 2006; Cope 2006, 2011; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík and Kucík 2014). It aims to contribute to filling the gap in the literature with regards to the drivers of grammatical borrowing in this

diasporic community. Previous papers have focused on the drivers of attrition processes in such communities (Sherwood-Smith 1991; Šašková-Pierce 1993; Dutková 1998; Cope and Dittman 2020), which this paper will also address and build on, or have shown that contact-induced grammatical borrowing **occurs** in such communities (Henzl 1982; Kučera 1989; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2009, 2012), but have not tried to identify the sociolinguistic, cognitive, and linguistic processes behind it.

The paper has the following structure: in Section 2, I give a background of other similar Czech diasporic communities, the history of the South Australian Czech community, and define the language contact terminology used in this article. Section 3 outlines the method, including design, procedure, and participant data. In Section 4, I share the results in three main headings: language maintenance, acquisition, and attrition; borrowing; and how borrowing occurs. The language maintenance, acquisition and attrition section can be compared with the background information on other diasporic communities and addresses attrition processes and loss. The sections on borrowing aim to address the potential drivers of grammatical borrowing.

In section 5, a data summary is given which discusses each participant opinion on the potential reasons behind grammatical borrowing from their interview data. Community comparisons in terms of the intergenerational shift process and the reasons behind this are then shared. Subsequently, I compare social pressure experienced by participants discussed in interviews to actual language use from the observation sessions (Castle forthcoming). Finally, I analyse the source of the grammatical borrowing using van Coetsem's (2000) model. Major findings on the sources and motives of grammatical borrowing and limitations of the study are summarized in the conclusion.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The South Australian Czech Community

The first major wave of immigration to Australia occurred post-WWII, following the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948 (Vaculík 2009; Migration Museum 2020a). There were smaller waves which came prior to this time, but many returned, as Australian interest in agricultural workers declined and unemployment rose in other industries (Vaculík 2009). After 1948, many refugees fled to Germany and chose to further migrate to Australia, with 1,500 Czechoslovakians settling in South Australia during this time (Migration Museum 2020a). New migrants initially stayed in Woodside, Mallala, and Smithfield Migrant Hostels, and were bound to a two-year employment contract with the Australian government as laborers or domestic workers in exchange for passage from Europe (Migration Museum 2020a). These refugees were generally not welcomed by those who had come pre-WWII, and thus new

“reactionary” sporting and social clubs were formed as community refuges (Vaculík 2009: 242–44). Two participants in this study (referred to below as P5 and P6) were in this group. Participant 6’s family moved to South Australia in 1952 after a brief time in Paris, where she was born. Participant 5 was born in South Australia after her parents left the Czechoslovak Republic in 1948.

A second major wave occurred in the early 1970s following the end of Prague Spring, and 1000 Czechoslovakians settled in South Australia (Migration Museum 2020a). The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Compatriots Association in Australia and New Zealand aided these second-wave refugees to ease their hardships (Vaculík 2009). In both the first and second waves, migration occurred for political and social reasons; it was a reaction to living under a totalitarian system (Brouček et al. 2019). The third major group began arriving as refugees in 1989, after the fall of the Czechoslovak communist government and the Velvet Revolution (Migration Museum 2020a). Many Czechs have migrated to Australia and New Zealand for life, professional, and language experience from the mid-1990s onwards (Brouček et al. 2019). Two participants in this study (referred to below as P1 and P4) moved post-1989 for personal reasons. One participant (P3) moved in the early 1980s as a young child, whilst another participant (P2) was born in South Australia after her parents moved in the late 1970s.

The Czechoslovak Club in South Australia was established in 1949 and incorporated as an official body in the early 1950s (Charles Sturt Council 2019; Migration Museum 2020a). An old church, purchased for the Club in 1959, was soon demolished and used to build a hall (Migration Museum 2020a). This Club continues today, with an aim to “connect all Czechs and Slovaks from South Australia in a strong community that keeps and promotes national ideas based on united friendship and mutually honest social relations” (Charles Sturt Council 2019). The Club provides cultural activities and events such as St Nicholas Day¹, the anniversary of the declaration of Czechoslovak Independence, New Year’s Eve, sports days, barbecues, Mother’s Day, and Father’s Day, as well as welfare services, weekly dinners, children’s language classes, and private language lessons for students of all ages (Migration Museum 2020a). The Club also has a community informational bulletin called *Život* ‘life’. According to the Club manager, there are around 280 members of the Czechoslovak Club.

According to the 2016 census, there are 473 Czech-born South Australians and 1679 South Australians of Czech descent (ABS 2017a; Migration Museum

¹ This celebration is a Czech Advent tradition which takes place on the eve of the name day of *Svatý Mikuláš* ‘Saint Nicholas’. Throughout the course of the evening, Saint Nicholas, accompanied by an angel and a devil, ask children whether they have been good for the year. If so, treats are given. If not, it is lumps of coal or potatoes for the children.

2020a). The population of Czechs is scattered throughout the metropolitan area (Migration Museum 2020a). There are 317 Slovakian-born South Australians, and 781 people of Slovakian descent (ABS 2017b; Migration Museum 2020b). Therefore, there are 49.2% more Czech-born South Australians than Slovakian-born South Australians, and 114% more South Australians with Czech descent than those with Slovak descent. There also exists a separate Slovak Club of South Australia, which evolved in the early 1950s and registered as an official body in 1980 (Migration 2020b).

Given how many Czech South Australians there are in comparison to the number of Club members, one could say that the community is scattered. However, there is a club group with closer social ties, and within that group there are closer-knit groups of people. This is particularly true for older generations for whom fellow club members once acted as family during a time when they could not return to their own families for political reasons. During that time, the only people that they could speak Czech with outside of their immediate families were fellow club members, as linguistic contact from the homeland was cut off.

2.2. Language Contact and Other Diaspora Communities in the Anglosphere

2.2.1. Immigrant Czech: Czech in the US in the “Classical Period of Immigration”²

These communities, and the Texas Czech community in particular, have been researched extensively (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutkova-Cope 2001; Cope 2006; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík and Kucík 2014; Eckertová 2017a). This research encompasses both language maintenance, attrition processes, and language loss, as well as the identification of cases of grammatical borrowing from English (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutkova-Cope 2001; Cope 2006; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík and Kucík 2014; Eckertová 2017a).

There are many social factors which promote linguistic and cultural maintenance in these immigrant Czech communities. These include a rural tight-knit community setting in the 19th century (in Texas), pre-WWI Czech-language journalism, the support of the Unity of the Brethren in organizing Catholic schools and summer camps where Czech was the primary mode of instruction (in Texas), a strong institutional linguistic support base in the form of community organizations, and the attitude of young community members today in wanting to connect with their identity and their pride in

² As described by McCabe (2016: 170).

any ancestral language ability (Machann and Mendl 1983; Gallup 1998; Hannan 2004; Cope 2006; Cope and Dittman 2020).

In the Texas Czech community in particular, maintenance factors have included a homogenous community in the earlier years as regards geographic origin, occupation, and religion; reinforcement of ethnic identity as regard language use; adherence to traditions and language planning; the establishment of community professional, social, and religious institutions; sufficient inner resources to survive for generations;³ and the maintenance of contact with the homeland through the flow of new immigrants and letters from the Czech and Moravian lands (Eckert and Hannan 2009). Other pertinent factors included a prevalence of endogamous marriages in the 19th and early 20th century, and an ideology of *národnost*:⁴ developing a nation and tying this in with identity (Eckert and Hannan 2009: 103, 133). The high literacy of Czech immigrants and the importance of literature in the Czech culture and tradition also aided language maintenance, as people participated in reading clubs and engaged with Czech-language American journals (Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík and Kucík 2014).

WWII played a significant role in the distancing of people of Czech heritage from their culture and their language. During the 1940s the assimilationist movement grew, and Europeans had to give up “large portions of their ethnic cultures” to be able to fully participate in society (Banks and Gay 1978: 239–41; Sherwood Smith 1991; Dutková 1998; Hannan 2004). There was a focus on the English language, American history, and the propagation of loyalty and patriotism (Eckert 2006). Ethnic organizations were viewed with suspicion, and immigrants were encouraged to speak English (Eckert 2006). Linguistic shaming and alienation experienced by many Czechs in these settings discouraged them from speaking the language and engaging in the culture (Banks and Gay 1978; Dutková 1998; Eckert 2006; Cope 2006). Post-WWII, Czech ceased to be the language of the family, and the young, with little to no knowledge of Czech, left for the city, creating new social networks in which Czech was not used (Eckert and Hannan 2009: 151). As community structures crumbled, so did the language; several attempts at cultural revivals were made in the decades following the 1980s, but these did not result in a return to fluent heritage language use, and the language form, if learned anew,

³ Eckert and Hannan (2009: 89–90) discuss this, suggesting that these resources are linguistic, cultural, and economic. This insulated existence is well-described by Cope and Dittman (2020: 12–13): “Czechs started ... their own settlements, built their own churches, schools, dance halls, and fraternal, religious, and theatrical societies ... they published Czech newspapers and patronized their own businesses, stores, and pubs”.

⁴ Literally meaning ‘nationality’, Eckert and Hannan (2009: 103) discuss how this particular vision of *národnost* was focussed on the “Czech language of national literature”.

is typically the Standard Czech taught in the Czech Republic (Šašková-Pierce 1993; Cope 2006; Eckert and Hannan 2009).

In Nebraska Czech, ancestry, rather than language ability, has become the main indicator for the ethnic group membership (Šašková-Pierce 1993). Cope (2011) reports that whilst ethnic Texas Czechs regard their ancestral language as important in their self-identification and have a positive attitude toward maintaining the language, most “would gladly pass the job [of learning and maintaining it] to someone else because they feel that their lives are already too hectic to follow a few enthusiastic leaders in their communities” (Cope 2011: 376; see also Hannan 2004). The nature of social and cultural contact has in this context created pressures for Czech immigrants to utilise the language in increasingly fewer public locations and withdraw from modelling the language in intra-community social situations, leading to a decline of intergenerational language transmission and thus divergent attainment. Czech from the classical period of immigration (1848–1914) (Vaculík 2009) is an atrophying language; it is in the last stages before extinction. This atrophy occurred due to social movement outside of insular communities and therefore a more extensive need to participate in mainstream language situations (Eckertová 2017b).

2.2.2. Czech in the US from Post-WWII to the “New Wave of Immigration”⁵

Similar to the Czech South Australian situation, there were three main waves of immigration to the US between WWII and the Velvet Revolution of 1989: in 1939 before the Nazi occupation, in 1948 during the Communist coup d'état, and in 1968 after the Soviet invasion (Vaculík 2009). These migrants are dissimilar from their predecessors in the classical period in that they no longer formed communities, and there is significant movement from Czech to English from the second generation onwards (Eckertová 2017a).

Since 1989, immigrants have tended to be highly educated and come to the US for work, study, or relationships (McCabe 2016; Brouček et al. 2019). In McCabe's (2016: 169) study, she found that the successful factors in language maintenance for second-generation Czech and Slovak immigrants in the Southeastern US are anticipation of a future need to use Czech or Slovak, constant parental use of Czech or Slovak, yearly extended overseas holidays, and “parental ability to use additional strategies, such as involving grandparents or employing Slavic *au pairs*”. The transnational context is vital for contemporary heritage language retention (McCabe 2016).

⁵ As described by McCabe (2016: 170).

2.2.3. Immigrant Czech: Canada

There is no research on grammatical borrowing and attrition processes in Czech Canadian communities. However, Dejmek 2007 provides a history of the Czech community and language situation in Canada, and Vaculík (2004, 2009) briefly comments on immigration history. Canadian Czechs are in quite a similar situation to South Australian Czechs, especially regarding periods of larger waves of immigration as well as modern community efforts.

Whilst smaller waves of Czech immigration occurred from 1860 into the 1920s for socioeconomic reasons, the larger Czech waves occurred in 1938, 1948, and 1968 (Dejmek 2007; Vaculík 2009). The Czechoslovak Association was quite active in the 1970s and 80s, but post-1989 the momentum of the Czech community in Canada has slowly dissipated from what it once was (Dejmek 2007). This decrease in community activity would decrease the likelihood of language maintenance. However, the Montreal Czech diaspora still hosts community events, including a children's summer camp (*Hostýn*), and there is a heritage Czech language school in the Toronto area continuing the language practice in the community (Dejmek 2007; Moldová 2021).

2.3. Terminology Used

2.3.1. Language Contact

What has occurred in South Australian Czech represents several language contact outcomes outside of grammatical borrowing (Castle forthcoming), including instances of code-switching, code-mixing (Muysken 2000), and divergent attainment (Polinsky 2018). Code-switching is defined by Poplack (1993) as the “juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic ... rules of the language of its provenance”. Code-mixing refers to “all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence” (Muysken 2000: 1). Divergent attainment (previously, incomplete acquisition) occurs when an individual does not “learn the entire system of a given language ... [which is] a result of bilingualism where one of the languages is strongly dominant” (Polinsky 2006: 194; Polinsky 2018). Divergent attainment is one of several processes of shift and loss occurring in the Czech South Australian community.

Language loss occurring in immigrant communities occurs when the L1 is “gradually replaced by the language of the host country in the course of two to three generations” (de Bot and Weltens 1991: 42). During this process, the changes to the structure of the linguistic system occur (Münstermann and Hagen 1986). Language shift is very similar to this, defined by Montrul (2015:

11) as a “gradual transition from speaking the heritage language to speaking and using the majority language predominantly”. Also occurring in the Czech South Australian community are attrition processes, which are defined here as those processes occurring in the community which lead to attrition in the language or “imperfect language competence” (Polinsky 2006: 194).

2.3.2. Grammatical Borrowing

Grammatical borrowing that occurs in South Australian Czech represents grammatical replication (structural change) rather than borrowing (morphological form borrowing) as defined by Heine and Kuteva (2005) (Castle forthcoming). Similar to these definitions are matter borrowings (MAT) and pattern borrowings (PAT) (Matras and Sakel 2007). MAT occur when the phonological form and function are borrowed, and PAT occur where the function but not phonological form is borrowed (Matras and Sakel 2007). Previous research offers evidence of PAT, namely in article formation and marked use of personal pronouns (also cf. Castle forthcoming):

(1) Article formation

Mám ty vnoučata.
 To.have_{1SG} DEM_{PL.ACC} grandchild_{PL.ACC.N}
 ‘I have the grandchildren.’ (Castle forthcoming: 28–29)

(2) Marked use of personal pronoun

My jsme si to projeli, my se podíváme.
 we AUX_{1PL} REFL it to.go.through_{PST.PL} we REFL to.look_{PRF.1PL}
 ‘We’ve gone through it, we’ll see.’ (Castle forthcoming: 14)

Most of the borrowing represented PAT of syntactic function and word order. There were no instances of MAT from English into Czech in Castle’s (forthcoming) study.

3. Method

3.1. Design and Procedure

This study involved six one-on-one interviews conducted with Czechoslovak community members at the Adelaide Czechoslovak Club in Brompton between November 2018 and May 2019. The sample was non-random as it was shaped through availability of the participants from a prior study (Castle forthcoming). A bias toward female speakers is reflected in this study, as the

pool of interviewees, 80% female, came from the first study (Castle forthcoming). This was due to referrals by the female Club manager, whose suggestions tended towards female speakers. However, as with the previous study, the researcher aimed to obtain a sample with a range of generations, ancestral regions, and educational levels. Participants were required to be bilingual to participate in the study. Their competency was self-assessed using a bilingual ability grading scale (Appendix 2) and assessed by the researcher using the observational data from the prior (Castle forthcoming) study through the speech-related reference points of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Appendix 3). The sample is small ($n = 6$), but adequate for an exploratory in-depth qualitative study seeking potentially indicative results (Loewen and Plonsky 2015: 173).

The interview method was semi-structured in that the researcher prepared a question set but also had the freedom to ask follow-up questions and enquire further. Interviews can be particularly useful in gaining insight into non-observable phenomena such as attitudes, beliefs, and cognitive processes (Loewen and Plonsky 2015: 91). The interviews were on average 21 minutes long.

The aim of the semi-structured interview questions (Appendix 1) was to identify instances of grammatical borrowing that the participants may be aware of in their speech and to examine the degree to which they account for their (perceived) borrowing in their language behavior as resulting from social factors. Questions were specifically aimed at addressing possible causes of grammatical borrowing, including prestige and purist ideologies (questions 3 and 10), grammatical gaps (question 4c), increasing structural similarity (question 5d), cognitive pressure (question 7), and societal pressure from other Czechs (question 9) and the majority population (question 9). Question 2a aims to detect whether participants have an adequate level of English to ensure the data are not skewed.

Linguistic terminology used to communicate with participants was somewhat adapted into plain English for purposes of user-friendliness. Participants were not likely to be aware of the differences between PAT and code-switching in their speech, especially as PAT may be more difficult for speakers to identify in their speech than MAT (Matras and Sakel 2007). Therefore a broader term of mixing was used with participants when discussing language use, but further questions were explained and asked specifically about syntax and morphology. It is thus recognized that this study may not only reflect possible reasons behind grammatical borrowing but also reasons behind lexical borrowing and other forms of code-mixing. A result of unconscious borrowing, whether PAT or MAT, is that participants may not always do what they say they do in terms of mixing (see §4.2.1 for more). However, such a comparison is beyond the scope of this paper. An Ethics Clearance was

obtained from the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval No. H-2018-230).

3.2. Coding and Analytic Procedure

Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and coded by themes as they were observed in NVivo⁶. A constructivist approach was taken to both data-gathering and analysis, recognizing the presence of multiple socially built realities to explore and describe phenomena occurring within the community (Gray 2013: 31). In terms of analysis, the data were closely examined for potential patterns to allow grounded findings to emerge (Berg and Lune 2012: 157; Gray 2013) relatively free from the researcher's own influence.

Once the social pressures were identified from the interview data, they were compared with observed language use to analyse whether the perceived levels of pressure experienced by participants matched the outcomes of features in their actual speech. Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale (Appendix 4) is used to do this. This model was selected as it allows for analysis of features borrowed at different levels of contact intensity for typologically dissimilar languages like Czech and English (Thomason 2010).

Following this, van Coetsem's (2000) model is used to more deeply analyse the possible motivation for grammatical borrowing. This not only takes the factors already analyzed through a close examination of the interview data, but also the language dominance of the participants and identification of language agentivity.

3.3. Participant Data

The number of participants in this study ($n = 6$) is not adequate to generalize about the entire Czechoslovak Club community ($n = 280$). However, for an exploratory study intent on providing rich descriptions of the community members' experiences, this number is acceptable (Gray 2013: 22). The rich interview data can be used to both explain the reasons for certain borrowing phenomena and provide an insight into the life of the linguistic community.

Table 1 on the following page shows the metadata for participants in this study.

⁶ NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package.

Table 1. Participant Metadata

VARIABLE	CATEGORY	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	PARTICIPANT NUMBER
Age	Under 50 (younger group)	3	P1, P2, P3
	Over 50 (older group)	3	P4, P5, P6
Gender	Male	0	–
	Female	6	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6
Age when moved	Born in Australia	2	P2, P5
	0–10	2	P3, P6
	10–18	–	–
	18–50	1	P1
	50+	1	P4
Years living in Australia	0–10	–	–
	10–20	2	P1, P4
	20+	4	P2, P3, P5, P6
Educational level	Vocational education and below	1	P6
	Bachelor’s degree and above	5	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5
Czech Region of Origin	Bohemia	2	P1, P6
	Moravia	2	P3, P4
	Born in Australia	2	P2, P5

Table 2 on the following page gives assessment of each participant’s language proficiency, as determined by themselves (self-score) and the researcher (CEFR-assessed score) (see Appendix 2 for grading scale, Appendix 3 for CEFR score meanings).

Table 2. Participant Language Proficiency

PARTICIPANT	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Self-score (English)	9	10	10	7	10	10
CEFR-assessed score (English)	C2	C2	C2	C1	C2	C2
Self-score (Czech)	9	8	5	10	3 ⁷	7
CEFR-assessed score (Czech)	C2	B2	B2	C2	B2	C1

Participants are defined in this study in relation to their generation. Table 3 below defines each generation in this dataset.

Table 3. Generation Definitions for this Article

GENERATION	DEFINITION	PARTICIPANTS
First Generation	Those who were born in the Czech lands and moved to Australia as older teenagers or adults.	P1, P4
“1.5 Generation” (Polinsky 1997: 334)	Those who moved to Australia as children and grew up in Australia.	P3, P6
Second Generation	Those who were born after the parents moved to Australia and grew up in Australia.	P2, P5

Participants can also be defined in terms of two binaries discussed by Polinsky (2006: 194–95), namely, first/second language and primary/secondary language, as well as in terms of whether they speak South Australian Czech or *Émigré* Czech. *Émigré* Russian is defined as “the Russian language as spoken in North America by the first generation of immigrants, who grew up speaking Full Russian and came to America as adults” (Polinsky 2006: 195), *Émigré* Czech can be defined as the Czech language spoken in South Australia by the first generation of immigrants, who grew up speaking Full Czech and came to Australia as adults. Participants 1 and 4 are speakers of *Émigré* Czech, whilst

⁷ The discrepancy between P5’s self-score and her CEFR assessed score in Czech can be at least partially explained by her clearly self-effacing nature regarding her Czech language abilities.

Participants 2, 3, 5, and 6 speak South Australian Czech, a “reduced” (Polinsky 2006: 194) heritage variety of the language. This is important to note as there is evidence suggesting that representational differences between baseline native and heritage grammars exist (Polinsky 2016). In terms of the two binaries, first and second language relate to time of acquisition, whereas primary and secondary language relate to current language dominance and ability. Participants are placed into these categories in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Binary Language Use Identifiers

PRIMARY/ FIRST	PRIMARY/ SECOND	SECONDARY/ FIRST	SECONDARY/ SECOND
P4	P6?	P1, P2, P3, P5	–

Participant 6 is tentatively placed in the primary/second category, as she said that she thinks she spoke only English as a young child, though her parents were both Czech. She did not speak Czech very much throughout her childhood and started learning and speaking it much more in early adulthood when she met her Czech husband. She currently still speaks Czech with her husband, which, now that she is retired, is the language spoken in her home much of the time.

4. Results

4.1. Language Maintenance, Acquisition, and Attrition in the Czech Community

4.1.1. Maintenance Efforts by Participants

There is evidence of participants maintaining their Czech language skills and being supportive of language maintenance in the community. Participant 6 reads Czech magazines and newspapers to maintain her language skills but stops at books because they are too long for her to enjoy. This type of language maintenance does not hinder enjoyable everyday life experiences involving the language. Language maintenance ideals must be realistic: for some speakers, maintenance is too onerous because they have few daily opportunities for the use of Czech and have not been successful in building an in-home culture that involves regular use of it. Participant 2 tries to speak Czech with her children but says it takes a strong commitment and is hard to maintain.

Participants 3, 5, and 6 said they will, if they do not know a certain word, ask their interlocutors what the word is, so that they can learn it and use it in future. This continued learning is a form of maintaining the language.

Participant 4 stated that she speaks only Czech to the children in the Club to help them learn and remember their language. She is proud of Czech and feels that intergenerational language maintenance is important.

Others make conscious choices to maintain Czech in their young children, though this can be challenging in an Australian-English language public sphere. Participant 1 consciously tries to speak Czech with her children, though due to their tendency to respond in English, she will sometimes answer them in English, realize what she is doing, and repeat in Czech:

I do try to ... consciously ... speak ... Czech to the kids, but sometimes because they tend to respond in English to me a lot, it's just ... a subconscious thing that naturally I'll ... respond in English and then I'll ...—oh! Yeah, and then ... sometimes I'll just leave it and then go into Czech, and sometimes I might ... just say exactly the same thing in Czech again.

Participant 2 will say something in Czech, repeat it in English assuming that her children do not understand, and then repeat it in Czech to try to teach them. As expected, the children's comprehension is much better than their production in Czech.

Participant 5 stated that her parents made a conscious decision to implement a one-parent one-language policy in the home to assure she knew enough English before starting school.

4.1.2. Why Maintain?

Most participants enthusiastically expressed a sense of cultural identity surrounding their activities at the Club, their language use, and their perceptions about it. Participants 1 and 2 felt that Czech was a richer, more poetic and versatile language than English, though Participant 1 conceded that over the years she had come to see that one can also create richness in English, though in a different way (grammatically, modes of expression, etc.). Participant 2 stated that she appreciates being able to draw on her Czech to name culture-specific items and concepts that do not exist in English. All participants felt pride in the Czech language and being able to use it.

Using Czech is part of the community experience, and more strongly so for some. Some participants, including Participants 3 and 5, are happy to participate mostly in the cultural events and indicate that the language use, whilst it would be nice, is not a defining factor in enjoyment of their culture

and time spent at the Club. For others, including Participants 4 and 6, it is a major factor.

4.1.3. School

One influence cited in identifying the point at which children start to use predominantly English is the beginning of school or English-centered childcare. Participant 3 mentioned that her children's exposure to English through childcare has contributed to their lack of ability in Czech. She compared this to the experience of her German friend's children, who were immersed in German at home with their mother until commencing school.

Participant 6 said her youngest grandson was quite proficient in Czech because she looked after him often as a young child, but once he started school his Czech began to decline. Participant 5 shared that she was fluent in Czech as a young child, but she was introduced to English just prior to entering school (at childcare), after which English became her dominant language.

An interesting side note which fits neatly with a well-established pattern observed in many studies (Hulsen, de Bot, and Weltens 2002; Nesteruk 2010: 279; Yilmaz 2016; McCabe 2016) is that Participant 1's primary school age children speak Czech to her and to each other when they go to the Czech Republic for their annual holiday and for a few months after they return. They eventually regress to English-only answers and playtime together, and the cycle begins again on their next holiday. She reports:

We tend to go [to the Czech Republic] every year ... for about six ... to eight weeks, and ... when we come back from Czech, they speak to me in Czech, all the responses are in Czech and ... the longer we stay here it sort of diminishes.

Participant 4 mentioned that her 12-year-old granddaughter came back to Australia speaking Czech and "making sentences" after a shared six-week holiday in the Czech Republic.

4.1.4. Attrition Accelerators and Language Maintenance Aids

One barrier to acquisition and an attrition accelerator has been some of the participants' children's English-monolingual partners. Participants 4 and 6 said their son- or daughter-in-law did not wish for their children (or their partner, or mother-in-law) to speak Czech in their presence and discouraged their language learning, in one case even stipulating that the children should not be allowed to attend the Czech school. Partner attitudes and motives surrounding language learning and use within the family influence intergener-

ational maintenance and acquisition rather than attrition (Lambert 2008: 232; Mejía 2016: 25). Children are more likely to make use of the language if they are exposed to it in the home (Pauwels 2005: 126), which is not likely to be often if one parent wishes not to have it spoken in their presence.

It is unclear as to whether the existence of the Czech school has had a significant effect on language maintenance overall with the younger generation, as no data have been collected on the children and their language abilities/preferences in the Czech South Australian community. Fishman (1991: 2, 252–83) found that reverse language shift management (supporting speech communities whose languages are threatened due to increasing intergenerational shift through ethnic community schools, radio, and press in the language) had little effect on the immigrant language loss rate in Australia, excepting a slight slowing of the normal rate in post-WWII immigrant language groups.

It is uncertain whether students at community language schools can develop a full literacy level given the limited hours afforded to them (generally a few hours on a weekend) (Spolsky 2003: 207). Though opportunities for language maintenance and delaying language shift are “quite plentiful” (Clyne 2001: 388) in Australia, there has been an increased rate of shift to English for all immigrant language groups, demonstrating that Australian policy in support of maintaining immigrant languages is “positive but ineffective” (Fishman 1991: 277).

The people closest to the participants appear to have a profound effect on the frequency of their Czech language use. Participant 6 shared that she did not speak a lot of Czech until she met her husband in her early twenties, as he is Czech, and she needed it to speak with both him and her mother-in-law. Her Czech then improved as they moved in Czech social circles. Today she utilises Czech more often, though during her working career she spoke a lot more English (even to her husband) as it was required in the workplace.

With the exception of Participant 6, the participants do not have a Czech-speaking partner. Even though they try to speak Czech to their children they still feel inhibited by a sense of accommodation and politeness toward their monolingual partner: they want everyone to understand what is happening. Participants 1 and 2 will use Czech with their children, but only when their partner is not around. Often the partner understands some Czech, but not enough to participate in daily life in the language. This influences how often they can use Czech on a daily basis and hence how well they maintain the language.

Participants 2, 3, 5, and 6 have parents living in Australia who speak Czech or both Czech and English with them, supporting their language maintenance.

4.1.5. Societal Pressures and Locations when Mixing

It is well-documented in the literature that context and interlocutor awareness affect language choice in bilinguals (Fishman 1965, 1972; Rubin 1968; Gardner-Chloros 1985, 2009; Myers-Scotton 1993; Wei 1994, 2007; Côté and Clement 1994; Galindo 1996; Schrauf 2002; Regan and Nestor 2010; Dewaele 2010, 2011; Grosjean 2010, 2016; Hammer 2017). Participants 1, 2, and 6 discussed their preference to speak English in a situation where they are with an English monolingual or (non-Czech speaking) group. Participant 6 thought that it may be rude to speak in front of English-speaking friends in Czech. Participant 1 shared this view, and would, out of politeness for the non-Czech friend, speak English to the whole group. This is indicative of language accommodation and convergence (Gasiorek and Vincze 2016), which, under Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1973; Giles and Coupland 1991; Giles 2009), is used to minimize differences in communication between oneself and one's conversation partners due to seeking approval or increased effectiveness of communication (Eng 2016).

Participant 5 spoke of the societal pressure her mother felt to speak English. She lived in an Australian country town and would have to wait in the shop until everyone else completed their orders, and then the shopkeeper would deal with hers. There was major pressure to learn and speak English, mediated by language assistance from her daughter. The participant observed that back then, Australians did not know how to deal with immigrants:

Mum would wait in the shop because Australians didn't know how to deal with migrants, so a country town ... the shopkeeper would wait until everyone else has been served and then take, you know, that sort of thing. ... it wasn't malicious, it was just simply we have no idea how to communicate, so um, it was a lot of point and stab.

Participant 1 said she prefers to speak English with her children out of politeness so as not to leave others out. Examples of this include the school playground with other mothers and the checkout line at the supermarket. She does not wish to alienate anyone. However, if she is alone with the children, either at home or out in public away from others, she speaks Czech. Similarly, Participant 2 mentioned that she speaks Czech to her children if they're not in a big group in public, but it is more the kids' reaction (i.e., not understanding her) that is an inhibitor rather than her perception of what the public thinks.

Participant 4 felt that Australian perceptions about immigrants, particularly European immigrants, have been changing. People are travelling more than they did in the 1980s and many are familiar with the Czech Republic. She does not feel any societal pressure to speak English; she feels that she

does not have to speak it unless speaking to an English speaker who does not speak Czech.

Generally, the participants all mentioned that they speak Czech at home, at the Club, and with Czech friends and family members, whether in person, on the phone, or when visiting the Czech Republic. However, some constraints remain, such as the presence of an L1 monolingual English-speaking partner,⁸ or friends and family members who are non-Czech speakers, as mentioned above. Participants 4 and 6 noted that they would speak Czech in public with other Czech speakers with no qualms about public opinion. Participants 1 and 2 stated they would either prefer to speak English within earshot of English-speaking monolinguals or speak more quietly in Czech. Switching to English use in an increasing number of spheres lessens Czech use, thus accelerating attrition.

Some participants reported the locations where they mixed their languages. Participant 2 mentioned that she would mix Czech and English at the Club and with her family members living in Australia. However, she mostly refrained from mixing when speaking with relatives living in the Czech Republic. Participant 1 mentioned that she mixes the languages at the Club unless the children are around because she wants to be a good example for their Czech development. Participants 3 and 5 said they mix at the Club, most commonly when they are not familiar with a word in Czech and need to fill this lexical gap with an English word. Participants 4 and 6 reported that they try not to or do not mix at all.

4.2. Borrowing

4.2.1. Opinions on Borrowing—Purism and Acceptance

The interviews conveyed interviewees' perceptions of a continuum between purism and descriptivism that is not necessarily compatible with the observation data. Information gleaned from the interviews does not necessarily reflect actual language use. This study aims to analyse how participants conceive of their language behavior: what they think they do and perceive about their language use and that of others, rather than reflecting on what they actually do in practice, which was analysed in the parallel study of the observation data (Castle forthcoming). However, there are instances where the interviews do seem compatible with the observation data, which is also to be expected when recognizing that attitudes would be likely to affect conscious speech decisions.

Participant 6 does not like language mixing, especially lexical borrowing and phonological and morphological assimilation within Czech e.g., *šopinko-*

⁸ L1 = first language, L2 = second language

vat 'to go shopping'. She believes that people should speak one or the other. Participant 4 concurs. However, she said the languages sometimes mix in her self-talk, so she presumably consciously adjusts her speech to one or the other language, actively avoiding mixing.

Participant 1 stated at the start of the interview that she probably prefers it if people speak one language at a time. However, she admits that she is guilty of "hybrid sentences" and borrowing words and, once reminded of the opinion of descriptive linguists (as she has completed university-level linguistics training herself some time ago), acknowledges that language is for communication purposes. She does not like to transfer grammar between the languages, stating, "I might borrow words, but I try not to ... mess up with the grammar". In "messing up", from earlier commentary in the interview it appears that she means both MAT, or borrowing the form and function together, and PAT. She states "I think that on a subconscious level ... the grammar gets ... influenced ... I try not to", and when asked about MAT, she says "that probably would be ... going too far for me ... consciously I try not to". Later in the interview, she states that she is happy to switch from one language to another.

Participant 3 thinks that it is fine for people to borrow words, especially if they are relatively unfamiliar words. However, she dislikes embedding English words with Czech inflections in Czech speech; she does not like the sound of it and finds it embarrassing. On the other hand, Participant 2 will happily put Czech grammatical endings onto English words if she is not familiar with the word in Czech and will mix when speaking with Czech-English speakers in Australia, particularly with family members.

Many Czechs in the Czech Republic are quite comfortable with embedding English-language borrowings into their language's grammatical structure, though not always knowingly. For example, older Czech generations in the Czech Republic do not like what they recognise as Anglicisms, and attitudes toward English word use are better amongst younger generations (though not necessarily reaching a positive opinion) (Dickins 2007; Endrštová 2010: 77). A great number of Anglicisms have been borrowed into the Czech language since the industrialization of the 18th century, wherein the English language began to influence the language of economy and technology (Gester 2001: 36). These loanwords, however, may no longer be recognized because they have existed for a long time and are phonologically, orthographically, and/or morphologically assimilated e.g., *autsajdr* 'outsider', *bojkot* 'boycott', *dabing* 'dubbing' (Warmbrunn 1994: 25, 31, 41; Gester 2001: 51; Daneš 2001). English-derived neologisms also exist (Bozděchová and Klégr 2018). These have become integrated into the Czech grammar e.g., *šopík* 'small shop' (*šop-ík* shop-DIM), *manažerovat* 'to manage', *fejsbůček* 'little Facebook' (*fejsbů-ček* Facebook-DIM), *sprinterka* 'female sprinter' (*sprinter-ka* sprinter-F), *spirituální* 'spiritual' (*spiritual-ní* spiritual-ADJ) (Bozděchová and Klégr 2018: 6; Salzmann 1991: 227; Warmbrunn 1994: 312). Whilst some Czechs may not notice the ori-

gin of fully assimilated loanwords from English, non-assimilated “foreign neologisms” (Dickins 2007: 128) are not given the same treatment. Participants in Dickins’s (2007: 115, 128) study had a “strong residual apprehension” about the over-use of foreign neologisms, often appealing to purism and a nostalgia “for an era in which language use was somehow ‘better’; that is to say, untainted by modern terminology, unnecessary jargon, and innumerable other impurities”. However, a majority of informants still believed that lexical borrowing was enriching to the language rather than believing it to be harmful (Dickins 2007: 116).

Participant 5 feels that to be comfortable with language mixing is probably a bit controversial, yet she is not too bothered about it. She tries to speak only Czech especially with older people, out of courtesy, a feeling of owing it to both them and herself, a feeling of national solidarity and cultural identity, and deference to Czech heritage and tradition. However, she accepts that Australian Czech is likely unique and that it ought not to be too problematic if people are mixing, stating that this is Czech as it is spoken in South Australia.

4.2.2. Reasons for Borrowing

There were several reasons provided as to why the participants engage in borrowing. They were asked to provide some reasons and then to agree or disagree with reasons given by the researcher (see Appendix 1). These include:

- (1) Not being able to recall a word or not knowing it at all (to maintain fluency and meaning)
- (2) Quick access to the English phrase in the brain, coming first to one’s mind.
- (3) Certain words not having the same “essence” (as described by one participant) or feeling about them in a translation, or a good translation being unavailable.
- (4) A phrase in English explains better what you want to say or expresses the meaning more fully.
- (5) Others do so, so it is acceptable.
- (6) An Australian phrase is semantically and/or socially more appropriate for context at hand, e.g., *pres* in the sense of “we had pre(drink)s last night before going to the bar”—this is a concept that does not exist in the Czech Republic because the cultural practice is not known there.
- (7) Australian contextual information, e.g., current Australian political news.

When referring to words not having the same essence, Participant 2 mentioned the word *vyvětrat*, meaning literally ‘to air out something’, but having

a certain different quality about it that leads her to use it even when speaking with her monolingual husband about taking the children outside to play at the end of the day. She says:

We've got young boys, and ... they're very wild ... in Czech you take your dog out for a walk at the end of the day to *vyvětrat* which is air, you don't really use it for kids but I often say like, let's go *vyvětrat* our kids, because they need it, so it doesn't quite—you can't really say the same thing in English, like you can run around outside but it doesn't have that—I dunno, *vyvětrat*.

Participant 1 said she uses English words in her Czech when there is lack of a good translation (reason 3), and her interlocutor will not understand a certain concept in Czech but they will in English (reasons 4 and 6).

4.3 How Borrowing Occurs

4.3.1. Lexical Borrowing

Participant 6 said her vocabulary is generally quite good. She mostly borrows from English when she has momentarily forgotten a word or does not know it. This mostly occurs when it is an infrequently used word. Participant 5 mentions that she has an issue with remembering Czech numbers fast enough to carry on a conversation. This is unsurprising, given that her dominant language is English, and that it was the language in which she learned arithmetic in school. Bilinguals tend to perform better and feel more comfortable using numbers in the language in which they learnt arithmetic in school; the dominant language for math tends to be the one in which “numerical knowledge was first acquired” (Marsh and Maki 1976; Martínez 2019: 15). They also perform worse when numerical problems are posed in their weaker language or L2 (Morales, Shute, and Pellegrino 1985; Frenck-Mestre and Vaid 1993). Whilst Czech is Participant 5's L1, it is now her weaker or secondary language (Polinsky 2006: 194–95, see Table 4).

Participant 5 also discusses a faux pas whereby she referred to an older lady with the incorrect honorific distinction (e.g., *ty* 'you (sg)' rather than *vy* 'you (pl)'), which she had simply forgotten to do in that moment. This is a faux pas in Czech because it is a rule of politeness to use *vy* when addressing an older person or in a formal situation.

Participant 1 says she may borrow a word or phrase before jumping back into Czech. She also mentions that sometimes people embed an English word into Czech, e.g., *bukovat* 'to book a holiday'. It does not sound right to her, but it is now in common use in her Czech speech communities. A participant in the observation sessions in Castle's (forthcoming) study uses this verb when dis-

cussing his holiday. Participant 2 will also utilize English words with Czech case endings in her Czech if she is unfamiliar with a word and does not have an issue with this.

Participant 5 borrows English lexical items freely in her Czech, and vice-versa.

4.3.2. Grammatical Borrowing

It is easier for participants to identify instances of lexical rather than grammatical borrowing. Several participants admitted that it is likely that their grammar is subconsciously affected by their utilization of the two languages and the contact between them, but that they really do not know whether this is the case. It is not something that they actively consider when speaking. They find it a lot easier to identify an instance of using a word or phrase from the other language.

However, some individuals observed that their syntax in one language is affected by that of the other. Participant 5, a 2nd-generation participant with a lower fluency level in Czech, mentioned that often when she is about to say something in Czech, she will translate it word-for-word, except for fixed expressions. She discusses the Latin she learned at school and compares her experiences with syntactic influence from Latin with the phenomena occurring between her English and Czech. Participant 6 also says that Latin classes at school in Australia influenced her English sentence formation. She imagines that a similar thing happens between her English and Czech.

Participants 2 and 4 discussed writing when asked about their syntax cross-over. They mentioned writing sentences down in Czech and realizing that the sentences were grammatically “incorrect” only afterward, but they were not sure if this was due to the influence between their languages.

Participant 2, whose dominant language is English, said her English syntax affects her Czech speech in Australia. However, when she goes to the Czech Republic for an extended stay, her English tends to begin to mimic the Czech sentence structure. She also tends to translate literally from English into Czech, occasionally causing confusion for Czechs there.

Almost all the participants were adamant that they never “crossed over” with morphology—in the framework of attaching Czech morphological affixes to English words within English speech. They insisted that the morphologies of the languages are separate for them. However, Participant 2 admitted to morphological borrowing Czech speech—but participants 3, 4, and 6 stated that they try to avoid it. It would appear that participants are mostly aware of syntactic borrowing in their speech, which is reflected in the syntactic borrowing found in the parallel study (Castle forthcoming).

4.3.3. Community Pressure

Some individuals who admitted to borrowing between the languages (Participants 1, 2, 3, and 5) tended to justify this tendency, saying other people also borrow—an excuse for why they do. It is possible that pressure to avoid borrowing is evident in the community. It could also be the case that participants had an expectation of purism on behalf of the linguist (which was certainly not there, and in some cases the linguist specifically explained her descriptivist beliefs and the concept of linguistic descriptivism).

Participant 5 feels that attending a formal event comes with a societal expectation that you do not mix your languages and should apologize for utilizing English words if you have trouble using Czech only. She states that most Czech South Australian interlocutors are understanding about it. However, some do not like the languages to be mixed, and they especially do not like it if one uses English only. This participant feels most comfortable and relaxed when she can use both languages freely. She also had no parental pressure not to mix, as her parents were happy for her to speak English to assist them in their new country.

Participant 2 admitted that when attending the Club she felt concerned about her Czech being adequate. She held back from talking with certain people for fear that her Czech was lacking and that she would have to mix in her speech with them. She emphasizes the importance of context; if someone is familiar or friendly, she does not feel pressure to speak perfect Czech. She mentioned earlier in the interview that you can mix in the Club, and it is generally not looked down upon, but these background pressures do seem evident, especially the social barriers created by linguistic issues. She feels more relaxed when she can use her two languages freely. She says:

The Czech teacher who I hadn't seen for a very long time, I would be held back from ... talking to him because I feel like my Czech isn't good enough for what I want to say ... for the people I'm familiar with and friendly with, no problem, because I probably ... [won't have an] in-depth level of conversation, but when it gets more complicated I'll probably hold myself back.

Participant 4 does not feel comfortable with Czechs speaking English to each other in the Club. She feels that speaking Czech in the Czechoslovak Club is a way of preserving the culture and community and of feeling more at home.

5. Discussion and Analysis

Table 5 below divides the reasons provided for borrowing in the qualitative analysis above into seven categories.

Table 5. Summary of Data Collected⁹

CATEGORY	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Purity (opinion on mixing)	~	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
Grammatical Gaps	~	✓	✗	✗	~	✗
Increased structural similarity	~	✓	~	✓	✓	✓
Cognitive pressure	✓	✓	✗	~	✓	✗
Societal Pressure from Czech Community	~	✓	~	✗	✓	✗
Societal Pressure from Australian Society	✓	✓	~	✗	✗	~
Excellent English Ability	✓	✓	✓	~	✓	✓

No two participants share the same answers; there is a great deal of variation in how they feel about grammatical borrowing, and whether they consciously engage in it. This variation is possibly attributable to participant diversity in terms of generation (cf. Table 1) and age (cf. Table 6 on page 26).

5.1. Categories in Data Summary

5.1.1. Purity (Opinion on Mixing) and Social Pressure

Purity (opinion on mixing) and social pressure in terms of pressure from the Czech community interact. Interestingly, it was those participants who did not feel pressure to speak Czech in the Club that said that mixing between languages is not ideal and that people ought to speak the languages separately. The two participants who had negative opinions on mixing were from the older group and of the first and 1.5 generations, respectively (Table 6).

⁹ Key: ✓ = yes, this is a factor for them; ✗ = no, this is not a factor for them; ~ = there are mixed opinions on this or participants contradicted themselves, P1 = Participant 1.

The idea of Czech prestigiousness and puristic language ideologies often stems from an understandable desire to keep the language alive within the community for younger generations and to maintain one's identity and the identity of the Club. However, an imposition of these rules on others may be accelerating language attrition as some members become too afraid to speak their version of Czech in some situations, avoid engaging with some people, and, at times, avoid attending the Club. Purism and social pressure are further discussed in §4.1.5, 4.2.1, 4.3.3.

5.1.2. Grammatical Gaps

Only one participant, of the 2nd generation, felt that borrowing possibly occurs due to grammatical gaps. The others disagreed outright or had mixed opinions.

5.1.3. Structural Similarity

All participants felt that language contact had caused a tendency toward structural similarity in their language use. Participants 2, 4, 5, and 6 accepted the possibility that contact between the languages may have caused them to re-create sentences in one language utilizing the other's syntactic rules, with the remaining two having mixed opinions. This awareness of changing sentence structure in response to the language contact situation is discussed in the parallel study on grammatical borrowing in the Czech South Australian community (Castle forthcoming).

The grammatical changes found in that study are confirmed by participant opinions surrounding their conscious language use. These participants essentially "lightened their cognitive load" by making their two languages increasingly isomorphic by converging the languages' word orders (Sanchez 2005: 234–35).

Participants 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 also discussed a possible subconscious syntactic influence of English language structures and peer engagement in and thus indirect approval of certain borrowing techniques as possible reasons for their engagement in borrowing.

5.1.4. Cognitive Pressure

Participants 1, 2, and 5 felt that there was cognitive pressure (in the sense of pressure in a communicative situation to state a word in a timely fashion, e.g.,

Table 6. Social Pressure and Purism in terms of Age and Generation

GENERATION (AS DEFINED IN TABLE 1)	AGE					
	< 50 (YOUNGER GROUP)			> 50 (OLDER GROUP)		
	Participant	Social Pressure ¹⁰	Negative Opinion ¹¹	Participant	Social Pressure	Negative Opinion
1	P1			P4		✓
1.5	P3			P6		✓
2	P2	✓		P5	✓	

¹⁰ Participant feels social pressure from the Czech community to speak Czech.

¹¹ Participant has a negative opinion toward language mixing.

pressure for word retrieval) for them to use one language over another, especially in situations where they may not know or have forgotten a word. This overlaps with syntactic change in the direction of utilizing syntax from the other language. It is important here to consider the participants' understanding of the question. Participant 3 stated that she did not see cognitive pressure playing a role in her speech, although she mentioned that whenever she does not know a word or has forgotten it, she will use a primary language word (English, in her case).

5.1.6. English Ability

All participants but one rated themselves as highly proficient English speakers.

5.2. Community Comparisons

American Czechs from the classical period are contrasted here with post-WWII immigrants to America, Canada, and South Australia. Though Czechs did migrate to Canada and South Australia earlier than WWII, these were much smaller waves of migration than that of the American Czechs. There is also not as much information available about these groups.

The language of South Australian Czechs is in an earlier stage of shift and loss than that of Czechs in the US whose ancestors immigrated during the classical period, particularly Texas Czechs. The youngest Texas Czechs do not speak Czech at all now beyond a few words or phrases; the language is nearly extinct. South Australian Czech is not yet at this stage; the language is still used amongst younger people in the community.¹² However, South Australian Czechs are at a similar stage of shift to those in Canada and the post-WWII waves of immigration to the US. These are first- and second-generation adult Czech South Australians, Canadians, and Americans, whereas the Texas Czechs are now of the third, fourth, or fifth generation. Due to globalization, increased mobility, and global knowledge made available by technology and the current sociolinguistic climate, the experience of the Czech immigrant to the US, Australia, and Canada in modern times is quite different.

Many more recent Czech South Australians, Canadians, and Americans already recognize the importance of heritage language maintenance without

¹² It is important to note here that the language of South Australian Czechs is very similar to Czech in the Czech Republic; new arrivals continue to come to South Australia and increase the number of first-generation speakers. In terms of Texas Czech, this is not possible because it refers to a community of people who arrived during a set time, and whose language developed in an insular fashion and is quite different to modern Standard Czech.

experiencing a process of loss and shame about their language (particularly in school) due to the sociopolitical consciousness of the time. Currently, the importance of bilingualism and its benefits are understood. Community members are able to maintain their heritage language without having first collectively undergone a generational language shift process.

Though these more recent communities try to maintain language use in different ways, including language classes and cultural activities, practical Czech use seems to be declining, especially with reports of Czech South Australian children being unable to speak the language to the same level as their parents unless they return to the Czech Republic for extended visits. More recent Czech immigrants to the US also recognize that lengthy trips to the Czech Republic are important for heritage language maintenance (McCabe 2016).

It is recognized that home language use, the presence of an ethnic community with a language school, and perceived prestige and vitality of the language are consistent predictors of heritage language retention (Fishman 1991; Tse 2001). Czech South Australians, Canadians (Dejmek 2007), and Americans (Moldová 2021) can rely on the presence of ethnic communities with language schools. Whilst McCabe (2016) mentions that many new arrivals to the US settle in destinations without established Czech communities and schools, she also ascribes the recently founded community language schools to the presence of the new migrants. The presence of such schools works for Czech speakers in terms of language maintenance. Prestige is also important for language maintenance. In South Australian Czech, the language has prestige and standing in terms of social solidarity in the community (see §4.2.1, 4.3.3 for more). Only time will tell whether the language will be maintained to fluency for South Australian Czechs.

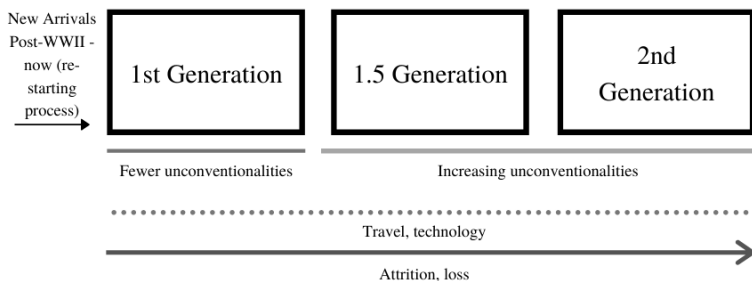
Though globalization, technology, and mobility can make the Czech heritage speaker experience different from what it was in the past in a way that motivates intergenerational language maintenance, it can also push against it. As evidenced in McCabe's (2016) study and in the present study, increased intermarriage and English abilities of new immigrants create a situation where Czech may not be fully passed on to the next generation.

Figure 1 on the following page from Castle (forthcoming) displays the differences between South Australian, Canadian, and American Czech (classical period and post-WWII period), and how different the development of Czech has been, largely depending on the era in which people moved.

5.3. Comparison of Social Pressure Experienced with Observed Language Use

On Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale, the Czech South Australian situation is likely at level two or level three. Function words and sen-

Post-WWII South Australian Czech, Canadian Czech, and American Czech



Classical period American Czech

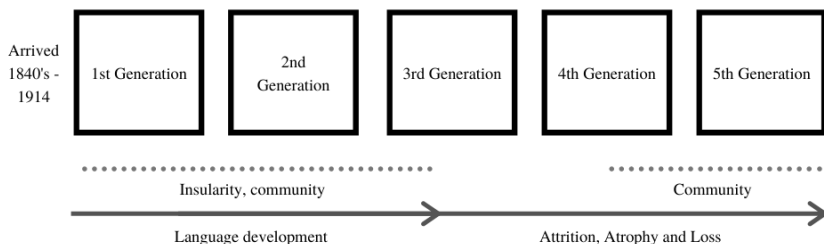


Figure 1. South Australian, Canadian, and American Czech Language Situations (adapted from Castle forthcoming)

tence structure are borrowed from English, for example with the increased marked use of pronouns, and syntax reflecting English word order (Castle forthcoming). Participant reports of their syntax directly reflecting English word order is in line with Gumperz and Wilson's (1971: 165) assertion that bilinguals tend to move their languages toward "word for word translatable codes". Some examples of changing syntax include:

- (3) Use of overt pronominal subject:

?já musím jet domů
I must_{1SG} to.go home

'I have to go home'

(Castle forthcoming: 15)

In Czech, the subject pronoun is generally not required once the subject is established as it is a pro-drop language. However, one possibility for using the subject pronoun is for emphasis. In the situations given in Castle (forthcoming), it is suggested that the subject pronoun is not used for emphasis but

could rather represent a contact-induced shift toward an Anglicized sentence structure.

- (4) Use of a more analytic sentence structure with overt subject pronoun (and codeswitching):

on	nechce	jít	camping	(kempovat)	
he	to.want _{3SG.NEG}	to.go	camping	(to.camp)	
	'he doesn't want to go camping'				(Castle forthcoming: 26)

In Standard Czech, in this situation one would simply utilise the verb *kempovat* 'to camp', e.g., *nechce kempovat* 'he doesn't want to camp'. Insertion of the verb *jít* 'to go (in the sense of by foot)' along with the English lexical item suggests a shift toward a syntactic structure more closely resembling English. The overt subject pronoun *on* is also used here where it is not required.

Though there are word-order changes, these are not deemed extensive enough for a level four rating on the borrowing scale. No English inflectional affixes are added onto Czech words, also indicating that the borrowings occurring in South Australian Czech are not at a level four.

Level three suggests a more intense level of contact and pressure from the broader surrounding Australian culture with a slight amount of structural borrowing. This fits with the participants' responses (§4.1.5, 4.1.4, 4.3.3).

5.4. Sources of Grammatical Borrowing

According to van Coetsem (2000: 215), the two forces motivating grammatical borrowing are need and prestige. The borrowing mode that encompasses these sources is called the extended mode of borrowing. The borrowing mode that prioritizes need as a source is called the regular mode of borrowing (van Coetsem 2000). In the regular mode of borrowing, the borrowing process by each individual is seen as an adaptation. However, in the extended mode of borrowing, this is considered an imitation undertaken because language community members have a strong awareness of their language being subordinated to the socially and culturally dominant source language (the language that is the source of the borrowings). In South Australian Czech, Czech is the recipient language and English is the source language.

In the regular mode, such language awareness is absent for a variety of reasons, but in South Australian Czech it could be argued that it is because the prevailing criterion for using English is for communication and intelligibility purposes and not for prestige-related purposes. Here, **prestige** refers to social status or reputation. As it is therefore primarily need driving the borrowing process, this makes South Australian Czech fit the regular mode of borrowing, which typically involves borrowing from the syntagmatic axis. This axis involves the distribution of phonological, morphological, and syntactic forms

and structures. This could aid in explaining the relative propensity for syntactic borrowing in South Australian Czech in comparison to minimal morphological borrowing (which is more related to the paradigmatic axis).

There is great cultural value and prestige within the Czech community, tying in with the idea of covert prestige expressing a sense of social solidarity (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977; Ryan 1979; Edwards 1982: 21; Milroy 1982; Giles and Johnson 1981, 1987). Czech social dominance and prestige within the Czechoslovak Club is clearly explained by van Coetsem's (2000) model and a need-based choice to learn and communicate in English in the outside world in Australia. One may also consider what van Coetsem (2000: 233) refers to as normativeness, or the motivation for avoiding borrowing, of which one aspect is purism. This is certainly present in the South Australian Czech community.

However, Participants 2, 3, 5, and 6 are no longer linguistically dominant in Czech. They are of the 1.5 and 2nd generations, reflecting the idea that intergenerational language shift processes such as divergent attainment are active in the community. Such generations also have closer and more intense contact with English in their formative years, through school, etc. The linguistic situation of these participants would more closely represent Source Language Agentivity (van Coetsem 2000) than Recipient Language Agentivity. Also referred to as imposition, Source Language Agentivity occurs in the case where elements are imposed onto participants' Czech through their English dominance. Van Coetsem's (2000: 172) Source Language Agentivity model is shown below:

initial generation(s): L1 (**A**) → L2 (B) = imposition by A (acquisition of B)
 subsequent generation(s): L1 (**B**) → L2 (A) = imposition by B (possible attrition of A)

where imposition refers to linguistic dominance. Bolding indicates the linguistically dominant language.

For this group, their borrowing may be more affected by prestige. This is possible through having prestige ascribed to the English language in their youth, e.g., at school, where it is not only the language acquired and utilized by teachers, but it is also the language of peers and friends. This may move the situation of South Australian Czech closer to the paradigmatic axis.

Need certainly plays a role in grammatical borrowing for the Czech South Australian community. Participants discuss a need to utilize English in broader Australian society (§4.1.5). This could also be extended to a cognitive need to make the languages' syntactic structures more similar for ease of processing in managing "a context-sensitive selection of structures and items within a complex repertoire of linguistic structures" (Matras 2010: 83) as well as to borrow grammatical elements, especially given the idea of imposition of

language material in the model above (van Coetsem 2000: 172). The need for borrowing is also extended to encompass the fact that English is the most useful language for communication outside the Czech community in South Australia, as it is the language used by the government, administration, schools, and general Australian population. Though English has authoritative and normative language dominance within Australia, it is not necessarily seen as prestigious in comparison with Czech by the participants (see §4.1.2). Therefore, it is likely that the borrowing situation here represents regular mode, leading to borrowing on the syntagmatic axis and making need the primary force for grammatical borrowing. The factors encompassed by need, including social pressure, structural similarity, and cognitive pressure, each play a role in the grammatical system of Czech in South Australia.

6. Conclusion

Sociocultural pressures, including community pressures and norms, family influence, partner attitudes, availability of and accessibility to schools, and wider Australian community pressures are identified as important factors in causing grammatical phenomena in South Australian Czech. Sociocultural pressures have presented different issues for temporally different Czech communities in majority English-speaking countries due to the sociopolitical and cultural backgrounds of the time. However, they appear to present similar issues for geographically different contemporaneous Czech communities in the US, Canada, and Australia. However, whilst the types of sociocultural pressures differ, similar results occur and thus, the linguistic processes are much the same. The sociocultural pressures experienced match that of the linguistic outcomes as analyzed using Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale.

Cognitive pressures and prestige value are other key factors. Cognitive pressures discussed include the ability to recall a word, not knowing a word, and quick access to a phrase in the brain. Another pertinent cognitive pressure is that of making the languages more structurally similar. It is noted that outcomes of increased structural similarity are evident in Castle (forthcoming), and participants discuss both the possibility of their unconscious move toward structural similarity, as well as a conscious knowledge of using the grammatical structure of the other language. It is shown that Czech is perceived as a language of prestige by the participants, and they act accordingly, e.g., by a preference to speak Czech only in the Czechoslovak Club and having a sense of pride in the language. The participants had a variety of reactions to the pressures involved, with some participants being affected by certain factors more than others.

Need (van Coetsem 2000) encompasses all of the above factors, and is thus the primary motive for grammatical borrowing in situations such as that of South Australian Czech.

A limitation of this study is that it does not reflect the entire Czech South Australian community. However, as an exploratory study intended for in-depth qualitative discussions with a few individuals, it successfully produced an array of nuanced views surrounding language use within the community. Another limitation involves the fact that only six out of the initial ten participants in the parallel study were available for interview, so comparisons between performance during the observations and experiences shared in the interviews could only be made for those six. Future research with a larger sample size would enable researchers to generalize about the Czech South Australian community's use of the language.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

1. What languages do you speak?
2. What would you rate your language proficiencies in each of your languages?
 - a. What was your IELTS score (if you did an IELTS test)?
3. What is your opinion on mixing between languages in speech?
4. In conversation with other bilinguals, do you notice yourself using both of your languages? Why do you do this?

Ideas:

- a. due to momentarily forgetting a word? Give monolingual example for when you forget a word—no way to say it at all!
 - b. another word/particle is more useful/better/more appropriate for the situation
 - c. another word/particle expresses the meaning more fully
 - d. another word/particle feels easier to express in that language
5. How do you do this?
 - a. Do you feel that you borrow words from between languages in a bilingual situation? Which words?
 - b. Do you feel that you borrow grammar between your languages in a bilingual situation?
 - c. Do you say two words/two morphemes in one sentence that express the same concept but use them both, e.g., for emphasis?
 - d. Do you have an awareness of the way you phrase sentences changing at all to match the form of your other language? Provide examples.

6. What places are you in when you borrow between languages/mix languages?
7. Do you feel more relaxed in speaking when you can use both languages rather than just L1 or L2?
8. How long have you been in this country/were you born here?
 - a. How long have you been speaking English?
9. Do you feel any form of societal/community pressure to mix two languages in a sentence or to not do so? Or in public/at home? Would it be weird? When would it be weird?
10. Do you feel any social pressure to conform to majority languages? Do you also feel language pride for your own language? How does this play out in your speech?

If you think of any more instances of grammatical borrowing that you have in your speech and you would like to share them, feel free to email me.

Appendix 2: Bilingual Ability Grading Scale

English/Angličtina:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Czech/Čeština:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

0 = does not speak the language at all
nemluví vůbec tímto jazykem

10 = native-level fluency and maintained use of language
rodilý mluvčí a pravidelné používání jazyka

Appendix 3: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages¹²

PROFICIENT USER	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarize information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments, and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors, and cohesive devices.
INDEPENDENT USER	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialization. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.

¹² The highlighted text represents that which was used by the researcher to assess the level of competency for the participants. The researcher was only able to use the highlighted conditions in the categories for assessment as they relate to spoken Czech (i.e., written speech was not assessed).

INDEPENDENT USER	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
BASIC USER	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g., very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
BASIC USER	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

(Council of Europe 2020)

Appendix 4: Thomason and Kaufman's Borrowing Scale

Thomason and Kaufman's Borrowing Scale Summary

LEVEL	INTENSITY OF SOCIAL CONTACT	BORROWING OUTCOME	EXAMPLES OF BORROWING OUTCOME
1	Casual contact	lexical borrowing only	content words
2	Slightly more intense contact	slight structural borrowing	function words from the lexicon minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic features
3	More intense contact	slightly more structural borrowing	function words including adpositions, derivational affixes, pronouns syntax e.g., borrowed postpositions in a prepositional language
4	Strong cultural pressure	moderate structural borrowing	extensive word order changes borrowed inflectional affixes added to native words
5	Very strong cultural pressure	heavy structural borrowing	major structural features significant typological disruption added morphophonemic rules

(Thomason and Kaufman 1988)

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With All Due Respect, on Slavic Abstracts in *-y*: The History of Proto-Slavic *cěty* ‘respect’ and Some Comparative Notes on its Congeners (*ljuby* ‘love’, *cěly* ‘healing, greeting’)*

Rafał Szeptyński and Marek Majer

Abstract: The scarcely attested Proto-Slavic **cěty* **-vve* ‘respect’ appears to be a mostly overlooked member of the small class of abstracts in **-y* **-vve*; no precise accounts of the noun’s origin have been proposed so far. Two complementary approaches are put forth in the article: 1) inheritance from a PIE animate *s*-stem **keyt-ōs* >> **koyt-ōs* (paralleling a recent analysis of **ljuby* ‘love’ < PIE **lewb^h-ōs* as well as its presumed secondary association with a verb in **-i-ti*) or 2) inner-Slavic origin based on the formally similar **ljuby* ‘love’ and **cěly* ‘healing (subst.)’. The study also offers novel analyses—based on hitherto unexploited philological and lexicographical data—concerning various related issues (e.g., the status of PSl nominal **cět^v*, verbal **cětiti*, and personal names in **Cěto/i-*; the adposition **cětja*; the semantic and pragmatic developments in **cěly* ‘greeting, kiss’; the secondary rise of masculine **cělov^v/**cělyv^v** ‘kiss’) with the purpose of integrating the entirety of the material concerning the root **cět-* and the abstract type in **-y* **-vve* into coherent pictures.

1. General Background

The class of feminine nouns in nom.sg **-y*, gen.sg **-vve*, commonly referred to as *ū*-stems, constitutes a well-known declensional model in Proto-Slavic. The type is abundantly represented in Old Church Slavic (cf. familiar nouns such as *smoky* *-vve* ‘fig tree’, *crkvy* *-vve* ‘church’, *neplody* *-vve* ‘infertile woman’) and in other older Slavic idioms, while in the modern Slavic languages—as is well known—the characteristic nom.sg in **-y* has typically been lost and the class

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as a whole assimilated to the productive feminine declensions, i.e., \bar{a} -stem (B/C/S *smǫkva -ē, cřkva -ē*)¹ or *i*-stem (Ru *cěrkov' -vi, ljubóv' -ví, B/C/S ljúbav -vi, Pol cerkiew -wi*). The histories of the individual languages often provide a rich documentation of various stages of this process, whose beginnings are visible already in OCS: the nom.sg of the PSI noun **kry *krъve* 'blood', for example, occurs in OCS almost universally as remodeled *krъvb*.² In some languages, the type has preserved a certain degree of autonomy—Slovenian, for instance, retains a separate inflectional type in *-av* (*cěrkav -kve*), and the word for 'blood' faithfully reflects the nom.sg **kry* to this day (*krí*, extended also to the acc.sg). Useful overviews of the developments of the type in **-y *-vve* across the Slavic languages, with varying levels of detail and different focus, can be found in Vaillant 1958: 266–90; Bräuer 1969: 181–90; or Townsend and Janda 1996: 172.

It is generally agreed—and indeed correct beyond doubt—that the type originates chiefly from Proto-Indo-European nouns in **-uH-* > **-ū-*, a stem class of nominals resulting in distinct inflectional patterns in other Indo-European languages as well (cf. Ancient Greek nouns in *-γς -γος* or Vedic ones in *-ūh -uvalh*). This is evidenced both by the fact that the inflection of Proto-Slavic items in **-y *-vve* is in principle historically identical with that of reflexes of \bar{u} -stems in these languages (e.g., gen.sg PSI **-vve* = Ved *-uvalh*, dat.sg PSI **-vvi* = Ved *-uve*) and by the existence of well-established cognates (e.g., PIE **h₃b^hruH-* 'eyebrow' > PSI **bry *brъve*, Ved *bhrú-*, AGr *ophrŷs*, OE *brū* or PIE **swekruH-* 'mother-in-law' > PSI **svekry *svekrъve*, Ved *śvaśrú-*). Treatments of the Indo-European background of the Slavic type in **-y *-vve* and the latter's relations with stems in **-ū-* in other Indo-European languages can be found in Vaillant 1958: 262–66; Arumaa 1985: 63–68; or Matasović 2014: 58–60.

This is not to say, however, that all details surrounding the Slavic nouns in **-y *-vve* can be considered clarified. On the contrary, as a morphological class conspicuously found in venerable historical corpora ranging from OCS to Polabian but largely absent from the modern Slavic languages and thus constituting a showcase "ancient" feature, feminine nouns in **-y *-vve* have continued to attract the attention of scholars. In fact, the last few years alone have yielded a number of works proposing new interpretations concerning

¹ Abbreviations (we omit those referring to the modern Slavic languages or to obvious categories): AGr = Ancient Greek, ap = accent paradigm, CrCS = Croatian Church Slavic, Čak = Čakavian, Eng = English, Goth = Gothic, Ir = Indo-Iranian, Lat = Latin, Latv = Latvian, Lith = Lithuanian, M = Middle (language stage), med = middle (voice), MGr = Middle Greek, O = Old, OAv = Old Avestan, obl = oblique, OCS = Old Church Slavic, OE = Old English, OHG = Old High German, OPr = Old Prussian, PGmc = Proto-Germanic, PIE = Proto-Indo-European, SerbCS = Serbian Church Slavic, Ved = Vedic Sanskrit, YAv = Young Avestan. Symbols: > phonological development or semantic change; >> (additional) morphological restructuring; → derivation; † reconstruction deemed false.

² See Birnbaum and Schaecken 1997: 147.

these nouns, including their historical origins, functional scope, derivatives, interrelations with other morphological types, and paths of development in the particular Slavic languages. To name just a handful of recent examples, we may mention Pronk-Tiethoff 2014; Repanšek 2016; Šekli 2019; Janczulewicz 2020, 2021, forthcoming; cf. also Majer 2020.

In the present article, we aim to examine and develop the hypothesis put forth in the last of the above-mentioned studies, which deals with the origin of a small group of items in **-Ÿ *-bve* that serve as abstract nouns (prominently **ljuby *-bve* ‘love, desire’). Specifically, we intend to examine little-known, previously uninspected relevant data centered around the noun **čęty *-bve* ‘respect’ and to analyze some implications for the history of the whole type. In order to do so, we shall first review the general status of Proto-Slavic abstract nouns in **-Ÿ* and the possibilities of their historical explanation.

2. Abstracts in **-Ÿ* and the Case of **ljuby*

2.1. Typical Functions of Nouns in **-Ÿ *-bve*

First, it must be pointed out that forming abstract nouns is not a typical function of the class in **-Ÿ *-bve*. Rather, items of Proto-Slavic age belonging here are concentrated in several other areas:

- (1) a. a small number of inherited or early-adapted items of basic vocabulary (**kry* ‘blood’, **bry* ‘eyebrow’, **svękry* ‘mother-in-law’, and a few others);
- b. terms denoting animals (e.g., **ęty* ‘duck’, **žęly* ‘tortoise’);
- c. terms denoting women (e.g., **neplody* ‘infertile woman’, **męžaky* ‘virago’, **vbnyky* ‘granddaughter’);
- d. adaptations of recent borrowings, especially—though not exclusively—from Germanic (e.g., **męrky* ‘carrot’, **pany* ‘pan’, **kony* ‘watering can’, **xoręgy* ‘standard, banner’, **cęrky*/**cıręky* ‘church’, **smoky* ‘fig’, and numerous others);
- e. toponyms, especially hydronyms, many of them adapted (**Nary* ‘Narew/NáraŸ, river in Poland and Belarus’; **Nęęty* ‘Nęęřęva, river in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, known in antiquity as Narenta’; and numerous others).

2.2. Abstract Nouns in **-Ÿ *-bve*

Against the above—all of which, it will be noticed, refer to concrete objects, be it animate or inanimate—stands a quite limited group of abstract nouns in

*-y *-vve. This set is prominently represented by the noun **ljuby* *-vve ‘love, desire’, reflected directly in OCS *ljuby* -vve and in several other Slavic languages as the default term for ‘love’: Ru *ljubóv*, B/C/S *ljúbav* etc. The latter items likely represent learned heritage in at least some cases (thus Vaillant: 1958: 279), although the material is not amenable to straightforward evaluation. As for South Slavic, certain attestations bear apparent Church Slavic traits, such as—in several older varieties of the B/C/S area—the spellings with -o- (*ljubovb*) as well as, less obviously, the preservation of the original nom.sg in the indeclinable form *ljubi*. Other facts, however, seem to speak for organic transmission. First of all, we may note the lexeme’s very widespread occurrence in vernacular dialects, including ones outside of the range of Church Slavic influence—particularly in Slovenian.³ Second, one observes old dialectal innovations in some attestations—phonological (Bulg. dial. *libof*) and morphological (Čak *ľubva*). As regards East Slavic material, however, at least some Old Russian (16th century) and modern dialectal (North Russian) attestations point to a Church Slavic loan here due to the close/tense character of the suffix vowel *o* (cf. Bernštejn 1974: 225);⁴ a genuine East Slavic reflex of *-v should have remained an open/lax vowel.⁵

The lexeme stands beside the adjective **ljubv* ‘nice, dear’ and the verb **ljubiti* ‘to love’, analyzed as inherited from PIE **lewb^h*- (see further 2.3 and fn 6). It would perhaps be justifiable to ask the question whether **ljuby*—and thus possibly the type in general, if based on this prominent item—might not be borrowed from Germanic (cf. OHG *liubi* ‘love’, a feminine stem in *-īn-, alongside *lioba* ‘id.’, a feminine stem in *-ō-, EWAhd 5: 1388). Such an analysis was already deemed unlikely by Meillet (1905: 269), who chiefly relied on the argument that the evidence for the relevant source noun(s) in Germanic *-ō was insufficient in his view. This, in itself, need not be decisive, as feminine borrowings from Germanic often enter the class in *-y *-vve regardless of the stem vowel of the donor word (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 243, with references). Nev-

³ SnojSES3 s.v. *ljúb*: “ljubāv ‘love’ (...) inherited word, often used in the older language and in dialects” (*ljubāv* ‘ljubezen’ (...) podedovana beseda, pogosto rabljena v star. jeziku in v narečjih).

⁴ In old manuscripts it is detectable, e.g., on the basis of the presence of a special diacritic mark called *kamora*.

⁵ No irrefutable traces of the word can be identified in the West Slavic languages. For Old Czech, see Patera and Sreznevskij 1878: 56, where the alleged hapax legomenon from the 13th century or so is recognized as fake; for Lower Sorbian, see SNLJa 1: 843 on the ambiguous material, ultimately not even included in HEWONS; for Polabian, see SEJDP 2: 340–41, where serious phonetic obstacles are acknowledged (cf. Janczulewicz 2021).

ertheless, Germanic origin indeed seems implausible here for a number of reasons and is not normally assumed.⁶

Also directly documented is OCS *cěly -vve*, denoting a ‘healing’ or (less commonly, later-attested) ‘health’ and standing beside **cěliti* ‘make whole, heal’ as well as **cělъ* ‘whole, healthy’. The noun **cěly* is a most interesting item in itself and we shall return to it in 6.2. A number of other examples have been mentioned in the literature, but they are attested with concretized or otherwise shifted meanings and can only be suspected of formerly serving as direct abstracts. The closest to a prototypical abstract would be **dorgy* ‘(time of) high prices; dearth, famine’ (attested only in East Slavic: ORu *dorogъvъ*, Ru dial., Blr dial. *dorogovъ*; SP 4: 121–22), cf. **dorgъ* ‘expensive’; one may also mention **suxy* (ORu *suxva*, B/C/S arch. *suhva* ‘raisin’), cf. **suxъ* ‘dry’, and possibly certain others (see Wojtyła-Świerzowska 1992: 52–55 for a fairly detailed overview). A few further potential examples of concretized abstracts are built from adjectives that are historically suffixed, e.g., with **-ro*⁷ or **-to*⁸, which generally makes them less relevant for deeper diachronic purposes. Finally, a particular sort of concretized abstracts can perhaps be sourced from the rich

⁶ The word *ljuby* is attested in OCS, so that it would have to belong to the earliest, Proto-Slavic layer of Germanic loans rather than be a younger, regional borrowing (it is scarcely credible that a local Germanism picked up in Moravia would have been introduced into the Psalter). As regards feminines in **-y *-vve*, this initial stratum is limited to a handful of items. Putting aside the fact that they are never abstract nouns and invariably belong to different semantic/functional domains, all of them also have a stem-final velar: **buky* ‘beech’, **cъrky* (with variants) ‘church’, **lagy* ‘cask’, **orky* ‘box’, **redьky* (with variants) ‘radish’, etc. At the same time, other early Germanic loanwords of Proto-Slavic age adapted as feminine nouns—including all with stem-final labials—assume the form of *ā*-stems (**duma* ‘thought’, **trъba* ‘trumpet’, **stopa* ‘mortar’, etc.). See Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 245 and passim for details. On a related note, a minority of scholars have opined that even the adjective PSI **ljubъ* is a borrowing from, rather than a cognate of, Germanic **leuba-* (OHG *liob* ‘dear’ etc.; e.g., Hirt 1898: 334–35, who argues that both the adjective and the abstract were borrowed). Nothing in the Slavic material appears to support such an interpretation, however, while the existence of a Baltic cognate (see 2.3) speaks against it.

⁷ E.g., **ostrы *-vve*: Sln. *ostřva* and *ostřv -i*, B/C/S *òstřva* ‘rack for drying hay’, OPol *ostrew* and *ostrwa* ‘tree trunk with large knags’—cf. **ostrъ* ‘sharp’; **pъstry *-vve*: B/C/S *pъstřva*, Bulg. *pъstърva* ‘trout’—cf. **pъstrъ* ‘colorful’ (Bernštejn 1974: 235; SnojSES3: s.v. *postřv*).

⁸ E.g., **gъsty *-vve*: Pol *gęstwa* ‘thicket, dense bushes; throng’—cf. **gъstъ* ‘thick’ (SP 8: 171); **pъsty *-vve*: Slk. dial. *pъstev* ‘wilderness’—cf. **pъstъ* ‘empty’ (Bernštejn 1974: 221); **čisty *-vve*: perhaps → Sln. derivative *čistvina* ‘clearing in a forest’—cf. **čistъ* ‘clear, clean’ (SP 2: 216; PletSNS s.v. *čistvina*). In addition, the fact that these items are suspiciously often only found in derivatives (*-tvina*, *-tvica*, etc.) or in a shape consistent with **-tva* makes it possible that they may in fact have a historical stem in **-tweh₂*—whose link to the type in **-y *-vve* is far from guaranteed. The matter would merit a separate study.

and often archaic hydronymy utilizing the suffix $*-y$ $*-vve$; cf. examples such as *Tanew* ‘river in SE Poland’ (formerly *Thnew* etc., Ukr dial. *T’enva*) < $*Tbny$ $*-vve$,⁹ apparently from $*tbnv[kv]$ ‘thin’, or *Studwia* ‘river in central Poland’ (formerly *Slodew* etc.) < $*Soldy$ $*-vve$, apparently from $*soldv[kv]$ ‘sweet/salty’ (Babik 2001: 334–35, 337–38).

The conventional explanation for such forms is that they continue a PIE formation in $*-u-h_2$, i.e., the abstract suffix $*-h_2$ added to the productive adjective formant $*-u-$. Although phonologically unassailable, this explanation suffers from a number of weaknesses, as stated by Majer (2020: 88–91). First, in the ancient Indo-European languages—and thus presumably in PIE— u -stem adjectives did not normally form abstract nouns by adding the suffix $*-h_2$ (the proposed Ancient Greek and Vedic parallels are exceedingly few in number and not a single one consists of a transparent adjective / abstract noun pairing); rather, a number of other, clearly defined formations were used for this purpose. Besides, the few attested or quasi-attested Slavic abstracts in $*-y$ $*-vve$ do not correlate with u -stem adjectives: for instance, there is no evidence for the inherited status of $*ljubvkv$ < $*lewb^h-u[-ko]-$ or the existence of a form $\dagger lubvkv$ < $\dagger lub^h-u[-ko]-$.¹⁰

2.3. The Animate s -stem Explanation

As an alternative, it is suggested by Majer (2020: 91–98) that Proto-Slavic abstracts in $*-y$ $*-vve$ may have originated (also) from a different PIE source, namely from animate s -stem nouns whose nom.sg ended in PIE $*-ōs$;¹¹ the

⁹ On the secure status of the pre-form $*Tbny$ here (as opposed to $*Tany$ or $*Tbny$ etc., as assumed previously) see the documentation and discussion provided by Babik 2001. It may also be added that the author himself, following Boryś 1995, leans towards interpreting these forms as substantivized feminine forms of the underlying adjectives (as though from $*t\ddot{u}h_2-u-h_2$ ‘the thin.f one’) rather than abstracts.

¹⁰ The antiquity of $*ljubvkv$ ‘nice’ (attested only from the 15th century onwards; cf. B/C/S *ljūbak*, Ru dial. *ljūbkij*, etc.) could potentially be supported by a deradical comparative in $*-jvš-$, i.e., a form like $\dagger ljubl\ddot{u}vš-$ (or $\dagger ljubvčajvš-$, cf. Szeptyński 2018: 145–46). However, the deradical comparative actually found in OCS is of the type $*-ě-jvš-$ (nom. sg.n *ljuběje* in Suprasliensis 380,21; see SJS 2: 163) and thus clearly belongs to the thematic adjective $*ljubv$.

¹¹ Animate s -stems are not otherwise considered to be inherited in Slavic, where the only known class of s -stems is the familiar neuter type of $*slovo$ $*-ese$ ‘word’ < PIE $*klew-os$ $*klew-es-es$ ‘fame, something heard’ or $*nebo$ $*-ese$ ‘sky’ < PIE $*neb^h-os$ $*neb^h-es-es$ ‘cloud, wetness’. Potential indirect traces of the word for ‘fear’, $*b^heyH-ōs$ (>> Ved *bhi-yás-*, cf. below) may be sought in derivatives such as PSI $*bēs$ ‘demon’, Lith *baisà* ‘fear’; however, the assumption of an analogical reversal of the RUKI-rule and certain other morphological modifications is required here (cf. Majer 2017: 160–61). More importantly, perhaps, reflexes of a final PIE $*-ōs$ might theoretically be expected in yet other

sound law PIE $*-\bar{o}s$ > PSI $*-y$ would have caused such items to develop a nom. sg in $*-y$ phonologically,¹² while the rest of the paradigm would have been adjusted to the more productive and morphologically transparent class in $*-y$ $*-bve$. Effectively, an expected paradigm of the type $*-y$ $*-(e/o)se$ would have been regularized to $*-y$ $*-bve$ at a certain point after the relevant sound laws made the reflexes of PIE $*-uH$ and PIE $*-\bar{o}s$ indistinguishable.¹³ According to this theory (cf. Majer 2020: 91–98 for the respective details), such an origin can be postulated at least for $*ljuby$ based on the following arguments:

- (2) a. unlike those in $*-u-h_2$, animate nouns in $*-\bar{o}s$ are unequivocally attested as abstracts in the ancient Indo-European languages (AGr *aidōs* -óos ‘reverence, awe’, *érōs* **éroos* ‘love, desire’, Ved *bhiyās-* ‘fear’, productive abstracts in Lat -or -ōris [$<-\bar{o}s$ -ōris] such as *timor* ‘fear’), so that this function may be reconstructed for PIE;
- b. in Ancient Greek and Vedic, the few attested items of this type belong to the semantic field of emotions and mental states (‘fear’, ‘love’, etc.), to which PSI $*ljuby$ also corresponds;
- c. Ancient Greek and Vedic abstracts in $*-\bar{o}s$ occur next to a primary middle verb expressing the emotion or mental state in question (AGr *aidomai* ‘be ashamed’, Ved *bháyate* ‘fear’), and there is some evidence for a similar formation built to the root $*lewb^h-$ in PIE;

former animate *s*-stem paradigms—namely, in the nom.sg.m forms of the comparative degree morpheme, PIE $*-(\bar{i})y\bar{o}s$ (cf. PSI $*-’bjv$, with controversial interpretations) and of the perfect participle active, PIE $*-w\bar{o}s$ (cf. PSI $*-’b$). This problem will be treated in more detail in the authors’ further forthcoming studies.

¹² While this sound law does remain controversial to some extent, it appears to represent the majority view today; without it, it is indeed difficult to explain certain isolated morphological facts (such as the dat/acc of the 1st and 2nd-person plural pronouns: PSI $*ny$, $*vy < PIE *n\bar{o}s$, $*w\bar{o}s$). For detailed argumentation cf. Majer 2020: 84–85; for further recent discussion and overview of literature see also Kim 2019 (esp. 5–7) and Olander 2015 (esp. 56–57, 131–32, 254; here with some important differences, but likewise acknowledging the special development in final position).

¹³ Some analyses assuming a secondary rise of \bar{u} -stems from *s*-stems of various types (or from the structure $*-\bar{o} + s$) had already been pursued in earlier studies, such as Snoj 1994; Witczak 1998; Furlan 2011; Repanšek 2016; for an overview see Majer 2020: 83–87. One may wonder whether all of the possible examples—ranging from terms denoting people to abstract nouns—can be uniformly accounted for by assuming a remodeling on the basis of the nom.sg form. In the case of abstract nouns, it can be surmised that it is their peculiar assignment to the animate gender that corroborates an increased frequency of the nom.sg form. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the nominative would have also been used in various predicative constructions (rather than being limited to expressing agents, etc.).

- d. the only cognate of PSI **ljuby* in Baltic—Lith *liaupsė* ‘praise, adoration’—features an unexpected element *-s-*, pointing to a preform like **lewb^h-s-iyā*;
- e. recent morphological remodeling may help explain the puzzling occurrence of the form (*prě*)*ljuby* not only as nom.sg, but also as acc.sg in the phrase (*prě*)*ljuby tvoriti/dějati* ‘commit adultery’, widely attested in OCS and other early varieties.¹⁴

Constructed on the basis of scattered indices, the hypothesis offered in Majer 2020 is of course bound to remain quite speculative, especially given the scantiness of the Indo-European comparative material and the lack of overt evidence for the element **-s-* in the family of **ljub-* within Slavic itself. A number of further potential problems may also be raised, which—though not lethal to the theory—merit additional discussion. In the ensuing paragraphs, we shall review certain aspects of the relevant forms and the ways they affect the above scenario.

One unusual feature of both the family of **ljub-* in Slavic and the family of *liaup(s)-* in Lithuanian is the apophonic inertia of the root:¹⁵ we find no traces of either **lub^h-* or **lowb^h-* here, be it inherited or created within (Balto-)Slavic.¹⁶ This may raise a certain degree of suspicion regarding an analysis that invokes archaic derivational phenomena; the most logical explanation would be the fact that the whole (Balto-)Slavic family is either derived from or has been apophonically influenced by the inherited adjective **ljubv* < PIE **lewb^h-o-* (cf. Goth *liufs*), whose reconstruction is somewhat more secure than that of the corresponding primary verbs.¹⁷

We may further note that, among the parallels pointed out in Majer 2020, the Ancient Greek forms in **-ōs* agree apophonically with the corresponding middle verbs in displaying the full grade of the root (*aid-*, *er-*, etc.), while in

¹⁴ Admittedly, in this particular point the account is to some extent circular, given that both the explanandum and the explanans are quite isolated phenomena. Nevertheless, their co-occurrence could be a telling fact in itself, indicative of an exceptional status of the noun.

¹⁵ Here we disregard the prosodic alternation observed between Lith *liaupsė* (ap 4) and *liáupsinti liáupsina* ‘praise, extol’—an internal process also found in many other synchronic derivatives in *-inti* (Skardžius 1943: 539–47), certainly providing no evidence for inherited **lewb^h-*.

¹⁶ This is not the case in other branches, and therefore hardly in the proto-language; for **lub^h-* cf. OLat *lubet* (classical Lat *libet* ‘is pleasing’), for **lowb^h-* cf. Goth *[ga]laubjan* ‘permit’.

¹⁷ Note, incidentally, that an adjective in **-o-* with *e*-grade in the root is likely to be archaic (cf. Nussbaum 2017: 243–63, especially 245 on the rapport **lewb^h-ó-* ‘dear’ vs **lówb^h-o-* ‘deariness’, the latter in OE *lēaf* ‘license’).

Indo-Iranian the single attested example has the zero-grade of the root (Ved *bhiy-*). This ablaut configuration is compatible with the assumption of an original PIE amphikinetic paradigm in this derivational type,¹⁸ but the synchronic apophonic associations with the respective verbal bases should be borne in mind too (in the case of **ljuby*, the analogue could be sought in the verb **ljubiti*).

Finally, if the form underlying **ljuby* is indeed to be analyzed as an archaism only explicable within the derivational mechanisms of PIE, one might consider yet other means of accounting for them besides the traditional explanation and the one offered in Majer 2020. In particular, one parallel that comes to mind—though an isolated formation itself—is AGr *plēthýs* f. ‘crowd’, apparently an original deverbal abstract of *plēthō* ‘to fill’ (< **pleh₁-d^he-*, cf. OAv *frā-daṭ* ‘advance, support’). If the form *plēth-ýs* represents a virtual **pleh₁-d^h-uH-*, then a suffix with an identical structure—though otherwise barely known¹⁹—could underlie PSI **ljuby* as a direct deverbal abstract (**lewb^h-uH-*).²⁰ Cf. also Wojtyła-Świerzowska 1992: 55.

2.4. Interim Conclusions and Research Perspectives

The above deliberations are not meant to invalidate or replace the theory presented in Majer 2020. On the contrary, they are meant to show the potential for an even more precise description of the relevant word-formation class, both in the comparative Indo-European context and as a self-contained entity functioning within Proto- or Common Slavic. The basic task here, of course, would be to find further examples with a profile similar to **ljuby*—i.e., lexemes that belong to the morphological type in **-y *-vve*, directly attest abstract meaning (preferably in the semantic domain of emotions and mental states), and are potentially linkable with forms containing a suffixal **-s-* either within Slavic or elsewhere in Indo-European. Locating any such items might make it possible to corroborate, refute or modify the above theory, as well as—more generally—to shed further light on the history of the Slavic class in **-y *-vve*.

¹⁸ On the accent/ablaut types of PIE see Meier-Brügger 2010: 336–53.

¹⁹ Cf. perhaps AGr *iskh-ýs* ‘power’ vs. *iskh-ō* ‘restrain’; see Nussbaum 1998: 534; de Lamberterie 1990: 297.

²⁰ It is also possible, however, that the long monophthong **-ū-* was introduced here within the history of Ancient Greek as an apophonic replacement of older **-ēw-*; this latter solution (e.g., Klingenschmitt 1992: 127) might enable a direct link between AGr *plēthýs* and Lat *plēbēs* f. ‘common people’. Solutions connecting the latter two items via a reconstruction like **pleh₁-d^h-uh₁-s*, gen. **weh₁-s* or similar (see de Vaan 2008: 471 for discussion) have to be couched within a quite specific framework of PIE ablaut models. As regards the synchronic verbal connections of abstracts in **-y *-vve*, cf. section 6.3.2.

Interestingly, it appears that at least one such word can indeed be added to the evidence.

3. PSI *cěty ‘respect, reverence’

3.1. Introduction

Despite the relatively advanced and detailed reconstructions of the Proto-Slavic lexicon (cf. works such as ÈSSJa and SP; see also Derksen 2008), it often happens that noteworthy words escape scholars’ attention due to their omission or highly specific manner of lemmatization in the standard secondary sources. This is evidently the case with the rare noun *cěty *-bve ‘respect, reverence’ (SP 2: 208, s.v. *čisti *čbtǫ),²¹ whose unique characteristics make it the closest possible formal comparandum for *ljuby *-bve ‘love’ as described above.

Since the data serving as the basis of the reconstruction in question are very limited and have not been presented at length anywhere yet, it seems useful to exhibit them here in full before we proceed to issues of interpretation. The material is limited to West Slavic—mostly to Middle Polish and modern Polish dialects.²² Nevertheless, as will be discussed further below, the derivational mechanisms involved are difficult to account for Polish-internally and point towards an inherited form.

3.2. The Archetype *cěty *-bve ‘respect’

3.2.1. Middle Polish Data

The noun itself is attested twice in a single 16th-century monument, viz. Jan Radomski’s translation of the *Augustan Confession* published in Królewiec/Königsberg²³ in 1561 under the title *Confessio Augustana, to jest wyznanie wiary niektórych książąt i miast niemieckich* (see SPXVI 3: 134). In both instances we

²¹ The dedicated lemma “cěty cětbve” (p. 84) redirects to the verbal entry of *čisti (p. 206–08). The word *cěty makes no appearance in ÈSSJa and Derksen 2008. It is also mostly omitted from etymological dictionaries of Polish—with the exception of ESJP 1: 109, where it is rightly called an “interesting Proto-Slavic relic”.

²² Since the Middle Polish texts discussed below are treated by the authors of SPXVI as “non-canonical” and consequently were not excerpted exhaustively, we have conducted a full excerption of the material for the needs of the present article by ourselves.

²³ Now Kaliningrad (Russia).

are dealing with the loc.sg *catwi*, specifically in the phrase *w wielkiej catwi* ‘in great esteem’:

- (3) A tefzci ftan Mażeńfky we wżecz prawach Cefarfkych/ y we wżecz Monarchiach/ gdzie vftawy a prawa byly/ **w wielkiej** chwale a **catwi** był (ConfRad: G3v)

So ist auch der ehestand inn Keiserlichen rechten und inn allen Monarchien, wo jhe gesetz und recht gewesen, **hochgelobet**

(BSLK: 140)

Matrimony is moreover **commended highly** in imperial governments, and in every monarchy in which justice and law prevail

(CBC: 122)

(Art. XXIII)

- (4) A przytym lud vczą s wielką pilnością/ iak vciefzne słowo Abfolutij iest/ y iako **w wielkiej catwi** a wadze rozgrzezenie ma być (ConfRad: H3)

Dabey wird das l volck vleissig unterricht, wie tröstlich das wort der Absolution sey, wie **hoch** die Absolution **zuachten** (BSLK: 146–48)

The people, moreover, are diligently instructed with regard to the comfort afforded by the words of absolution, and the **high** and great **estimation** in which it is to be held

(CBC: 125)

(Art. XXV)

The two instances of the loc.sg form *catwi* point either to MPol nom.sg **catew* or **catwia*, whereas the feminine gender of the noun is ascertained by the adjective with which it agrees.

3.2.2. Dialectal Polish Data

A slightly different state of affairs is reflected in the single dialectal record from the vicinity of Wysokie Mazowieckie (NE Poland) dating back to the 1930s (Dworakowski 1935: 60):

- (5) Dziedziczki są »w wielkiej catwie«. [footnote:] ‘cenione są’
The heiresses are “in great c.” [footnote:] ‘are valued’²⁴

²⁴ Translations by the present authors unless a different source is specified. Wherever there are non-trivial differences between different language versions of a text, our English translations follow the Polish.

Here, the attested form is loc.sg *catwie*, which—if not analyzed as a secondary form, which it presumably is—would appear to point to a nom.sg **catwa*.²⁵

Thus, we are facing a choice among three different forms for the non-attested nom.sg. In principle, **catew* seems the most plausible one, since (i) the type in *-wia* (cf. **catwia*) is known to be an optional replacement for *-ew* (> *-ew*) that only emerged in the 16th century²⁶ and (ii) the antiquity of **catwa* is excluded due to the chronology of the evidence. That being said, we cannot take it for granted that a nom.sg **catew* was indeed in use at the time when the above Middle Polish data were recorded. In fact, one is tempted to assume that the word in question did not have a full paradigm anymore in that period; it may well be that its use had become limited to a single collocation featuring the loc.sg form, viz. *w wielkiej catwi* ‘in great esteem’. Thus, one can even hypothesize that no other nom.sg form beside the original **caty* was ever created; the latter would have presumably been lost by the end of the Old Polish period (note that such paradigms were still possible at this stage, cf. OPol nom.sg *kr-y* ‘blood’ < **kr-y* vs. loc.sg *kr-w-i* << **kr-ɔv-e*).

3.3. The Archetype **cěťviti* ‘to respect’

3.3.1. Middle Polish Data

Somewhat better attested is the derived verb *catwić* ‘to esteem, to respect, to revere’, the evidence for which is sourced not only from Polish, but from a single Middle Czech record as well. Three of the four Middle Polish attestations come from the text already mentioned above (see SPXVI 3: 134; exx. 6–8). The remaining attestation, in (9), is one year older—it is found in the ecclesiastical document *Ustawa albo porządek kościelny w Księstwie Pruskim*, translated from German by Hieronim Malecki and printed in Królewiec in 1560 (see SPXVI 3: 134):

²⁵ Hypothetically, we could also be dealing with the preservation of the original consonant-stem PSI loc.sg **-e*, but the probability of such an archaism is not high.

²⁶ Determined on the basis of the reverse index for SStp (Eder and Twardzik 2007). In fact, even for the 16th century the evidence for *-wia* is extremely meager, as can be gleaned from a query for word-final *-wia* in SPXVI.

- (6) przykazaniem Bożym/ ktore słuźnie **więcey ćatwic**²⁷ a waźić
 naliefzy niźly obyczay/ pobudzeni y przymufzeni iefteśmy
 zmienienie takowe dopuścić (ConfRad: F3v)
 durch Gottes gepot, welches billich **höher zuachten** denn alle
 gewonheit, gedrungen sein, solch enderung zugestatten (BSLK: 132)
 the command of God, whose commands should justly be **esteemed**
higher than all customs (CBC: 119)
 (Art. XXI)
- (7) abyfmy zasłuźenie Kryftufowe **wielce** łobie **catwili**/ a wiedzieli/ że
 wiara w Pana Kryftufa/ daleko nad vczynky wŷzytki/ przedkładana
 być ma (ConfRad: I)
 das man den verdienst Christi **hoch und theuer achte** und wisse, das
 gleuben an Christum hoch und weit uber alle werck zu setzen sey
 (BSLK: 152)
 that the merits of Christ should be **highly and dearly esteemed**, and
 that it should be known that faith in Christ is to be placed far above
 all works (CBC: 126)
 (Art. XXVI)
- (8) gdy ftany od Boga vftawione **lehce catwią** że ie za grzeźne poczitaią
 (ConfRad: L2v)
 und dagegen stende, von Gott gebotten, **geringer macht**, das mans
 dafur halt, als sein sie sundlich (BSLK: 176)
 while they hold the estates ordained by God in **lower esteem**, in that
 they deem them sinful²⁸
 (Art. XXVII)
- (9) **mniei** Teftament ten pana Chriftufow łobie **catwią**/ niźeli by był
 Teftament człowieka niektorego (UstKo: 65v)
verschonen sie mit sölcher Zertrennung des Herrn Christi
 Testaments **weniger** denn ob es eines Menschen Testament were
 (KirchOrd: 40–40v)
 ‘they **value** the testament of Lord Christ **less** than if it were a
 testament of some man’

²⁷ The initial *ć-*, found only in this one example, is clearly a misspelling for *c-*.

²⁸ This fragment is not found in the version of the text underlying the English edition in CBC.

Although the verb cannot provide any clues as to the original form of the basic noun (whose stem would be *catw-* in any case, whether from nom.sg **caty*, **cateń*, or **catwa*), it is still worth analyzing from the semantic point of view. It is noteworthy that objects of the verb *catwić* as well as subjects described as being *w wielkiej catwi* are consistently abstract notions connected to legal, social, and religious institutions. For the verb, we have ‘command of God’ and ‘custom’ (6), ‘merits of Christ’ (7), ‘estates ordained by God’ (8), and ‘testament of Lord Christ’ (9); for the noun, we have ‘matrimony’ (3) and ‘absolution’ (4). This points to a highly conventionalized use, which—sparsely attested though it is—would appear characteristic of Polish-speaking bookmen at Albert of Prussia’s court.²⁹

3.3.2. Dialectal Polish Data

Again, the dialectal material differs from the Middle Polish testimony regarding the sphere of usage, pointing to an “interpersonal” semantic domain. This could be noticed already in the case of the noun, cf. ‘heiresses’ (5), and it is evident for the verb too, despite the semantic changes. The form *catwić* is attested with the meanings ‘propitiate’ (‘jednać sobie’; near Siedlce and Łuków, Eastern Poland, cf. Pleszczyński 1893: 724) and ‘host, receive cordially’ (‘gościć, przyjmować gościnnie’; Jakusze near Łuków, cf. Łopaciński 1899: 705), while the reflexive *catwić się* is recorded as meaning ‘be a nuisance; bother’³⁰ (‘naprzykrzać się, drażnić’; Kociewie, Northern Poland, cf. Pobłocki 1897: 27).³¹ In our opin-

²⁹ The fact that both texts were published within two years in Królewiec by Jan (Hans) Daubmann on Albert of Prussia’s command, as well as their similar character and content, may certainly arouse suspicion that they are not independent of each other linguistically. No definite claims as to the idio- or dialectal attribution of the words under discussion can be made on this basis, however.

³⁰ Regrettably, the syntactic and pragmatic contexts of this usage (e.g., the presence or absence of an additional argument denoting the person exposed to the annoyance) have not been transmitted, so that it is difficult to reconstruct the trajectory of this curious semantic development. It is imaginable—just to name one of the many possibilities—that the reflexive *catwić się* originally conveyed the meaning assured for *catwić* (‘to respect, to esteem’) directed towards oneself, i.e., **‘to esteem oneself (excessively highly)’*, from which ‘to be annoying’.

³¹ All of these data come from older, 19th-century descriptions. However, it is possible that the verb *catwić się* or its derivatives in fact survive to this day in modern regional varieties of Polish, although the dialectological treatments known to us do not register this fact. For what it is worth, a Google search for several relevant keywords returned two occurrences of the verbal noun *catwienie się*; the context suggests the meaning ‘mess about, tussle with’ (close to the glossing of *catwić się* as discussed above). Interestingly, both instances are enclosed within quotation marks, perhaps suggesting the respective authors’ awareness of the particularly colloquial or otherwise marked

ion, the geographical range of the “interpersonal” use of the residual words in question speaks in favor of this reflecting the original state of affairs (in spite of the far later documentation), as opposed to the abstract usage attested only among the intellectual circles of the Middle Polish period.

3.3.3. Middle Czech Data

The single Czech attestation is somewhat problematic. It is located in the unpublished manuscript of the dictionary entitled *Thesaurus linguae Bohemicae*, compiled by Václav Jan Rosa in the late 18th century on the basis of older materials by Comenius (cf. Stankiewicz 1984: 19). Among the entries based on the apparent root *cet-*, Rosa includes several synonymous verbs, viz. *cetovati*, *cetiti*, *cetviti*, all of which are glossed as ‘drive, incite, invite, call, etc.’ (for the full range of Czech, Latin, and German glosses see below). Also listed are some prefixed derivatives of these items, with similar or predictably obtainable meanings (e.g., *scetovati*, *scetiti*, *scetviti* ‘call together, convoke’). All of these items are hapax legomena, aside from the fact that they are later repeated in the 19th century by Jungmann (SČN 1: 228–29) and Kott (ČNS: 129):

- (10) Cetugi, cetował, cetowati, *Sing. Imp. act.* (pohánjm, obfýlám) *citare*, *vocare*, Befchicken, Laden.

Cetjrm, *l.* **cetwjrm**, cetiř, **cetwiř**, cetiti, **cetwiti**. *idem* cetowati.

Cetnu, cetnuř, *l.* cetř, cetnauti, *est perf.*

Cetowávám, cetjwám, **cetwjwám**, *Freq. Composita ex ijs sunt perfecta.*

Pocetowati, pocetiti, **pocetwiti**, (pohnati, obeřlāti) *est perfectum Simplicis.*

Scetowati, **Scetwiti**, Scetiti (Swołati, obeřlāti) *convocare.*

Zufammenberuffen.

(TLB: s.v. the respective entries)

Since some members of the alleged word family in question might be treated as loanwords or even artificial creations (see 4.2.2 for details), the fact that

status of the term. The examples are as follows: *Po co te ceregiele i ‘catwienie się’ z bestią?* ‘Why all this fuss and “messing around” with the beast?’ (<https://www.dziennikwschodni.pl/forum/region/lublin/wyzywala-szarpala-grozila-ze-rozbierze-do-naga-przemoc-w-pogotowiu-opiekunczym,t,179105.html>, comment written in December 2017, website of a daily based in Lublin, accessed July 2020); *w Niemczech nie było żadnego odgórno-nakazowo-urzędowego ‘catwienia’ się z czwartą siecią* ‘in Germany there was no top-down/prescriptive/official “messing around” with the fourth network’ (<https://www.telix.pl/operatorzy/t-mobile/2013/04/gruszka-albo-sie-je-ma-albo-polemiki-o-mtr-ach-ciag-dalszy/>, comment written in April 2013, accessed July 2020).

cetviti is attested as part of this set casts doubt on the verb's etymological connection to the Polish items discussed above. It is, however, more than possible that the quasi-homogenous group of words subsumed by Rosa under the root *cet-* is the effect of a contamination of two or even three originally independent families (see, again, 4.2.2). At any rate, it would be difficult to derive *cetviti*, with its *-v-*, from any other of Rosa's problematic items; the most plausible solution is, therefore, to acknowledge it as inherited from a source common with Polish *catwić*. Incidentally, this would also provide the first and only piece of evidence regarding the prosodic features of the putative Proto-Slavic archetype (see 6.3.2). In view of the assumed contamination, far less safe inferences can be made regarding the semantics of the verb. The most important and credible piece of information in this regard—and in general—is that the meaning remains within the “interpersonal” domain.

3.4. Preliminary Evaluation

To sum up, the Polish historical and dialectal data adduced above suggest that there once existed a noun **caty/*catew* meaning ‘respect, esteem, reverence’. Since the unusual structure of the word practically excludes a recent, inner-Polish creation, and since the derivative *catwić* is corroborated by one Czech historical record,³² it follows that the noun is indeed most likely a reflex of a Proto-Slavic (or at least Common Slavic) lexeme reconstructible as **cěty *-vve*. The next sections will deal with the latter's etymology and derivational background.

4. The Family of **čbt-*, **čit-*, **cět-* in Slavic

4.1. The Allomorphs **čbt-* and **čit-*

In this section, we aim to identify the root of PSI **cěty* as well as describe its derivational family, paying special attention to formations containing the same allomorph (4.2) and possible traces of an *s*-stem (4.3) in the Slavic material.

³² Additional evidence could perhaps be drawn from proper names. Bańkowski (ESJP 1: 109) mentions the Polish family name *Catwiński/Cetwiński*. However, we have not been able to confirm the former variant in any reliable source; thus, the surname is likely to be of Czech origin. Specifically, the source could be sought in the Czech toponym *Cetvín* (MJČ 1: 246). Note that the personal name **Cetva*, the derivational base surmised by Profous in MJČ, is unattested. A link to the appellative **cěty *-vve* is certainly thinkable, although the formal and functional aspects of the derivation would not be clear. In view of the uncertainty of the connection as a whole, the matter is not worth pursuing here.

The word under discussion has rarely been analyzed in the existing etymological literature, and mainly in a strictly Polish context if at all. Scholars agree in linking it with the family of the Slavic verb **čisti* ‘count; respect; consider (something as something)’ (SP 2: 208; ESJP 1: 109; Loma 2004: 34–36; cf. also recently Kardas 2019). In the present study, we uphold and develop this interpretation, endorsing its credibility on the basis of both form and meaning. The semantic connection is transparent—cf. the use of the verb **čisti* with the meaning ‘to respect’ already in the OCS canon, e.g., *čbtī otca i materb* ‘honor your father and your mother’ (SJS 4: 870), as well as the derived abstract noun **čbstb* ‘honor, respect’ (SJS 4: 902). The formal aspect may appear less self-evident, since the verb **čisti* (1sg.prs **čbtŏ*) as well as its even better attested frequentative **čitati* diverge from the noun **čěty* both with regard to the initial consonant and the vocalism.³³ This is, of course, a superficial difference: setting aside the issue of the PIE root, particularly the number and quality of the consonants in the onset (cf. section 5.1), we may ascertain that the form **čbt-* represents the apophonic zero-grade of the underlying root (i.e., a former **kīt-*),³⁴ whereas **čit-* may continue the full *e*-grade (**keīt-*) as well as the lengthened zero-grade (**kīt-*). Conversely, the form **čět-* would constitute the regular reflex of the full *o*-grade of the root (**koīt-*), expected e.g., in the causative/iterative formation (cf. at length Kardas 2019, esp. 354–59).

4.2. The Allomorph **čět-*

4.2.1. Introduction

In the previous paragraph, we presented a broad outline of the Proto-Slavic apophonic relationships in the word family to which the noun **čěty* can be linked. Crucially, the robustness of the derivational mechanisms generating such arrays of allomorphs was undoubtedly in decline by the Common Slavic period. We do, of course, observe the persistence of some of these processes in the historical period; however, the change **oĭ > *ě* (and subsequently **kě > *čě* etc.) made the relevant alternations far less transparent and rendered the productive fashioning of such “*ě*-grades” practically impossible (except, perhaps, for immediate analogical models). Hence, it is evident that the crucial allomorph **čět-* must have arisen far earlier than in the Polish or West Slavic era. Nevertheless, establishing this early date should not force us to

³³ The verbal allomorphs **čit-*, **čbt-* also display the secondary variants **čis-*, **čbs-* (preceding suffix-initial *-t-*, cf. OCS inf. *čis-ti* and the noun *čbs-tb*) and **či-* (preceding the *-s-* of the sigmatic aorist, e.g., 3pl *či-s-ę*). On the potential relevance of this cf. fn 65.

³⁴ Our pre-Proto-Slavic reconstructions, used sparsely and only to indicate the original ablaut configurations, are notated in pre-monophthongization and prepalatalization phonology (but already “satemized”).

consider all formations containing it as necessarily archaic. Specifically, we must reckon with the possibility that—as the old apophonic processes were becoming ever less productive and transparent—a given allomorph could spread beyond its original domain (even if the latter was originally limited to a single formation) in derivational processes. Thus, in the ensuing sections, we will review the lexemes which may be linked to an inherited allomorph **cět-*. The mechanical transpositions of these items would yield the following archetypes: nominal (substantival and/or adjectival) **cětъ*; verbal **cětiti*, **cětati* (*se*), **cětovati*, and **cětŋoti*; adposition **cětja*. Part of the relevant material (from Polish, Czech, and Ukrainian) bears various specific traits—hapax legomenon status, potential contaminations, borrowings, or generalizations of dialectal forms—that decrease its value for etymological purposes. However, important evidence is also furnished by personal names—and toponyms based on them—that appear to be linked to the above-mentioned reconstructions **cětъ* (adjectival) and **cětiti*. All these data are reviewed below.

4.2.2. **cětъ*

We organize the discussion of the material in three points, (i–iii).

(i) Such a reconstruction is admitted by Bańkowski for Pol arch. and dial. *cet* ‘even number’ (ESJP 1: 118), though the author does not offer sufficient justification for the unexpected vocalism (*-e-* for anticipated *-a-*). The word seems to be first attested in the year 1779 (DykcStar: 188) as part of the formula *cet czyli lichy* ‘odd or even’, connected with the widespread folk game of odds and evens (“*ludere par impar*”). Bańkowski’s preferred explanation here—correct in our view—is that the phrase is a reduced variant of the earlier *cetno czy lichy*, attested in this form already in the 16th century (SPXVI 3: 171). In any case, were the form *cet* to continue a Proto-Slavic form more or less directly, the latter would presumably have to be reconstructed as **čbtъ* (SP 2: 320).³⁵ Then, as also in the case of *cetno*, one would only have to assume the generalization of a dialectal form with the change *č > c* (**čbtno > czetno > cetno*, SP 2: 321; differently ESJP 1: 118), which is by all means plausible given the folk game context. This well-known phonetic process, known as *mazurzenie* and familiar to grammarians already in the 16th century (cf. Zwoliński 1952), is primarily associated with the Lesser Polish and Masovian dialects—the ones which

³⁵ Certainly not **cětъ* (pace ĚSSJa 4: 96). This reconstruction is inferior to **čbtъ* in view of: (i) the material cited in SP and ignored in ĚSSJa, (ii) the fact that all potentially problematic issues (such as the lack of jer alternations in the oblique cases—cf. Ru *čēt čēta*—or the presence of reflexes pointing to **e* such as Ukr *čit* or Pol *coł*) can be explained as due to the renewal of oblique case forms after the loss of the radical **b*, (iii) the non-compliance with the apophonic scheme presented in 4.1. Another option is to assume a contamination with the family of OCS *svčētati* ‘join, unite’ (cf. **četa* in SP 2: 178).

exerted the strongest influence on the formation of the standard language in the modern era. We may note that the variant with *c-* is also known from late dialectal sources in Slovak (ÈSSJa 4: 96), Ukrainian (ESUM 6: 261; pace ÈSSJa 3: 189),³⁶ and Belarusian (SP 2: 320), generally regarded as having spread to these languages from Polish.

(ii) MCz *cet* 'word, utterance, command, letter, etc.'³⁷ is listed in Rosa's dictionary as part of the set of hapax legomena that includes the verb *cetviti* (recall section 3.3.3). Curiously, Rosa himself includes these items in the lemma headed by the interjection *Ck!* 'hush!'. Taking note of this fact, Jungmann (SČN: 228) argues that the noun *cet* should rather be connected with *cedule/cetule*, a borrowing from Germ *Zettel* 'note, message, piece of paper'. Machek (1968: 88), in turn, connects *cet* with the verb *citovati*, a borrowing from Lat *citāre* 'urge, summon, call'; he considers the Czech verb to have meant 'to call to court, office, etc.; to summon as witness' from the outset, which would have provided the semantic basis for the noun. In view of the non-attestation of the verb *citovati* either in Old Czech or in *TLB* itself, as well as the difficulties posed by the change *i > e* in a learned borrowing, the role of the Latin verb is far from certain. However, if the *cit-* of Lat *citāre* was indeed the model here, it seems that Rosa may have modified the root intentionally so as to make it look like a purported base, i.e., effectively a back-formation (cf. the succinct characteristic of the *TLB* in Stankiewicz 1984: 19). We can name several factors that may have encouraged the modification of the vocalism: (i) the native alternation *í : e* (to the extent that *í* is historically justified here), (ii) the influence of the other loanwords included by Rosa under the lemma in question (cf. Jungmann's note on *cedule/cetule* above), (iii) the association with OCz *ceťkovati/ceťkovati* 'to skirmish, to clash',³⁸ (iv) the originally onomatopoeic verb *c(e)-knouti* 'utter the sound *c*, i.e., [tʃ] > 'make a sound' (Machek 1968: 88 s.v. *ckáti*),

³⁶ As a matter of fact, it is the Ukrainian form *cit* that could be claimed to descend regularly from **cěťv*, which, however, is not taken into account by the authors of ÈSSJa s.v. **cěťv* (ÈSSJa 3: 190). The verbs *citáty*, *cituvátysja* 'play the game of odds and evens' (HrinSUM 4: 434) are clearly derived from this noun and cannot be linked with the similar items discussed in 4.2.4–4.2.5.

³⁷ "(řknutj, ceknutj pfané neb auftnj) *dictio, promissio, verbum*, ein Wort, Zufage. mám od něho cet. (t. řlowo připowěd) 2 *do* (přanj) *literæ*, Brief. pořlať mu takowý cet. 3 *tio* (Obřylka, obeřlanj) *citatio*, Beřchickung. 4 *to* (Saudnj Přřlaha) *allegatum*, Beylage. jakž to cet pod známkau A. pñněgi Swědčj" (*TLB* s.v. the respective entries).

³⁸ Borrowed from OHG *zecketzen* (cf. Machek 1968: 82). The chronology of the transformations can be illustrated by the material and comments provided by Gebauer: *cekc-* (early 14th century) > *cekt-* (ca. 1400) > *ceťk-* (1472) (SStč 1: 135). The borrowing also reached Polish, where it is first attested in the mid-15th century (with the root developing into the form *cet-* already in the second half of the 15th century, cf. SStp 1: 217). Alternative etymological explanations of the Polish item are hardly compelling (Brückner 1927: 57; ESJP 1: 111).

in fact included by Rosa in the definition of the word *cet* in the form of the derived noun *ceknutj* and related to the superordinate lemma *Ck!*, (v) conceivable back-derivation from *cetiti* (see 4.2.3 (i) below). In any case, the word has all the markings of being one of Rosa's neologisms, which would also be in line with the metalinguistic comment found beside the textual attestations—apparently the only ones in existence—in the newspaper *Pražské České Nowiny* in 1782: “Cety, Cet dle Doktora Wáclava Rozy to wyznamenáwá co wyznamenáwá Gméno Slowo, což patrně widěti geft to w geho Slowaři [...]” ‘To Dr. Václav Rosa, *cety*, *cet* means what the noun *slovo* means [i.e., ‘word’], which is evident from his dictionary’ (PCŽN 1782, no. 1, p. 1–2; another occurrence of the word in no. 11, p. 6; cf. Kamiš 1974: 49). Thus, it clearly cannot lend support to the reconstruction of any Proto-Slavic lexical unit.³⁹

(iii) Much more promising are the clearly archaic personal names containing the element **Cěto-*, partially transmitted via derived toponyms (cf. Liewehr 1970: 671–73; ÈSSJa 3: 190).⁴⁰ It is worth pointing out—following Loma—that one such toponym is attested in both Serbian (*Cetoljubi*, Loma 1998: 152) and Czech (*Citoliby*, MJČ 1: 251), which makes it plausible that the name **Cětoljubv* is of Proto-Slavic pedigree.⁴¹ For further Old Czech material (esp. *Cětohněv*, *Cětorad*) see Svoboda 1964 (esp. 73).⁴² These items may be efficiently explained if it is assumed that, as evident dithematic names, they rely on an adjective **cětv* connected etymologically and semantically with the material discussed in the present study.⁴³ Of course, onomastic material does not allow

³⁹ This verdict has to be upheld even in spite of the extra-Slavic evidence for a substantive **koyt-o-*, which would have yielded PSI **cětv*; cf. 5.2.1.

⁴⁰ A unique example of a bipartite name with the root **cět-* as the second member could be OPol <Milochat> (1136), sometimes read *Miloczat* (ESJP 1: 218; cf. the cross-reference in SSNO 1: 409; ultimately, however, under the lemma *Milodziad* in SSNO 3: 512). Cf. the discussion of some other Old Polish names in fn 45, where the reading [c] is less problematic.

⁴¹ *Cetoljubi* is identified by Loma with Constantine VII's <Ζετληβη> (ca. 950; cf. Loma 1999/2000: 110). According to MJČ, the toponym *Citoliby* dates back to 1325 (<Ceth-leub>).

⁴² The OPol toponym <Czathom> [1317–1341], <Czatome> (1325), now *Cotoń* (NMPol 2: 158), also appears to be a possessive derivative of a truncated personal name of this type: **Catom* ← **Cat-o-myst* or similar. On the mechanism of truncation and a parallel name with a different linking vowel see 4.2.3 (iii) and fn 51.

⁴³ Liewehr rightly dismisses earlier explanations referring to the borrowing **cęta* ‘coin’ (probably from Goth *kintus* and further from Latin, though with certain unclear details, cf. ESJS 2: 95) as unattractive semantically and inadequate phonologically, especially with regard to the Lekhitic names discussed in 4.2.3 (iii) below. Liewehr rightly concludes that the names in question must have contained *-ě-*, but his own solution—ingenious though it may be—appears rather far-fetched (thus also ÈSSJa 2:

for the direct reconstruction of the semantics. The most probable meaning can only be inferred from the semantics of other members of the word family in question, taking into account the wishing character (mostly positive) of similar anthroponyms; thus, we may presume the semantics ‘respectable, noteworthy’ or similar. It is not out of the question that monopartite names such as OCz *Cět*, *Cěta*, *Cietek* (MJČ 5: 589),⁴⁴ OPol *Cat*, **Catek* derive from the adjective directly,⁴⁵ although it is more likely that they arose as hypocoristics from original bipartite forms (similarly Liewehr 1970: 673). Further apparent traces of the adjective survive in the Serbian and Polish toponyms <Necieć> (15th century, Loma 1998: 152) and *Nieczatów* <Nieczethow> (1392), <Nyeczathow> (1470–1480) (NMPol 7: 385), in all likelihood derived from a name **Necětъ* (appellatively **not cětъ*; i.e., a negative formation recalling the type of **Nemojъ* ‘not mine’ or **Neljubъ* ‘not loved / not dear’⁴⁶).

We may conclude from the above that the most reliable basis for the reconstruction of a nominal formation **cětъ*—as an adjective—may in fact be sought in the bipartite names in **Cět-o-* (section iii).⁴⁷ As regards verbal formations that could lend further support to the reconstruction of the nominal **cětъ*, cf. the following sections.

4.2.3. **cětiti*

We organize the discussion of the material in three points, (i–iii).

(i) As mentioned before—recall 3.3.3 and 4.2.2 (ii) for the material and discussion—Rosa’s extended entry featuring the verb *cetviti* also includes the

190). He notes that many bipartite names with **Cět-o-* display counterparts with **Vbse-* (West Slavic **Vbše-*), cf. pairs such as **Cětogněvъ* : **Vbsegněvъ*. Since **vbsъ* means ‘all, whole’, he concludes that the meaning of the underlying adjective **cětъ* was likely similar, although there is otherwise no evidence for such an item. Liewehr considers it an ablaut variant (“idg. **kojto-* oder **kajto-*”) of the adjective **čit(av)ъ* ‘entire, unscathed, whole’ (SP 2: 217–18; ESSJa 4: 123–25), most often connected with Lith *kietas*, Latv *ciēts* ‘hard, resistant’.

⁴⁴ Probably some of them reconstructed on the basis of toponyms. Cf. *Cět*, *Cětata* in Svoboda 1964: 164, 199, 621.

⁴⁵ Cf. the personal name <Czat> (1392) (SSNO 1: 409) and, e.g., the derived place name *Czatkowice* <Czatkowicze> (14th century) (NMPol 2: 202). Although this ambiguous material has traditionally been ‘standardized’ with initial Cz-, i.e., [č] (cf. ESJP 1: 218), it is now easier to etymologize it by reading [c] instead.

⁴⁶ Such formations could arise as tabooistic apotropaic names, malevolent or humorous nicknames, etc.

⁴⁷ Here we may once again allude to the extra-Slavic evidence for **koyt-o-* (cf. 5.2.1), which may be historically identical if the Vedic substantive reflex is analyzed as a substantivized adjective.

synonymous *cetiti* ‘drive, incite, invite, call, etc.’. Like its two synonyms, the form is unknown from any other Czech sources. If the lexeme is taken as a real and correctly transmitted form, it would appear to be related to the above-discussed Middle Czech noun *cet* ‘word, utterance, command, letter, etc.’. On the basis of the form alone, both directions of potential derivation would be admissible; given that there is more circumstantial evidence for an inherited verb **čētiti* (as also discussed in (ii) and (iii) below) than for a noun **čēt̥v*, one might lean towards MCz *cet* as a potential deverbal noun of **čētiti*. We must note, however, that Rosa’s set as a whole is in many ways problematic (recall 4.2.2 (ii)) and that *cet* is in all likelihood historically spurious. Incidentally, the semantics of Rosa’s *cetiti* are not easy to reconcile with the expected Proto-Slavic point of departure centered around ‘count, respect, consider’; the late attestation and the influence of borrowings infiltrating the whole word family would have to be invoked as a possible reason. Overall, the material does not inspire much confidence.

(ii) Ukr *čityty* ‘make stiff’ (“starr, erstarrt machen”; ŽelMNS 2: 1056), yet another hapax legomenon, is attested in the material noted down by Yevhen Zharsky. In the absence of any additional information, it is not even possible to determine whether the verb denoted a physical action (applied to objects) or a mental one (applied to people). In consequence, no safe conclusions regarding the item’s etymological connections are possible. We may note that if Ukr *čityty* is taken at face value, it is in fact far easier to explain as related to PSI **čit(av)v* ‘entire, unscathed, whole’⁴⁸ and its generally accepted Baltic cognates meaning ‘hard, resistant’ (Lith *kietas*, Latv *ciēts*), where—just like in the word family under discussion in this study—a causative formation to the root **čit-* (< **kejt-*) would be expected to display the shape **čētiti* (< **kojt-*). However, in view of the isolated status of the item, it is necessary to exercise extreme caution here; unless independent corroborating evidence for a PSI **čētiti* ‘harden, stiffen’ is found, an ad hoc explanation may be the most plausible one. In particular, the existence of the well-documented Ukr *čipyty* ‘squeeze tightly’ (cf. also *cipenity* ‘become motionless, stiffen (intr.)’) makes one wonder whether the transmitted form *čityty* is not some sort of emanation thereof—be it a sporadic transformation or an error in transmission, perhaps purely graphic.

(iii) A notable form stands out in the above-discussed (4.2.2 (iii)) corpus of personal names with the element **Cēt-o-*, viz. the name given to a rock formerly serving as a boundary marker in Kashubia. The form, no doubt a possessive derivative of an anthroponym, is attested as <Sessognu> (1277), <Zceignovo> (1342), and <Cetigneue> (1342) (Treder 1979: 37; Górniewicz 1984:

⁴⁸ This analysis could perhaps be supported by a further unclear hapax found in this source—the noun *čityna* in the expression *do čityny* ‘entirely, completely’ (“vollends, gänzlich”). Cf. also Liewehr’s (in this case, unconvincing) account of personal names with **Cētō-* discussed in fn 43.

11; Liewehr 1970: 672; ÈSSJa 3: 190). Although the earliest attestation—whose overall form shows that the underlying phonology is not represented accurately—might be compared directly with OCz *Cět-o-hněv* (Svoboda 1964: 73), the two 14th-century spellings point to the linking vowel *-i-*, typical of dithe-matic names with a verbal first member (cf. e.g., **Vold-i-slav-ъ* ‘ruling/owning glory’).⁴⁹ Accordingly, the first part of the name would attest an element *Cět-i-*. The reading *Ciecięgniew*—with purported first member *ciecie* dat.sg ‘aunt’ (cf. Górniewicz 1984: 110; implicitly also Treder 1979: 37)—is incomparably less probable here. Such an analysis has been put forth for the personal name *Cecirad* or *Ciecierad* (Taszycki 1932; SSNO 1: 364–65), construed as ‘*gladden-ing to the aunt’,⁵⁰ but the attestations—setting aside the graphic ambiguity regarding the consonants—rather point toward the linking vowel *-i-*, cf. (Lat abl.sg) <*Cecirado*> (1231), <*Cecirad*>, <*Cecerad*> (1232), etc. Here, the parallelism with OCz *Cět-o-rad* (Svoboda 1964: 73) is again suggestive, save for the quality of the linking vowel. Another attestation of the interfix *-i-* can be identified in the place name <*Cetim*> of Polabian origin (1257, 1274; Trautmann 1950: 39), i.e., a possible toponomastic relic (**Cětīm-j-ъ*) of a truncated variant (**Cětīm-ъ*) of the name **Cět-i-mysl-ъ* or similar.⁵¹ The Lechitic material makes the reconstruction of personal names in **Cět-i-* and the corresponding verbal base **cětiti* rather probable.

Thus, the Proto-Slavic verb **cětiti*—the existence of which has so far been surmised based on extra-Slavic comparative evidence only (cf. Kardas 2019: 358; see also 5.1 below)—can in fact be supported by tangible material, although the best evidence (by far) is of an indirect character. Admittedly, it

⁴⁹ Admittedly, it cannot be excluded that the linking vowel **-i-* was used with a strictly adjectival first member of a dithe-matic name; cf. examples such as Serb. *Milivoj* or Cz *Milislava*. The question how old such usage is—and whether it is indeed necessarily secondary—requires further research.

⁵⁰ This type of personal names is attested in examples such as *Babierad* ‘*gladden-ing to the grandmother’ or *Siestrzemil* ‘*dear to the sister’. Taszycki argued for the inclusion of the component *Ciecie-* into this set on the strength of examples such as *Ciecieniek* (1564; interpreted as **Ciecienieg*, connected with PSI **nēga* ‘care’). He further ingeniously inferred a hypothetical example **Cieciamił*, which, as it turns out, may indeed be indirectly attested in toponomastic material. However, the case is far from certain—cf. the attested spellings of the relevant toponym: <*Tzeczemil*> (ca. 1400), <*Tretzemil*>, <*Treczemil*> (1405), <*Czeczemil*> (1470–80) (NMPol 2: 125).

⁵¹ A similar name appears to underlie certain Slavic toponyms in Styria and Bavaria; cf. respectively <*Zethmizel*> (1214; Lochner von Hüttenbach 2008: 38) and <*Zetmewsel*> (1398; Eichler 1965: 203). Needless to say, these attestations, which do not display a linking vowel anymore, cannot tell us anything about its original quality (**i* or **o*). Regarding the truncation, cf. examples such as Pol *Borzym* ← *Borzymir* (**Borim-ъ* ← **Bor-i-mir-ъ*). Trautmann himself (1950: 39) assumes the truncation of an underlying name in **Cět-o-* (specifically **Cětomir-ъ*), but such an approach is clearly more complex.

would require a leap of faith to consider the attested semantics of Cz *četiti* and Ukr *čítýty* as a logical development from a causative or iterative of *čisti ‘count, respect, consider’, although—putting aside the fact that both forms may in fact be unrelated or artificial—one cannot but take into account the hundreds of years of language change that would have passed between the Common Slavic point of departure and the verb’s potential residual attestation. On the other hand, to the extent that any semantic content may be inferred for *čētiti from the attested names in *Čěti-, it would not be at odds with a causative or iterative of the verbal stem of *čisti.

Altogether, in spite of the circumstantial nature of the evidence, we can conclude that there are at least some grounds to reconstruct Proto-Slavic *čētiti (additional mild support for this may come from the adposition *čětja, cf. 4.2.6). We may add that the derivation of the verb from a nominal *čětv does not recommend itself in view of the chronology and sparse attestation. For further discussion of the derivational links of this verb, cf. 6.3.2.

4.2.4. *čětati (sę)

The relevant data are limited to Ukr *čítátysja* ‘to hassle, to ponder for a long time’ (“Schererei machen, sich lange bedenken”; ŽelMNS 2: 1056). Thus, we are confronted with yet another hapax with a fairly loosely defined meaning. An analysis involving a direct semantic link with the verb *čisti is precluded on formal grounds: if the Ukrainian verb continues the root *čět-, it probably acquired it as a result of denominal derivation, since its structure (i.e., apophony and suffix) does not point toward a primary formation.⁵² Hence, the example might at best be considered as an indirect argument in favor of reconstructing the nominal *čětv (recall 4.2.2; differently Kardas 2019: 358–59; cf. Zubatý 1894: 388;⁵³ ÈSSJa 3: 189; SP 2: 208 s.v. čisti). Again, the characteristics of this late attestation do not inspire faith in any ancient formation here.

4.2.5. *čětovati, *čětnōti

This part of the material relies on yet further hapax legomena from Rosa’s unpublished dictionary, viz. *četovati* and *četnauti*, again synonymous with the set already referred to above (recall 3.3.3). If the whole family of verbs in question is derived from the adjectival *čětv, then *četnauti* certainly belongs to

⁵² Secondary imperfectives of the type *kupati ← *kupiti ‘buy’ seem largely limited to roots ending in labial and velar consonants. Note that some of the root vowels are still capable of reflecting the quantitative opposition within derivation (e.g., *skakati ← *skočiti ‘jump’).

⁵³ Contrary to the statement by Kardas (2019: 358), Zubatý does not refer to any putative OCS form of this verb.

the youngest layer here, since archaic denominative verbs in **-ne-* displayed the apophonic zero grade (which in the present case would amount to **čbt-*): cf. OCS *o-slbpnŋti* ‘to go blind’ ← *slěpb* ‘blind’. The verb *cetowati*, in turn, may in principle have arisen at any given stage of development, considering the enduring productivity of the suffix.⁵⁴ Summing up, no feature of the material reviewed in this section betrays any qualities suggesting Proto-Slavic inheritance.

4.2.6. **cětja*

An interesting separate item likewise traditionally connected with the word family under discussion is the adposition **cětja* ‘in view of, due to’ (Kopečný 1973: 48–49, 96; RKSS 3: 456–57; RHSJ 1: 781–83; ÈSSJa 3: 189; SP 2: 84). This element—originally used as a postposition following a noun in the genitive, later also as a preposition governing the same case—is attested in Middle Bulgarian as well as Rusian Church Slavic texts in the form *cěšta/cěšča*, with traditional *št* (*šč*) < **tj*, as well as in historical B/C/S in the form *cěća* (13th century) or shortened *cěćb* (15th century) with the vernacular reflex of **tj*. Later attestations in the B/C/S area—including the modern dialects—are quite manifold due to the evolution of **ž* and **tj* as well as secondary modifications of the final vowel:⁵⁵ thus, next to forms such as *cijeća* or *cića*, we also find *cijeće*, *cijeći*, or *ciću*. The word is often found forming compound items, be it with the conjunction (*j*)*er* to produce a compound conjunction ‘because’ (*cijeć er* etc.) or with other prepositions (*iz cijeć*, *za cić*, *krocjeć*, etc.).⁵⁶

It has also been surmised that a compound form involving **cětja*—or a closely related form—may be the etymon of the important Slovenian adverb *všêč* ‘fittingly, pleasantly, agreeably’ (attested since the 16th century in several variants), often found in predicative use in constructions meaning ‘to like something’. The scenario considered in BezLESSJ 4: 368–69 operates with a prepositional phrase **v**z** cětj**o***:⁵⁷ the latter element would represent the acc.

⁵⁴ See also fn 106 on the possible derivational relationships here.

⁵⁵ Variants of this type, attested late, are unlikely to preserve any archaic information such as alternative case forms of the underlying noun; rather, they appear to be secondary adaptations, mirroring developments found in other prepositions and grammaticalized elements (cf. Belić 1976: 97–98). Also clearly secondary are variants with a different initial consonant, such as *čića* or *siću*; Skok’s (1932) inverse scenario, assuming a pre-form **sětja*, is hardly realistic. It appears clear that the single inherited form was **cětja*.

⁵⁶ Sometimes with ensuing sporadic reductions of the final consonant, cf. *zãpocje* (Skok 1932: 140).

⁵⁷ In SnojSES3 s.v. *všêč*, the form is etymologized as **v**z** cětj**o*** instead, presumably due to a different assumed structure of the underlying noun (see fn 55).

sg of a noun **cětja* ‘will’, which would also have given rise to the adposition. The hypothesis requires certain sporadic sound developments, however, such as **vsceč* > *vseč* (attested variant) > *všeč*. Alternative hypotheses regarding the origin of *všěč* are available too, though none of them free of problems. At any rate, we must conclude that Sln. *všěč* can hardly provide probative material for the etymologization of the adposition **cětja*.

Although it appears fairly likely that the adposition indeed belongs here etymologically and thus provides additional testimony for the existence of the *o*-grade stem (**kojt-* > **cět-*),⁵⁸ the makeup of the parent form is far from self-evident. By default, we would expect the grammaticalization of a paradigmatic verbal or nominal form that could be independently accounted for. No verbal form (e.g., of the verb **cětiti* **cětjō*) can be matched with the shape **cětja*—the grammaticalization of the present active participle, i.e., the type of Ru *xotjá*, Pol *chocia(ż)* ‘although’ ← **xotěti* **xotjō* ‘to want’, is of course excluded, as we would expect *†cětę* in South Slavic. Thus, one has mostly surmised a nominal formation, typically an underlying *īā*-stem noun **cětja*. Since the grammaticalization of a nom.sg form does not appear likely, the final **-a* has often been interpreted in terms of a more archaic layer of morphology—e.g., a direct reflex of the PIE instr.sg **-eh₂-(e)h₁*, identified with the synchronic Lith ending *-à*, which, however, would have to be a staggering archaism in Slavic.⁵⁹ It would, in fact, be easier to obtain an appropriate case form from a neuter or masculine *o*-stem, where the grammaticalization of case forms in **-a*—presumably the original instr.sg **-oh₁*, though the synchronically available gen.sg is also possible⁶⁰—is quite well-documented: cf. famous examples like **vbčera*

⁵⁸ Some scholars have maintained a less categorical stance regarding the inclusion of this item in the family of **čisti*, in view of the very fact that the ablaut variant **cět-* was not otherwise well-documented (e.g., Mikkola 1913: 105). This circumstance can be considered remedied to some extent, as shown in the preceding sections. Alternative accounts, invoking different roots, are generally less convincing. The connection with **cěsta* ‘road’ (cf. Germ *wegen* ‘because of’ ← *Weg* ‘road, way’) is formally difficult, as the B/C/S evidence points to **tj*, not **stj*; similarly, the comparison with OPr *quāits* ‘will’, Lith *kviēsti* *kviēčia* ‘invite’ runs into difficulties involving the segment **w* (for the history and discussion of these hypotheses cf. Kopečný 1973: 49; ÈSSJa 3: 189–90; SP 2: 84; BezI ESSJ 4: 368–69). One could also refer to the root of PSI **čit(av)ṽ* ‘entire’, Lith *kietas* ‘hard’ (cf. 4.2.3 (ii) and fn 43) and assume an evolution of meaning as in the phrase ‘on the strength of’—this approach has not, to our knowledge, been proposed so far, but it does not seem preferable to the one discussed in the main text.

⁵⁹ See Olander 2015 (esp. 163–66) on the complex picture of this ending in Balto-Slavic, specifically the early addition of a nasal element (possibly apocopated **-mi*), which makes the *īā*-stem instr.sg hypothesis even more cumbersome. The explanation is considered e.g., in ÈSSJa 3: 189.

⁶⁰ This is perhaps hinted at in ÈSSJa 3: 189, where a gen.sg is considered, without the specification of the stem class. SP (2: 84) points to the parallel of **dělja* ‘for’, itself bur-

‘yesterday’. Thus, the parent form would amount to a *īo*-stem neuter **cētje* or masculine **cētjb*. Whichever of the hypothesized substantives—**cētja*, **cētje*, or perhaps **cētjb*—is ultimately preferable, the noun would be best analyzed as a derivative of the verb **cētiti* (recall 4.2.3).⁶¹ The reconstruction of the semantics (‘*will?, *intention?, *view?’) would be sheer guesswork.⁶²

4.3. **čit-s-?*

In view of the potential diachronic links between the abstract type in **-y* **-ove* and certain types of *s*-stems (recall 2.3), it would be particularly interesting to discover forms documenting the existence of *s*-stem formations cognate with **cěty*. The extra-Slavic evidence for this will be reviewed in 5.2.2–5.2.3 below. As regards Slavic itself, although no *s*-stem like *†čito †-ese*, *†cěto †-ese*, or *†čbto †-ese* is attested, traces of a stem **čit-s-* can perhaps be surmised on the basis of the noun **čismę* **-ene* ‘number, digit’. The noun is securely—if not overly richly—documented in OCS and also occurs elsewhere in South and East Slavic (SerbCS *čisme*,⁶³ ORu *čismja*). Although the latter material is hardly independent of the Church Slavic tradition (ESJS 2: 108), the vernacular evidence of Bulgarian, B/C/S, and Russian dialects includes the derivatives **čismenica* and **čismenōka* ‘a unit of yarn’, which confirms the Proto-Slavic status of the item.⁶⁴ The analysis of **čismę* as deriving partly from an otherwise lost *s*-stem noun

dened with similar problems.

⁶¹ Cf. the types of **volja* ‘will’ ← **voliti* ‘want, prefer’, **větje* ‘council’ ← **větiti* ‘speak’, **nožb* ‘knife’ ← **noziti* ‘cut’, respectively (SP 1: 80–82; Vaillant 1974: 508); the masculine type offers by far the least support here, as it generally denotes agent nouns.

⁶² In case the base noun is reconstructed as **cētja*, it might also be treated as deadjectival, cf. the type of **suša* ‘dryness, drought, dry land’ ← **suxv* ‘dry’ (SP 1: 82). However, the path of grammaticalization would have been less smooth here in view of the above-mentioned difficulties concerning the identification of the case form as well as the typically concrete-leaning semantics of deadjectival nouns in **-ja*. In addition, we may mention that the adjectival formation is less grounded diachronically in comparison with the verbal one (see 5.1, 5.2.1).

⁶³ Often qualified as 13th-century in the literature (“u jednoga pisca XIII vijeka”, RHSJ 2: 40, similarly in SP 2: 206). However, we must bear in mind that this is in fact a form found in St. Sava’s *Studenica Typicon* (ST: 521), whose oldest copy dates back to the 17th century; thus, it appears more justified to refer to his *Hilandar Typicon* (cf. HT: 44), extant in a manuscript from the early 13th century. In addition, MiklLPGL: 1117 cites another Serbian Church Slavic attestation in the more evolved meaning ‘flock of hair’ (cf. the meanings of the type ‘unit of yarn’ listed further below in the main text).

⁶⁴ For this reason, the assertion that the word is an OCS-internal modification of **čislo* (MátI 1954: 146–48; followed by SP 1: 127, though not so clearly 2: 206) is difficult to accept, as also stressed in ESJS.

**čit-s-* < **kejt-s-* or similar (as surmised already by Arumaa 1985: 31) can be supported by the fact that—as opposed to certain other branches, including Baltic (cf. Brugmann 1906: 242–43)—an independent suffix **-smen-* > **-smę* is not otherwise known in Slavic; consequently, the occurrence of such a conglomerate in the function identical with the well-established **-men-* > **-mę* is likely due to the application of the latter onto a pre-existing *s*-stem. The nature of this latter derivational event can be construed in a number of ways. Arumaa (1985: 31) speaks of “contamination”; an actual derivational chain would be imaginable too, although it would admittedly require additional unattested steps (such as a derivative in **-s-o-*). Nonetheless, although the *s*-stem theory is indeed enticing here, it is difficult to demonstrate its superiority over the assumption that **čismę* **-ene* arose as a derivationally “incorrect” formation mimicking the semantically close **pismę* **-ene* ‘letter’ (originally no doubt *‘drawing, *mark’), where the element **-s-* belongs historically to the root (PIE **peyk-*) and where the form is regularly derived with **-mę* < **-men-*. This latter solution is preferred in much of the modern literature, see e.g., ESJS 2: 108.⁶⁵

4.4. Conclusions

In the above sections, we attempted to review and evaluate all forms that provide the immediate inner-Slavic context for the noun **čěty*, with particular attention paid to other forms displaying the root allomorph **čět-*. Later in the study, we will utilize primarily those reconstructions that could potentially function as the basis of an inner-Slavic derivation of **čěty*, i.e., the adjective **čětv* (cf. 4.2.2 (iii)) and the verb **čětiti* (cf. 4.2.3 (iii)); this will be the focus of section 6.3, where we shall also deal with the interrelations among all these items. In order to determine the most probable source of the lexeme **čěty*, however, it is also necessary to examine the chronologically earlier—i.e., Proto-Balto-Slavic

⁶⁵ Some scholars also argue that the form with internal **-s-* replaced **čitmę* (< **kejt-men-*) for phonotactic reasons (cf. ÈSSJa 4: 118: “the fragility of the sequence *tm* provided the reason for the introduction of the element *-s-*” (непрочность сочетания *tm* послужила причиной введения элемента *-s-*), implying a recent insertion and also referring to morphophonemic variants, or Meillet 1905: 422–23: “Here, the suffix [**-men-*] has the form **-smen-* after a dental” (Le suffixe [**-men-*] a ici la forme **-smen-* après dentale), implying an assumed ancient distribution). This does not seem tenable. In other controllable cases (cf. **vermę* < **wert-men-* as well as far more material for **-dm-*, e.g., **plemę* ‘tribe’ < **pled-men-*) no such insertion takes place and the simple loss of the dental is observed instead; cf. Arumaa 1976: 75–76, 171. Note that the frequently encountered semi-direct comparison of this expected **čitmę* with Lith *skaitmuõ* -*eñs* m. ‘digit’ (e.g., ÈSSJa 4: 119) is erroneous—the formant *-muo* is highly productive in Lithuanian (Ambrazas 1993: 55, 88, 186) and the term *skaitmuõ* is a recent literary neologism (Skardžius 1943: 602; Smoczyński 2018: 1180), not deradical but built directly on the verbal stem of *skaitýti* (on which see 5.1). Incidentally, as regards the origin of **čismę*, some degree of influence from the aorist stem **čis-* is difficult to rule out too.

and Proto-Indo-European—connections of the root in question, particularly as regards its links to the nominal suffix **-s-* (a relic of which, as we saw in 4.3, might be sought in PSI **čismę*). This wider background will, hopefully, allow us to locate the origin of **čěty* in space and time. The analyses are presented in the upcoming section 5.

5. The Indo-European Background

5.1. Precise Reconstruction of the Root; Verbal Stems

The etymological analysis of the family of **čit-*, **čvt-*, **čět-* is quite unanimous in Slavic etymological dictionaries (Derksen 2008: 89; SP 2: 208; ÈSSJa 4: 119; ESJS 2: 108; ERHJ 1: 133; SnojSES3 s.v. *čâst*, etc.): it is universally thought to go back to a PIE verbal root **(s)keyt-* or similar⁶⁶ with the meaning ‘perceive, notice; be noticeable, appear’,⁶⁷ reflected in Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian. The material—including the above-discussed Slavic data—encompasses the following verbal formations, not all of which are necessarily of PIE age (LIV₂: 382–83; the material is arranged by categories assumed in LIV₂, though dissenting views on many of the formations exist):⁶⁸

Aorist stems:

- (11) root aorist **keyt-* ~ **kit-* (OAv 3sg.med *cistā* ‘recognized’, Ved 2pl.med *ácidhvam* ‘you decided’);
- (12) *s*-aorist **kěyt-s-* (Ved *acait* ‘recognized’); this might be an innovation, as the *s*-aorist is a highly productive formation. The synchronically sigmatic PSI **čisv* may continue either a root aorist or an inherited *s*-aorist.

Present stems:

- (13) *n*-infix present **ki-ne-t-* ~ **ki-n-t-* (OAv *fra-cinas* ‘recognizes’; the *n*-infix stem is also the basis for the derived iterative in Ved *cintayati* ‘ponders’);

⁶⁶ The *s*-mobile is only attested to by the Baltic material (where, conversely, no *s*-less forms are found). The PIE root is usually reconstructed without the initial *s*- (thus LIV₂: 382–83 etc.), and we will follow this convention for the sake of simplicity here. On the issue of the velar/labiovelar, cf. further below.

⁶⁷ Concerning this meaning, see further below.

⁶⁸ We generally only cite the earliest evidence from the respective branches; in many cases ample later material is also available (see e.g., Cheung 2007: 31 for Iranian).

- (14) R(Ø)-*eye*-⁶⁹ present **kit-eye*- (Ved 3pl *citáyanti*, med *citáyante* ‘shine’); this type of PIE present is somewhat controversial and other reconstructions have been offered, but the details are immaterial here;
- (15) R(*e*) simple thematic present **keyt-e*- (Ved *cétati* ‘appear; notice, be aware’, Latv *šķiet* [inf. *šķist*, pret. *šķīta*]⁷⁰ ‘think, seem’);
- (16) R(Ø) simple thematic present **kit-e*- (PSI **čvt̥* [inf. **čisti*]). It has been surmised that such simple thematic presents may have been innovated on the basis of the root aorist.

Causative stem:

- (17) R(*o*)-*eye*- causative **koyt-eye*- (>> Ved *cetáyati* ‘make recognize, show’, med *cetáyate* ‘appear, occur’; Lith *skaitýti*, *skaito* ‘read, count’; also ?PSI **cētiti* as discussed in 4.2.3).

Perfect stem:

- (18) reduplicated perfect **ke-koyt*- (Ved *cikéta*, YAv *cikaēθā*⁷¹ ‘pay attention, understand’; OAv 3pl.pluperf⁷² *cikōitərəš* ‘they reveal themselves’).

Other derived stems:

- (19) intensive **key-koyt*- (Ved med *cékite* ‘is constantly recognized’);
- (20) desiderative **ki-kit-s*- (Ved *cíkītsat* ‘ensure’).

This root is often analyzed as **k^wey-t*-, i.e., as an extended variant of the largely synonymous and more widely attested **k^wey*- (LIV₂: 377–78; cf. Ved *cáyati* ‘perceive’, AGr *tíō* ‘respect’, PSI **čajati* ‘await’, etc.). For example, in PokIEW 2: 636–47 the two roots are treated under a single entry “*k^wei-(t-)*”. The validity of this deeper analysis is not crucial for present purposes; however, it should be noted that it provides the only ground for reconstructing the labiovelar **k^w*- as opposed to the plain velar **k*- in the longer root (Kümmel 2000: 179). On the other hand, certain nominal derivatives apparently spanning Indo-Iranian and Germanic speak in favor of the reconstruction with **k*-. **kit-ro*-, **koyt-ro*- (Ved *citrá*-, OAv *ciθra*- ‘bright, shining’, PGmc **haidra*- ‘fair, clear’), **koyt-u*- (Ved *ketú*- ‘sign’, PGmc **haidu*- ‘manner’); additional material of this kind is

⁶⁹ The scheme R() denotes the apophonic grade of the root: *e*, *o*, or zero (Ø).

⁷⁰ The zero-grade preterite/infinitive stem *šķit*- might be linked directly to the old aorist stem **kit*-, although this particular apophonic setup is highly productive in Baltic, as is the full-grade present seen in Latv *šķiet* (see Villanueva Svensson 2017); thus, we may also be dealing with inner-Baltic innovations (thus also partly LIV₂).

⁷¹ A hapax legomenon transmitted in a corrupt form (cf. Kellens and Pirart 1995: 22), but cf. also the participle *cikiθβāh*- ‘knowing’.

⁷² On the interpretation of this unusual form cf. Jasanoff 2003: 39–43.

reviewed further below. Note that the Germanic evidence practically excludes $*k^w-$, from which one would expect $\dagger h^w aid-$.⁷³

The above facts have been approached in different ways in the recent literature. Some authorities—such as Gotō 1987: 139–41; EWAia 1: 547–49; LIV₂: 347 etc.—only consider a subset of the Indo-Iranian forms mentioned above (specifically those with the semantics ‘appear, shine’) to reflect a separate PIE root $*keyt-$ ‘be bright, shine’, while the majority of the material—displaying the semantics ‘recognize, perceive’—is assigned to PIE $*k^w eyt-$, i.e., a putative extension of $*k^w ey-$. Others opt for reconstructing $*k^w eyt-$ for the entirety of the verbal evidence (e.g., Jasanoff 2003: 39–43, 169), which unifies the latter, but makes the Germanic connection difficult. However, the issue can also be solved by assuming that all of the above material is to be separated from $*k^w ey-$ ‘perceive’ entirely and united under the form $*keyt-$ ‘perceive, notice; be noticeable, shine’, with plain velar $*k-$ (thus e.g., Kümmel 2000: 180). In the following, for the sake of simplicity, we operate with such a uniform reconstruction $*keyt-$, although it is to be borne in mind that some circumstances may speak for the choice of $*k^w ey-t-$ for at least part of the evidence. Of course, the roots $*keyt-$ ‘appear, shine’ and $*k^w eyt-$ ‘perceive, notice’ would not have been formally distinguishable in Indo-Iranian and would have easily blended together, given that their meanings could be subsumed under a unitary concept ‘appear’ and its diathetic emanations. This would have also happened in Balto-Slavic—where we do not find any evidence for the meaning ‘shine’, however.⁷⁴

The root does not appear to be preserved outside of Indo-Iranian, Balto-Slavic, and Germanic. The old proposal to connect Lat *caelum* ‘sky’ here, as

⁷³ Unless one stipulates a pre-Germanic delabialization of $*k^w o-$ to $*ko-$, which, however, relies on thin evidence and is not a standardly assumed change (cf. Ringe 2017: 110–13; Casaretto 2004: 196). Kümmel (2000: 180) is likewise skeptical about this solution. In EWAhd 2: 913–15, the PIE root is specified as $*keyt-$.

⁷⁴ The problems concerning the above material have been much discussed in Indo-European studies, so that we were only able to cite a fraction of the existing literature in the above survey. For some further discussion cf. Neri 2003: 216–21. For a relatively recent overview with focus on the Slavic data—including, quite exceptionally, a mention of MPol *catew* and *catwić*—see Loma 2004: 34–36 (who uses the notation “ $*k^w ei-$ ” and “ $*k^w eit-$ ”). We may add that the newest etymological treatment of the Slavic word family in question—Kardas 2019—operates solely with the reconstruction with $*k^w-$; the study also provides a rich background of the attested and hypothetical (Proto-) Indo-European forms. In view of the considerations mentioned above, however, we do not find the connection with $*k^w ey-$ the most compelling choice. Incidentally, Weiss (2017) argues that the latter root was in fact $*k^w eh_1-(i-)$.

**kayt-slo-* or similar, is formally untenable in view of the vocalism *-a-* (de Vaan 2008: 80–81).⁷⁵

5.2. Nominal Stems

5.2.1. Introduction

Even more important for our topic—which, after all, concerns a substantive—are the nominal derivatives from the root. Next to the stems **koyt-ro-* and **koyt-u-*, already mentioned in 5.1 above, we may note the evidence for **koyt-o-* (EWAia 1: 399) found in Ved *kéta-* m. ‘desire, aspiration, will’ and probably also in YAv *-kaēta-* as part of a compound personal name. This item is important in that it would correspond structurally to PSI **cēt̥v* and **Cēto-* (in personal names), as discussed in 4.2.2 (iii) above. Given that the best evidence for such a stem in Slavic appears to be adjectival, direct cognacy with the Indo-Iranian items is only possible if the latter continue substantivized adjectives.

5.2.2. S-Stem Connections: **keyt-es-* etc.

Still, our central task is to establish the origin of the formation **cěty* **-vve*. Thus, in view of the potential connections between Slavic abstracts in **-y* **-vve* and Indo-European *s*-stems (recall 2.3), it would be especially interesting to find *s*-stem nouns in other branches that could provide a potential point of contact here—especially given that some indirect Slavic-internal residue may be detectable too (recall 4.3). Interestingly, such material is indeed available.

We find evidence for an *s*-stem in both of the non-Balto-Slavic branches that attest the root **keyt-* itself. It is particularly well-attested in Indo-Iranian, namely in Vedic, where the noun *cétas-* n. ‘brilliance, wisdom’ (pointing to PIE **keyt-es-*) is fairly widespread; it also frequently functions as the second member of adjectival compounds, such as *práčetas-* ‘observant, wise’ or *sucétas-* ‘having great intelligence’. The noun is no doubt synchronically connected with the verb \sqrt{cet} < **keyt-* and it is often considered a productive Vedic-internal creation (thus e.g., Stüber 2002: 40). This need not be the case, however, the more so because some evidence for an *s*-stem is also found in Germanic. Here, we may presume the existence of a PGmc noun **haidaz/ez-* n. ‘brightness, clarity’ (as though < PIE **koyt-es-*), reflected in the first member of

⁷⁵ Reconstructing the PIE root as **kayt-* ~ **kit-*, with *a* ~ \emptyset ablaut, would make the connection formally possible; it would also provide an explanation for what appears to be an *o*-grade in the *s*-stems discussed below (5.2.2–3). However, the palatalization in the full grades in both IIr and Sl (Ved *ce-*, PSI **či-*) would then have to be analogical to the zero-grade. This, in conjunction with the rarity of the *a*-pattern (Ringe 2017: 10–11), makes the hypothesis unattractive.

a compound noun interpretable as ‘bright runes’ or ‘clear runes’ in two Runic Norse inscriptions from the seventh century CE. Both attestations are in the genitive plural, in the phrase ‘sequence of bright runes’: *hAidzruno ronu* on the Björketorp stone and *hidezruno no* on the Stentofthen stone (Antonsen 1975: 85–87; EWAhd 4: 913; Neri 2003: 216).⁷⁶ Besides, it is likely that PGmc **haidaz/ez-* is continued directly in OE *hādor* n. ‘clarity, clear sky’; however, since Old English does not distinguish PGmc **z* and **r*, the latter item may also represent the substantivization of the above-mentioned adjective **haidra-* ‘fair, clear’, itself also preserved in Old English in the form *hādor* (EWAhd 4: 913).⁷⁷

The *s*-stems seen clearly in Vedic and less directly in Germanic are not formally identical with one another and neither is superimposable on the proto-form that could potentially be made responsible for PSI **cěty*. The latter would—provided the mechanism concerning **ljuby* (2.3) proposed in Majer 2020 is valid—mechanically transpose into an animate nom.sg **koyt-ōs* (the *o*-grade of the root is unexpected here and presumably points to the influence of another derived stem; cf. 5.2.3 below). Conversely, Vedic *cetas-* reconstructs as **keyt-os*, obl **keyt-es-*, i.e., the productive neuter *s*-stem type with the apophonic *e*-grade in the root expected for this class (Stüber 2002: 19–22).⁷⁸ Finally, Germanic **haidaz/ez-* would continue a virtual **koyt-os*, obl **koyt-es-*, i.e., the same type as the latter, but with the less expected *o*-grade in the root.⁷⁹

In the case of Germanic, it is fairly obvious that the *s*-stem—if old—was morphologically adapted to fit the adjective **haidra-*. This is clear not only from the apophonic grade of the root (**-ey-* >> **-oy-*), but also from the reflex of the dental. Namely, in the adjective **koyt-ró-*, the operation of Verner’s Law—responsible for the voicing of the obstruent—was regular in pretonic position: thus, **haidra-* (as opposed to †*haiþra-*) is the expected outcome. In a neuter *s*-stem, however, we would expect the stress to be on the root, at least from a late PIE standpoint (Stüber 2002: 19–22); thus, **kéyt-es-* or innovated **kóyt-es-* would have yielded †*heiþez/az-* or †*haiþez/az-* as opposed to the ac-

⁷⁶ The latter word no doubt also for intended *ronu* ‘sequence’. As for the spelling *hid-*, it is generally emended to *hAid-* here (thus Antonsen 1975; Neri 2003; EWAhd).

⁷⁷ On the development of PIE neuter *s*-stems in Germanic, including in Old English, see recently Harðarson 2014.

⁷⁸ We may point out that an *s*-stem with *o*-grade in the root (as though **koyt-es-*) has also been sought in the second member of the post-Rigvedic personal name *Náciketas-*, occurring side by side with the thematic *Náciketa-*. The analysis of the name is most uncertain, however (EWAia 1: 399), so that this form has little comparative value.

⁷⁹ Note that the isolated instances of *o*-grades in neuter *s*-stems, found especially in Latin (*foedus* ‘alliance’, *pondus* ‘weight’, etc.), are in all probability secondary (Vine 1999: 302).

tually reconstructible **haidēz/az-*.⁸⁰ In short, it is evident that the *s*-stem was either remodeled to match the adjective **haidra-* or simply created within Germanic rather than inherited.

5.2.3. S-Stem Connections: **keyt-ōs*?

As mentioned in the preceding section, the Slavic form—were it to reflect Indo-European inheritance—would have to rely on an animate nom.sg in **-ōs*. In this case, we would have to assume the existence of an animate, amphikinetic form **keyt-ōs* ‘perception, respect’, perhaps existing side by side (and possibly in a derivational relationship) with the above-mentioned neuter **keyt-es-*. We may note that an abstract noun **keyt-ōs* would conform to the model described in 2.3 fairly well: the semantics are related to a mental state and the root attests primary middle formations (recall the Indo-Iranian verbal material adduced in 5.1). Such a parent form would have yielded *†čity* rather than **čěty*, however. Thus, it would be necessary to assume that—on the way to Proto-Slavic—the form **keyt-ōs* underwent the modification to **koyt-ōs*, presumably based on some other derived stem displaying the *o*-grade in the root. The precise identification of this stem is not easy. One candidate is the causative **koyt-eye-*, which is unambiguously preserved in Baltic and Indo-Iranian and perhaps reflected in Slavic too (recall 5.1, 4.2.3). Alternatively, or additionally, the source of the secondary *o*-grade could be sought in the nominal domain, i.e., in derivatives such as the adjective **koyt-ro-* or the noun **koyt-u-* referred to above. These, however, are not otherwise known from Slavic (we have no evidence for *†čětrv* or *†čětv †-u*), so that the influence would have to be considerably early. Finally, a possible source of a secondary *o*-grade would be a simple thematic adjective in the form **koyt-o-* (i.e., a virtual PSI **čětv*), perhaps with the semantics ‘noteworthy, respectable’ or similar; as we saw in 4.2.2 (iii) and 4.2.4, its erstwhile existence in Slavic can be surmised based on some indirect evidence (names with first compound member **Cěto-*, possibly derived verb **čětati*).⁸¹

⁸⁰ It would clearly be a stretch to argue that the spelling *hidezruno* in the Stentofthen inscription (recall fn 76) might preserve a genuine **hidez-* < **kit-es-Ŵ-* here, which could be compared directly—albeit not without analogical levelings—with the apophonic setup of an original amphikinetic animate *s*-stem (cf. Ved *bhiyās-*, *bhīṣā* << **b^héyH-os-*, **b^hiH-és-*, **bhiH-s-Ŵ*; EWAia 2: 246). On the possibility of such a stem, cf. the ensuing section 5.2.3.

⁸¹ We may note that no such secondary modification of the root vocalism is observed in **ljuby* (if analyzed as **lewb^h-ōs*); the reason for this could be sought in the fact that, very much unlike the case of **keyt-*, the root **lewb^h-* displays no apophonic variants at all within Balto-Slavic (recall 2.3). As a side note, it may be mentioned that a stem **čět-* in Slavic could also hypothetically arise from the dereduplication of the PIE perfect stem **ke-koyt-*, discussed in section 5.1; the well-known stative/resultative semantics

In short, the extra-Slavic indications for a potential animate *s*-stem built from the root **keyt-* are far from conclusive, but certainly not negative (it should be borne in mind that, as far as such rare formations are concerned, we seldom have anything more than circumstantial evidence at our disposal). Thus, assuming a pre-form **keyt-ōs* >> **koyt-ōs*⁸² is certainly a viable option for a diachronic explanation of PSI **cěty* **-bve*.

5.2.4. U-Stem Connections

Finally, we may mention that the Vedic and Germanic evidence also provides some grounds for considering a more traditional explanation of **cěty*, i.e., as an extension of an original *u*-stem (recall 2.2). As we saw, both branches attest a *u*-stem which can be reconstructed as **koyt-u-* ‘recognition’.⁸³ The extension of this item with **-h₂* would result in the form **koyt-u-h₂*, which would yield PSI **cěty* **-bve* directly. Certainly attractive on the surface, this account runs into similar difficulties as the connections of Slavic abstract nouns in **-y* **-bve* with PIE *u*-stems in general (again, recall 2.2). Here, we may note, these complications are even graver than in the other postulated cases: since the parent *u*-stem **koyt-u-* was an abstract noun already, the rationale for its suffixation with **-h₂* would be even less clear than in the case of an underlying adjective.⁸⁴

of this PIE formation (cf. Jasanoff 2003: 30; Meier-Brügger 2010: 390–91) would suit the meaning of **cěty* relatively well. This connection would require a series of difficult assumptions, however, so that it will not be pursued further here. (The survival of dederuplicated PIE perfect stems in Balto-Slavic is quite commonly assumed for certain verbal types, e.g., PSI **gorěti* ‘burn’ and its kin, but a sole vestige inside a nominal derivative would be truly remarkable. For an alternative interpretation of the vocalism in the type **gorěti* as a reflex of the zero-grade, see Szeptyński 2017: 191).

⁸² We may add that if the noun **čismę* (recall 4.3) is really built upon the old *s*-stem, then it did not share this vocalism modification (preserving **čis-* < **kejt-s-* and not **čēs-* < **kojt-s-*). Presumably, this would have been the formal corollary of the differentiation in meaning, reflecting various shades of the underlying root’s semantics (**‘perception’* > **‘counting’* > *‘number’* vs. **‘perception’* > *‘respect’*) as instantiated in the various verbal stems.

⁸³ Incidentally, the status of the *o*-grade in this item has also been the object of much discussion, which the present study cannot accommodate; see Vijūnas 2016 and Neri 2003: 216–21 with rich further references.

⁸⁴ Starting from an adjectival **koyt-u-* would admittedly be easier, but there is no evidence for such an item (except if one assumes its existence on the basis of the corresponding abstract).

5.2.5. Conclusions

Be that as it may, the above sections have shown that the Indo-European context at least offers some tangible points of departure for the diachronic explanation of PSI **cěty*—viable, though of course far from entirely straightforward. Thus, it is now worth checking whether the various perspectives developed in the preceding sections do not open up the possibilities of an inner-Slavic explanation as an alternative. This will be the task for the next part of our study.

6. Prospects of an Inner-Slavic Explanation: A Productive Model for Abstracts in **-y*?

6.1. Introduction

In order to substantiate the claim for a later, i.e., Proto- or Common Slavic origin of **cěty*, one would need to identify a viable model seen at work in the etymological families of the remaining abstracts in **-y* **-vve*. As signalled in 2.2, only two lexemes other than **cěty* will be truly relevant here: **ljuby* and **cěly*. Given that the cases of **cěty* and **ljuby* have already been discussed quite broadly in our study, it is necessary to examine the third of the lexemes in question in more detail before proceeding to the general analysis. This will be the task of the ensuing section.

6.2. **cěly*

PSI **cěly* has traditionally been reconstructed based on the well-known Old Church Slavic and Rusian Church Slavic material (SP 2: 75; ĚSSJa 3: 181). The issue of the precise provenance of the word has not attracted the attention of scholars so far. However, it has been pointed out that it is only found in a single text of the canon (cf. Cejtin 1977: 37). In view of the fact that the attestations in **Euch**⁸⁵ as listed in SJS 4: 837 do not have any known Greek (or other) textual equivalents,⁸⁶ it is worth investigating the remainder of the available material. Curiously, the sources in question all turn out to be linked either to the Czech lands as the locus of translation (**Bes**, **VencNik**; SJS 1: LXVII, LX-IX)⁸⁷ or to Novgorod as the place of the writing of—or at least the former loca-

⁸⁵ The abbreviations in this section follow those used in SJS and SreznMat and are faithfully reproduced in bold and italics, respectively.

⁸⁶ In this text, a Latin or Old High German source would also be a possibility.

⁸⁷ Interestingly, the lexical links of **Euch** with **Bes** and **VencNik** have been independently noticed by Sobolevskij (1910: 95, 104), who does not mention *cěly* in this context (cf., however, Sobolevskij 1900: 172). He further demonstrates a certain textual

tion of—the oldest Russian copies (**Nicod Novg**⁸⁸—SJS 1: LXIV; *Ier. (Upry.)*, *Iez. (tolk. Upry.)*,⁸⁹ *Gr. Naz. XI v.*⁹⁰—SreznMat 1: 8; 23'). Thus, it appears that—contrary to the potential first guess—the material indicates North Slavic rather than strictly South Slavic associations of the word in sacred writings.⁹¹

Most of the attestations display the verbally-oriented meaning 'healing (subst.)' (SJS 4: 837; SreznMat 3: 1456). As regards equivalents in Greek and Latin originals, particularly interesting are Lat *salus* (**VencNik**, SJS 4: 838) and MGr *sōteria* (*Gr. Naz XI v.* and *XIV v.*, SreznMat 3: 1456). As a result of a rather intricate textological situation, it turns out that either of them may be the equivalent of Slavic *cěly* in the Gospel of Nicodemus, exceptionally glossed as 'health' in SJS (**Nicod Novg**, SJS 4: 838). Although it would be unjustified to attach too much weight to this single passage, its testimony regarding the potential basis for further semantic evolution—as reflected in secular sources—nevertheless deserves consideration. In particular, clearly worthy of detailed discussion is the development towards a greeting formula and/or a noun denoting a 'kiss'.⁹² In what follows, we organize the discussion of the material in three points, (i–iii).

relationship between exactly those parts of **Bes** and **Euch** in which the word under discussion is found (Sobolevskij 1910: 100).

⁸⁸ Other, less clear relationships to the Gospel of Nicodemus as regards lexis reminiscent of **Bes** (Sobolevskij 1910: 99; also 1900: 171–72) would require further research. The position of **Novg** in our deliberations can therefore be regarded as ambiguous, representing either a Novgorod-based manuscript or a translation of Czech provenance (thus SJS 1: LXIV). The latter line of reasoning may be erroneous, however, as other scholars point to **Novg** being dependent on the Serbian tradition and to the Serbian or Moravian origin of the translation itself (SIKniž 1: 121; the age of the manuscript is also evaluated differently, with SJS arguing for the 14th and SIKniž for the 15th century). Unfortunately, the earliest Serbian copy (13th century) happens to lack the relevant fragment (SAE: 106), while the 15th-century Serbian copy treated as basic by SJS displays the instr.sg *zdravijemo* here (SJS 4: 838). We may add that another Russian copy of the 15th century contains the form *po cěl'vi* (RGB304I/145: 202v).

⁸⁹ The abbreviations with initial "*Upry.*" refer to late manuscripts based on the 1047 copies authored by Upry' Lixoj of Novgorod (cf. Sreznvskij 1865: 34).

⁹⁰ The known part of the history of this 11th-century manuscript begins in the year 1276 in Novgorod (XIIISGB: IV). The fragment of *Gr. Naz. XIV v.* cited by Sreznvskij coincides with *Gr. Naz. XI v.* (save for the inflectional form of the noun).

⁹¹ In the case of the Russian texts one must also reckon with the South Slavic origin of the translations themselves. That being said, currently we are not aware of any positive indices of the word's presence in South Slavic copies (excluding, of course, **Euch**).

⁹² Etymologically, the root of **cěl-* denotes the concept of 'wholeness, health, unscathedness'; the association with the physical act of 'kissing' must have arisen via the attested intermediate stage of 'greeting', i.e., wishing health (cf. ERHJ 1: 111).

(i) Thus, Novgorod birchbark letter 849 (mid-12th century—Zaliznjak 2004: 318–19) opens with the greeting *čělvv o(t) Petra kv Dьmъšě* ‘greeting from Petr to Demša’, with an apparent reflex of **čěly* in the acc.sg.⁹³ Such a greeting formula is unusual for this corpus and is only found in this letter; Zaliznjak notes that it resembles the use of Lat *salutem*, likewise in the accusative and in an elliptic construction lacking an overt verb. It would also be possible to interpret the form as a remodelled nom.sg, however. As for the meaning, it may have been influenced by the verb **čělovati* ‘greet’.⁹⁴ Although the text is generally written in dialect (cf. forms like gen.sg.f *u Mareně*), it displays certain adjustments to “standard” Old Russian, which the form *čělvv* must also reflect. As stressed by Zaliznjak, the phonology of both this item and the verb *čěluju* ‘I kiss’ found in the same inscription excludes fully native Novgorodian origin, where the root would display the shape *kěl-* (cf. the famous phrase *a zamъke kěle* ‘and the lock is intact’ in letter 247). We may only speculate that the uniqueness of this attestation reflects the strictly oral character of the greeting formula—“bookish” origin is improbable here in view of the non-occurrence in written sources.⁹⁵ Still, a connection with the fact that the Novgorod milieu may have been one of the sources of Church Slavic *čěly* (cf. above) is at least alluring.

(ii) Data from modern dialects, viz. the unpublished materials of AOS,⁹⁶ offer an apparently isolated direct reflex of PSI **čěly* >> **čělvv*: *Bes colóvi kaka l’ubóf!* ‘what kind of love is it without a kiss!’ (Dolgoshchelye, Mezensky District). Note that the reflex of **ě* participates in the change *e > o* (*ěkan’e*) here, which is unexpected in the Pomor variety.⁹⁷

⁹³ The hardening of the final [v] is due to a phonetic development already commonly found in this period (Zaliznjak 2004: 79). Since the text does not otherwise show the confusion of < ѣ > and < о > (a hallmark feature of many Novgorod letters), it does not seem warranted to interpret this form as belonging to the masculine type **čělovъ*, discussed in (iii) further below.

⁹⁴ Cf. Eng *greeting* as both an action noun of the verb *greet* and as an abstract gesture that can be passed from one person to another.

⁹⁵ Gippius (2009: 294–95) offers arguments against treating the form as a Church Slavicism and analyzes it as a native East Slavic item, though belonging to “Standard Old Russian” rather than to the Novgorod vernacular; he also directs attention to the occurrence of the verb *čělovati* in the same letter (in fact, as part of the complimentary closing).

⁹⁶ Card index of the Arkhangelsk Regional Dictionary (= AOS), Lomonosov Moscow State University, Faculty of Philology, Department of Russian Language.

⁹⁷ This unique phrase has also been recorded with a neuter variant of the noun for ‘kiss’: *Bes celóvja kaká l’ubóf!* (note also the difference between *kaka* and *kaká*, perhaps insignificant). Accordingly, the lemmata *celóv’* and *celóv’e* have been proposed in Gecova 2006. When viewed in isolation, the feminine form **colóf’* appears to be the *lectio*

(iii) The most precarious set of data potentially related to **cěly* is furnished by the masculine nouns reflecting the archetypes **cělovъ* and **cělyvъ* ‘kiss’ (exceptionally in the 14th century also ‘sign of peace’, cf. Pavić 1875: 121) attested in historical B/C/S and in the Church Slavic recensions of the area. Both variants are attested in later copies of the SerbCS *Hilandar Typicon* and *Studenica Typicon* (see below for the material). The texts in question were translated by St. Sava from Greek in the early 13th century (to be precise, 1200–1201 and 1208 respectively) and share large parts of the text.

As to the earliest direct attestations, the former variant may be dated to the 13th century independently of the situation in the typicons, although not without controversy, since the instance of the nom.sg *celovъ* from the Žiča monastery inscription (1222–1228; MiklMS: 14) has also been interpreted as a defective notation of part.praet.act *celovavъ* ‘having kissed’ (cf. RKSS 3: 455). The next record in terms of chronology would apparently be that in the *Typicon of Monk Roman* (1331; MiklPGL: 1107).⁹⁸ Interestingly, the earliest attestations, including the ones in St. Sava’s typicons, refer exclusively to rituals connected with taking up duties within monastic communities.⁹⁹ This points to a deeply conventionalized use, possibly deriving from a single source—presumably St. Sava’s typicons themselves. If we agreed that *cělovъ* is the older variant here, one way in which such a masculine form could have arisen is via the reinterpretation of the feminine *cělovъ* < **cělъvъ* (acc.sg of **cěly*): note that Serbian texts of this period often used the “Macedonian” spelling < ov > for suffixal *-vъ-,¹⁰⁰ while in general **ъ* and **ь* (including graphically in final position) were of course conflated as < ъ >. It would be difficult to attribute this change to the written language, however, given that the meaning ‘kiss’ has not been documented in texts for the reflexes of **cěly*. Might we be dealing with a form **celov* taken over from the vernacular dialects of Macedonia of the time? Or might St. Sava have acquired the noun in East Slavic-influenced form (likewise **ъ* > *o*) at the St. Panteleimon Monastery on Mount Athos, so that it would have spread to Serbian and later Croatian texts from his writings? Needless to say, all such questions are bound to remain pure speculation.

difficilior in terms of phonology and morphology. However, in the context in which it is attested, it is impossible to exclude morphological attraction to the noun *l’ubof’*.

⁹⁸ Miklosich does not supply the full form. Unfortunately, the edition of the text (TMR) was not available to us. For some early information on the manuscript cf. Jagić 1873: 3–7. Irrespective of the often similar nomenclature (*Typicon chilandar(i)ense, Hilandarski tipik monaha Romana*, etc.), this work should be carefully distinguished from St. Sava’s *Hilandar Typicon*.

⁹⁹ As noted in the previous footnote, we have no information on the specific context in the *Typicon of Monk Roman*. Still, the type of document remains the same.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. in MiklMS: *ljubovnym* (p. 2; with inverted digraph < ju >), *ljubovnii* (p. 3; with inverted digraph < ju >), *luboviju* (p. 3), *ljuboviju* (p. 9), *crkovnomu* (p. 14).

What adds to the complexity of the situation is the existence of the aforementioned other variant of the masculine noun, with *-yv-*. Unfortunately, we cannot be content with a 13th-century date (cf. RHSJ 1: 805) as ascribed to it based solely on a 17th-century copy of the *Studenica Typicon*, where we find nom.sg *celyvb* (ST: 458), acc.sg *celyvb*, and loc.sg *celyv(ě)* (ST: 458, 463). More conclusive data could be drawn from the earlier *Hilandar Typicon*, which should contain the latter two occurrences.¹⁰¹ Regrettably, the oldest copy—which dates back to the first half of the 13th century—lacks the relevant folios (HT: 28); we are only able to locate the forms in copies dated to the third quarter of the 14th century,¹⁰² where, however, the acc.sg instance appears as *-ovb* and the loc.sg as *-yvě* (Stojanović 1890: 169; Dimitrije 1898: 55). All in all, it appears that St. Sava's texts written in the 1200s contained at least one masculine form (cf. the loc.sg in *-ě*) with suffixal *-y-*; thus, these non-extant records would have provided the presumed earliest material for the issue under discussion.¹⁰³ In the light of the above, it is difficult to uphold the interpretation of SerbCS and CrCS (14th century onwards, cf. MikILPGL: 1107;¹⁰⁴ Pavić 1875: 121) masculine *čelovb* and *čelyvb* as remodelled reflexes of PSI **čěly*. Rather, as indicated in passing already by Skok (ERHSJ 1: 268; cf. also ERHJ 1: 112), the masculine nouns are likely to stand in some relation to the respective stems of the verbs *čelovati*, *čelyvati* 'greet, kiss', both attested since OCS (SJS 4: 834, 838). This is probable in view of the nouns' specialized meaning, which uncontroversially developed in the verbal domain,¹⁰⁵ as well as from their otherwise unusual derivational structure. The simplest analysis would entail a back-formation of the nouns from the respective verbs, in accordance with the common relationship [verb = nominal stem + *-ati*] (*dělo* : *dělati* etc.). Admittedly, it is difficult to find exact parallels for such a process—verbs in *-ovati/-yvati* do not usually yield back-formations in *-ovb/-yvb*. Still, the case with *čelovati* and *čelyvati* may have been special in two ways: firstly in view of the relatively early stage of the creation of the noun(s), predating the later sprawl of *-ovati* and especially *-yvati*, and secondly in view of the accumulated semantic distance between

¹⁰¹ The expected lack of the nom.sg form results from textual differences.

¹⁰² Namely the so-called *Odessa copy* or *Copy of Monk Miha* (included in Stojanović 1890) from the third quarter of the 14th century and the *Copy of Monk Marko* (included in Dimitrije 1898) from 1370–75. For their dating, see HT: 125–26.

¹⁰³ Interestingly, the variant with *-i-* < *-y-* only surfaces again in the 16th century (Vetranović) and its attestation remains rather sparse in later times too (cf. RHSJ 1: 806), in stark contrast to the amply represented form with *-o-*. The vernacular forms predictably assume the shapes *c(j)elov* and *c(j)eliv*.

¹⁰⁴ If "nov." (s.v. *čelovb*) = "miss.-nov." (cf. MikILPGL: XIV).

¹⁰⁵ Recall fn 92.

čělovati/čělyvati in the meaning ‘greet, kiss’ and the base adjective **čělv*.¹⁰⁶ The latter fact would have “freed up” a presumed nominal basis for the verbs *čělovati/čělyvati*, which could be filled with a newly-formed **čělovb*/**čělyvb*. This novel verbal noun may in fact have been a technical neologism crafted so as to dissociate the meaning from the notion of romantic kissing. In any case, no truly satisfactory formal alternatives are available. The structurally closest old noun in *-*ovb* with clear etymological ties to the class in *-*y* *-*vve* is **žbrnovb* m. ‘millstone’ (Ru *žěrnov* etc.), attested side by side with the synonymous **žbrny* *-*vve* f. Here, however, we are almost certainly dealing with a substantivized adjective in *-*ovb* (Snoj 1994: 494; ESJS 19: 1161).¹⁰⁷ Admittedly, a similar adjectival formation in *-*ovb* has also been postulated for the family of **čěl-* (**čělovb* ‘whole, unscathed’; SP 2: 73), but the basis for this is rather thin and the substantivization of such an adjective would hardly have yielded a noun for ‘kiss’ in any case.¹⁰⁸ Still, some degree of contamination or influence

¹⁰⁶ A separate interesting issue is the structure of these verbal formations in *-*ovati* and *-*yvati* themselves, especially the question whether they may be derived from or influenced by **čěly* (on the formant *-*yvati* in the context of **čělyvati* cf. Ěkkert 1963: 114, fn 262). It bears pointing out that the reverse index for SJS does not reveal a single other formation with suffixal -*yvati* (Ribarova 2003: 136), perhaps with the exception of the “intermediate” *osnyvati* ← *osnovati* (where -*ov-* belongs to the root). Given that the present article focuses on the derivation of the abstracts themselves, not on their own derivatives, we are unable to delve into this discussion here. We may note that the verbs **čělovati* (ĚSSJa 3: 179; SP 2: 72–73) and **ljubovati* (ĚSSJa 15: 179–80; additional Old Czech material in SStč 2: 280) appear to be old, while the reconstruction of **čětovati* is highly questionable (4.2.5). Finally, we may add that **čělyvati* also attests the intransitive and passive meanings ‘recover, be cured; be saved’; we cannot discuss the potential reasons for this here.

¹⁰⁷ As recently observed by Janczulewicz (forthcoming), the derivation of adjectives in *-*ovb* from nouns in *-*y* *-*vve* was a productive process. ESJS, following Machek 1968, also entertains the significantly less attractive possibility of stem class shift based on an ambiguous nom.pl form.

¹⁰⁸ The reconstruction of **čělovb* in SP is clearly motivated by the analysis of **čělv* as a former *u*-stem adjective, a view which we consider entirely unfounded; cf. the doubts voiced by Majer (2020: 90) concerning such an interpretation (including on the isolated OPr form *kailüstiskan*). This argumentation may be supplemented with the critique of the purported attestation of a fossilized gen.sg in -*u* as an alleged relic of *u*-stem declension. The OCz expression *z čělu* ‘fully’, to which Eckert attaches a great deal of importance (Ěkkert 1963: 113–14), is but a hapax contradicting the clearly regular use of *čěla* both with *z* and with other prepositions (Gebauer 1896: 326–27). What is more, the exceptional form under discussion is likely to represent an ad hoc creation crafted for poetic purposes, as it occurs rhyming with *tělu*. The concomitant interpretation of the alleged expression *za čělu* as a contamination of *z čělu* and *za čělo* ‘really’ (Gebauer 1896: 327; Ěkkert 1963: 114) relies on a subjective reading of one of the textual variants. The variant accepted as the basis for the edition of the relevant text has *za čělo* (SŽSO: 330): < Tohot zacyelo niewiem > ‘this I really do not know’. More to the point, the other

from the items **čělovъ* and/or **čěly *-vve* may have of course facilitated the deverbal processes described above.

To sum up, the earliest and most securely attested meaning of **čěly* is the deverbal ‘healing’. Still, we must also reckon with the existence of material displaying connections to the meanings ‘greet, kiss’ known from other verbs belonging to the set of **čěl-*.¹⁰⁹

6.3. Possible Derivational Bases of Abstracts in **-y*

6.3.1. Abstracts in **-y* as Deadjectival Derivatives

In view of the (moderate) productivity of deadjectival formations continuing the type in **-y *-vve* in the historical era (cf. 2.2; see also Wojtyła-Świerzowska 1992: 52–55), an analysis of the lexemes **čěly*, **čěty*, and **ljuby* linking them with qualitative adjectives would appear natural. While the existence of PSI **čělъ* ‘whole, healthy’ (ÈSSJa 3: 179; SP 2: 73; Derksen 2008: 75) and **ljubъ* ‘nice, dear’ (ÈSSJa 15: 181; Derksen 2008: 281) is of course beyond any doubt, the reconstruction of the adjective **čětvъ* ‘respectable, noteworthy’, as suggested in 4.2.2, relies primarily on onomastic data and perhaps also on derived verbs. Semantically, **ljubъ* and **čětvъ* would appear to be particularly close, denoting a person’s positive “social qualities”; the meaning ‘healthy’ of the adjective **čělъ* is also related, though somewhat more distant. This latter word also stands out formally, at least at a deeper level of analysis, as it contains a reflex of the suffix **-lo-*. The most difficult to analyze are the prosodic features of the adjectives; although **čělъ* is uncontroversially reconstructed as belonging to accent paradigm *c*, determining the accent paradigm of **ljubъ* (*c* or *b*) is a

manuscript family attests a feminine noun in the acc.sg here: < prawdu > ‘truth’, so that the adjective displays regular concord with it: < za czelu prawdu >. We may compare the identical phrase found in another text: *já toho neviem za celú prawdu* ‘I do not know this with full certainty’ (StčS 19: 1086). Meanwhile—based on one manuscript only—Gebauer reads gen.sg *pravdy* here, which disrupts the meaning (as though *toho za celu pravdy nevieme* ‘this we do not really know the truth’) and obscures the link between the presence of the noun and the adjectival form in *-u* in a whole family of manuscripts. On a curiously similar instance of variation in another text (< za celw prawdw > vs. < za czyelo >), cf. Vondrák 1889: 23, 35.

¹⁰⁹ Appellative origin—thus presumably identical in form with **čěly *-vve*—is vaguely suggested for the Old Polish personal name *Całwa* < Czałwa > (1396—SSNO 1: 298) by Kucała (1968: 181); even if correct, the analysis does not, of course, make it possible to extract any semantic value from the underlying noun.

matter of contention,¹¹⁰ while the case of **cělv* does not of course provide any direct data.

Now, as regards the derivation of abstracts, the comparison of their meanings does not lead to any definite conclusions. The derivation **cělv* → **cěly* is transparent with regard to the (poorly attested) meaning ‘health’ and less so with regard to ‘healing (subst.)’. As regards **ljubv* → **ljuby* ‘love’, the drift toward a term denoting a feeling can be easily compared with certain parallels (e.g., **milv* → **milostv*). Needless to say, any semantic analysis of **cěty* in the context of the supposed basic adjective would be circular: after all, the meaning of the adjective is inferred chiefly from that of **cěty* itself (‘respect’). As regards the accentological aspect of the derivations involved, this is, again, quite complex. The only pair for which we possess relevant data is **ljubv* → **ljuby*,¹¹¹ although even this example remains unclear. Firstly, as remarked above, the accentological profile of the base adjective is not known with certainty;¹¹² secondly, the uncontroversial reconstruction of ap *b* for the abstract noun may turn out utterly irrelevant if one interprets the attestations in the respective languages as Church Slavisms (cf. 2.2).¹¹³

All in all, we possess no viable arguments to confirm or to rule out the interpretation of the set of abstracts under discussion as deadjectival at the Common Slavic level. This has to be regarded as one of the conceivable scenarios, although many issues remain unanswered.

6.3.2. Abstracts in *-y as Deverbal Derivatives

The notion of the derivation of the above-mentioned abstracts from verbs in **-i-ti* in the Proto- or Common Slavic era is bedeviled by the fact that the latter type involved both deverbal (causative, iterative) and denominal items. The purely denominal character of the verb is obvious in the case of **cěliti* ‘make whole, heal’, cf. the presence of *-l-* as the reflex of the nominal suffix **-lo-* (6.3.1).

¹¹⁰ On the ap *c* of **cělv* cf. Skljarenko 1998: 141 (with further references to older literature); Derksen 2008: 75; Zaliznjak 2019: 440. As regards **ljubv*, the attribution to ap *b* is found in e.g., Dybo 1981: 108; Skljarenko 1998: 140, and to ap *c* e.g., in Zaliznjak 2019: 408 (but “traces of *b*” are mentioned in Zaliznjak 1985: 138). No paradigm is assigned in Derksen 2008: 281.

¹¹¹ On the ap *b* of **ljuby* cf. Skljarenko 1998: 136 (with further references); Zaliznjak 2019: 630. See also Snoj 1994: 502–03, though operating within a different framework than assumed here.

¹¹² The derivation of an ap *b* abstract noun from an ap *c* adjective would require a special justification for the metatony.

¹¹³ The apparent isolated attestation of a reflex of **cěly* in a modern variety of the Arkhangelsk area (recall 6.2 (ii)) would be a feeble basis for reconstructing the original accent properties of the noun.

A similar analysis suggests itself for **ljubiti* ‘love’, where the apophonic *e*-grade (as though < **lewb^h-eye-*) corresponds to that of the adjective **ljubъ* (**lewb^h-o-*) while differing from the *o*-grade expected in the deverbal type in **-eye-* (recall 2.3). Compared with **čěliti* and **ljubiti*, the verb **čětiti*—with its clear *o*-grade and fairly exact Indo-European comparanda (recall 5.1)—would indeed be a far better candidate for the derivational basis of the corresponding abstract **čěty*; that being said, we need to bear in mind that the indices for the reconstruction of this verb in Slavic itself are indirect, relying on the personal names in **Čěti-* and the adposition **čětja* (recall 4.2.3, 4.2.6). The meaning of the verb **čěliti* generally matches its nominal point of departure, while **ljubiti* attests to a semantic drift toward denoting an emotion (paralleling the abstract, see below; cf. also **milъ* → **milovati*). The semantics of **čětiti* cannot be reconstructed based on the actual Slavic material in view of the discrepancies among the potential direct appellative reflexes and of the purely onomastic character of the attested derivatives (cf. 4.2.3). As far as accentology is concerned, the ap *c* of **čěliti* again agrees with the adjectival basis, while **ljubiti* clearly belongs to ap *b*, with the accentological status of **ljubъ* uncertain (6.3.1).¹¹⁴ For what it is worth, the potential attestations of **čětiti*, i.e., the hapax legomena MCz *cetiti* and Ukr *čityty* (4.2.3), jointly indicate ap *c*; no accentological data can of course be adduced for the adjective.

Semantically speaking, the derivations **čěliti* ‘make whole, heal’ → **čěly* ‘healing (subst.); health; greeting’ and **ljubiti* ‘to love’ → **ljuby* ‘love’ are credible. In the former pair, the reference to the verb is even necessary to account for the basic meaning of the derivative; in the latter pair, the semantic shift observed jointly in the verb and the abstract noun vis-à-vis the adjective is quite notable. In view of the uncertain status of the verb itself—let alone the semantic differences among the potential reflexes—no workable analysis of the semantic relationship between **čětiti* and **čěty* can be offered. The reconstruction of prosodic rapport is possible for the pair **ljubiti* → **ljuby* (as long as Church Slavic influence is not assumed); their common ap *b* strengthens the impression of the close relationship between the two items in view of the controversies regarding the prosodic features of the adjective (6.3.1).¹¹⁵ Indirect data regarding **čěty* might be sourced from the derivative seen in MCz *cetwiti* (3.3.3); the short vowel would appear to correspond to the one in *četiti* (ap *c*? cf. above), although the single, shared attestation of both verbs by no means warrants the reliability of this finding.

¹¹⁴ On the ap *c* of **čěliti* cf. Skljarenko 1998: 160 (with further references); Zaliznjak 2019: 349. On the ap *b* of **ljubiti* cf. Skljarenko 1998: 158–59; Zaliznjak 2019: 335.

¹¹⁵ Were it to be demonstrated that the base adjective belonged to the same prosodic type, this impression would of course be nullified. Still, it is highly unlikely that new data should tip the scales in this particular direction. We leave aside the apparent (though unexpected) prosodic mismatch between the adjective and the verb.

If we try to evaluate the three abstracts as a whole, it is difficult to rule out either direct deverbal origin or double motivation from both the corresponding adjectives and the corresponding verbs (themselves potentially deadjectival). However, the semantic drift observed within the etymological families of **cěly* and **ljuby* attests to a closer link between the abstracts and the verbs. Thus, although certain objective difficulties remain—mostly doubts regarding the reconstruction of the verb **cětiti* itself—the verbal connection would in principle appear more promising than the adjectival one. Note that this would also offer an explanation of the root shape seen in **cěty*, as the noun would simply copy it from the verb **cětiti* directly (cf. the apophonic identity of **ljuby* and **ljubiti*).

6.4. Conclusions

The above analyses do not permit us to determine with any certainty whether **cěty* could be a late creation following a coherent derivational pattern of abstracts in **-y* **-vve*. Neither are we able to answer the question which of the reviewed models (denominal, deverbal, or mixed) would best account for the form and semantics of the lexeme. This is, of course, primarily due to the scarce and almost exclusively indirect evidence for both the adjective **cětv* and the verb **cětiti* (4.2.2–4.2.3). That being said, the abstract nouns **cěly* and **ljuby* appear to be associated somewhat more closely with the corresponding verbs than with the adjectives; thus, for what it is worth, a similar relationship might theoretically be expected for **cěty*.

7. Summary and Conclusions

Conducting the above study required engaging diverse kinds of material and confronting research problems across different domains, ranging from relatively obscure dialectal data and little-known written sources to central questions of word-formation in Slavic and Indo-European. It is now time to summarize the chief findings and the remaining questions.

As our point of departure, we mentioned recent research concerning the Slavic nouns in **-y* **-vve* (Section 1). Specifically, we pointed to the unclear diachronic origins of the compact group of abstract nouns belonging to this formal type, outlining the problems concerning the traditional explanation, which posits PIE **-u-H* derived from *u*-stem adjectives (2.1–2.2). We reported the recent novel account offered in Majer 2020, where the word **ljuby* **-vve* ‘love, desire’ is derived from a pre-form **lewb^h-ōs*, invoking a type of PIE animate *s*-stems which could serve as abstract nouns correlated with certain types of verbs and adjectives (2.3). We reviewed the strengths and weaknesses

of this hypothesis, observing that additional Slavic data—i.e., items of similar structure and function—could help test it or develop it further.

In this connection, we pointed to the poorly-known PSI noun **čety *-bve* ‘respect’ (3.2). We conducted a review—to our knowledge exhaustive—of the data that enable its reconstruction, including its verbal derivative **čětviti* ‘to respect’ (3.3). We concluded that the reconstruction is rather secure in spite of the local and sparse attestation, and that the item must be considerably old (quite possibly predating Proto-Slavic) given its synchronically unusual structure (3.4), which clearly calls for an explanation in the context of other nouns in **-y *-bve* and of other forms derived from the same root.

In the search for such an explanation, we reviewed the remaining Slavic-internal material related to the root in question, covering the allomorphs **čbt-* and **čit-* (4.1) and especially the allomorph **čēt-* (4.2); while discussing the latter, we devoted a lot of space to the uncertain, indirect material for the nominal **čětv* (4.2.2) as well as the verbs **čětiti*, **čětati* (4.2.3–4.2.4). We concluded that the most promising evidence is in fact found in personal names with **Čěto/i-*, which may be based on an adjective **čětv* and/or a verb **čětiti*; the latter item in particular may also receive some support from the adposition **čětja* (4.2.6). The presumed direct appellative reflexes of both **čětv* and **čětiti* are extremely doubtful, however. Finally, in view of the potential *s*-stem connections of nouns in **-y *-bve*, we pointed out the noun **čisme*, which might preserve a trace of a stem in *-s-* built on the relevant root (4.3).

We then proceeded to review the Indo-European background of the problem—again first presenting the root **keyt-* in general (5.1) and subsequently focusing on the material related to *s*-stems (5.2.2–5.2.3). Here, we observed that the reconstruction of PIE forms like neuter **keyt-es-* and animate **keyt-ōs* would be consistent with the data and that the transformation of the latter form into PSI **čety *-bve*, though requiring certain morphological adjustments (including in root apophony), would have been possible.

We then evaluated an alternative approach to the problem, investigating whether the existing models of Slavic abstract nouns in **-y *-bve*, inherited from earlier times (from whatever source) and specialized in the semantic domain of “social qualities”, could not have led to the creation of **čety *-bve* within Slavic. In order to explore the relevant contexts, we first directed our attention to **čěly *-bve*, yet another abstract noun with a somewhat unclear derivational status (6.2); here, we pointed out certain novel philological facts and also ventured to explain the rise of the innovative masculine forms **čělovb* and **čělyvb* in historical B/C/S and in the corresponding Church Slavic recensions. Subsequently, taking into account both this and a few other related items, we reviewed the possibilities of limited but productive inner-Slavic derivation of abstracts in **-y *-bve* from adjectives (6.3.1) and verbs (6.3.2); we concluded that the latter origin would be somewhat more plausible for **čety *-bve*.

Therefore, our final judgment is that **čěty* could indeed be another example of an inherited archaic *s*-stem noun with a nom.sg in *-*ōs* (**keyt-ōs* >> **koyt-ōs*); its shift to the productive declension in *-*y* *-*ove* would have paralleled that of **ljuby*. The (inevitably circumstantial) support for such a solution mostly comes from two considerations: 1) potential traces of *s*-stem morphology in the root **keyt-* within Slavic (**čisme*) as well as elsewhere in Indo-European; 2) the apparently more robust correlation of abstracts in *-*y* *-*ove* with verbal material, paralleling the pairing of items in *-*ōs* with verbs in Ancient Greek and Indo-Iranian. The alignment with the verb **čětiti* would also explain the *o*-grade of the root (**koyt-* > **čět-*) in the noun **čěty*, otherwise not easy to account for (note the apophonic identity of **ljuby* and **ljubiti*). The latter facts, however, may also be interpreted as speaking for a Slavic-internal creation of the item **čěty* following the available model of **ljuby* or **čěly* (whatever their own prehistories) or by direct deverbal derivation. Ultimately, it must be borne in mind that the two modes of analysis—the Indo-European, “sigmatic”, one and the inner-Slavic one—are not mutually exclusive. They are based on comparative data of very different kinds and may be said to complement each other depending on what point on the timeline one approaches the problem; and the correct point to approach is at present unknowable.

Needless to say, the above assessment is merely the best we can do given the available indices, which force us to choose from among a few complex scenarios—all requiring a number of stipulations. Perhaps future discoveries of new data will allow us to illuminate the past of **čěty*—and abstract nouns in *-*y* *-*ove* in general—with significantly greater clarity. Still, we believe that our study of this little-known Slavic word for ‘respect’ has considerably clarified its position within its type and contributed somewhat to the elucidation of the type itself.

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Reviews

Bożena Rozwadowska and Anna Bondaruk, eds. *Beyond emotions in language: Psychological verbs at the interfaces*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2020. 325 pp. [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today, 263.] Available at: <https://benjamins.com/catalog/la.263>.

Reviewed by Jadwiga Linde-Usiekiewicz

The book *Beyond Emotions in Language: Psychological Verbs at the Interfaces* offers formal semantic and syntactic analyses of two related issues: psychological verbs and various types of datives. The two issues are semantically related, because while not all psych verbs require the Experiencer to appear in the dative case, it is argued that some datives appearing with verbs that would not be considered psychological on lexical grounds introduce an affected participant that would experience some psychological or mental state as the result of the event. The two languages studied in detail are Spanish and Polish, against a vast background of data from typologically diverse languages and against a comprehensively presented body of research into psych verbs, datives, and related issues. Chapters 2 through 4 focus on the event structure of psych verbs, and Chapters 5 through 7 focus on datives.

Chapter 1, “Psych verbs: Setting the scene”, serves as an informal introduction to the entire volume. That is why when reporting on its contents I will also be referring to subsequent chapters. Bożena Rozwadowska, Arkadiusz Nowak, and Anna Bondaruk, the chapter’s authors, offer an overview of psych-verbs studies done within the generative paradigm. First of all, they present a typology of psych verbs. These include (a) Subject Experiencer verbs (SE), (b) Object Experiencer verbs (OE), and (c) Dative Experiencer verbs. Each subtype is illustrated by an Italian example: *temere* ‘to fear’ for SE verbs, *preoccupare* ‘to worry’ for OE verbs, and *piacere* ‘to please’ for DE verbs. According to the literature cited by the authors, SE verbs are stative transitive, DE are stative but unaccusative, while OE verbs are ambiguous between stative, eventive, and agentive. The issue is addressed in more detail in subsequent chapters. It should be noted, however, that the formal typology of psych verbs according to the surface syntactic function of the Experiencer is not straightforward. Thus in Chapter 5, “The syntax of accusative and dative Experi-

encer verbs in Polish”, Anna Bondaruk presents both accusative and dative Experiencer verbs as belonging to Object Experiencer verbs, further divided into subclasses according to Belletti and Rizzi’s (1988) typology. According to Bondaruk, verbs that have the Experiencer marked for the accusative case belong to class II, while verbs that have the Experiencer marked for the dative case belong to class III.

In Chapter 1 the authors then go on to present two accounts of what they call “the psych phenomenon”: a purely syntactic one and a semantic one. Within the first type of account, following Belletti and Rizzi (1988), phenomena observable in psych verbs are syntactically derived. Thus verbs in the *temere* class select the Experiencer as the external θ -role and assign structural case to the internal argument. Verbs belonging to the *preoccupare* and *piacere* classes assign no external θ -role; the Experiencer is linked to inherent case (dative or accusative respectively), and the Theme, which has no assigned case in its original position, has to move to subject position to get its structural case assigned there. Yet another purely syntactic account is that of Landau (2010), where he reduces the syntactic properties of psych verbs to those of locative structures, with Experiencers reanalyzed as mental locations.

The second major type of account, more semantically oriented, focuses on the event structure of psych-verbs and proposes a more fine-grained distinction within their thematic features. One of the claims is that the subject of OE verbs differs from the object of SE verbs: the former is the Causer or Cause, while the latter is either Target of Emotion or Subject Matter of Emotion. Further analyses focus on the eventive structure of psych verbs. It should be noted that both types of accounts seem well represented in the book. In the first three of the following chapters (2–4) the semantic account prevails, while the subsequent three (5–7) are more syntactically oriented.

The next section of Chapter 1 presents psych verbs in a diachronic perspective. The authors focus on English, for which there is an available body of research. Here the authors point out that English psych verbs have varied between Nominative Experiencer and Accusative/Dative Experiencer. Following van Gelderen (2018) they point to the fact that Old English psych verbs fall into three distinct classes: those which take Dative Experiencer and Nominative Theme (type I), those that have Nominative Experiencer and Genitive Theme (type II), and those that have either Dative or Accusative Experiencer and Genitive Theme (type N). Among these, types I and N denote telicity, whereas type II denotes stativity (the aspectual distinction is crucial to those subsequent chapters that focus on event structure). In addition, they point out that Old English psych verbs derive semantically from non-psych verbs and that the original non-psych meaning might have determined the case selection. They also discuss the observed shift from impersonal (Dative) to personal (Nominative) structures with psych verbs, or rather from OE to SE type, and link it to semantic changes, as in the case of *like* that shifted from the sense

of giving pleasure to that of receiving pleasure. They also link the shift to the semantic features of the two arguments involved and a conflict between the Animacy hierarchy, which puts Experiencers above Cause or Subject Matter of Emotion, and the Thematic hierarchy, which puts Causer over Experiencer. According to van Gelderen (2018), animacy has won out in English and the shift has led to reanalyzing thematic roles to obtain more parallelism between the two hierarchies. The authors also comment on the inchoative/causative alternation within the historical changes of psych verbs.

In the concluding passages of the diachronic section the authors announce that some of the assumptions and generalizations about psych verbs will be challenged in the subsequent chapters. These include a strong distinction between causative eventive and agentive readings on the one hand and stative on the other, as well as the sufficiency of a typology of event types that includes only accomplishments and achievements among changes of state.

In Chapter 2, "Polish psych verbs as non-achievement", Bożena Rozwadowska convincingly argues that Polish perfective psych verbs, of both SE and OE types, defy the traditional Vendlerian classification of verbs, even in its amended version that includes semelfactive verbs as a subtype of non-telic verbs. In the Introduction section, she provides an overview of previous research, with special attention to the following issues: (a) the simple, stative nature, unanalyzable into subevents, of SE psych verbs, (b) the stative nature of DE verbs, and (c) the ambiguity of some OE verbs as to stative, eventive, or agentive readings. However, a crucial issue in her presentation is that, following the Vendlerian tradition of studies of aspect and event structure, the focus is on the endpoint of eventualities and not their initial points. Rozwadowska argues that in Polish perfective psych verbs the initial boundary is crucial to their meaning. Moreover, she shows that Polish perfective psych verbs cannot be analyzed as change-of-state verbs. The introductory section is followed by a discussion of psych verbs' analyses that focus on final points. One of the accounts discussed is that by Arad (1998), which distinguishes stative OE verbs, in which the psych state of the Experiencer and the stimulus are cotemporal, as in *John's haircut annoys Laura*,¹ from non-stative OE verbs, where the stimulus and its perception precede the Experiencer's mental state, as in *The thunderstorm frightened Laura*. Another is that of Rothmayr (2009), according to which the semantic structure of stative psych verbs differs from that of eventive/agentive ones by the presence of a BECOME operator in the latter (both stative and eventive psych verbs structure contain the CAUSE operator).

In the subsequent section Rozwadowska discusses the initial-point approaches, and more specifically Bar-el's (2005) and Marín and McNally's (2011) accounts. She shows that Polish perfective psych verbs, marked with an

¹ Unless indicated otherwise, examples come from the reviewed volume. Glosses have been adapted to fit *JSL* style.

appropriate prefix, have inceptive and not achievement interpretations. She presents her argument by contrasting Polish psych verbs with both achievement and accomplishment non-psych verbs, applying several tests. Among those only one, i.e., the compatibility with the verb *przestać* 'to stop', renders the same positive results for both telic verbs and psych verbs. By contrast, the event-continuation test (*Janek pokochał Marię i nadal ją kocha* 'Janek started to love Maria and still loves her'), the culmination cancellation test (*Językoznawstwo zafascynowało Janka i nie przestało go fascynować* 'Linguistics started to fascinate Janek and has not stopped fascinating him'), and one type of entailment between perfective and imperfective, i.e., perfective at one time entails imperfective at a subsequent time (**Maria pokochała Janka ale go nie kocha* 'Maria started to love Janek but she does not love him') give positive results for psych verbs and negative results for either accomplishment or achievement verbs. On the other hand, the gradual-onset reading test (**Maria złościła Jana, ale go nie rozzłościła* 'Maria was annoying Janek but she did not get him annoyed') and compatibility with the verb *skończyć* 'to finish' (**Maria skończyła kochać Jana* 'Maria finished loving Janek'), which give positive results for achievement and accomplishment verbs, give negative results for psych verbs. The author thus concludes that "the relation between the imperfective form of the stative psych verb and its perfective variant is not idiosyncratic but systematic. The perfective form of stative psych verbs makes the beginning of the state visible, and not its final stage" (54).

In the next section Rozwadowska contrasts the possibilities of passivization of psych verbs and non-psych verbs. She shows that in contrast to non-psych verbs, which accept the so-called resultative passive, or stative passive in her terminology (with perfective participle and auxiliary *być* 'to be'), e.g., *Drzwi są otwarte/zamknięte (przez Janka)* 'The door is opened/closed (by Janek)', psych verbs are not possible in the resultative passive (**Prezydent jest pokochany przez naród* 'The president is loved_{PRF} by the nation'). This, together with some other tests, leads her to argue that "perfective psych verbs neither have a result phrase nor an underlying prior causative event in their denotation. This syntactic behavior nicely corresponds with the lack of the final end-point and the lack of the gradual onset" (64).

The subsequent section offers a formal analysis of Polish psych verbs' semantic structure. For this purpose the author adopts a modified version of Ramchand's (2004) model, replacing the result phrase with a state phrase. In fact, she discusses two alternative models consistent with her analysis: they differ as to the higher DP either being the Spec of the Initiation Phrase (InitP) or of the State Phrase (StateP). She follows her discussion by amending Ramchand's (2004) analysis of aspect: she introduces the Inceptive as a subtype of Transition within the Perfective.

In her conclusion Rozwadowska argues, convincingly in my opinion, that aspect languages differ from aspect-less languages among other ways in the

area of psych verbs because perfectivity is not equivalent to telicity. What I find the most valid argument, theory independently, is her aligning with Ramchand (2019) to say that “the [linguistic] behavior cannot be predicted directly from the semantics of real-world situations, but that facts about situations in the world feed, but underdetermine the way in which events are represented linguistically” (70).

While my judgments of acceptability of some of the examples differ from those presented in the text, they mainly concern examples that are not crucial to the argument. For example, I do not find the sentence *Janek zdobywał szczyt, ale go nie zdobył* ‘Janek was reaching the summit, but he did not reach it’ (46) acceptable. But other examples provided for achievement verbs are not controversial. Possibly *zdobyc* in the sense of reaching the summit is not an achievement but an accomplishment.

In Chapter 3, “Encoding inception in the domain of psych verbs in Polish”, Adam Biały provides further evidence for Polish psych verbs not being achievements, in contrast to what has been postulated in the literature for German and English verbs. His evidence is based on the compatibility of Polish psych verbs with aspectual affixes. He also argues that Polish psych verbs are invariably simple, non-dynamic events. He argues that prefixation (both possibilities and restrictions) can serve as a diagnostic for event structure. For Polish it is also important that prefixed perfective psych verbs invariably acquire an inceptive value, which confirms the findings offered by Rozwadowska in the previous chapter. For his argumentation Biały follows the view generally accepted in the generative literature that aspectual prefixes fall into two groups: lexical prefixes and superlexical prefixes (Romanova 2004). However, in Polish, there is a widespread and recognized syncretism between the two types: the same form appears as a lexical prefix with some verb stems, and as superlexical with others. The distinction between two types of prefixes is further related to two types of event structures: simple and complex (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1999). The author argues that prefixes appearing in the context of a complex structure are interpreted as lexical and originate in the Result Phrase. By contrast, superlexical prefixes do not affect the event-structure composition of the verb they combine with. This diagnostic is discussed for all kinds of Polish verbs and once its value is confirmed, it is applied to Polish psych verbs. It is shown that psych verbs combined with perfective prefixes give rise to inceptive readings only, and not resultative ones (the tests are similar to those applied by Rozwadowska in the previous chapter). Once those features of Polish psych verbs are confirmed, Biały turns to examining SE and OE verbs. Although initially he puts forward a hypothesis that SE verbs and OE verbs differ as to event structure (with SE verbs corresponding to simple events and OE verbs corresponding to complex ones), this hypothesis is rejected given the behavior of the two types of verbs. Thus Biały arrives at the conclusion that both SE and OE psych verbs correspond to simple events, but

OE verbs are non-homogeneous insofar as some of them are non-episodic stative predicates, and others are episodic stative predicates.

The author concludes that, contrary to what has been postulated in the literature, all Polish psych verbs are simple state verbs, and in the cases when OE verbs can be interpreted as accomplishments, this is due to coercion. In general, his findings mesh with what was argued by Rozwadowska.

In Chapter 4, “Initiators, states, and passives in Spanish psych verbs”, Antonio Fábregas and Rafael Marín discuss Spanish psych verbs within a framework similar to the one adopted by Rozwadowska and Biały in the two previous chapters. They focus on OE psych verbs, and specifically, the possibilities and constraints on their passivization. The paper challenges Landau’s (2002) claim that the availability of eventive passives for OE psych verbs (OEPV) in a given language correlates with the presence of pseudopassives. Thus English has both, e.g., *Mary was terrified by John* and *This bed has been slept in*, while Italian has none: **Maria è stata terrorizzata da Gianni* and **Questo letto è stato dormito in*. Fábregas and Marín state that the situation is much more complex in Spanish, where the eventive passive is possible with some of the OEPV but not with others.

On the basis of possible restrictions on eventive passives, which in Spanish are formally distinguished from the stative passives (the auxiliary verb is *ser* for eventives and *estar* for statives), they divide Spanish verbs that involve mental states into three groups. The first group is composed of verbs that show no restrictions whatsoever on eventive passives. Concerning these the authors arrive at the conclusion that although they can be considered psychological verbs on the basis of their “real-world semantics” (see quote from Ramchand (2019) above), they are not psych verbs grammatically. In fact, they describe them as “telic verbs of other types whose lexical meaning involves the entailment that the object experiences a psychological state for the event to culminate” (117), and they even comment that in some cases the resulting psychological state is not an entailment but only an implicature. The group includes such verbs as: *acosar* ‘harass’, *consolar* ‘comfort’, *estimular* ‘stimulate’, *humillar* ‘humiliate’, *importunar* ‘pester’, *ofender* ‘offend’, *seducir* ‘seduce’, among which the first two do not entail a psychological state. The second group consists of verbs that, though they accept eventive passives, require them to be non-specific, i.e., without a definite agent and without a definite time period. This group includes *aliviar* ‘relieve’, *apaciguar* ‘calm down’, *asustar* ‘scare’, *atemorizar* ‘frighten’, *confundir* ‘confuse’, *contrariar* ‘disappoint’, *deslumbrar* ‘fascinate’, *desmotivar* ‘demotivate’, *excitar* ‘excite’, *fastidiar* ‘annoy’, *frustrar* ‘frustrate’, *perturbar* ‘distress’, *sorprender* ‘surprise’. The third group does not accept eventive passives under any circumstances, and comprises *aburrir* ‘bore’, *apasionar* ‘make someone be passionate about’, *apenar* ‘make sad’, *apesadumbrar* ‘make sad’, *consternar* ‘dismay’, *deprimir* ‘depress’, *desesperar* ‘exasperate’, *enfadar* ‘anger’, *enfurecer* ‘make furious’, *enojar* ‘make angry’, *enorgullecer* ‘make proud’,

entristecer ‘make sad’, *entusiasmar* ‘excite’, *espantar* ‘frighten’, *fascinar* ‘fascinate’, *desilusionar* ‘disappoint’, *indignar* ‘outrage’, *interesar* ‘make interested’, *mosquear* ‘annoy’, *obnubilar* ‘bewilder’, *obsesionar* ‘obsess’, *ofuscar* ‘obfuscate’, and *preocupar* ‘worry’. This group is further divided into two subgroups. For the first of them it is noted that the grammatical subject of the active form, even if human, should not be interpreted as the Causer of emotion but its Target. The evidence includes marginality of imperatives and the fact that, for active sentences including a prepositional phrase, the stative passive can contain a human Target but cannot contain a non-human Initiator (127–28).

- (1) Pedro enfadó a María con su artículo.
 Pedro anger_{PST.3SG} DOM² María with his article
 ‘Pedro angered María with his article.’
- (2) *María está enfadada con el artículo de Pedro.
 María is angered_{F.SG} with ART article of Pedro
 ‘María is angry with Pedro’s article.’
- (3) María está enfadada con Pedro.
 María is angered_{F.SG} with Pedro
 ‘María is angry with Pedro.’

The second subgroup of group three possesses another characteristic, namely, when used in the progressive periphrasis, “the progressive tense is interpreted with the object already experiencing the state denoted by the verb”.

- (4) La situación está aburriendo a María. (p. 129)
 ART situation is boring DOM María
 ‘The situation is boring *María*.’

This contrasts with what characterized the verbs from group two, e.g.:

- (5) La situación está aliviando a María. (p. 125)
 ART situation is relieving DOM María
 ‘The situation is relieving DOM *María*.’

² DOM stands for differential object marking. It glosses the preposition *a* that is usually but not exclusively used to mark direct objects as human and can serve as a marker of a semantic distinction. A homonymous preposition is used to mark dative objects, as in Chapter 5.

In (5) the progressive periphrasis “means that *María* has not completely reached the mental state that is described as *aliviada* ‘relieved’, but she is close to it” (125).

The lists of verbs belonging to the three groups are given here at length to show that intuitively synonymous verbs can belong to different groups.

According to the authors the differences between the three groups result from differences in the semantico-syntactic representation in each group. The telic verbs from group one present a complex event structure, “with at least two subevents, one of them dynamic”, with the active subject as Initiator (INIT) and the object as the entity that undergoes the process denoted by the Process Phrase, or more accurately by the element PROC. The verbs from the second group contain the INIT but no PROC; that is why they denote just the initial state of the eventuality. The third group is characterized by structure similar to group two, although their InitP layer is defective. This model is one of the two adopted by Rozwadowska in Chapter 2.

The three chapters discussed so far, although they concern similar phenomena, can perfectly well be read independently, since each of them introduces the relevant framework on its own, even if the theoretical framework is shared. The reader is thus able to pick and choose specific topics and languages relevant for their research interests. However, this independence of chapters can at the same time be seen as a slight disadvantage, as reading all three chapters as a whole leaves the reader with some unanswered questions. From the formal analyses presented by Rozwadowska in Chapter 2 and by Fábregas and Marín in Chapter 4, the reader is led to think that Rozwadowska assumes or believes, possibly rightly, that Polish psych verbs can be considered as such both on semantic and on grammatical grounds. But an explicit confirmation would be helpful, in particular since the issue of what a psych verb in fact is is left somehow to be inferred from the examples provided. Additionally, Ángel L. Jiménez-Fernández in Chapter 6 broadens the notion of psych verb even more and includes all verbs that accept datives denoting a psychologically affected human being (see below). Another interesting question concerns the differences between formal representations for Polish and Spanish: why it is necessary to posit the Result Phrase for Spanish psych verbs and not for Polish—whether it is only the question of Polish having morphological, either lexical or superlexical markers for the perfective / imperfective distinction, or some other issues are at play here. Finally, when Polish and Spanish passivization is compared, it seems that Polish psych verbs do not accept stative passives, as shown by Rozwadowska, but accept eventive passives, while Spanish psych verbs seem to do the opposite: they do not accept eventive passive. This is a marginal but interesting twist in the results.

Chapter 5, “The syntax of accusative and dative Experiencers in Polish”, constitutes an excellent transition between the previous and subsequent chapters since it deals both with Datives and with psych verbs. In this chap-

ter Anna Bondaruk compares the syntactic characteristics of OE psych verbs that combine with accusative or dative case. The main question she raises is whether the structures are unaccusative or simply transitive. In order to analyze the relevant structures the author applies a series of tests recognized in the generative literature. These include anaphor binding and pronominal variable binding as well as passivization. She shows that dative Experiencers can bind subject-oriented anaphors in specific conditions that enable them to control the Anaphor Agreement Effect, while accusative Experiencers cannot. Therefore she concludes that dative and accusative Experiencers must be projected in different syntactic positions, with accusatives projected VP-internally, and datives in the Spec *v*P position.

Her other tests revealing syntactic properties of OE verbs show that neither for verbs combining with accusative Experiencers nor for those combining with dative Experiencers can it be argued that they fall within any previously recognized verb classes. Yet the special status of both types of OE verbs cannot be accounted for in a uniform way. In consequence she offers two distinct analyses for Experiencer-first ordering of Polish OE psych verbs.

The next two chapters go beyond psych verbs as their subject matter and focus on datives in Spanish (Chapter 6) and Polish (Chapter 7). In Chapter 6, "The information structure of high and low datives and their psychological import", Ángel L. Jiménez-Fernández broadens the linguistic scope of psych phenomena and assumes that "most datives are involved in some (vague) psychological experience as a consequence of the event" (216). Hence, he broadens the definition of psych verbs to include all those accompanied by an argument with a psychological import. To include all types of Spanish datives in a psych-verb study, he proceeds to prove that they are in fact arguments and not adjuncts. In his material he includes all the types of Spanish datives recognized by Campos (1999) as shown below.

(a) Goal Datives, e.g.

Les dije la verdad a mis padres.
 CL_{3PL}.DAT tell_{PST.1SG} ART truth to my_{PL} parents
 'I told *my parents* the truth.'³

(b) Dative of Interest, e.g.

Le corté el cesped a Maggie.
 CL_{3SG}.DAT cut_{PST.1SG} ART grass to Maggie
 'I cut the grass *for Maggie*.'

³ Spanish examples and glosses come from the work discussed. It should be noted that Polish counterparts of these examples also bear appropriate datives, though without the clitics *le* (singular) and *les* (plural), e.g., *Powiedziałam rodzicom prawdę* 'I told my parents the truth'.

- (c) Source Dative, e.g.
 Le quitaron el pasaporte al Sr. Guevara.
 CL_{3SG.DAT} remove_{PST.3PL} ART passport to.ART_{SG.MASC} Mr. Guevara
 'They took the passport from *Mr. Guevara*.'
- (d) Existential Dative, e.g.
 A Kiko le falta un millón de pesos para construirse
 to Kiko him miss ART million of pesos to to.build.REFL
 la piscina
 ART swimming pool
 'Kiko doesn't have a million pesos to build a pool for himself.'
- (e) Sympathetic Dative, e.g.
 Le rompieron la camisa a Pedro.
 CL_{3SG.DAT} break_{PST.3PL} ART shirt to Pedro
 'They tore *Pedro's* shirt.'
- (f) Ethical Dative, e.g.
 Me suspendieron al niño de la escuela.
 CL_{1SG.DAT} fail_{PST.3PL} to.ART child_{MASC} of ART school
 'They kicked my kid from school.'
- (g) Relational Dative, e.g.
 A Choche le pareció buenísima la idea de Ximena.
 to Choche CL_{3SG.DAT} seem_{PST.3SG} very.good ART idea of Ximena
 'Ximena's idea seemed very good to *Choche*.'

To which he adds the so called anticausative constructions of the kind: *A Pedro se le quemó la comida* 'Pedro has (unintentionally) burned the food'. (Cf. Polish: *Piotrowi przypaliło się jedzenie*, see the discussion of the final chapter of the book.)

In order to prove that all these datives are in fact arguments and not adjuncts (since their status is not uniformly recognized as such in Spanish linguistics) he applies the test proposed by Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1999). The test consists in focalizing the dative in a conditional clause and identifying it as Contrastive Focus in the main clause. If an indefinite dative is obligatory in the conditional clause, then it is an argument and not adjunct (222).

The test works for sentences with psych verbs of the kind *gustar* 'please' and for all the datives included in the list above, with the test phrase taking the form *Si *(a alguien) le dije la verdad, fue a mis padres* 'If I told the truth *(to anybody), it was to my parents'. In all cases the indefinite pronoun *alguien* 'anybody' is obligatory. Since the original Gutiérrez Ordóñez's test was carried out for accusative objects vs prepositional objects and did not involve clitics in the conditional clause (*Llevaba la bandeja* 'She was holding the tray'

and *Si *(algo) llevaba, era la bandeja* 'If she was holding *(anything), it was the tray'), one might wonder if the test was appropriately modified, and if the obligatory nature of the indefinite pronoun was due to the presence of the dative clitic *le(s)* in the conditional clause. However, a native speaker of Spanish I consulted judged variants without the dative clitics in the conditional clause either incorrect or awkward, so these concerns do not seem warranted. One may, however, have another concern about the validity of this test. I tried to apply it to the Polish counterparts of the Spanish examples, e.g., *Jeśli *(komuś) powiedziałam prawdę, to rodzicom* 'If I told the truth *(to anybody), it was to my parents' and the results were similar to those obtained for Spanish. However, when I applied the same test to other types of Polish sentences used to illustrate various tests for argumenthood, the situation was not that straightforward. For example, in my opinion there is little discernible difference between Time and Goal in goal sentences in Polish, e.g., *Jeśli [?](gdzieś) przyjechał, to do Warszawy* 'If he arrived (somewhere) it was in Warsaw' vs. *Jeśli [?](kiedyś) przyjechał, to wczoraj* 'If he arrived (at some time) it was yesterday' and vs. *Jeśli płakała, to ze złości* 'If she cried, it was from anger'. At a first glance it seems to me that in Polish some alleged adjuncts do tend to behave like arguments when focalized, which makes sense from the Information Structure point of view; however, the question remains why some do not.

Further on, the author draws an important distinction among dative arguments. Some of them are so-called low applicatives, i.e., those where the Applicative Phrase headed by the dative clitic is derived below *v*, within the *v*P. By contrast, high applicatives are derived above *v*P. The test proposed to distinguish the two involves the possibility of fronting the dative in all-focus sentences. While high applicatives can be fronted, low applicatives cannot, which provides evidence for the validity of the analysis. What I missed in the Conclusion section is an explicit division of the eight datives presented in the typology offered into high and low applicatives. I tried to produce one myself on the basis of the data presented in the text and came up with the following result: only Goal, Source and, rather counterintuitively, Dative of Interest seem to be derived as low applicatives, while all the other types discussed in the chapter appear as high applicatives. It would be interesting to see whether this distinction affects their psychological import, announced in the chapter's title but left somehow under-elaborated.

In the final chapter, "Polish impersonal middles with a dative as syntactically derived experience events", Ewa Willim examines Polish structures featuring a transitive verb in the imperfective aspect, an overt dative argument understood to be (coreferential with) the Agent of the activity event denoted by the VP, an adverb like *łatwo* 'easily' or a PP like *z przyjemnością* 'with pleasure', and the (formally) reflexive *się*, e.g., *Słuchało mi się tego przyjemnie* 'It was pleasant for me to listen to this.' Upon comparing these structures with personal middles, e.g., *Ta koszula prasuje się ciężko* 'This shirt irons with difficulty'

among others, the author arrives at several conclusions that improve upon previous analyses. First of all, she argues that these constructions (DIM—dative impersonal middles) are not parasitic upon either generic impersonal structures of the kind *Tu się dobrze siedzi* ‘It is nice to sit here’ [my example] nor upon personal middles (PM)

She analyzes DIMs as structures without Agent in which the evaluative adverbial is parametrized to the Dative Experiencer, which seems intuitively correct not only on formal but also on pre-theoretical semantic grounds. Both the dative Experiencer and the adverbial are thus parts of the same Applicative Phrase, and by the same token the adverbial remains outside the VP. The adverbial is further analyzed as a judge-dependent Degree adverbial, with the judge equated with the Experiencer. *Się* is analyzed as an argument expletive, and not as a vocabulary item realizing Voice morphology, as is the case in personal middles. She also notes that Polish DIMs and PMs differ as to their Information Structure properties: in DIMs it is the dative which is information-structure prominent (as topic), while in PMs it is the verb’s object that is information-structure prominent. Since both PMs’ and DIMs’ datives are unaffected by the genitive of negation, both datives are analyzed as inherent and not structural. Yet another one of Willim’s findings is that Polish DIMs defy Burzio’s (1986) generalization, since their Accusative case is assigned to the object of the verb, without there being a subject with an assigned θ -role. Through this she contributes to the body of research on what she calls anti-Burzio structures.

The volume as a whole does exactly what the editors promise in their introductory passage. It is an important contribution to the formal study of psychological verbs and structures with psychological import. Focus on two typologically distinct languages brings to the fore several important issues: the differences and similarities between various ways of encoding psychological phenomena; differences in understanding the very term “psych verb” and the distinction between semantically psychological verbs and grammatically psychological verbs, and more specifically the fact that synonymous or near-synonymous lexical items within the same language can belong to distinct classes; differences in event structure of grammatically psychological verbs cross-linguistically; and the role of information structure both as a diagnostic tool and as a distinctive feature among broadly similar phenomena within a single language.

As all of the chapters report on formal studies, the volume tends to require of its readers a solid familiarity with generative grammar and also some familiarity with previous studies concerning psych verbs.

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