Pragmatic Motivation as a Factor for Lexical Differentiation in Slavic and Balkan Languages

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In this article I will discuss several lexical features at various levels of linguistic structure where pragmatic motivation is the dominant factor. Some of these features are examined from a Balkan point of view and others are viewed from a Slavic perspective. Certain elements of common Balkan pastoral terminology will be explained with regard to their etymologies and geographic spread. In the same way, but going deeper into semantic motivation, the terms for 'clothes' will be analyzed. The Slavic perspective on lexical differentiation will be explained through the analysis of the words for 'hunt' and 'hunting' and how the relevant lexical items extend across all Slavic-speaking territories, again with an analysis of their pragmatic motivation. All these lexical features show us how historical, cultural, and geographical circumstances can influence communication, as well as how pragmatic motivation is one of the dominant factors in acquiring a common interpretation of the world around us.

Microsystems, especially those in whose formation two or more languages/dialects were involved, offer significant possibilities for various directions of research. One such perspective is oriented towards confirming/specifying knowledge concerning mutual interferences in a broader area, such as the so-called Balkan linguistic league, while a different perspective may show us how far inherited linguistic features have developed with the aim of adapting more easily (from a communicative aspect) to the said microsystems. The issues that I will present deal with interferences in the fields of terminology and semantics, where pragmatic motivation is identified as one of the criteria.

1. Balkan Pastoral Terminology

I will begin with the issue of Balkan pastoral terminology according to the questionnaires from the Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас - ОКДА (General
Carpathian Dialectal Atlas). Here, I will present only a few lexemes (out of 150 that have been dealt with) which best illustrate the results of linguistic contact in the Balkan area. It is interesting to note that this terminology extends to a much broader area, provisionally called Carpathian, primarily due to the migrations and the nomadic lifestyle of Balkan shepherds.

'A dark-colored sheep'

In Macedonian, this is *murga*, similar to the Aromanian word *murg*. This word has Balkan origins. In Albanian, *murg* means 'dark, black', the same as in Romanian, where it means 'dark, reddish-brown'. The word is of Indo-European origin, having entered the Latin language (*amurca*) through Greek. On the islands of the Adriatic Sea, as well as in Italy, words derived from this root are used to express olive oil residue which has a dark red color. This word also has some ties with the Latin *mauro* meaning 'dark'.

'A hornless sheep or goat'

The Macedonian language has the word *шута*, as does the Aromanian, *shuta*. This word, in the context of pastoral terminology, is represented in all the languages of the Carpathian and Balkan areas, and for this reason there are several explanations concerning its etymology. One of them is that the word *shuta* originates from the Albanian language (in Albanian, *shutë* means an animal without horns) and that it was brought north by the Balkan shepherds, much in the same way that the majority of Balkan pastoral terminology was introduced into other languages. Another explanation is that the word has Slavic roots because the prefix *ko-* in *košuta* - 'forest animal' is found only in Slavic languages. However, the word *cuka*, *cuko*, meaning 'hornless goat' can also be found in the Alpine regions of Switzerland. Because of this, some linguists consider that this word belongs to the pre-Indo-European substratum.

'An animal with small ears'

Both Macedonian and Aromanian have the word *чул*. The root *čul*, meaning 'an animal with small ears' has Balkan origins. This word has the same meaning in the languages of the Carpathian area. Thus, in Romanian it is *oae ciulă* - 'a sheep with small ears', in Hungarian - *csula*, in Czech - *čulka*, in Ukrainian and Moldavian - *чул*. Z. Gołąb (Голомб 1959) claims that this word originates from the Proto-Slavic verb *čuj-, čuti* 'sense, notice', more precisely, from the participle with the -l inflection. The South-Slavic word was taken as a loanword into Aromanian and Romanian, and it was then spread into other languages by Balkan shepherds.
There is a word both in Macedonian and in Aromanian to express this concept, and that is the word štira / shtira. This is a pastoral term - Balkan and Carpathian. It can be found in most of the Carpathian and Balkan languages. For example, in Polish - s(zy)tera, s(zy)tyra; in Czech and Slovak - štira; in Moldavian - umupa; in Serbian/Croatian - štirinja; in Albanian - shtjerrë. The word has Indo-European origins, i.e. from an Indo-European root *ster- and was spread through the Greek word στειρος which is related to the Latin word sterilis, which is nowadays accepted as an international word (sterile).

All these examples show that in terms of pastoral terminology most of the Balkan and Carpathian languages have a common lexical and semantic fund which, despite being prone to the various phonetic and morphological rules of the individual languages, clearly illustrates the mutual influences and their results.

These influences from the microsystems moved towards a broader area. In that sense, interference can occur even upon casual contact, as in the case of features that are spread by a nomadically-mobile population, especially in the case of specific terminology.

### 2. Clothing Terminology in a Slavic and Balkan Context

Within the framework of the Macedonian dialects as part of the most widely understood Slavic dialectal system, the etymology and semantics of some clothing terminology evoke special interest.

According the question L1205 ‘верхняя одежда’ from the Общеславянский лингвистический атлас (Common Slavic Linguistic Atlas) there following answers for clothing in the Macedonian dialects: облека, алишта, плчаки, одело, згорниште, горни рувет, горна руба, облекло, горна дрешка, руби, уб'леки, уб'лака, халишти, пру'мена, рухо, халишта.

Here I will present the following terms: руба, дрешка and плчаки, whose semantic motivation has gone beyond the borders of the Balkans.

The word (горна) дрешка has Slavic roots. It originates from Proto-Slavic *derti, in Old Church Slavonic drēti. There are several vowel alternations, and so the words razdor, odora (in Serbo-Croatian) originate from the same root. In Lithuanian we have dirit, in Latvian drat, whereas the Indo-European root is *der- (to remove the skin, to skin).

Skok (1971:151) notes that the word руба is a loanword from Turkish (from the
Turkish word *uruba, originating from the Italian *robba, which itself originates from the German *rauba. In Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbian it appears with an o instead of u (ruba). It is also present in the Romance languages. In Albanian the word *robe is used.

The word пљачки is a Balkan word of Greek origin, in terms of the base (plak), and with a Slavic suffix (-ka). In Greek there is πλακόνο, in Hungarian - pliska, in Aromanian - pleashka, in Turkish - pläcka, in Albanian - plaçkë.

The semantic component that refers to the words: руба, дрешка and пљачки, leads us to a meaning which is almost identical to the other Indo-European languages, and that is the meaning of 'booty, prey, plunder'.

The word руба originates from the Italian *roba, which itself originates from the German *rauba, with an original meaning of 'booty, prey, plunder', as well as that of 'suit'. In German the word plunder exists, meaning 'rags, old clothes', whereas plunderung means 'stealing, looting, plundering'. We can link руба with Old High German *rouba 'vestments', from West Germanic *raubo 'booty' (cognate with Old High German roub 'robbery, breakage').

In English the words plunder and robbery have the same meaning as the words гребеж, пљачка, and the word robe, meaning 'long, loose outer garment', is from the Germanic source *raubo - 'booty'. In Istro-Romanian there is the word rubača which refers to shirt, as well as 'prey, booty'.

In the Macedonian dialects the word пљачки refers to clothes, clothing, wardrobe, whereas пљачка means 'robbery'. In Albanian plaçkë means 'load, baggage'.

We have already mentioned that the word дрешка originates from the Proto-Slavic verb *derti, which means 'to skin, to remove the skin'. Again, both meanings of prey, booty and clothes interweave. According to Skok (1971:437), in some Croatian dialects, the word одора means both 'clothing' and 'prey, booty'. The words poderina 'old dress' and deračina 'robbery' can also be found. In Lika the words izdor and odor appear with the meanings of 'property' and 'prey, booty', respectively. In Romanian odor means 'wealth, precious stone', which indicates the source of booty.

These intersections of the meanings of 'prey', 'booty', and 'clothing' can be explained by the fact that in battles among tribes, the clothing of the defeated was a central element of the plundered booty. All of this serves to show us how identical the semantic motivation was in terms of clothing terminology among many Indo-European peoples. Metaphorical semantics reveals itself to be a very broad field which sometimes manages to bring the Indo-European languages closer to a great extent.
3. Hunting Terminology in the Slavic Dialects

In this section we will look at the terminology for hunting which can be found throughout the whole of Slavic territory within the Общеславянский лингвистический атлас. From the analysis of the question L 2155 ‘охота на диких зверей и птиц’ regarding the collected material (consisting of 850 lexemes from 850 inhabited places [points] from all Slavic territory), we can differentiate 11 basic roots or stems.

Hunting terminology in the Slavic languages is rather differentiated and it has several motivations: maintaining the inherited term lov 'hunt', as in Macedonian, Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian; transferring the meaning - as in Russian (oxota); generalizing to one hunting technique - as in Polish, Slovak and Czech.

The material offers an abundance of information, concerning lexical and derivational differentiation of terminology for hunting, and it also reveals various cultural influences within the Slavic area.

- Forms of the lexeme *lov can be found as unique throughout all of Macedonian and the rest of South Slavic territory, with the exception of Slovenian territory, where other lexemes besides *lov are used. It is interesting to note that this lexeme is also found in Sorbian (Lusatian), and the plural form *lovy appears in one Polish and one Russian point, as well.

- The lexemes polovanje, polovačka, polovka originate from *pole (< *poljo) and can be found in Polish, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Belarusian. The lexeme *polovanje can be found in some parts of Ukrainian and Belarusian territory. It is interesting to note that lexemes with the root *pol- and with the meaning 'hunt' appear in none of the other territories, nor in any Russian point.

- The third lexeme that appears over a large territory is *oxota. The basic meaning of this lexeme is 'wish, desire, intention, good will' and it is present over a broad Slavic area. In Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian, besides the said meaning, the lexeme *oxota also carries the meaning 'hunt'. One of the archaic meanings of this lexeme is also 'amusement of the nobility', which can actually be connected with the meaning 'hunt' since one of the amusements of the noble classes was in fact hunting. The lexeme *oxota with the meaning 'hunt' completely covers Russian territory, as well as parts of Belarus and Ukraine.

- The lexemes from the root *strēl- are found in only two points in the Czech Republic and the Ukraine, and once again only one way of hunting is expressed (with a weapon).

- The lexemes derived from the root *gon- 'chase, pursue' can be found throughout the whole territory of the Czech Republic (the most common is the form honba), and also in some points in Poland (near the Polish - Czech Republic border), as well as in one Sorbian point.
Here, again, there is a generalization in terms of one hunting technique, having to do with hunting game (with the help of dogs or falcons). The etymology is known (*gnati - *goniti).

There are several lexemes of non-Slavic origin that are used to express “hunting”, such as jage-, vadas, and caccia, which can be found on Slovenian, Sorbian and Kashubian territory, and also in northern Poland, where German cultural influence was very strong. The same can be said for Hungarian cultural influence, which was strong in the southeastern part of the Ukraine as well as in the two Slovak points located in Hungary.

All of this shows that hunting as an activity is a part of the local cultural tradition of the Slavic peoples. This can also be seen from the sharp borders of the areas that coincide with the former cultural influences of various states.

**Conclusion**

Summarizing the three sections of this paper, it can be said that in terms of areal linguistics there are several factors that are involved, above all, pragmatic and semantic impulses, which have an influence on a grammatical-structural level. We have seen how, for example, on-going, dynamic, contact contributed a given Balkan terminology (specifically, pastoral terminology) to cover an extensive area as far as the Carpathian region, then, how an inherited semantic motivation from a broad Indo-European concept (clothes = booty) has imposed itself on clothing terminology in the Macedonian dialects, how the cultural influences of various states/societies have imposed themselves on hunting terminology in the Slavic dialects, all with the aim to ease and facilitate communication and enable a common understanding of the world.

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