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THE ROLE OF LOMONOSOV IN THE FORMATION OF THE EARLY MODERN RUSSIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

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To my loving husband

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Abstract

During the first half of the XVIIIth century in Russia, deep social and cultural changes led to a chaotic linguistic situation. The Russian scholar Michail Lomonosov played a key role in the grammatical and lexical organization of the Russian literary language around the middle of the century. His contributions are reviewed and their importance analyzed in the present thesis.

Chapter One provides an analysis of the linguistic situation during the first half of the XVIIIth century. The role and the functions of different linguistic elements are examined, including West European lexical borrowings, the native Russian, the Church Slavonic, and their mutual interactions.

Chapters two and three analyze M. Lomonosov's role in the standardization of Russian grammar and vocabulary by examining his two major philological works: the *Российская грамматика* and the article "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке."

Although Lomonosov's merit is widely acknowledged among scholars, the importance of his stylistic theory has been challenged lately. In **Chapter Four**, Lomonosov's linguistic contributions to the development of the modern Russian literary language are weighed and assessed against these critical arguments.

Résumé

Les changements socio-culturels profonds que la Russie a connu durant la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle ont eu pour conséquence un chaos linguistique. Une réorganisation de la langue littéraire russe, notamment de la grammaire et du vocabulaire, était devenue impérative, et c'est précisément dans ce domaine que Michail Lomonosov, écrivain et linguiste russe, a joué un rôle important. Son apport linguistique au développement de la langue littéraire russe moderne est examiné dans le présent travail.

Le **premier chapitre** analyse la situation linguistique de la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle. Le rôle et la fonction de différentes entités linguistiques (les emprunts lexicaux de Europe occidentale, le russe et le slavon), ainsi que leur interaction mutuelle, sont examinés.

Le **deuxième et le troisième chapitre** examinent le rôle de Lomonosov dans la standardisation de la grammaire et du vocabulaire en analysant deux de ses oeuvres majeures: la *Российская грамматика* et son article "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке."

L'importance de la contribution linguistique de Lomonosov est largement reconnue parmi les investigateurs. Or, certains parmi eux ont remis en question la portée de sa théorie des styles. Dans le **quatrième chapitre**, cette question contestée est re-examinée au moyen d'une confrontation des opinions différentes.

Preface

My decision to undertake the present thesis work was influenced by G.H.Worth's article "Thoughts on the turning point in the history of literary Russian: eighteenth century"¹ which greatly stimulated my already existing interest in M. Lomonosov's philological work. As my readings and my research progressed, so grew my admiration and my respect for this truly universal scholar. As Prof. Paul Austin once said during one of our conversations, Lomonosov was a true Renaissance Man. All the acknowledgements he received as scientist, linguist and writer - during his own time and ever since - result from thorough research and scholarly assessments of this exceptional and universal mind. In contrast, the recent controversies surrounding Lomonosov's stylistic theory are due, in my opinion, to the tendency of some scholars to examine Lomonosov's theory from a narrow and one-sided perspective. His stylistic theory should be viewed in a broad historical context and not as an isolated work. Thus, the aim of the present study is to provide insights into the important role that Lomonosov played in the development of the modern Russian literary language.

Due to difficulties in obtaining some literary sources, references to these sources have been made by means of indirect quotations. As a result, some of the bibliographical references have remained incomplete, since they appear as such in the texts from which they were taken.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Austin for his helpful guidance and advice as well as Ms. Linda Bastien for her kind assistance. I am particularly

¹ G.H. Worth, "Thoughts on the turning point in the history of literary Russian: eighteenth century" *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 13 (The Hague: Mouton, 1970) 125-135.

indebted to my husband for his (very precious) time he so generously and lovingly gave to help me with technical aspects and the final editing of this work as well as his patience and his moral support throughout the preparation of this thesis.

Olgica Zingg-Jerotic

Introduction

It is generally accepted among scholars that the history of the written language and written literature (ПИСЬМЕННОСТЬ) in Russia begins towards the end of the tenth century with the introduction of Christianity from the Byzantine Empire into the Russian lands.² At the time of the conversion of Prince Vladimir in 988 and the official acceptance of the Christian religion by Kievan Rus', the first alphabet (known as Cyrillic), and the first written texts emerged. The language in which they were written is known as the Old Church Slavonic. By this term we understand a Macedonian dialect that was probably spoken in the region of Salonica and was used by the brothers Cyril and Methodius, in the middle of the ninth century, for the translation of liturgical books from Greek. This Old Church Slavonic language was greatly influenced by Greek, from which it borrowed large amount of vocabulary, phraseology and syntax. Originally, Old Church Slavonic was conceived and used for ecclesiastical purposes only. However, as the church became the center of learning and culture, and all intellectual activities became connected - in one way or another - to the religious activities, Church Slavonic rapidly emerged as the language of culture among the Russians and the Balkan Slavs. Consequently, Church Slavonic acquired the status of the literary language and served exclusively as the written language. Nevertheless, it was not the only written language in medieval Russia. The native Russian, which was the every-day spoken language, was used

² There is a theory, supported among others by S. Obnorskii, which claims that a written Russian language existed well before the introduction of Christianity. However, there are no surviving original texts dating before the eleventh century that would support such a theory.

for the oral literature, including epic poetry, lyric songs and fairy tales. Occasionally, it was used as the written language as well, specifically for administrative and legal documents, business correspondence and other non-literary purposes. Thus, there were two written languages, and each of them had a specific function. Literature was composed in Church Slavonic, and non-literary texts were written in colloquial Russian, known as the ПРИКАЗНЫЙ ЯЗЫК.³ These two separate linguistic entities coexisted throughout the Middle Ages. Although Church Slavonic must have been relatively close to Old Russian in ancient times, as the centuries went by, the spoken Russian evolved, and the gap between the two languages became ever larger. There were, to a certain degree, mutual interference and influence between the two languages throughout the centuries, but their dualism essentially continued during the Kievan (XI-XIIIc.) and the Moscovite periods (XIV-XVIIc.) up to the eighteenth century. The phenomenon that occurred in Russia in the fifteenth century, known as the *Second South Slavic Influence*, did not help bridge the gap between the two languages. Only in the sixteenth century, the situation began slowly to change, and the lay language started to infiltrate the literary writings. This process was well underway during the seventeenth century, due to the development and the expansion of the secular literature. With the appearance of

³ It can be argued whether or not Church Slavonic was the only language used for literary purposes. This depends on the definition we give to the word *literature*. In our times, argues B.O. Unbegaun ("Colloquial and Literary Russian," *Oxford Slavonic papers*, Vol. 1 [1950]: 126-136), the notion of literature has been expanded. For example, texts of general interest such as the treatise on domestic economy (Домострой), which was written in colloquial Russian, was not considered as literature in ancient Russia. Thus, if we accept this kind of writings into the domain of literature, we can state that the colloquial Russian was also used for literary purposes, that is to say, for the lay literature.

new literary genres - stories, tales, legends, different genres of plebeian literature - the contiguity of the two languages became ever stronger. In this respect, the literary work of Avakum is a good example for the bold combination of Russian popular speech and Church Slavonic language.⁴ At the same time, Church Slavonic gradually penetrated the business language as well. Hence, in the seventeenth century, Church Slavonic had lost its homogenous character due to the infiltration of the elements from the living Russian speech on the one hand, and, because the "московская и южнославянская редакции скрещивались с редакцией юго-западной (украинско-белорусской),"⁵ on the other hand. At the same time, the Church Slavonic started to lose its prestigious position of being the language of literature. The area of its use narrowed considerably, its application being reserved for religious and liturgical purposes. But far from disappearing from the general literary scene, Church Slavonic linguistic elements, i.e., Church Slavonicisms, became incorporated into the lay literature, in which the everyday Russian language prevailed.

While the native Russian and the Church Slavonic continued to coexist, during the Time of Troubles (1584-1613) and onwards, throughout the seventeenth century, an additional phenomenon occurred - the borrowing of West European lexical elements. West European influence first penetrated into Russia via Ukraine. Due to the annexation of Ukraine into the Moscovite State in 1654, a powerful Ukrainian influence was felt on Russian cultural and social life during the second half of the seventeenth century. Both

⁴ See Ф.П. Филин, *Истоки и судьбы русского литературного языка* (Москва: Наука, 1981) 111-113.

⁵ Филин, *Истоки и судьбы* 108.

Moscow and Kiev continued to be two most important centers of the Church Slavonic tradition during that time. Kiev, being historically the cradle of the East European (Byzantine) culture, preserved the Church Slavonic tradition, and it was there that the Ukrainian scholar M. Smotrickii published, in 1619, the first Church Slavonic normative grammar. It was also in Kiev that the first traces of the use of Church Slavonic in the secular literature can be found. Being in direct geographical contact with Poland, Ukraine was exposed to the West European scholastic tradition, whose influence reached Moscow in the seventeenth century, mainly through Kiev. With the West European scholastic tradition came the infiltration of foreign vocabulary, Polish and Latin in the first place, affecting not only the Russian but the Church Slavonic language as well. This intensified the already problematic interrelation between the Russian and the Church Slavonic. All these literary and linguistic changes disturbed the hierarchy that existed since the Middle Ages between the two languages, and greatly challenged the supremacy and the prestige of Church Slavonic. Thus, at the end of the seventeenth century in Russia, there was neither a well defined form for the literary writing, nor an established literary norm in which literature could be composed. It was the beginning of a linguistic and literary crisis.

The linguistic situation was further complicated and the crisis accentuated during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, when the so-called westernization of Russia occurred. The reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725) brought profound and rapid reforms in all fields of human activities, and this led to massive lexical borrowings from West European countries: a flood of Dutch, German, English and, to a lesser degree, French words, came pouring into Russia. This complex linguistic situation resulted in a quasi-total absence of rules and regulations, often

described as a linguistic chaos.⁶ The need for lexical, grammatical and stylistic regulations was urgent, if there was to be a new, coherent literary language that could be guided by, and which could obey definite rules. In other words, anarchy had to be replaced by order in the domain of language.

The eighteenth century is generally considered as a turning point in the development of modern Russian literary language,⁷ and therefore, is regarded as crucial for its formation. The grammatical norms were established around the middle, and its lexical and stylistic structure towards the end of the century. Although it could be argued whether "there occurred a definite break, after which a new language emerged,"⁸ the fact remains that the development of the modern Russian literary language did not undergo a long, gradual, diachronic process as was the case with most West European languages, but was greatly affected and rapidly altered by the profound social changes that took place during the reign of Peter the Great. During this formative period, the foundations of contemporary Russian were laid.

An important number of scholars, writers, translators - in one word, 'men of learning' - participated in, and contributed to the formation of what we now call modern Literary Russian. However, the name of M.V. Lomonosov (1711-

⁶ Some scholars, including F.P. Filin, are opposed to the definition of this period as linguistic and literary chaos and anarchy. They prefer instead a word *нестрога*. Whatever term we may choose, the fact remains: there was a linguistic disorder and considerable confusion due to the lack of rules and regulations.

⁷ See Worth, "Thoughts" 125. This point of view is shared among majority of authors: V.V. Vinogradov, A.I. Efimof, F.P. Filin, V.D. Levin, A.V. Isachenko, V.P. Vomperskii, A.I. Gorshkov, are some of them.

⁸ Worth, "Thoughts" 125.

1765) stands apart, and in our opinion, deserves special attention. Lomonosov can be considered the first to have influenced the course of events by establishing some basic rules and criteria, and by giving some important grammatical and stylistic guidelines within the linguistic and literary field. Among his numerous achievements in various fields of human activities, his contribution in the sphere of language is certainly among the most important. If we accept the assumption that the "men who were at the cradle of modern Russian had to have two fundamental qualifications: 1) Complete familiarity with the Church Slavic language, with Church Slavic literature and culture in the broad sense, plus a knowledge of Greek ...[and], 2) a similar familiarity with West European languages, literature and culture...",⁹ then Lomonosov certainly fulfils these criteria. As G.H. Worth points out, in order to have a unified literary language, the most important prerequisites are: a standardized grammar, and a regulated vocabulary.¹⁰ Indeed, Lomonosov's most important contribution lies in the achievement of both these tasks.

His *Российская грамматика* was a first comprehensive grammar of the Russian language. It was published five times between its first appearance in 1755 and the end of the eighties, each edition carrying the notice: "с наискорейшим

⁹ Worth, "Thoughts" 129.

¹⁰ In the article cited above, p. 130, Gerta H. Worth considers the formation of a new vocabulary to be the second most important task in creating a unified literary language. In our opinion, a regulation of vocabulary, concerning the case in point, was of a much greater importance than the creation of a new vocabulary. For there was no shortage of words in the mid-eighteenth century Russian literary language. Words were borrowed, coined or translated, and neologisms were created, whether or not there was a need for them. But the absence of norms and rules was total, and the confusion and contradictions reigned. Hence, the need for a regulation of vocabulary was urgent.

ПОСПЕШАНИЕМ." It remains an indisputable fact among scholars that Lomonosov's contribution in the field of grammar was of paramount importance. However, the importance of his contribution regarding the vocabulary has been seriously challenged during the last four decades. Until the end of the 1950s, it was taken for granted by scholars that Lomonosov's *Theory of Three Styles* had a rapid and long lasting success, and had played an important role in the subsequent development of the Russian literary language. V.D. Levin's statement that the system of *Three Styles* had lost its significance as soon as the Russian literature started breaking off with the classical tradition¹¹ was supported and further examined by A.V. Isachenko.¹² In his view, the *Theory of Three Styles* was only an episode which, in practice, had no impact on the subsequent development of the literary Russian. G.H. Worth shares the same opinion and goes further by examining Lomonosov's role as the regulator and the innovator of the vocabulary.¹³ In her opinion, all the credit that was given to him in this respect is largely undue.

Among the philological works that bear witness to Lomonosov's achievements, we consider that two of them: the *Российская грамматика* and his short article "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке," occupy a central position regarding their importance in the process of formation and development of the new Russian literary language. Therefore, the purpose of the present thesis is twofold: first, to examine these two works, and, second, to

¹¹ В.Д. Левин, *Краткий очерк истории русского литературного языка* (Москва: 1958) 132.

¹² А.В. Исаченко, "Ломоносов и теория стилей", *Ceskoslovenska rusistika* 13 (1968): 147-150.

¹³ Worth, "Thoughts" 131.

determine, against the background of controversial arguments mentioned above, to what extent, why and how, Lomonosov's work was important for his own time and for posterity.

Chapter I

THE SITUATION OF THE RUSSIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Whatever the differences in opinion concerning the process of the formation and development of the modern Russian literary language, scholars agree that this language represents a synthesis of three main components: Church Slavonic, various styles of written and spoken Russian, and an important number of foreign, primarily West European, elements. The first quarter of the eighteenth century, i.e., the period of reign of Peter the Great, is generally considered as the beginning of the formation of modern Russian literary language. During this period, and throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the Russian literary language underwent an intensive development and deep structural changes. These changes affected, in the first place, its lexical and phraseological structure. First, a considerable expansion of the vocabulary took place. Second, important semantic changes occurred within the two linguistic groups, the Church Slavonic and the Russian, as well as an intensive interaction between them. Third, a considerable number of neologisms was created. The last, but not the least, phenomenon that occurred was an important influx of West European vocabulary.

The very specific social, political and cultural circumstances in Russia in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, i.e., during the reign of Peter the Great, triggered this important change in the course of the development of Russian literary language, which G.H. Worth calls: "the turning point in the history of literary

Russian."¹⁴

In this chapter, we will examine some, in our opinion, most important and decisive factors which contributed to these important changes and consequently, to the formation and the development of the new Russian literary language.¹⁵ These are following:

- a) A growing number of West European lexical borrowings.
- b) A considerable expansion of the governmental-business language.
- c) A growing infiltration of the popular speech into the literary language.
- d) A decreased role of Church Slavonic, and the survival of many lexical and grammatical Slavonicisms within the literary language.

All these factors were closely interconnected, mutually influenced each other, and eventually created a fairly chaotic linguistic situation. Examining them will help us understand how and why this linguistic anarchy came into being, and, at the same time, will explain the *raison d'être* of Lomonosov's grammatical and stylistic reforms.

West European lexical and phraseological borrowings

The beginning of West European cultural influence on Russia took place during the seventeenth century. Its first manifestation came via Ukraine and Poland, due to Russia's close and more intensive contact with these two countries.

¹⁴ Worth, "Thoughts" 125.

¹⁵ Three literary sources were mainly used for this chapter: В.В. Виноградов, *Очерки по истории русского литературного языка XVII-XIX вв.* (Лейден: Е.Й. Брилл, 1950); Ф.П. Филин, *Истоки и судьбы русского литературного языка* (Москва: Наука, 1981); Ф.П. Филин, ed., *История лексики русского литературного языка конца XVII начала XIX века* (Москва: Наука, 1981).

Consequently, the influence of Polish became very strong during the second half of the seventeenth century, and with Polish was introduced the Latin language. Both languages continued to play an important role during the first half of the eighteenth century, particularly in the development of abstract, scholarly, philosophical and political terminology. But, during the reign of Peter the Great, German and Dutch became the most widely used European languages.

An important number of West European vocabulary entered the Russian language through translated literature. This was particularly true during the reign of Peter the Great when massive translations took place, and, at the same time, the inadequacies of the Russian literary language became evident. According to E. Birzhakova, during the time of Peter the Great, translations from Latin occupy the first place, followed by German. In this respect, French occupies the third place.¹⁶ Some of the foreign vocabulary which penetrated the Russian language through translations were assimilated, but many died out.

It is well known that the reign of Peter the Great was marked by profound reforms which affected every field of human activity and to which we commonly refer as the westernization of Russia. This process of westernization meant, first of all, the importation of West European knowledge, achievements and practice, with the goal of

¹⁶ Е.Э. Биржакова, Л.А. Войнова, и Л.Л. Кутина, *Очерки по исторической лексикологии русского языка XVIII века*, Л., (1972) 56-58, in Ф.П. Филин, *Истоки* 77. Filin emphasizes the fact that the influence of French language was relatively small during the first half of the eighteenth century, and particularly during the time of Peter the Great. Only during the second half of the century, the importance of French increased considerably, and consequently the translations from French took a leading position. The period of French Enlightenment triggered massive translation from Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and many others.

building up Russian industry, trade, science, education, legal system, etc. In order to achieve this, the first pressing task was to have the corresponding literary material, i.e., various handbooks and manuals of immediate practical utility (handbooks of navigation and mathematics, manuals of geography, treatises on laws), translated into Russian. All the changes and re-organization, and the febrile and almost frenetic activity at the governmental level, as well as the new social and cultural demands, contributed to the appearance of new linguistic means capable of satisfying the new literary demands.

The need for translations was urgent, but there was one major problem: the Russian language did not possess the necessary resources for all the required abstract, scientific and technological terms. The translators were at a loss when confronted with the task of translating into Russian the huge linguistic material from West European literature. They realized that they were lacking one instrument indispensable for their work: an adequate lexical body and a well structured and regulated literary language. This resulted in massive borrowings of West European vocabulary, and consequently, the Russian language became loaded with foreign terminology. The appearance of West European lexical borrowings altered the Russian language and the vocabulary not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. Borrowed words, as they were entering Russian, started to interact with Russian and Church Slavonic vocabulary by altering them semantically, and in this process, some of the foreign words also underwent semantic and morphological changes.

The West European vocabulary and phraseology entered the Russian language under different forms and in different ways. The most direct and straightforward was the adoption of a foreign word as such. In the domain of administration, most terms came from Germany, for example: *патент*, *контракт*,

штраф, архив, ассессор, факультет. Such was the case with many military terms: юнкер, генералитет, лозунг, лагерь, штурм. In the military field, there was also a strong French influence: барьер, батальон, бастион, гарнизон, пароль, манеж, марш.¹⁷ The Dutch and English influence was strongest in the maritime technology. In the fields of urban architecture, engineering, mining, agriculture, Polish and German terminology were used most, though some architectural terms were borrowed from Italian. The fields of learning such as mathematics, natural history, geography, anatomy, political science, economics, jurisprudence etc., were also filled with foreign terminology, as well as the fields of social and artistic activities. Many of these foreign words were russified, i.e., they were altered morphologically by receiving various Church Slavonic and Russian suffixes: адмирал -ство, герцог -ство, барон -ство, репорт -овать, пункт -ирование, пунктир -овать, командир -ование, командир -овать, диктовка, дикт -овать, диктир -овать, патрон -ный, гипс -овый, гарант -овать, гарантий -ный, etc.

There were other forms of borrowings, with more subtle and convoluted manifestations, that entered the Russian language. For example, many Russian words, due to foreign influence, received a secondary, and often abstract, meaning. This was particularly evident towards the middle of the century, when the influence of French became more important. For example, the words тронуть and живой were used in the sense of "to gain sympathy, compassion," and "lively, animated" respectively, coming from the French words *toucher* and *vif*. Furthermore, Russian words were coined in order to receive a new semantic level, and

¹⁷ All the examples from this paragraph were taken from: V.V. Vinogradov, *The History of the Russian Literary Language from the Seventeenth Century to the Nineteenth*, trans. L.L. Thomas (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) and from Ф.П. Филин, ed., *История лексики*.

syntactical construction were made on the imitation of French, such as *ХОЛОДНЫЙ ПРИЕМ* (*froid accueil*); *ПРИЕЗЖАЙТЕ МЕНЯ ПОСЕЩАТЬ* (*venez me voir*); *Я ЖЕЛАЮ БЫТЬ НАЕДИНЕ С СОБОЙ* (*je desire d'être seul avec moi-même*).¹⁸

A characteristic feature of West European lexical borrowings was their variable character and instability which affected their orthography (политра-палитра), their phonetics (зала-сала, цемент-семент, залп-салп), and their morphology (музеум-музей-музея, лабораториум-лаборатория-лабораторий, трофеум-трофея-трофей).

In parallel with the adoption of foreign vocabulary, there was an effort to translate the foreign terms into Russian or Church Slavonic. This represented a major difficulty, since finding a Russian or Church Slavonic equivalent was sometimes next to impossible. Even if one of them was available, (or in some cases both), the two, or the three could coexist. For example, the borrowed word *РЕВОЛЮЦИЯ* had its Russian synonym *переворот* and the Church Slavonic *превращение*. This created an abundance of synonyms within the same, as well as between different lexical groups. Doublets were commonly found in the literature of that time, i.e., foreign word was immediately followed by its Russian equivalent or by a new lexical definition. They were frequently used in translations and in the official documents from the beginning of the eighteenth century up to the 1740s. This lexical abundance, i.e., various types and various levels of synonyms, and numerous doublets were useful for the creation of neologisms and for possible semantic changes.

In addition to West European lexical borrowings that entered the Russian language through translations, there was an equally important impact of West European vocabulary on

¹⁸ These examples were taken from Филин, *Истоки и судьбы* 80-81.

the Russian language on a professional and social level. Foreign words and phraseology entered the urban colloquial language due to the influx of foreign, particularly German, settlers. These foreign craftsmen and artisans started to establish their shoemaking, cabinetmaking, blacksmith and other businesses in Moscow during the seventeenth century. As the middle-class city social structure continued to expand, the various professional jargons developed and became established among the middle-class urban population.

As the upper classes of the Russian society became increasingly westernized, the norms of social behavior changed, new objects and new concepts emerged and consequently, new words were adopted. Another, no less important, aspect of these westernizing tendencies was the fashion for foreign vocabulary among Russian upper classes. This fashion of using foreign words and foreign phraseology became so excessive that a whole new, mixed jargon emerged. Much of the foreign vocabulary penetrated the everyday language of the Russian upper classes before the Petrine era when the Polish influence was predominant. Polish, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century still preserved its status as a noble, aristocratic language, played an important role, not only as a direct source of borrowings but also as an intermediary source. It was through Poland that many Latin, French and German words found their way into the Russian language. Even though an important amount of foreign vocabulary penetrated the Russian language and was adopted by the Russian upper classes before the Petrine time, it did not really enter the literary usage until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Not only the words but a new "European" phraseology was adopted. The influence of French and German was strengthened by the fact that the Russian aristocracy became aware of the educational importance of these two languages, and the merchants and the landowners realized their practical value. However, up to

the 1740s, German influence was predominant, and thereafter French took the lead.

The expansion of the governmental-business language
(ДЕЛОВОЙ ЯЗЫК)

The role and the functions of Russian "business language" considerably expanded during the seventeenth century, and even more so during the Petrine time. In addition to its use for various public and private agreements, for legal and juridical acts and treatises, and for administrative, official correspondence, the use of the "business language" expanded, during the seventeenth century, to geographical and historical textbooks, for writing memoirs, culinary and health books etc. Due to the growing importance and diversity of official, governmental activities during the time of Peter the Great, the functions of the "business language" expanded even further. Its lexical foundation originally consisted of Russian colloquial speech and the use of Church Slavonic vocabulary was sporadic. Restricted to practical use, the "business language" developed inevitably in conjunction with Russian spoken language, but the amount of Church Slavonicisms rose with the expansion of its functions and the increased need for new vocabulary. In addition to the larger amount of Church Slavonicisms, foreign vocabulary started to enter the "business language", and with an increased number of translations during the Petrine time, the infiltration of West European vocabulary into the "business language" reached its climax. Not all of the foreign terminology survived, but a large number of foreign words was adopted and became an integral part of Russian "ДЕЛОВОЙ ЯЗЫК." Consequently this language became fairly heterogenous with important phonetic, morphological and lexical variations and

fluctuations. The mixture and the juxtapositions of vulgar, coarse vocabulary from the Russian popular speech with the high, solemn Church Slavonic words and the West European lexical elements became a common practice. This expanded and multifunctional "business language" became increasingly influential, slowly started to penetrate into the literary language, and eventually played a significant role in its further development.

Russian popular speech; its introduction into the literary language

With the development of secular literature in the seventeenth century there was a first visible tendency to introduce the elements of Russian spoken, everyday language into the new, developing literary genres: tales, satires etc. This tendency became much more evident during the reign of Peter the Great when the Russian colloquial speech, in addition of being widely used in popular literature, started to penetrate various official, governmental documents within the new expanded "business language," and became increasingly employed in different types of translated literature. While the elements from the spoken language had a restricted use and were relatively scarce in higher literary genres during the seventeenth century, their presence became a much more common occurrence during the first half of the eighteenth century. The elements of the *просторечие* were occasionally used even in the high oratorical genres. Here is one example of a translated work of drama from the beginning of the eighteenth century, "Акт о Колеандре и Неонилде":

[Атигрин] *Пособи* нам ныне / от змия избйти,
Зле его убить
Из моря выходит, / люде' поядает,

Горко умерщвляет. /
 От сего в печали / весьма отягченный
 Ум наш помраченный

[Сенатор] Вашему величеству / сие аз сказую,
 Что *вчера* слышал, / то вам возвестую.
 Слышал аз чрез куранты, / что Дияида едет,
 Надеюсь, сегодня / она к вам приедет

[Целюдор] Черыт ли твои слушет / глупы разговоры,
 Яже ты *болтаеши* / сия *забавны*.
Лаешь, как собака / на меня напрасна,
 Как бо учинилася / такова ты власна.

[Тигрина] Что се за *чучела* / и *дурная рожа*
 Вот какая *харя*, / экая пригожа
 Хоть смерть приму, / не хошу ас быти,
 Чтобы псу смердящему / женою мне слыти.¹⁹

Such an arbitrary mixture of Russian colloquial and Church Slavonic vocabulary was typical for the first half of the eighteenth century. It indicates that the stylistic boundaries separating the high literary genres, where the Church Slavonic had an exclusive use in the past, were not respected any more. The Russian everyday speech was gaining more and more ground within the literary language during the course of the eighteenth century, and its position and role was upgraded from the marginal and peripheral to the legal, acknowledged, and well anchored. But during the first half of the century, the elements from the colloquial Russian, including different dialects and regional variations, were not stylistically differentiated, and their function was not clearly defined yet. Therefore they were employed arbitrarily, without stylistic and contextual consideration. This process of functional and stylistic differentiation

¹⁹ Филин, ed., *История лексики* 39-40.

will start with Lomonosov's stylistic theory and will continue throughout the second half of the century.

The role of Church Slavonic linguistic elements

Church Slavonic performed the function of the literary language in Russia as long as the literature (or what was considered higher, noble levels of writing) was associated directly or indirectly with religious activities, i.e., during the Middle Ages and the Moscovite period. During the seventeenth century, with the development of secular literature and the increased tendency to introduce Russian everyday language into the literary writings, the supremacy of Church Slavonic started to decrease, and, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, was practically lost. Nevertheless, Church Slavonic linguistic components, i.e., Slavonicisms, were widely used in different genres of the secular literature and in different fields of the written language, including narrative genres, publicistic, scientific, epistolary writings, as well as translated literature. Two types of Slavonicisms were found: on one hand, there was a group of words which were regularly employed (even though not necessarily on a wide scale) within the various literary genres and were familiar to educated people (отверзаю, господень, насажденный, взываю etc.). On the other hand, there was an obsolete vocabulary of a high, bookish strata, rarely, if at all, employed in the contemporary writings and not understandable anymore to an average Russian (обаваю, рясни, овогда, свене). Both types of Slavonicisms were employed freely and were not subject to any lexical or stylistic restrictions or regulations. (This problem will be examined and examples will be given in the next section [pp. 23-25]).

A characteristic of Church Slavonic words was their

remarkable semantic capacity. Many of them had a wide spectre of meanings, ranging from the concrete to a variety of abstract meanings. This semantic characteristic of Church Slavonic was well exploited during the first half of the eighteenth century - a time of intensive search for new linguistic resources. Due to the new linguistic demands, many Church Slavonic words were employed in new literary contexts. Within these new contexts, they underwent semantic changes and received new lexical functions. In many cases, they were liberated from their narrow religious context and underwent a process of "secularization", that is, they were adapted to the new social needs. For example, the word СОГРАЖДАНИН received its secular meaning 'fellow-citizen,' but originally it meant 'companion of a saint or an angel,' i.e., 'cohabitant in haven.' The Church Slavonic word ЗАКОН underwent a semantic change in the beginning of the eighteenth century; its original meaning 'divine law, faith' expanded to denote 'law' in its general sense. Due to their aptitude to express a variety of abstract notions and ideas, Church Slavonic words were also employed for the denomination of new, foreign, lexically still undefined concepts. Within that (more complex) semantic process, many of these words received several additional meanings as the result of a continuous need to translate these new, foreign concepts. The Church Slavonic word ОБЪЩЕСТВО for example, which originally meant ОБЩНОСТЬ 'community,' started being used during the time of Peter the Great in all the different connotations of the Latin word 'societas.' Later on, under the influence of French 'société,' such expressions were used as В ОБЩЕСТВЕ 'en société'; СЛИВКИ ОБЩЕСТВА 'crème de la société'; ДУША ОБЩЕСТВА 'l'âme de la société', which consequently gave birth to new derivatives: ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫЙ, ОБЩЕСТВЕННОСТЬ. The word ЧУВСТВО underwent similar semantic transformations. The Church Slavonic ЧУВСТВІЕ, ЧУВСТВО were originally used only in religious contexts in the sense

of способность чувствовать, сознание, внешнее чувство, орган чувства and чувствънни meant внешнему чувству...подлежащий, чувствительный. During the eighteenth century the word чувство and its derivatives чувственный, чувственность, чувствительный, чувствительность, again under the influence of French (sentiment, sensuel, sensible, sentimental etc.) and Latin (sensualiter, sensibilis, sensatio etc.) were used in many different connotations.²⁰

Within the interaction between Russian and Church Slavonic, there were many synonyms and doublets, and they were often used alternatively and in an arbitrary way within the same context.²¹ Gradually, they started to be semantically differentiated and consequently started to be used in more specific contexts. Often Slavonic words would lose their concrete meaning analogous to the Russian word and retain their secondary, abstract meanings. But this semantic differentiation was a long process which lasted all through the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, and Lomonosov will be the first to try to solve this problem of semantic differentiation and organization with a systematic approach.

*The three linguistic entities and their convergence:
conflicting tendencies and a state of disorder*

The intensified interaction between Church Slavonic and Russian linguistic elements during the first half of the

²⁰ All the above examples were taken from G.H. Worth "Роль церковнославянского языка в развитии русского литературного языка" *American Contribution to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists*. 1 (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1968) 95-125.

²¹ See examples on p. 25.

eighteenth century, and the influence of West European vocabulary, resulted in an extremely complex and multiform lexical mixture. This was particularly evident in narrative styles, where strong morphological, phonetic and lexical irregularities often led to stylistic awkwardness. We have seen that one characteristic feature of that period was a frequent mixture and juxtaposition of the colloquial, and even the vulgar Russian with the bookish, solemn words of Slavonic origin. Out of that linguistic amalgam composed of many different lexical and grammatical elements, and under the influence of West European translated works, new literary styles were emerging through publicistic, narrative, diplomatic, bureaucratic and technical literature.

Through the interaction of these different linguistic entities, a middle linguistic layer - which will later be defined by Lomonosov as the "middle style" - was gradually taking shape. But there was an absence of any normative character, not only within this middle linguistic layer, but within the literary language in general. Without well defined linguistic norms and codified rules, the situation became problematic. Orders and advices, criticisms and recommendations were given to writers and translators by the government of Peter the Great. In these official papers as well as in different polemical writings of this period, there was a clear tendency to free the Russian literary language from the heavy influence of Church Slavonic and to stimulate the use of the common, spoken Russian. F. Polikarpov, for example, was criticized by the government of Peter the Great for his excessive use of Church Slavonic and was asked to correct his translations by using simple Russian words and the words of the Foreign Office instead of the elevated Church Slavonic. Polikarpov's *ТРЕЯЗЫЧНЫЙ ЛЕКСИКОН* was not well received by the government and apparently it greatly displeased Peter because of its heavy

load of Church Slavonicisms and its insufficient use of everyday expressions and foreign borrowings. Nevertheless, an excessive use of foreign vocabulary was not tolerated either. Here is an example from a letter sent by Peter the Great to Rudakovskii, one of his emissaries: "В реляциях твоих употребляешь ты зело много польские и другие иностранные слова и термины, за которыми самсго дела выразуметь невозможно; того ради впредь тебе реляции свои к нам писать все российским языком, не употребляя иностранных слов и терминов."²² Here are two more examples of Peter's remarks. The first is from a letter, written in 1709 to Ivan Zotov: "Надлежит вам в той книжке, которую ныне переводите, остерегаться в том дабы внятнее перевести и не надлежит речь от речи хранить в переводе, но точию сии выразумев, на свой язык уж так писать, как внятнее."²³ The second citation is from Peter's instructions to the Synoid in relation to the composition of the catechism, from 1724: "чтоб просто написать так, чтоб и поселянин знал, или на две: поселяном простяе, а в городах покрасивее для сладости слышавших, как вам удобнее покажется."²⁴

Among the advocates for a wider use of the Russian language, Trediakovskii was, at the beginning of his career, one of its most zealous defenders, and, at the same time, he vigorously rejected and condemned the use of Church Slavonic. Trediakovskii's attempt to free the Russian literary language from the Church Slavonic elements was symptomatic of the undergoing linguistic and literary crisis. It was also an indication of the need for a new, modern and more westernized literary language and the

²² Виноградов, *Очерки* 60.

²³ Пекарский, *Наука и литература при Петре Великом*, т. I, 206, cited in: Виноградов, *Очерки* 74.

²⁴ Виноградов, *Очерки* 74.

necessity for its rapprochement "с простым русским словом, то есть каковым мы меж собой говорим."²⁵ Under the influence of West European literary movements, Trediakovskii's translation, (published in 1730), of Paul Tallement's allegorical novel *Voyage a l'île d'amour*, (Paris, 1713), and the preface he wrote to the translation, indicates clearly the desire to reform the secular literary styles and create a non-Slavonic literary language. In his preface to the translation Trediakovskii exposed his linguistic views by explaining why he choose to translate the work into the simple Russian: "[Первая [причина]: язык славенской у нас есть язык церковной; а сия книга мирская. Другая: язык славенской в нынешнем веке у нас очюнь (sic) темен; и многия его наши читая неразумеют; а сия книга есть сладкия любви, того ради всем должна быть вразззумнительна. Третья; которая вам покажется самая легкая, но которая у меня идет за самую важную, то есть, что язык славенской ныне жесток моим ушам слышится, хотя прежде сего не только я им писывал, но и разговаривал со всеми: но зато у всех я прошу прощения, при которых я с глупословием моим славенским особым речеточцем хотел себя показывать."²⁶ Despite Trediakovskii's desire, and more importantly, despite his attempt to eliminate the Church Slavonic from the secular literature, his own translation *Езда в остров любви*, like most other translated and original works from the first half of the eighteenth century, represent an awkward and clumsy mixture of Russian, Church Slavonic and West European elements. By looking carefully at the translation, it becomes obvious that the Russian and the Church Slavonic language are all but intermingled with the utmost inconsistency. Next to от

²⁵ V.K. Trediakovskii's own words in his "Разговор об орфографии" *Сочинения*, т. III, 215, cited in: Виноградов, *Очерки* 85.

²⁶ Cited in Виноградов, *Очерки* 85.

берегу one can read the nominative брег; города and глас; тысячу and тысящи; нахожу and хошу, хочешь; ночь; чрез, пред, сие, онъ, паки and then коли, меж, etc.²⁷ It just shows how easy it was for the Slavonic words to slip into the "language of conversation" as possible doublets.

However, this tendency to make a clear division between the native Russian and the Church Slavonic, which was very apparent during the first third of the eighteenth century, did not mean a break between the two languages and the elimination of one in favour of the other. This would have been impossible anyhow, for, at that point in Russian history, the two languages were already well intertwined, and part of the Church Slavonic became integrated into Russian. There was rather a pressing need for lexical and stylistic reorganization, as well as a necessity to eliminate all the obscure liturgical elements from the literary language and retain only the living parts of the Church Slavonic which were already integrated into Russian. What was about to take place, was a restructuring and reorganizing of the literary language, which at that point, was composed of Russian, Church Slavonic, and West European elements. The obsolete forms of Church Slavonic, grammatical and lexical, (archaic forms of participles, the aorist, the lexical elements such as абие, абаче), which were often found next to conversational words of the secular language, will be gradually eliminated during the second half of the eighteenth century, and replaced by the everyday Russian or West European elements.

The tendency to eliminate the "cumbersome" Slavonic from the Russian literary language and replace it by "the simple Russian word, the one we use when we speak to each other," to use Trediakovskii's own words, was followed by an

²⁷ See A. Martel, *Michel Lomonosov et la langue littéraire russe*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1933) 35.

opposite tendency towards the middle of the eighteenth century. During the 1740s, a kind of rehabilitation of Church Slavonic came as a counter-reaction to an overwhelming West European influence. The importance of the historical role of Church Slavonic became overvalued, particularly in the connection to the high literary styles where the literary function of Church Slavonic was restored to its former leading role. Trediakovskii, then, became one of the most zealous defenders of the revival of Church Slavonic. He was one of the leading characters of the movement in favour of re-establishing a much broader use of Slavonic and Slavono-Russian words within the Russian literary language, and, at the same time, he favoured the elimination of foreign vocabulary. Not having any guidance to follow and no rules to rely on, Trediakovskii was "oscillating" from one extreme to the other. What he wrote in his preface to the *Езда в остров любви* is in sharp contrast, if not contradiction, with his objection to Sumarokov's using the popular speech in his writings; had Sumarokov forgotten that in Russia one language is spoken and another written:

"За образец ему в письме народный ряд,
На площади береть прегнусно свой наряд,
Не зная, что писать у нас на свете есть иное,
А просто говорить по дружески другое.

У Немцев то не так, ни у Французов тож:
Им нравен тот язык, кой с общим самым схож;
Но нашей чистоте вся мера есть словенский,
не щегольков, ниже и грубый деревенский.

Не ГОЛОС чтется там, но сладостнейший ГЛАС;
читают ОКО все, хоть говорят все ГЛАЗ;
Не ЛЮБ там, но ЧЕЛО,,; не ЩЕКИ, но ЛАНИТН;

Не ГУБЫ и не РОТ, УСТА там багрянити;
Не НЫНЬ там и не ВАЛЬ, но ... и: ВОЛНА:
Священна книга вся сих нежностей полна.²⁸

There were endless discussions, mutual criticism, objections and written parodies, among writers of that period, and Trediakovskii's and Sumarokov's antagonism is quite representative. Sumarokov, while using the popular language in some of his comedies, showed a deep regret for the loss in the Russian language of some of "its old beauties" like the use of the Slavonic aorist and the imperfect, and the spoilage by contemporary writers of the good old written language.²⁹

In the midst of these conflicting tendencies and the chaotic mixture of the old and the new, the national and the foreign, the religious and the secular, new literary currents in prose and in poetry were slowly taking shape under the influence of an important number of translations of West European narrative and lyric literature. But, the new westernized forms of prose and poetry retained, to a large extent, the Church Slavonic lexical base, and the obsolete grammatical forms were still to be found.

This brings us to the following conclusion: the medieval dual system of the Russian literary language, based on a well defined functional differentiation between Church Slavonic and Russian, was definitely destroyed during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the balance which existed between the two languages was greatly disturbed. The Slavono-Russian correlation was further complicated by the

²⁸ *Библиографический записки*, II, col. 519, 1859, cited in: Martel, *Michel Lomonosov* 45-46.

²⁹ Polemical discussions between Sumarokov and Trediakovskii are exposed in detail in Vinogradov, *Очерки*, 129-138, and in Martel, *M. Lomonosov* 42-46.

powerful influx of West European lexical borrowings. The overall vocabulary of the literary language was significantly expanded during this period, but at the same time, it became extremely heterogeneous. The absence of lexical and stylistic uniformity and the lack of well defined grammatical norms created a rather chaotic situation. The result of this situation was confusion, errancy and the quest for a unified, regulated and organized literary language. Different proposals and some extreme tendencies were brought forward. But the problem of how to achieve a structural unification and a harmonious synthesis of such various elements as were Church Slavonic, national Russian and West European components, and how to create a national literary norm, was not resolved during the first half of the eighteenth century. In this atmosphere of febrile and heated polemical discussions, Lomonosov's achievements represent an important contribution to what we now call the modern Russian literary language. Lomonosov gave the Russians a normative grammar, and made the first attempts to stylistically organize and orient the literary language by regulating its lexical and phraseological structure. By setting the norms in these two fields precisely, grammatical and lexical, Lomonosov made a first important move to overcome the obstacles impeding further development of the literary language.

Chapter II

THE STANDARDIZATION OF GRAMMAR: *РОССИЙСКАЯ ГРАММАТИКА*

As the new, unified Russian literary language was gradually developing during the eighteenth century, its morphological, syntactical and lexical norms were established at different times within that period. Around the middle of the century a new morphological system was in the process of formation, that is, the morphological aspects of literary texts of that time were diverging ever further from those in the past as well as from the oral speech.³⁰ Since a literary language is a linguistic system and its norms are recorded and fixed in and by grammars and dictionaries, the appearance of Lomonosov's grammar was extremely important for the further development of Russian literary language. It gave the necessary normative character to the newly forming morphological system by setting common rules for all the forms of the written language. Lomonosov understood the paramount importance of a grammar when he wrote: "Тупа оратория, косноязычна поэзия, неосновательна филизофия, неприятна история, сомнительна юриспруденция без грамматики."³¹ But he was not the first to formulate the urgent need for theoretical and practical manuals if there was to be a Russian literary language worth of its name. It was Trediakovskii, during his discourse at the first meeting

³⁰ Е.Г. Ковалевская, *История русского литературного языка*, (Москва: Просвещение, 1978) 168-206.

³¹ М.В. Ломоносов, *Избранные произведения*, том 2 (Москва: Академия наук СССР, изд. Наука, 1986) 196.

of the Assembly of the Russian Academy of Sciences,³² who denounced all the deficiencies of the Russian literary language and formulated the need for theoretical and practical manuals. The goal of these manuals was to offer the necessary guidelines, a "know how", and above all, they were to determine clear rules for writing. Trediakovskii presented to the Assembly a whole program in which he appealed to his colleagues stressing the necessity and the urgency of having a good *Grammar*, a complete and well elaborated *Dictionary*, a *Rhetoric* and a *Poetic*. This represented, Trediakovskii warned his colleagues, a difficult and painstaking task. Consequently, nothing of it was done during the years to come, except the revision of the civic alphabet (гражданка). Some years later, Lomonosov took upon himself this enormous task. In 1755 he published the first edition of his *Российская грамматика*, and in 1758 his article "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке." These two works cover the grammatical and the stylistic, that is, lexical and phraseological aspect of Russian literary language.

Russian grammars prior to Lomonosov

Towards the end of the sixteenth and during the seventeenth century several grammars of Church Slavonic language were published in Belorussia and Ukraine. The most elaborate and the best known among them was written by the Ukrainian scholar Meletii Smotritskii and published in

³² On March 14, 1735, the "Российское собрание" was set up as part of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The goal of the assembly was to improve and correct the Russian language, to remedy to the problem of translation, and to create a grammar and a dictionary. However, the institution was short-lived and existed only until 1743.

Vilnius in 1619. As B.A. Larin points out:

"Труд Смотрицкого не явился результатом исследования славянского языка, а был только попыткой влить русское содержание в греческую грамматику, т.е. воспроизвести всю структуру - не только в основном, но и в деталях - греческой грамматики и наполнить ее славянскими примерами."³³

There were, for example, six tenses in imitation of the Greek, four of which were past tenses. These four he called: преходящее, прешедшее, мимошедшее, неопределенное. They were adapted to the archaic models of aorist and imperfect, but they were differentiated essentially by the verbal aspect. There were also formation, on the Greek model, of adverbs (причастодетие). As for the gender definition, Smotritskii, after having defined gender as a distinction of sexes by a pronoun, affirms the existence of seven genders: мужской, женский, средний, общий, всякий, недоуменный, преобщий.³⁴ These are few characteristics of Smotritskii's grammar, given as examples to demonstrate the enormous step forward made by Lomonosov's *Российская грамматика*.

Grammars of Russian language did not appear before the end of the seventeenth century. This was quite understandable if we bear in mind that grammars usually do not appear before a language has attained a literary status. The native Russian speech, even though it was widely used in the written form for administrative, legal and business documents, did not yet have got during the seventeenth

³³ Б.А. Ларин, *Лекции по истории русского литературного языка* (Москва: Высшая школа, 1975) 302.

³⁴ *Grammtika slovenska* 22-23, cited in: Martel, Michel Lomonosov 31.

century a literary status. The first published grammar of the Russian language was the *Grammatica Russica*, written in Latin by the German scholar H.W. Ludolf, and published at Oxford in 1696. Then came a very short edition written also in Latin by the Polish scholar Elias Kopievich, which was published in Stoltzenberg near Danzig in 1706. Following was Teodor Polikarpov's grammar published in Moscow in 1721. Polikarpov made the first timid attempts to include the elements from the spoken language. Teodor Maksimov's grammar, published in St. Petersburg in 1723 followed. The last grammar of Russian language printed in Russia before Lomonosov's *Российская грамматика* was W.E. Addodurov's grammar published in 1731 in St. Petersburg. It was written in German and appeared as an appendix to E. Weissmann's German-Latin dictionary. In his grammar Addodurov made the first steps to clearly distinguish the Church Slavonic language from the Russian by giving them the equal status while making an extra effort to give the thorough descriptions of Russian linguistic norms.

All these grammars, though entitled as the *Russian grammars*, occupy, to various degrees, an intermediate position between a Church Slavonic and a Russian grammar with one important new feature: the majority of them include elements and observations from the spoken Russian. But Smotritskii's grammar remained, until the publication of Lomonosov's Grammar, the model to be followed; it served as a framework and a guidance for all the future grammars which were published in Russia.

M.V. Lomonosov's Российская грамматика

There is unanimous agreement among scholars that Lomonosov's *Российская грамматика* is his most important contribution to the development of the Modern Russian

literary language, and it was one of the most demanded philological works during the second half of the eighteenth century. With its normative character and its rigorous conception, Lomonosov's grammar had no real antecedent. For the composition of his grammar Lomonosov used a new approach: by taking into consideration the fact that each particular language has its own intrinsic values, in order to establish the norms, Lomonosov had to be a keen observer of the usage within the written and the spoken traditions of a given milieu. This represents, in our opinion, one of the most important features of Lomonosov's grammar. This very feature is what distinguishes his grammar in the first place, from all precedent grammars, including Smotritskii's. Lomonosov studied Smotritskii's grammar extensively, all through his life.³⁵ Despite his great respect for that work and the fact that he learned a great deal from it, Lomonosov saw the single most important shortcoming of Smotritskii's "abstract" approach, that is, the lack of what he calls "наблюдение над употреблением." This is what probably helped him form his own clear and precise idea concerning this basic principle on which *Российская грамматика* was built. In the preface of his grammar Lomonosov writes:

"И хотя она от общего употребления языка

³⁵ Here is Lomonosov's own account of this experience: "Я уверен, что ни один из нас не одолел бы этого огромного труда, по крайней мере, очень скоро признал бы свою полную неспособность понять содержание этой премудрой книги. Я могу так говорить на том основании, что читал эту книгу уже далеко не студентом, и все-таки это было, пожалуй, самое мучительное чтение из всей древнерусской письменности и литературы. Должен сказать, что мне и теперь приходится иногда трижды и четырежды перечитывать какую-нибудь фразу Смотрицкого, и я не всегда уверен, что я ее до конца и как следует понимаю. Этот трактат гораздо легче было бы читать, если бы он был написан на латинском или греческом языке, потому что Смотрицкий из тех ученых, которые мыслили по-латыни и по-гречески и переводили себя на славянские языки, причем довольно плохо", cited in Ларин, *Лекции* 302.

происходит, однако правилами показывает путь самому употреблению."³⁶

Российская грамматика consists of six chapters, or "наставления," as he called them.

The first chapter, entitled *О человеческом слове вообще*, deals with the questions concerning the development of human speech and its underlying general principles. This first, general part of Lomonosov's grammar has no equivalent in the grammars of his predecessors. For its composition, Lomonosov used his thorough knowledge of various theoretical and philosophical works from West European scholars.³⁷ According to Larin,³⁸ it was the *Grammaire raisonnée* from Port-Royal that helped Lomonosov set the general plan for his grammar, even though he went far beyond in comparison with the French grammar. The French linguistic theories, brought forward by the authors of Port-Royal's grammar, stipulate the existence of a common origin in the structure of all the languages of mankind. They tried to bring into the line logic with grammar, thought with speech, and to indicate the most correct, simple and rational way of expressing a thought by eliminating all that contradicts the logic and the rational approach. Lomonosov went further by pointing out that every language has, not only the characteristics which are common to all mankind, but its own distinctive traits which are equally important

³⁶ М. В. Ломоносов: *Избранные произведения* 196.

³⁷ Lomonosov was well acquainted with the *Philosophia naturalis* and the *Vernünfftige Gedanken*, written by the prominent German scientist and philosopher Christian von Wolff. Wolff was Lomonosov's teacher and mentor during his studies at Marburg University. Also, Lomonosov was very familiar with the *Grammaire raisonnée* from Port-Royal (1660) and the *Grammatica philosophica* by Scoppius.

³⁸ Ларин, *Лекции* 303.

and should be given the same attention as the one given to the general, common norms. Lomonosov realized that a living speech does not always obey the rules of logic, but contrary to French scholars from Port-Royal, he did not favour the modification of a given linguistic material just to suit the logic. For example, he did not oppose the use of gender for inanimate objects even though there is no logic to it. Lomonosov acknowledged the disparity between the logic and the grammar in this case, nevertheless he insisted on the necessity to accept this linguistic reality which was well anchored in the language.

In West European scholastic circles these theoretical writings about the general knowledge of human speech were well known and the subject had been dealt with since antiquity, but there was no precedent of such a work in Russia. Thus, the importance of this first chapter lies, not so much in the originality of Lomonosov's own theory and his own ideas - even though Lomonosov did more (as shown above) than simply record theories from abroad - but rather in the fact that it was the first work of its kind to be written in Russia and in the Russian language. Lomonosov's erudition and the wide spectrum of his knowledge permitted him to skilfully extract all the material he considered pertinent, from various philosophical works and various languages (Greek, Latin, German, French), and put them together in a coherent whole. Thus, different concepts, expressed by a specific terminology, found their equivalent in the Russian language.³⁹ This represented one more step forward in making

³⁹ For the definitions and the terminology, Lomonosov followed the models of ancient grammarians, for example: what Priscian called *nomen appellativum* and *dictio* became in Lomonosov's grammar нарицательное имя and предложение, respectively. Also, the distinction Lomonosov makes between ГОЛОС and ВЫГОВОР came from the distinction made by Marcus Victorinus and Donat between *vox articulata* and *vox confusa*. It was also on the model of Donat and Priscian that Lomonosov divided up the

the Russian society, especially the intellectual circles, familiar with the West European scholastic thoughts. In our opinion, there lies the historical importance of this first chapter.

As much as the first part of Lomonosov's grammar relies on the foreign philosophical grammars, all other chapters deal with the specificity of the Russian language.

The second chapter, *О чтении и правописании российском*, gives a short explanation of phonetics and rules of writing, which was extremely valuable at that time, for it gave clear and precise definitions. There, for example, Lomonosov indicates that the letter *Щ* conveys the composite sound *ЩЧ*; the letters *е, ѳ, я*, at the beginning of a word have a double sound, composed of *й* and the vowel, but after consonants they are pronounced as a simple vowel; the letter *е* under stress is pronounced as *ѣ*, and Lomonosov indicates when this rule does not have to be observed.

The third chapter, *О имени*, deals with the formation of words and the declension of substantives, adjectives and numerals. There, Lomonosov draws the attention to the existence and the development of a category of nouns that have common genders, for example, words such as *плакса, пьяница, болтушка*, etc.

The fourth chapter *О глаголе*, gives a classification of Russian verbs of the first and the second conjugation with numerous examples. All the grammatical categories of the Russian verb are presented: tenses, mood, number, person, voice and gender. However, during Lomonosov's time, the independent but interrelated categories of tense and aspect are not differentiated yet. Therefore, aspect, as an independent grammatical category, does not exist in

eight parts of the discourse into: *principales* *главныя* (noun and verb) and *accessoires* *служебныя* (pronoun, participle, adverb, preposition, conjunction, interjection). In: Martel, M. *Lomonosov* 30.

Lomonosov's grammar. Here, Lomonosov indicates the existence of irregular (хотеть) and incomplete (глядь, бряк) verbs.

The fifth chapter, *О вспомогательных или служебных частях слова*, covers of all the remaining parts of speech: pronouns, participles, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions etc. Here, for example, Lomonosov recommends the use of verbs of Russian origin only for the formation of gerunds in -ючи, while reserving the formation of participles exclusively for Church Slavonic verbs.

In his sixth and the last chapter, *О сочинении частей слова*, Lomonosov deals with the problem of syntax and gives the rules for word combinations.

Lomonosov repeats on several occasions that philosophy and reason can be very useful in clarifying certain linguistic phenomena, but they are useless when fixing the forms and setting up the norms; here the usage (употребление) is the only guide.⁴⁰

Lomonosov makes the transition from the first, general part of his grammar to the rest of it by the following statement:

"Общая грамматика есть философское понятие всего человеческого слова; а особливая, какова российская грамматика, есть знание как говорить и писать чисто российским языком по лучшему,

⁴⁰ In his polemical discussion with Trediakovskii, Lomonosov writes in his "Примечания на предложение о множественном окончании прилагательных имен": "Из сего всего явствует что к поставлению окончении прилагательных множественных имен никакие теоретические доводы не довольны, но как во всей грамматике, так и в сем случае одному употреблению повиноваться должно." In: Г.А. Гуковский, "Ломоносов-критик" *Литературное творчество М.В. Ломоносова*, ed. П.Н. Берков, И.З. Серман (Москва-Ленинград: Академия наук СССР, 1962) 85.

расудительному его употреблению."⁴¹

Here again the word "usage" comes forward: the best, reasonable usage. What exactly did Lomonosov mean by this? Before examining Lomonosov's approach to that question, let us see what was generally considered as the "best usage."

Throughout history, grammarians have in general considered the best usage of a language, and consequently the one which could serve as example for fixing a national norm, the way of speaking among the upper classes, the nobility and the court. Trediakovskii was one among the first in Russia to raise that question. In his *Разговор об орфографии* he follows the same path: it is the language of the court and the educated people, but certainly not "the one from the public square"⁴² that should be taken into consideration when looking for the "best usage" and fixing the national linguistic norm. The only problem was that during that time in Russia, the language of the court, with its nobility and its gentry, did not have a well defined character and could not possibly serve as a model and an example. Trediakovskii's translation of *Езда в остров любви* and the preface he wrote to it, is a case in point. In the previous chapter, we have seen the contradiction and the inconsistency between the preface to the translation and the actual translation: by addressing himself to the reader, Trediakovskii implores the latter not to condemn him for not having translated the work into Slavonic but into simplest

⁴¹ М.В. Ломоносов, *Российская грамматика* 86, cited in: А.И. Ефимов, *История русского литературного языка* (Москва: Высшая школа, 1971) 110.

⁴² See В.В. Виноградов, *История русского литературного языка* (Москва: Наука, 1978) 45.

Russian language, "почти самым простым русским словом, то есть каковым мы меж собой говорим."⁴³ (The "we" meaning the upper classes Trdiakovskii himself belonged to.)

Trediakovskii is very clear and precise in his explanation as to why he rejects the Church Slavonic language, as well as in his definition about what should be the new Russian language: the simple Russian, that is to say, the language of the conversation (of the upper classes). Nevertheless, the language of his translation is far from being the "simplest Russian." This is one of numerous examples of the time, of how difficult it was to find out where to look for the "best usage" since the language of the gentry and the upper classes could hardly serve as example.

Lomonosov's approach to the problem is different. He does not attribute the "best usage" to any social group in particular, neither does he make any value judgement concerning different social groups. In his *Grammar* he uses the word просторечие to describe the way of saying among ordinary people. When he speaks about простой российский язык, about the verbs обыкновенные российские or the слова простонародные новья или гражданския - he employs all this terms to merely distinguish some non-slavonic phenomena.

Lomonosov distinguishes three main dialects of the Russian spoken language: the Northern dialect, the Moscow dialect, and the Ukrainian dialect. When looking for the "best usage", he turns to one specific geographical area: he gives his preference to the Moscow and the northern dialect. Lomonosov explains his choice not only because of the importance of the capital, but because of this dialect's own beauty, and in particular because of its pronunciation of the unaccented o as a, which is, according to Lomonosov much

⁴³ А.Н. Кожин и А.А. Кожин, *Практический курс истории языка русской литературы* (Москва: Русский язык, 1990) 285.

more pleasant.⁴⁴ Even though Lomonosov records in his *Grammar* this phonetic fact, he does not change the orthography, that is, he acknowledges the legitimacy of the pronunciation of the unaccented o as o by other parts of Russian population. Another, controversial issue shows the way Lomonosov approaches a problem and the criteria he uses in order to make a decision. The controversy was about which ending to give to the masculine form of adjectives in the nominative plural.⁴⁵ In 1746 Trediakovskii submitted to the assembly of Russian Academy of Sciences a dissertation written in Latin *De plurali nominum adjectivorum integrorum Russica lingua scribendorum terminatione* in which he demands a change of the orthographic rules established in 1733 and proposes one single ending -и. He supports his claim with the argument that Ukrainians, Serbs and Poles all use the ending -и according to the Church Slavonic tradition. Lomonosov, who was against it, submitted a written statement to the Academy with the argument that one should not imitate Ukrainians or any other Slavic nation for that matter and disregard what is in common usage among the majority of Russians. These two examples give us an idea of what Lomonosov probably meant by the "лучшее расудительное употребление" of the Russian language: some regional variation are to be respected and taken into consideration in certain circumstances (like Lomonosov's decision not to alter the orthography, that is, not to write an -а even though the majority of Russians pronounce the unaccented -o as -а). In other circumstances, like the case of masculine adjective ending, a norm has to be set according to the most common usage in a given geographical area.

⁴⁴ В.П. Вомперский, *Стилистическое учение М.В. Ломоносова и теория трех стилей* (Москва: Издательство московского университета, 1970) 159.

⁴⁵ М.В. Ломоносов, *Избранные произведения* 454.

In dealing with the standardization of the morphological and the phonetic system within the Russian literary language, Lomonosov devotes a great deal of attention to the stylistic aspects of these two grammatical categories. Throughout his *Grammar*, Lomonosov draws the attention to the stylistic character of various phonetic and morphological rules, by way of commentaries which follow each particular case. He makes the connection between the grammatical forms and their variation on the one hand, and the stylistic aspect of the language on the other. Church Slavonic and Russian phonetic, as well as the morphological elements, existed in parallel forms and multiple variations, and they were used arbitrarily. In his *Grammar*, Lomonosov takes care to regulate the use of the phonetic and the morphological system in connection with the stylistic aspect of the "high" and the "low" style. Here are some examples of these regulations.

Morphological system: In the field of declensions of nouns, for example, Lomonosov draws a special attention to the parallel forms of genitive endings of nouns of the second declension; there, the nouns of Russian origin, which are commonly used in the spoken form, have genitive ending -y; by opposition, the closer they are to Slavonic origin, the ending -a is recommended (размах, размаху; взгляд, взгляду; возраст, возрасту, возраста; вид, виду, вида; трепет, трепета).

Concerning the comparative endings of adjectives, in common speech they are formed with the auxiliary word самый (самой скверной, самой точной); in the high style they are formed with the suffixes -ейший, -айший, -ший.

Lomonosov formulates the principle of stylistic unity between the form of a word and its meaning, i.e., between its morphology and its semantic. It was an established practice in Russia to form the hybrid words by using the stem from a Russian word and add a suffix of Slavonic

origin. In the eighteenth century, as the new Russian literary language was developing, this combination of genetically heterogeneous morphemes included the fusion of not only Russian and Slavonic but also foreign morphemes. Lomonosov categorically rejects this type of word formation as "непристойно" and "противно слуху."⁴⁶ Concerning the formation of participles, Lomonosov writes:

"Весьма не надлежит производить причастий от тех глаголов, которые нечто подлое значат и только в простых разговорах употребительный, ибо причастия имеют в себе некоторую высоту, и для того очень пристойно их употреблять в высоком роде стихов. Которые российский язык не очень твердо знают, а притом мало или ничего славянских книг не читали и затем прямого употребления причастий понять не могут, те безопасно поступят, ежели вместо причастий глагол с возносительными писать будут."⁴⁷

Therefore, the participles formed from purely Russian verbs such as: трогаемый, качаемый, are, according to Lomonosov, "весьма дико и слуху несносны." He recommends the formation of participles only from verbs of Slavonic origin.

The same principle of stylistic unity between the morphological aspect of a word and its semantic, Lomonosov applies to word combinations. For example, in word combinations which include the masculine nouns with -y or -a in the genitive singular, Lomonosov recommends the use of one or the other inflexion according to the semantic unity of the whole composite word. Thus, it is correct to say: святого духа but розоваго духу; человеческого долга but прошлогодного долгу; ангельского гласа and птичьего голоса.

⁴⁶ G.H. Worth examines in her article "Thoughts on the Turning point..." (128-129) the problem of formation of hybrids and points out Lomonosov's misjudgment, i.e., his rejection of a linguistic phenomenon which was already well established.

⁴⁷ Вомперский, *Стилистическое учение* 161.

Phonetic system: Lomonosov chooses Moscow dialect in order to establish the rules for the new phonetic system. The following examples show some phonetic rules established by Lomonosov such as exposed in his *Grammar* and his two *Rhetorics*.

- Pronunciation of the fricative "Г" in the Slavonic forms of the high style.
- Different accentuation of the same word depending on the stylistic category in which the word is found. In the high style it would be: *дaрн, внсоко, жесток*; in the low style, the same words would have the accent on the last syllable: *даpн, внсоко, жесток*, etc.
- The phonetic phenomenon of *неполногласие*, (*бpег, град, рлac*), which is purely Slavonic in origin, is reserved for the high style.
- Pronunciation of *e* under stress instead of *o* before hard consonants is also a characteristic of the high style.
- The words containing composite sounds *жл* and *ш*, which are of Slavonic origin, are better suited for the high style, while their Russian correspondents *ж* and *ч* belong to the low style.
- The tendency of *оканье* in the high style.

The low and the high style, being at opposite ends within the hierarchy of stylistic categories, contrasted sharply, not only in their lexical configuration (which will be discussed in the next chapter), but also in their morphological and phonetic features. Lomonosov was aware that only a sensible juxtaposition of grammatical and lexical elements could preserve the stylistic balance and uniformity of a given literary work. In order to avoid stylistic incongruities by juxtaposition and mixing of these elements Lomonosov determined the phonetical and the

morphological characteristics of each of the two styles. This brought some scholars, A.I. Efimov for example, to conclude that Lomonosov, while working on his *Grammar*, distinguished only two styles; the low and the high. This simplistic conclusion does not take into account some facts. First, Lomonosov throughout his philological work clearly distinguishes one lexical group composed of words common to Russian and Church Slavonic, which he called "слова общеупотребительные, славенороссийские." Next to these common, Slavono-Russian words, he distinguished two lateral groups of words, "высокие слова" and "низкие слова" which would form two styles respectively, high and low. From there it seems obvious that the group of words which he calls "общеупотребительные," and which occupy central position between the "high" and "low" words, form what Lomonosov later would call the "middle style" in his theory of three styles. This "middle style" covered a wide area of use in literary language, and in its lexical, morphological and phonetic configuration contained the elements from both adjacent stylistic categories. Therefore, by virtue of its heterogenous nature, the "middle style" was irrelevant within the context of grammatical regulation relative to the stylistic aspect of the Russian literary language. In this regard, Vinogradov rightly observes:

"Российская грамматика, описывая и систематизируя фонетические, морфологические и отчасти синтаксические явления, стремилась представить общую структурную основу русского языка, которая в основном совпадает со средним стилем, а иногда приближается к простому. Эта основа служит фоном и вместе с тем ориентиром для противопоставления отклоняющихся от нее явлений высокого славенского

штилия системе простого, разговорного стиля."⁴⁸

Lomonosov in his *Российская грамматика* recorded and codified the norms of Russian literary language, brought them into a system, made detailed description, inventory and selection of grammatical rules. Furthermore, he took care to improve the stylistic aspect of the Russian language by grammatical regulations. Therefore, Lomonosov's grammar is unanimously considered, and fully deserves to be so, the first Russian grammar "с нормативно-стилистическим характером."

⁴⁸ В.В. Виноградов, *Проблемы стилистики русского языка в трудах Ломоносова* (Москва: Высшая школа, 1981) 53.

Chapter III

THE STANDARDIZATION OF THE VOCABULARY:

"Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке"

The relationship between the Russian and the Church Slavonic literary language during the XVI-XVIIc. was based on a clear stylistic opposition and a well defined functional differentiation. As shown in the first chapter, this hierarchical linguistic organization started to disintegrate during the time of Peter the Great. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century it became evident that the role of Church Slavonic had changed, as its field of use had narrowed. At the same time, the interaction between the native Russian, the Church Slavonic and the foreign, West European linguistic elements intensified. As the result of this complex process of interaction, the problem of stylistic differentiation among these various linguistic elements started to emerge. It became an important linguistic issue which had to be resolved by means of a regulation. The following questions had to be clarified: What should be the basic structure of this new literary language? What place should be given to native Russian? To what extent should the ties with the Church Slavonic written tradition be preserved? What should be the correlation between the "old" and the "new" within this new literary language? What kind of foreign linguistic borrowings should be accepted? All these questions were of primary importance around the middle of the eighteenth century and Lomonosov's stylistic theory, developed in detail in his article "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке"⁴⁹

⁴⁹ In the year 1758, thus came out the second edition of the *Собрание разных сочинений в стихах и в прозе господина коллежского советника и профессора Михаила Ломоносова*,

came as a possible response to these questions.⁵⁰

Slavono-Russian interaction: historical perspective

Lomonosov examines the problem of Slavono-Russian interrelation and interaction from two different standpoints. First, he analyzes the problem at the historical-comparative level and comes to the conclusion that the Russian and the Church Slavonic (as he calls it "древний моравский язык") are closely related, but nevertheless two different languages.⁵¹ In his article "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке" and throughout his philological works, Lomonosov makes a clear differentiation by systematically distinguishing the Russian from the Church Slavonic at different levels: phonetical, morphological, syntactical and lexical. He considers that each of these two languages, throughout its historical development, has its own repertory of corresponding literary texts: the Old Russian being used in Middle Ages for secular writings, and the Old Church Slavonic, into which religious works were translated from Greek, as being the oldest written language among Slavic people. Therefore, Lomonosov concludes, the difference between the two languages should be examined at different stages of their historical development, and accordingly, against the actual

published by the Moscow University. To this second edition was added Lomonosov's article "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке."

⁵⁰ Here and throughout this third chapter, we have relied essentially on Вомперский, *Стилистическое учение*.

⁵¹ Nowadays, this is an accepted fact but, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it was a matter of heated polemical discussions among scholars and writers, namely between Trediakovskii, Sumarokov and Lomonosov, whether Russian and Church Slavonic should be considered as two different languages.

linguistic situation (the one of Lomonosov's own time).

By taking into consideration the historical reality of the past (the centuries-long coexistence between the Russian and the Church Slavonic), and the linguistic situation of his own time (the presence of the third linguistic element, that is, the West European borrowings), Lomonosov comes to the following conclusion: the new, standardized and regulated Russian literary language, which could compete for the same status and prestige and even surpass the West European languages, should represent a synthesis between the native Russian and the Church Slavonic elements. Such a synthesis would provide a foundation on which the necessary elements of West European languages would be gradually assimilated. Lomonosov fights against the indiscriminate and unrestricted use of West European vocabulary. However, he does not condemn altogether the use of foreign vocabulary and he does not hesitate to adopt a foreign word for the denomination of an object or concept for which there was no Russian equivalent. This was particularly valid for the fields of science and technology.

Nevertheless, two factors played a decisive role in Lomonosov's choice of Church Slavonic rather than West European elements as the integral part of the new Russian literary language. First, the influence of West European languages was a relatively new phenomenon and, hence, still too weak during the first half of the eighteenth century, to compete for equal status with the Church Slavonic. During the reign of Peter the Great, the use of West European languages, mostly German and Dutch, was restricted mainly to the fields of science and trade. It was only in the second half of the century that French became the most widely used foreign language and primarily in the literary domain. Second, Lomonosov saw the historical significance of Church Slavonic in the fact that it transmitted to Russians the Classical and the Christian-Byzantine culture and provided

the Russian language with numerous philosophical terms. Lomonosov also pointed out that the development of the Russian literary language distinguishes itself from the development of other West European languages in the sense that it was closely connected with the Church Slavonic throughout the history in a specific interrelationship: Church Slavonic, while serving as the "holy" language for religious purposes and the religious writings, at the same time exercised an influence on the Russian national language, serving as the source of its semantic and artistic enrichment. Hence, in Lomonosov's opinion, this close relationship between these two languages is beneficial and should be exploited for the formation of the new literary language. Therefore, Russian society, while in the process of creating a new literary language, should not reject the Church Slavonic but wisely use the elements of this language that are still alive, understandable and semantically meaningful.

Slavono-Russian interaction: stylistic differentiation

After having examined the problem of differentiation and interaction between the Russian and the Church Slavonic languages from the historical perspective, Lomonosov approaches the existing problem of their stylistic differentiation within the new Russian literary language. For that purpose he conceives and brings forward his stylistic theory, known today as the "Theory of three styles,"⁵² by classifying the literary material within the framework of three distinct stylistic categories which he calls: high style, middle style and low style.

But Lomonosov's stylistic theory was not a fundamentally

⁵² Though Lomonosov used the term *Three styles*, he never referred to his stylistic theory as the *Theory of three styles*. This title was created by scholars later.

new discovery, since during Lomonosov's time this classification of literary material into different stylistic categories was a well established concept. It goes back to ancient Greek and Latin philosophers and writers: Aristotle, Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, etc. Then a hierarchy was established between different literary genres and each genre belonged to a specific literary style. Tragedy, epic, ode, idyll, elegy, from the most noble to the most humble of genres, various epithets were given to describe the style in which they should be written. The epithets most frequently found among the Latin writers were: *uber*, *gracilis*, *mediocris*, *subtilis*, *grandis*, *robustus*, *medius*, *floridus*.⁵³ During the sixteenth, the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, many West European scholars wrote theoretical works concerning literary genres and their corresponding styles based on the ancient Greek and Latin works. In *Rhetorics* and *Poetics* written in Russia and Ukraine during the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the threefold stylistic differentiation was commonly found.⁵⁴

Lomonosov became acquainted with these stylistic theories during the years of his education at the Slavono-Greco-Latin Academy in Moscow, and later in Kiev. Throughout his philological works Lomonosov deals with the stylistic problem of Slavono-Russian interaction. In his *Grammar* and in his two *Rhetorics* he examines the grammatical aspects of differentiation between styles, while in his article "О пользе книг церковных в российском языке" Lomonosov further develops and exposes in detail his system of three styles and defines their lexical norms. Within that system the role

⁵³ See Martel, M. *Lomonosov* 40.

⁵⁴ The first Russian *Rhetoric* by Makarii (1617-1619) and the Usachev's *Rhetoric* (1699) both talk about "трех родах глаголанія."

of Church-Slavonic was to provide a framework for grammatical rules and serve as the source of new words. Lomonosov accepts and uses only these Church Slavonic words which are already in general use. In his *Краткое руководство к Риторике* Lomonosov recommends "убегать старнх и неупотребительных славенских речений, которых народ не разумеет."⁵⁵ Therefore the books to be consulted as a source of vocabulary are: *The Psalter*, *The Act of the Apostles*, *The Gospels* and to a lesser degree *The Proverbs* and *The Prayers*. Not only within the field of vocabulary but also when it comes to grammatical structure, Lomonosov tries to eliminate all the obsolete forms from the literary language.

Lomonosov starts by organizing the Slavonic and the Russian vocabulary into three categories each. The following three belong to Church Slavonic vocabulary:

1. The obsolete Church Slavonic words.
2. Church Slavonic words, familiar to educated people even though they are not used in everyday speech.
3. Elevated words common to both, Russian and Church Slavonic.

The Russian vocabulary is divided in a similar way:

1. Slavono-Russian words used in both Church Slavonic and Russian language.
2. Words of purely Russian origin, which do not figure in Church books.
3. Low Russian words which have no place in the literary language.

From these different categories, Lomonosov extracts the groups of words which are common to both, "речения общеупотребительные у древних славян и у россиян," and he

⁵⁵ Виноградов, *История* 45.

calls them "славяно-русские речения." This group of words make the connection between the two lexical groups, the Church Slavonic and the Russian. Hence, the vocabulary of the new Russian literary language is classified into three groups, "родов речений" as Lomonosov calls them. They all have following stylistic qualities: frequency of use (употребительность); intelligibility (понятность), and propriety (пристойность), that is, whether a word is appropriate and properly chosen for that particular literary material. To the first group belong Church Slavonic words (славянские речения) regularly employed even though not on a wide scale and familiar to educated Russians (отверзаю, господень, насажденный, взываю etc.). The second group consists of Slavono-Russian words (славяно-русские речения: бог, слава, рука, ныне, почитаю etc.). To the third group belong Russian words which do not figure in church books, (Русские речения: говорю, ручей, который, пока, лишь etc.). What Lomonosov excludes from these three lexical groups, and by consequence from the Russian literary language, are obsolete Church Slavonic words, as he calls them: "обетшальные речения", (for example: обаваю, рясни, овогла, свене), and the low, indecent Russian words ("презренные слова"), these two groups not corresponding to the norms of the new literary language, since they do not possess the three stylistic qualities; употребительность, понятность, пристойность.

From the above mentioned three groups, Lomonosov builds his theory of three styles: "От рассудительного употребления и разбору сих трех родов речений рождаются три штиля: высокий, посредственный и низкий."⁵⁶ The entire system, built upon three stylistic categories, is based on the interaction

⁵⁶ М.В. Ломоносов, "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в русском языке," *Русская литературная критика XVIII века*, (Москва: Советская Россия, 1978) 53.

between the Church Slavonic and the Russian linguistic elements. Each style is defined by the proportion of Church Slavonic elements it contains in relation to Russian, but the latter forms lexical foundation of each category. By admitting Church Slavonic elements in various proportions into a particular stylistic category, Lomonosov defines the stylistic level of that category; the more Church Slavonicisms, the higher the stylistic level. Again, Lomonosov carefully selects Slavonic material, and admits only these linguistic elements which have already entered, and became an integral part of the literary language. One of his main concerns is to maintain the uniformity within each stylistic category. He recommends, for example, "наблюдать равенство слога" in the high style, which means excluding any "подлине слова." Concerning the middle style, Lomonosov writes: "В среднем штиле должно наблюдать всевозможную равенство, которая особливо тем теряется, когда речение славенское положено будет подле российского простонародного."⁵⁷

Lomonosov clearly defines the lexical structure of each style by the choice of particular lexical groups and their possible combinations.

The high style contains the vocabulary from three lexical categories: words common to both Church Slavonic and Russian language; the Church Slavonic words known to educated Russians even though they are not commonly used; and these borrowings which were already well established in the Russian literary language. This style should be used when writing heroic poems, odes, and ceremonial speeches on important subjects.

The middle style consists mainly of words common to Church Slavonic and Russian, but can contain purely Slavonic

⁵⁷ Вомперский, *Стилистическое учение* 148.

words from the high style as well as the purely Russian words from the low style, provided that they are not too vulgar. That is to say, the care should be taken that the style does not become pompous or vulgar, respectively. The middle style was reserved for theatrical works, satires, elegies, eclogues, simple poems etc.

The low style contains simple words of Russian origin without any Church Slavonicisms. This style is to be used in comedies, humorous epigrams, songs, familiar correspondence and the accounts of ordinary affairs.

This lexical organization, evidently, does not leave much space for West European vocabulary. As mentioned earlier, Lomonosov tries to avoid as much as possible foreign borrowings by replacing them, particularly in the fields of abstract and scientific terminology, with neologisms created by coining Slavonic or Russian words or morphemes, for example: *воздушный насос, земная ось, равновесие тел, кислота, магнитная стрелка* etc. Other means Lomonosov uses to avoid adoption of a foreign word are by the introduction of some semantic changes of already existing Russian words such as *опыт, движение, наблюдение, явление, частица* etc. Nevertheless, he was in favour of adoption of a certain number of international scholarly terminology founded on Greek and Latin roots, for example: *горизонтальный, диаметр, квадрат, атмосфера, барометр, микроскоп* etc. A considerable number of words that were created, semantically changed or borrowed by Lomonosov, have remained, and are now, an integral part of the scientific vocabulary.

Chapter IV

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOMONOSOV'S STYLISTIC THEORY

There is no consensus among scholars regarding the importance of Lomonosov's stylistic theory. One group of scholars, including V.D. Levin, A.V. Isachenko and G.H. Worth, hold the opinion that Lomonosov's stylistic theory was merely an episode in the history of literary Russian and had little impact on its further development. Other scholars, such as V.P. Vomperskii, A.I. Gorshkov, E.G. Kovalevskaja, F.P. Filin and V.V. Vinogradov, consider the Theory as an important contribution to the formation and the development of modern Russian literary language.

As demonstrated in the first chapter of the present work, the linguistic situation of the first half of the eighteenth century was rather chaotic. There is a general agreement among scholars dealing with the eighteenth-century linguistic problem in Russia, in recognizing that there was indeed a "Стилистическая пестрота, ... которая была особенно характерна для стилей литературного языка конца XVII - первой трети XVIII века."⁵⁸ The on-going polemical discussions and the antagonism between the three major literary figures of the time, Trediakovskii, Sumarokov and Lomonosov, was symptomatic of the lack of a normative character within the literary language. Considering the circumstances, a grammatical and lexical i.e., stylistic organization was an absolute necessity, acutely felt around the middle of the century.

All the confusion, discussions and disagreements were concentrated around one main question: how to find a common national norm for the literary language. Hence, Lomonosov's

⁵⁸ Виноградов, *Очерки* 100.

stylistic theory - and obviously his *Grammar* - appear first of all, as a response to that question; it came as a necessary step to remedy this indiscriminate and arbitrary mixture of vocabulary and grammatical forms that was common practice among writers of that time. By organizing the lexical material and by setting the grammatical norms, Lomonosov enabled a harmonious, logical and sensible juxtaposition of two distinct linguistic traditions, the Russian and the Church Slavonic.

Regarding Lomonosov's *Grammar*, its importance for the further development of the literary Russian is evident and requires no further comments. His stylistic theory, however, needs some rehabilitation.

First, let us examine why Lomonosov opted for this threefold stylistic division which eventually earned the famous title: the *Theory of three styles*. By considering from our present perspective, Lomonosov's purely formal division of Russian literary language into three stylistic categories appears rather rigid, artificial and somewhat hard to put into practice.

As G.E. Pavlova noted: "Lomonosov never separated his scientific activities from his literary work. The poet never stopped being a scientist, while the scientist always remained a poet."⁵⁹ This could explain why Lomonosov's stylistic theory is conceived in such a precise way and with such strict and rigid rules. There the linguist was dealing with the problem in a quasi-scientific approach.⁶⁰ This is what A.V. Isachenko calls the normative character, typical for the thoughts of the eighteenth century enlightenment period, and I. Reyfman describes as a normative approach to

⁵⁹ G.E. Pavlova and A.S. Fedorov, *M.V. Lomonosov, His Life and Work* (Moscow: Mir Publishers, 1984) 267.

⁶⁰ We should not forget the fact that Lomonosov was a scientist as much as a writer and linguist.

aesthetics - a common feature for the eighteenth-century Russian writers.⁶¹ Obviously, no writer or poet, including Lomonosov himself, could strictly follow these rigid rules, since literature as a creative process has this arbitrary value which eludes any rigid and strict regulation - and Lomonosov certainly must have been aware of that. Lomonosov himself apparently hesitated before eventually deciding for this threefold division.⁶² Hence, the fact that Lomonosov choose to divide the literary language into three distinct styles and no more and no less, should not be given more importance than it deserves. Unfortunately, this is exactly what happened among the critics of our time who re-examined and re-assessed Lomonosov's philological work. Isachenko, for example, in his article *Ломоносов и теория стилей*, while acknowledging the necessity of this normative character in Lomonosov's *Grammar*, deplores its presence in his stylistic theory. He writes:

"На повестке дня стояло не разбиение языка по стилям, а интерогация письменного и разговорного языка образованных слоев общества на основе единой грамматики, единой приносительной нормн."⁶³

⁶¹ Исаченко, "Ломоносов" 147.

I. Reyfman, *Vasilii Trediakovsky; The Fool of the 'new' Russian Literature* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990) 67.

⁶² This is the conclusion that some scholars, including A.I. Efimov, came to, after examining Lomonosov's drafts for his *Российская Грамматика* and *Риторика* (see for example Efimov's *История русского литературного языка* 102-105). But, according to Vomperskii, *Стилистическое учение Ломоносова* (173-179), Lomonosov never hesitated when it came to defining the stylistic structure of the literary language; the idea of a threefold division can be found in practically all of Lomonosov's philological work.

⁶³ Исаченко, "Ломоносов" 149.

No doubt, the grammar was of basic importance for the integration of the written, i.e., Church Slavonic, and the colloquial Russian. However, this integration could not possibly have taken place on a grammatical basis uniquely considering the particular linguistic situation in Russia during the first half of the eighteenth century. The lexical incongruities and the stylistic disorder of the time represented a problem which, in our opinion, due to its very nature could not have been resolved by mere grammatical regulation. Further in his article Isachenko writes:

"Учение о стилях, заимствованное Ломоносовым у классических риторик, было приурочено к поэтике русского классицизма. Каждый из трех стилей связывался Ломоносовым с определенным литературным жанром ... Но будущее не принадлежало одам, героическим поэмам, эклогам и элегиям. С распадом весьма условной эстетической системы классицизма распадалась и стилистическая регламентация языка."⁶⁴

V.D. Levin shares the same point of view:

"Становится ясным, что система трех стилей, ... теряет свое значение в условиях дальнейшего развития литературы, порывающей постепенно с традициями классицизма."⁶⁵

Obviously, Isachenko and Levin consider the whole matter through the prism of historical classification of literary movements into different aesthetic categories. This

⁶⁴ Исаченко, "Ломоносов" 149.

⁶⁵ Левин, *Краткий очерк* 132. cited in Исаченко, "Ломоносов" 149.

would appear to be a narrow-sighted view since we all know that linguistic norms can not be fixed once and for all and applied indefinitely, due to the constant mutation of language. Lomonosov himself must have been aware of the temporary value and limited use of his stylistic theory. Hence, his stylistic theory should be considered and its importance examined from a different perspective, in a broader, more general context.

The first important feature of Lomonosov's stylistic theory is that it legitimized and codified the use of the everyday, colloquial Russian. By officially admitting Russian spoken, everyday speech into the literary language, Lomonosov opened the possibilities for expansion and enrichment of the latter. Indeed, during the second half of the century, the colloquial Russian started entering different, new literary genres on a wide scale. By providing guidance as to how and when the colloquial Russian should be used, Lomonosov helped remedy the "СТИЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ПЕСТРОТА" of his own time and, by doing so, he paved the road for future generations of writers and poets. Indeed, we may ask ourselves: would we have Pushkin without Lomonosov?

Furthermore, Lomonosov recognized the value and the advantage of an organized use of the living parts of the Church Slavonic and its incorporation into the literary language. Considered from our present perspective, the importance of the Church Slavonic seems overvalued by Lomonosov. But we should keep in mind that 1) around the middle of the eighteenth century, the presence of Church Slavonic within the literary language was considerably stronger than was the presence West European vocabulary, French in particular. 2) Lomonosov did not favour the use of Church Slavonic any more than his contemporaries Trediakovskii and Sumarokov, but he was the only one among them who clearly stipulated to what proportion, under what conditions and under what circumstances the Church Slavonic

language should be used - and he achieved this by means of the stylistic differentiation. Here is one example in way of demonstration. We have seen in the first chapter of the present work that the use of Church Slavonic and Russian doublets (*ПАКИ-ОПЯТЬ; ИЖЕ-КОТОРЫЙ; ТОКМО-ТОЛЬКО*), were a common practice during the first half of the century. However, conflicts often arose (the quarrels between Sumarokov and Trediakovskii concerning the use of the Slavonic word *ПАКИ* are notorious), as to when and where each of them should be employed. By means of his stylistic differentiation, Lomonosov resolved the problem: the Russian words were to be used in the middle and the low styles and their Slavonic equivalents in the high style. By organizing and stylistically orienting the elements from the spoken, as well as the written tradition, not randomly but by a careful and logical selection and organization, Lomonosov made first important steps towards the creation of a new, unified literary language. By regulating the use of Church Slavonic and Russian linguistic elements and by orienting their mutual interaction, Lomonosov standardized the lexical system - and by doing so, he enabled the passage, that is, the transformation from the medieval, bilingual linguistic system towards one common, national literary language. Within this context it becomes irrelevant that the odes and the elegies belonging to the period of Classicism, were replaced by new literary genres which came with Sentimentalism, and where the *Theory of three styles* could not be applied as such. If the Slavonic word *ПАКИ* was reserved for the high style, and the odes and elegies, and accordingly the high style, went out of fashion - consequently, the word *ПАКИ* also went out of use. And this is exactly what happened, many of the Slavonicisms disappeared as the high, solemn literary genres went out of fashion. Therefore, it becomes equally irrelevant if there were three or five stylistic categories. The point is that

the vocabulary needed and received, by means of Lomonosov's stylistic organization, a selection and a classification. Thus we can say that Lomonosov led the foundations, and, like in the field of architecture, they may be hidden, nevertheless they are essential, and whatever form or shape may appear throughout the history, the groundwork remains. Hence, Isachenko's view, shared by G.H. Worth⁶⁶ that the *Theory of three styles* was merely an episode in the history of literary Russian and had practically no impact on its subsequent development - and the importance of this theory belongs to the folklore of philology, could indeed be considered as heretical.⁶⁷

One regrettable fact is the inconsistency in the standards of judgements among investigators in the assessment of Lomonosov's philological work. Notably, G.H.Worth questions Lomonosov's role as a central figure in the creation of the new Russian literary language. According to her, the most important and pressing tasks in creating a new, unified literary language are: 1) the standardization of grammar and 2) the regulation and the creation of a new vocabulary. Although she acknowledges the importance of Lomonosov's contribution in the field of grammar, G.Worth questions his role as regulator and innovator of the vocabulary. The fact that Lomonosov "shunned unnecessary innovations whenever he had the possibility to take over already existing terms,"⁶⁸ and preferred the use of paraphrases and word combinations whenever an equivalent for a Latin or German term did not yet exist in Russian, is considered as a shortcoming by the author. By contrast, she

⁶⁶ See Worth, "Thoughts" 131.

⁶⁷ In her article, Worth refers to her statement as "heretical."

⁶⁸ Worth, "Thoughts" 131.

gives all the credits to Trediakovskii for his numerous neologisms despite the fact that most of them were never adopted, no more by his contemporaries than by posterity. She writes: "Despite the fact that Trediakovskii's own language is often barely comprehensible and was ridiculed during his own time, I believe that this writer is one of the key figures, one of the moving spirits in building up the higher lexical strata of the new literary language."⁶⁹ Certainly, there was a need for a new expanded lexicon as the Russian literary, scientific and cultural life was in an ever closer connection with the Western world. There are different means by which new words can be created, and it is a matter of judgement to determine which are more appropriate in given circumstances. The fact is that new vocabulary was created by all different means in eighteenth century Russia, and there was a profusion of new words with numerous synonyms and doublets creating stylistic and grammatical awkwardness within the newly forming Russian literary language. This brings us to the following conclusion: if there was a need for a new vocabulary during the middle of the eighteenth century, there was an even greater need for its regulation, and Lomonosov's stylistic theory was a first important move into that direction. It appears there is a double criterion by which G.H. Worth judges the historical importance of the philological works of two authors, Lomonosov and Trediakovskii. First she uses as the standard of judging the fact that Lomonosov's *Theory of three styles* did not find any practical application in the literature of future generations and therefore had no impact on the subsequent development of the Russian literary language. Hence, it has no historical importance. But then, it appears, G.H. Worth does not apply the same criterion

⁶⁹ Worth, "Thoughts" 132.

when judging Trediakovskii's philological work, when she writes: "Trediakovskii's significance for the development of the literary language does not lie in the number of his neologisms that survived, but in the fact that his whole linguistic and literary activity formed a bridge between old and new."⁷⁰ In our opinion, this statement would do much better justice to Lomonosov, for, if anybody from that generation of writers and scholars had made the link between the past and the future, it was Lomonosov in the first place.

What G.H. Worth refers to as the "regulation of vocabulary", other scholars including V.P. Vomperskii and V.V. Vinogradov call it the solving of existing problem of bilingualism within the new Russian literary language.⁷¹ Although many of Lomonosov's contemporaries, A.D. Kantemir, V.K. Trediakovskii, V.E. Addodurov, V.N. Tatishchev, tried to find a solution but failed, according to Vomperskii, Lomonosov was the only one to succeed in finding the answer to this most important question of Russian linguistics during the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. Vomperskii, who extensively studied not only Lomonosov's stylistic theory but also stylistic theories before Lomonosov, considers erroneous the widely used expression among scholars: *The theory of three styles*, since Lomonosov used the already existing concept of *three styles* merely as a convenient framework for the differentiation of various stylistic genres of Russian literary language.⁷² But Lomonosov was aware that: "...Стилистические задачи изучения русского литературного языка не исчерпываются описанием и разграничением его

⁷⁰ Worth, "Thoughts" 132.

⁷¹ Вомперский, *Стилистическое учение* 180.

⁷² This opinion is shared by V.V. Vinogradov and A.I. Gorshkov.

функциональных разновидностей."⁷³ A.I. Gorshkov shares the same opinion: "Стилистическое учение Ломоносова неправомерно сводится к учению о трех стилях. На самом же деле оно было гораздо шире и глубже."⁷⁴ Both scholars consider Lomonosov's theory not only as the theory of three styles such as exposed in his article "О пользе книг церковных в Российском языке", but as a much more complex work, which represents an integral part of Lomonosov's other two major works: *Российская грамматика* and *Краткое руководство к красноречию*. They together form an entity, and, are converging towards the same goal: the resolution of the problem which appeared with the disintegration of Church Slavonic-Russian bilingualism during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the establishment of norms within the stylistic and grammatical field of the literary language:

"Разделение языка на три стиля вносило порядок в ту стилистическую пестроту, которая была характерна для литературного языка Петровской эпохи. Эта стилистическая реформа сыграла выдающую роль в становлении и нормализации новой системы русского литературного языка и оказала громадное воздействие на судьбы русской литературы и литературного языка вплоть до середины 70-х - начала 80-х годов."⁷⁵

⁷³ В.П. Вомперский, "О понятии штиля в стилистической теории М.В. Ломоносова," *Вопросы стилистики* (Москва: Издательство Московского университета, 1966) 46. In this article, Vomperskii discusses other aspects of Lomonosov's approach concerning stylistic differentiation.

⁷⁴ А.И. Горшков, *Теоретические основы истории русского литературного языка* (Москва: Наука, 1983) 140.

⁷⁵ Вомперский, *Стилистическое учение* 180.

Furthermore, Vomperskii rightly points out, Lomonosov with his stylistic theory led the foundations of the Russian Stylistics as a science, and played a prominent role in the history of the formation and development of Russian Linguistics as a science - at the time in Russian history when it became necessary to put under examination and analysis the rich and multiform linguistic material from the past. We can not but acknowledge Vomperskii's statement if we take into consideration that the distinction between the Russian and the Church Slavonic was made rather intuitively during Lomonosov's time. Lomonosov was the first to take a historical-linguistic approach to the problem by differentiating the two languages according to their origin. More importantly, he was the first to determine that Church Slavonic and Russian were two distinct languages.

Although Vomperskii and Vinogradov both agree that Lomonosov's threefold stylistic division was necessary for bringing order to the existing linguistic chaos, from the quotation above it is evident that Vomperskii's point of view concerning the importance of Lomonosov's theory for the further formation and development of the new Russian literary language, differs from Vinogradov's. According to Vinogradov, as the Classicism was dying out and was being replaced by Sentimentalism, the new literary practice could not further follow the narrow paths of the high, middle, and the low style. Comparing the importance of Lomonosov's *Grammar* with the importance of his stylistic theory, Vinogradov writes:

"Гораздо меньшую роль в становлении и оформлении новой системы русского национального литературного языка сыграла ломоносовская теория трех стилей. Она лишь закрепляла то, что определилось в результате предшествующего развития стилей художественной литературы, и не указывала путей развития новой

стилистической системы соответствующей многообразию функционально-речевых стилей национального литературного языка."⁷⁶

There are several reasons why it is hard to accept Vinogradov's statement. The counter-argument to Vinogradov's statement, given by E.G. Kovalevskaja is worthy of consideration.⁷⁷ First - Kovalevskaja argues - the connection of the system of three styles with the literary tradition of the past does not exclude its connection with the future literary traditions. Lomonosov's *Theory of three styles* played an essential role in the process of establishment of lexical and stylistic norms, and was directly related to the formation of different lexical strata of the modern Russian literary language. The authors of the eighteenth century, while writing within the framework of the three styles, greatly contributed to building up of the modern stylistic system, since each of the three styles required a purposeful selection of linguistic resources, as well as a fair amount of consideration as to their possible combinations. It was in the literature of Classicism that the linguistic material underwent the type of "processing" and "working up" necessary for the formation of any literary language. The authors, with their active literary and theoretical participation, contributed to the establishment of linguistic norms. No doubt, the system of three styles with its apparent exclusive character, (замкнутыми границами), was very different from the stylistic system of Pushkin's

⁷⁶ Виноградов, *История* 204.

⁷⁷ Е.Г. Ковалевская, "О судьбе высокой лексики в истории русского литературного языка XVIII-XX вв.," *Функциональные и социальные разновидности русского литературного языка XVIII века*. (Ленинград: Наука, 1984) 96-116.

time and from the modern stylistic system. Nevertheless, its basic principles had a perspective for development.

Let us examine at this point what was the destiny of each of the three styles. Assuming that Lomonosov's stylistic theory did have a practical application in literary writings of his own time, i.e., during the period of Classicism, and did consolidate the literary heritage from the past, it appears at least questionable whether the *Theory of three styles* survived as such and were applied on a wide scale by following generations. But what was the future of each of the three stylistic categories?

Obviously, Lomonosov's stylistic theory belonged to the period of Russian Classicism and was directly related to the existing literary genres. The following generations of writers who embraced the new literary movement of Romanticism, could not use and put into practice Lomonosov's theory in its entity; the fashion of solemn odes was over and the high style with its elevated Slavonic vocabulary had lost its practical application, since the new types of literature which developed with Romanticism did not need that kind of high stylistic expression. But, as E.G. Kovalevskaja points out:

"Лексическое ядро высокого стиля - славянизмы, или высокая лексика, сохранились в лексико-семантической системе русского литературного языка XIX-XXв., хотя круг "высокой лексики" значительно сузился. Фонетические явления и формы слов, закрепленные за высоким стилем, остались достоянием языка XVIII века."⁷⁸

As much as the answer concerning the high linguistic

⁷⁸ Ковалевская, "О судьбе" 96.

strata seems rather straightforward, the destiny of the middle style appears to be much more controversial. There is a widespread opinion among scholars, including Vinogradov, that the middle style, which started its formation with the development of the chancery and business language during the seventeenth century, served as the foundation for the further development of Russian literary language. Sorokin, while examining the period of Peter the Great, writes in this respect:

"Но развитие среднего делового слога имело важное значение и для дальнейшего определения единой литературной нормы, и для формирования новых стилей повествовательной литературы."⁷⁹

Sorokin emphasizes the fact that Lomonosov was the first to indicate the importance and the special position of this middle lexical layer, its central place, and its standardized character within the stylistic system. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the new literary language, built on the foundations of this middle lexical strata which Lomonosov defined as the middle style, became at the same time the business language and the language of literature in its narrow sense (художественная литература). F.P. Filin holds a similar opinion:

"С течением времени рамки "среднего" языкового типа то расширялись, то суживались, границы его были нечеткими, нормы неустойчивыми, но линия его развития никогда не прерывалась. Это был

⁷⁹ Ю.С. Сорокин, "О словаре русского языка XVIII века," *Материалы и исследования по лексике русского языка XVIII века*, ed. Ю. С. Сорокин (Москва-Ленинград: Академия наук СССР, Наука, 1965) 5-42.

предвозвестник современного русского литературного
языка."⁸⁰

Filin's argument is simple but plausible: writers of the eighteenth century did not write in Church Slavonic, neither did they write "ПОДЛИМ СЛОВОМ." Their language, with different variations, was developing within the frame of the ever expanding middle lexical layer. This standpoint is generally accepted among scholars. However, it is challenged by A.I. Gorshkov who goes even further and questions the very existence of the system of three styles: "Но прежде всего следует выяснить, существовала ли реально система трех стилей русского литературного языка."⁸¹ Though acknowledging the existence of the high style in a certain number of texts typical in their linguistic organization, he considers the frontiers between the middle and the low style blurred enough not to allow us to speak about two distinctive styles. Therefore, according to Gorshkov, the very question: did the Russian literary language develop from the middle style?, becomes irrelevant. Even if we accept the idea that the middle style, indeed, was the point departure for the further development of the Russian literary language, Gorshkov questions the importance of that fact. Far more important, according to him, is to know:

"Что он собой представлял, как развивался, какими параметрами обладали представляющие этот стиль тексты."⁸²

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary, Gorshkov considers, to make the link, first of all, between the development of the Russian literary language and the development of the literary tendencies of the second half of

⁸⁰ Филин, *Истоки* 119.

⁸¹ Горшков, *Теоретические* 143.

⁸² Горшков, *Теоретические* 143.

the eighteenth century. Gorshkov's way of reasoning is probably the most pertinent. It supports our above made statement that is irrelevant how many stylistic categories existed in literary practice of Lomonosov's time. At the same time, this is also hard to determine since the boundaries between what Lomonosov defined as the *middle* and *low* styles were indeed somewhat blurred and the distinction between what he referred to as *общенародная*, *общеупотребительная лексика* and *простонародные, низкие слова* etc. were not clearly defined. What is now important, in our opinion, is to analyze further the overwhelming quantity of literary material inherited from the eighteenth century that lies in the archives, waiting to be examined.⁸³

Gorshkov's point of view is representative for the "defenders" of Lomonosov's stylistic theory, and can be summarized as follows:

1. Lomonosov's stylistic theory can not be reduced to the mere *theory of three styles* such as exposed in his short article "О пользе книг церковных в российском языке"; it has a much deeper and wider implications within the development of the new Russian literary language and therefore should be considered beyond the narrow frame of *three styles*.

2. The widely accepted consideration of the second half of the eighteenth century as the period of three styles is based more on theories than on the real condition of the Russian literary language. We cannot fully understand and give an exact account of the new Russian literary language without leaving this narrow frame of three styles;

⁸³ According to the authors of the project *Словарь XVIII века*, (Ленинград: 1977) 7, there were more than ten thousand publications released during the eighteenth century. Many of the literary texts were published for the first time in the XIXth-XXth century, and there is a great number of still unpublished manuscripts in the archives. See Филин, *Истоки* 119-120.

Lomonosov's literary practice, and that of his fellow writers was much wider and richer than Lomonosov's theory.

3. Neither Lomonosov and his contemporaries, nor the future generation of theoreticians and writers considered this threefold stylistic division as the only possible and the most important, and indeed, different approaches regarding stylistic differentiations existed during and after Lomonosov's time. But these various stylistic classifications, including Lomonosov's, during the middle and the second half of the eighteenth century, were not always based on a clear and well defined principles, and the practical applications of these principles were not always carried out with consistency and precision.

To this can be added that the whole eighteenth century was a period of linguistic experimentation, much more so than was the seventeenth or the nineteenth century. During this transitional period in the process of formation and development of the modern Russian literary language, Lomonosov's stylistic theory played an important role since it was directly connected to the historical and cultural need of the eighteenth century Russian literary society.

"В реформе Ломоносова были правильно отражены тенденции развития русского литературного языка, пути его нормализации: через упорядоченное разделение к объединению. Это был необходимый этап в нашей культурно-языковой истории."⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Филин, *Истоки* 128.

Conclusion

During the complex and intensive process of interaction between the Church Slavonic and the Russian linguistic elements in the course of the eighteenth century, the Russian literary language was thoroughly transformed from its old, medieval dual system to one common literary language with well defined grammatical norms and a new stylistic structure, capable of satisfying the new literary needs of a Westernized Russian society. Therefore, the eighteenth century can rightly be considered as the crucial period in the history of formation and development of the modern Russian literary language.

The first half of the century was rather a period characterized by absorption of the new, and the mixing and interacting of the new and the old, the national and the foreign. The merging of three distinct lexical entities - West European, Church Slavonic, and national Russian - was the starting point of the creation of what will emerge, during Pushkin's time, as the modern literary Russian. Obviously, this newly forming literary language required well defined morphological, phonetic, and stylistic norms, and, towards the middle of the century, the need for establishment of such norms was acutely felt. This is where lies the importance of Lomonosov's role as a linguist. His achievements within the process of formation of a new Russian literary language may be summed up as follows.

Lomonosov standardized the grammatical system by codifying the norms and fixing the rules of the written language; his major philological work, the *Российская грамматика*, was the first extensive grammar of the Russian language, covering all of its grammatical aspects, and its importance for the further development of the Russian language remains unquestionable.

Lomonosov's role as the regulator of the vocabulary was equally important, perhaps in a less obvious and more indirect way. In his short but nevertheless important article "Предисловие о пользе книг церковных в российском языке", Lomonosov created guidelines for a sensible and selective interaction of Church Slavonic and native Russian linguistic components with the goal of putting an end to the prevailing linguistic anarchy of the time. By means of a stylistic differentiation and orientation of the lexical system, Lomonosov achieved a double goal:

a) He regulated the use of the Church Slavonic vocabulary and helped eliminate the archaic and obsolete words from the literary language.

b) He endorsed and actively supported the presence of the spoken, vernacular Russian within the literary language.

No doubt, Lomonosov's stylistic theory, considered uniquely within the frame of its threefold division (high, low and middle style) was of a temporary nature, but this does not undermine its importance. It was relevant for his own time, i.e., the period of Russian Classicism, for it brought into order the lexical and stylistic system. By means of a regulated use of the vocabulary, different stylistic levels were created and defined, and this was of an immediate utility for Lomonosov's own time. Definitely, Lomonosov's stylistic theory did not serve as the recipe to be followed scrupulously and exclusively by future generations of writers. By organizing and classifying lexical material grammatically and stylistically, Lomonosov enabled future generations to dispose of any particular lexical and stylistic layer, according to, and depending on specific literary requirements. A regulated use of different lexical resources was an essential preparatory phase towards the creation of a unique, common linguistic system. Lomonosov's organizational activity prepared the ground for

the following stage of development of the Russian literary language. Therefore, Lomonosov's stylistic theory, considered within a larger historical context, should be given rightly deserved credit and due acknowledgment, for it remains unquestionably one of the major eighteenth century contributions to the formation of what is presently called "modern Russian literary language." We would like to close the present study by a small but significant quotation of Lomonosov's own words:

"Je ne saurais terminer, mais j'ouvrirai la route
et le chemin sera plus facile à ceux qui me
suivront."⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Since the original Russian manuscript (*Manuscripts de l'Académie des Science*, No 12, 105-106) is not available, a French translation is given (Martel, *M. Lomonosov* 1).

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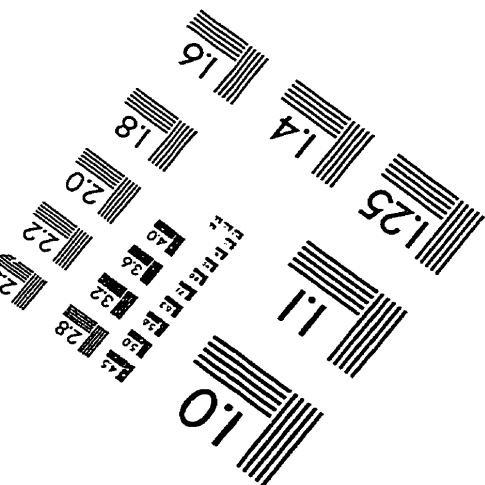
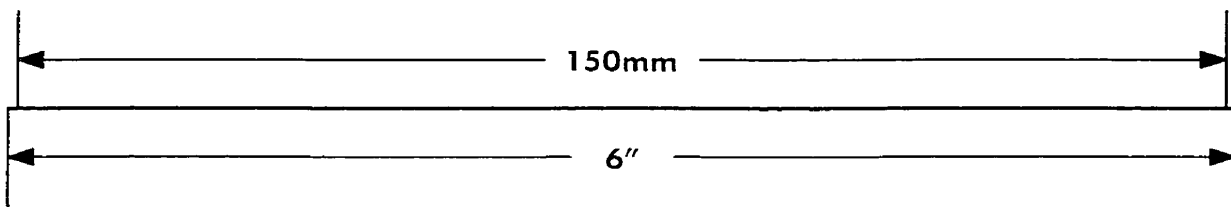
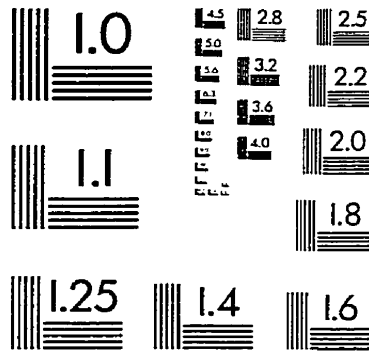
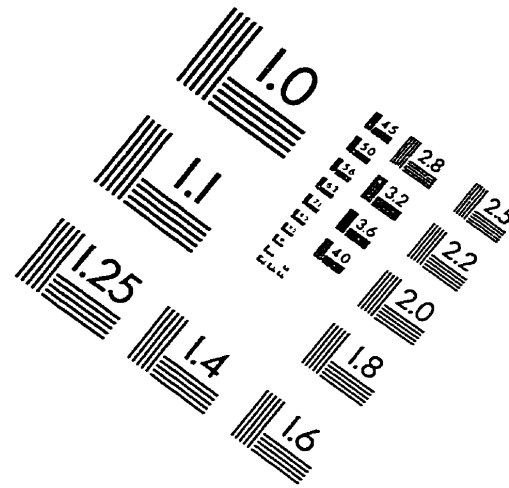
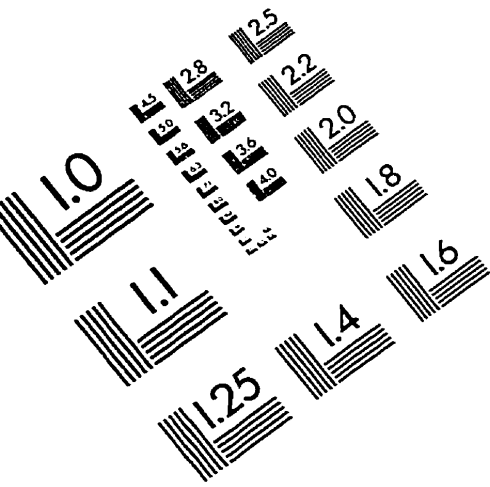
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