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AFANASIJ MATVEEVIČ SELIŠČEV'S UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT ON THE SOUTH SLAVIC LANGUAGES*

Afanasij Matveevič Seliščev (1886–1942), one of the most renowned specialists in the Slavic linguistics in the 20th century, particularly on their Southern branch, had a plan to publish his trilogy entitled *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie* (Slavic Linguistics) in the 1940s, which was realized only in part due to his death in 1942. Some scholars have reported that his unpublished manuscript was lost, while others think that the text preserved in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts (RGALI) is Seliščev's manuscript of the second volume of *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie* dealing with the South Slavic languages. In this article, the author identifies the RGALI manuscript and then analyzes it in the context of the current state of Slavic studies.

Keywords: Afanasij Matveevič Seliščev, Samuil Borisovič Bernštejn, Slavic linguistics, South Slavic languages.

Dedication

Professor Predrag Piper (1950–2021), known worldwide as a distinguished Serbian linguist, covered a wide range of topics in Slavic linguistics and beyond. Although the late professor Piper primarily worked on Slavic synchronic linguistics, he was also interested in the diachronic aspects of Slavic linguistics and, just like his teacher, professor Milka Ivić (1923–2011), who authored the famous *Pravci u lingvistici* (Trends in Linguistics, 1963 and later editions), he made a significant contribution to the history of Slavic linguistics. This is evident, above all, in one of prof. Piper's last publications, titled *Prilozi istoriji srpske lingvističke slavistike. Druga polovina XX veka* (Contributions to the History of Slavic Linguistics in Serbia. The Second Half of the 20th Century, 2018), which professor Piper presented at the 16th International Congress of Slavists in Belgrade. With deep gratitude for his guidance, support, and friendship over the years, I dedicate my article to professor Predrag Piper as an eminent historian of Slavic studies.

1. Introduction. The lost manuscript found?

Afanasij Matveevič Seliščev (1886–1942) was not only an expert in Slavic linguistics with original ideas, but he was also a skillful scholar who could successfully synthesize concepts in his field. His first synthetic work was published in 1914, entitled *Vvedenie v sravnitel'nuju grammatiku slavjanskix jazykov* (Introduction to the

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Comparative Grammar of Slavic Languages). Later, Seliščev authored *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie* I. *Zapadnoslavjanskie jazyki* (Slavic Linguistics I. West Slavic Languages), which appeared in 1941. The manuscript of this monograph was completed in 1939 and was highly evaluated by reviewers. Boris Mixajlovič Ljapunov (1862–1943), one of the reviewers of the manuscript, wrote the following in his letter to Samuil Borisovič Bernštejn (1910–1997), one of Seliščev's closest and most talented pupils:²

In March, I received an urgent request to write a review of the extensive work by prof. A. M. Seliščev, entitled 'West Slavic Languages' (750 pages of typescript). It is very valuable that the publishing house Učpedgiz undertook to publish the valuable work by Seliščev, presenting a detailed overview of the contemporary literary languages, the dialectology and the history of the Czech, Slovak, Upper and Lower Sorbian, Polish, Kashubian, Slovincian, and Polabian (based on written texts from the beginning of the 18th century) languages. The author has exhausted all the old and most recent literature on the history and dialectology of these languages. In my review, which I presented to Učpedgiz on April 8, I pointed out the necessity for the rapid publication of Seliščev's work, which is a necessary guide for students, postgraduates, and teachers.

However, this book was not published immediately after this positive review. Seliščev's monumental book *Staroslavjanskij jazyk* I-II (The Old Church Slavonic Language I-II), which appeared posthumously, shared a similar yet worse destiny.³ The first volume was completed as early as 1940 but was published much later in 1951.⁴ Both publications are

³ The manuscript of *Staroslavjanskij jazyk* was not complete, and so it was edited by Ruben Ivanovič Avanesov (1902–1982) for publication. According to the publisher Učpedgiz, Seliščev's plan was to publish the monograph in three parts: Volume 1 deals with the Introduction and Phonetics, and was completed and published as Seliščev had planned; Volume 2 would include the Morphology, Syntax, and Lexicon; and Volume 3 would be texts with commentaries. See Seliščev (1952: 2).

² This letter was dated April 26, 1939, and is preserved at the Central State Archive of the City of Moscow (CGAGM) in f.1-222 op.1. d.112 l.11. The text in the original letter is as follows: В марте же я получил спешное предложение написать отзыв о большой работе проф. А. М. Селищева "Западнославянские языки" (750 стр. машиноп.). Очень важно, что Учпедгиз взялся печатать ценную работу Селищева, представляющую подробное обозрение современных литературных яз., диалектологии и истории языков чешского, словацкого, верхне- и нижне-лужицких, польского, кашубского, словинского и полабского (по памятн. нач. XVIII в.). Автор исчерпал всю старую и новейшую литературу по истории и диалектологии этих языков. В своём отзыве, который я представил в Уч. пед. гиз 8. IV, я указал на необходимость скорейшего издания труда Селищева, являющегося необходимым пособием для учащихся, аспирантов и преподавателей.

⁴ In his letter to Bernštejn dated March 19, 1940, Ljapunov wrote as follows: But I have a new urgent job again – a review of A. M. Seliščev's *Old Church Slavonic Language* at the request of Učpedgiz (*Ho у меня опять новая срочная работа – отзыв о «Старословянском яз.» А. М. Селищева по просьбе УчПедгиз'а*). This letter is preserved at the CGAGM in f.1-222 op.1. d.1121.14.

written in the spirit of historical linguistics.⁵ This means that Seliščev's approach was not in line with the Marrism that was still influential in the USSR at that time.⁶

As described in the Introduction to *Slavic Linguistics* I. *West Slavic Languages*, Seliščev originally planned to publish two more volumes: *Slavic Linguistics* II. *South Slavic Languages* and *Slavic Linguistics* III. *East Slavic Languages*.⁷ However, the publication of these volumes did not materialize due to his long-lasting illness and subsequent death that occurred on December 6, 1942. Regarding the destiny of his manuscripts and other archive materials, Ašnin and Alpatov (1994: 164) concluded the following:⁸

Most of his scholarly archives were lost in the turmoil of the war. Of the unpublished works, only the part of the Old Church Slavonic grammar which had been submitted to the publishing house and a few more articles were preserved and subsequently published. The second and third volumes of the capital work Slavic Linguistics have disappeared.

According to Vasilevskaja (1968: 635), Seliščev's archival materials were passed from the Department of the Russian Language at Moscow State Pedagogical Institute to the USSR Central State Archive of Literature and Art in 1962 (today's RGALI) by his former pupils, following Viktor Vladimirovič Vinogradov's request. In the RGALI database, the following item is in Seliščev's archive, numbered f.2231 op.1 (Picture 1):

Выводить по: 20 👻 Сортировать: Шифр 🛫 Всего единиц хранения: 1 - 20 из 1					
Номер ед.хр.	Шифр	Заголовок ед.хр.	Крайние даты	Кол-во листов	Детальный просмотр
31	ф.2231 оп.1 ед. хр.31	"Славянское языкознание". Исследование и черновые записи к нему. [Том 2. "Южно- славянские языки"]. Неполный текст	[Около 1941]	623	≡

Picture 1: Search result of Seliščev's archival material in the RGALI database

⁵ Obnorskij characterized Seliščev as a solid supporter of the comparative-historical method (Obnorskij 1947: 9). Obnorskij wrote that his *Old Church Slavonic Language* was written in line with his *Slavic Linguistics*. Although this observation is correct, it is self-evident because, as I will discuss below, Seliščev's Old Church Slavonic was intended to be part of the second volume of his *Slavic Linguistics*.

⁶ Therefore, Ljapunov tried hard to get Seliščev's works published in such difficult political circumstances. As Robinson pointed out, to some extent, Marrism became feebler toward the end of the 1930s than before. See Robinson (2004: 184).

⁷ See also Bulaxov (1978: 189).

⁸ Большая часть его научного архива пропала в сутолоке военных лет. Из неопубликованных работ сохранились и впоследствии были изданы лишь сданная в издательство часть старославянской грамматики и еще несколько статей. А второй и третий тома капитального труда «Славянское языкознание» исчезли.

The search result indicates that the manuscript was written sometime around 1941, and it is an incomplete text (with 623 sheets of paper). Additionally, the manuscript is referred to as *Slavic Linguistics* II. *South Slavic Languages*. Consequently, this raises the question: Is item 31 preserved at the RGALI the manuscript that Ašnin and Alpatov (1994) thought to be lost or is it something else?

To the best of my knowledge, this manuscript has not been the subject of any scholarly analysis to date. However, there are various reasons that justify the present research. First, it is a unique composition by one of the most distinguished experts in Slavic linguistics of the time, whose view of Slavic languages is important in the historiographic context. Second, according to Obnorskij (1947: 9), Seliščev began his scholarly activity as a comparativist with his 1914 book, which was the first original work on this topic in Russian, and ended with his career as a comparativist. In this context, the manuscript, as we will see later in this article, would be interesting as a continuation of his 1914 book.

Considering the aforementioned mysterious situation, in this article, I will try to identify the manuscript (Section 2) and then reconstruct the original structure of the book, as the database indicates that the manuscript is incomplete (Section 3), after which I will present some interesting features in Seliščev's manuscript (Section 4), and I then conclude.

2. Identifying Seliščev's manuscript

Seliščev's manuscript on South Slavic languages starts on page 181 with the chapter titled *Južnoslavjanskaja gruppa* (South Slavic group), which is Section 258 (Appendix 1)⁹ and ends on page 510 with no section number. There were various missing parts, considerable gaps between the pages, and more than 60 fragmented notes.

When taking a brief look at the manuscript, it is immediately evident that the description mentioned above from RGALI's website is incorrect. The manuscript was written in pre-revolutionary orthography (see Appendix 1). Indeed, Seliščev wrote and published his works in pre-revolutionary orthography even after 1917, but this practice most probably ended around 1928.¹⁰ Moreover, the latest publication cited by Seliščev in his manuscript was André Mazon's article published in 1925.¹¹ In his works, Seliščev always tried to use the latest achievements in Slavic linguistics, and it was unlikely that Seliščev would change his habits for this planned monograph. Therefore, it can be concluded that the manuscript was written no later than 1925 and not around 1941.

¹¹ Mazon, André. 1925. D'une formation verbale slave d'origine gréco-turque. In: *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. J. Vendryes par ses amis et ses élèves*. Paris: Champion, 265–273. This title was cited on page 497, which is 563 according to the numbering by the RGALI.

⁹ Vasilevskaja (1968: 635) also mentioned this fact.

¹⁰ For instance, the 1926–1927 volume of the Czech journal *Slavia*, which seemed to respect each author's choice of the two Russian orthographies, includes not only Seliščev's article in the pre-revolutionary orthography but also his book review in the post-revolutionary orthography. In the 1927–1928 volume, Seliščev's article was published in the pre-revolutionary orthography. From the 1928–1929 volume, Seliščev's articles were published entirely in the contemporary orthography.

The next question is if Seliščev prepared his *Slavic Linguistics* II prior to publishing *Slavic Linguistics* I; the answer is probably no. In his letter to Bernštejn dated January 15, 1940, Ljapunov wrote the following:¹²

With regard to van Wijk's "Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache," I received this book a long time ago from the author, but in the spring of last year, I sent it to prof. Seliščev, who asked me for the book for the same kind of overview of the South Slavic languages, as the one he made last year on the West Slavic languages, but I do not know his latest address.

This letter illustrates that Seliščev began to prepare *Slavic Linguistics* II only after completing the *Slavic Linguistics* I manuscript. It is important to note that after Seliščev's death, Ljapunov wrote to Bernštejn retrospectively about *Slavic Linguistics* II on January 24, 1943:¹³

I was looking forward impatiently to the publication of the 1st issue of the 2nd volume of "Slavic Linguistics," which I had read before going to print at the request of the Učpedgiz publishing house. The manuscript presents an excellently compiled and bibliographically exhaustive outline of the development of common Slavic sounds as an introductory part of the phonetics of the Old Church Slavonic language. This valuable work, ready for publication and necessary for all Slavists, should be published in the near future. It is a pity that A. M. did not succeed in preparing the entire volume of South Slavic languages that he had previously studied so diligently. However, probably in his drafts, you can find a lot about the history of the Bulgarian language.

This letter of Ljapunov to Bernštejn demonstrates that Seliščev's posthumous *Old Church Slavonic Language* was originally planned as part of *Slavic Linguistics* II, and it was reviewed by Ljapunov.¹⁴

¹⁴ One can also add the fact that in his letter to Stefan Mladenov dated January 18, 1940, Seliščev wrote as follows: I am going to start working on the second volume of *Slavic Linguistics* dedicated to the South Slavic languages (*Собираюсь приступить ко 2-му тому «Слав. языкознания», который посвящен южнославянским языкам*). See Mladenov (1979: 74).

¹² Что касается "Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache" van Wijk'a, то эту книгу я давно получил от автора, но в прошлом году я послал ее весною проф. Селищеву, который просил у меня ее для такого же обозрения южнословянских языков, какое он сделал в прошлом году по языкам западнословянским, но я не знаю его новейшего адреса. This letter is preserved at the CGAGM in f.1-222 op.1. d.112 1.13.

¹³ Я с нетерпением ждал напечатания 1-го выпуска 2-го тома "Славянского языкознания", прочитанного мною до сдачи в печать по просьбе издательства "Уч.пед.гиз". Он представляет прекрасно составленный и исчерпывающий библиографией очерк развития общесловянских звуков, как вводную часть в фонетику древне-церковно-словянского языка. Этот вполне готовый к печати и всем славистам необходимый ценный труд должен быть издан в ближайшую очередь. Жаль, что А. М. не успел приготовить весь том о южно-словянских языках, которыми он раньше так усердно занимался. Но наверно в его черновиках можно найти много для истории болгарского языка. This letter is preserved at the CGAGM in f.1-222 op.1. d.112 1.20.

Considering all the points discussed above, the conclusion made by Ašnin and Alpatov (1994) in assuming that the manuscript of *Slavic Linguistics* II was lost is clearly incorrect. It did not exist in Seliščev's archive, and the manuscript preserved in the RGALI is not the manuscript of *Slavic Linguistics* II. What, then, is Seliščev's archived manuscript? According to Bernštejn (1987: 25), Seliščev completed the manuscript *Vvedenie v izučenie slavjanskix jazykov* (Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages) in 1925.¹⁵ This year coincides with André Mazon's aforementioned article. Seliščev sent the manuscript to the Historical and Philological Department of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences for publication, which agreed to publish it.¹⁶ Seliščev tried to publish his manuscript in Bulgaria because the publication of such a book on Slavic linguistics was rather difficult in the USSR due to the dominating Marrism.

In Bulgaria, however, Seliščev's manuscript was not published either, although he was kept waiting for more than six years without any notice. On January 9, 1932, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences decided not to publish the manuscript,¹⁷ and the manuscript was returned to Seliščev in 1932 or 1933.¹⁸ Bernštejn mentioned the probable reason for this in an unpublished part of his memoirs entitled *Zigzagi pamjati* (Zigzags of Memory), dated October 18, 1979.¹⁹ Having read letters from Seliščev

¹⁶ According to Robinson (2004: 377), between 1925 and 1934, Seliščev published 21 works in the USSR and 42 works abroad.

¹⁷ See Seliščev's letter to Stefan Mladenov dated February 7, 1932. Mladenov (1979: 71).

¹⁸ Seliščev was arrested in 1934, together with other Slavists, an event which is known as the *Slavists' Affair*. Seliščev was sentenced to five years at a labor camp but was released earlier, in 1937. Soon after that, he was permitted to engage in scholarly and pedagogical activities. See Aksenova (2000: 36).

¹⁹ Издатель писем не побоялся обнажить отрицательные стороны болгарских связей Селищева, некрасивый поступок Милетича с рукописью Селищева «Введение в изучение славянских языков». Селищев прекрасно понимал, что он нужен Болгарии только как автор исследований Македонии, а на другие разделы славистики болгарам наплевать. Bernštejn's typescript is preserved at the CGAGM in f.1-222 op.1. d.68 1.141.

¹⁵ In his letter to St. Mladenov dated September 15, 1926, Seliščev wrote that he had sent the finished manuscript to the Bulgarian Academy in June, 1926. See Mladenov (1979: 57). On Seliščev's manuscript, Bernštejn wrote as follows: "In 1925, Seliščev prepared for publication the book Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages that contains overviews of the history of foreign Slavic languages. There were unsuccessful attempts to publish it in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Only in 1938 did it become possible to publish it in the Učpedgiz of Moscow. However, now the manuscript needed serious revision. The author decided to significantly expand its size and publish the work in three books. The first book West Slavic Languages was quickly prepared, which was published in early 1941. The author did not succeed in reworking and expanding the manuscript of the second book South Slavic Languages" (В 1925 г. Селищев подготовил к печати книгу «Введение в изучение славянских языков», содержащую очерки истории зарубежных славянских языков. Были неудачные попытки опубликовать ее в Чехословакии и в Болгарии. Лишь в 1938 г. возникла возможность ее публикации в учебно-педагогическом издательстве Москвы. Однако теперь рукопись нуждалась в серьезной доработке. Автор решил значительно расширить объем и издать труд в трех книгах. Быстро была подготовлена первая книга «Западнославянские языки», которая увидела свет в начале 1941 г. Переработать и дополнить рукопись второй книги «Южнославянские языки» автор не успел). See also Robinson (2004: 377). Bernštejn was slightly wrong, because Seliščev's unpublished monograph also included a section for the East Slavic languages. See Section 3 of this article.

to Stefan Mladenov, published by Maxim Mladenov in *Linguistique Balkanique* in 1979, Bernštejn wrote the following:

The publisher of the letters was not afraid to expose the negative aspects of Seliščev's Bulgarian connections, Miletič's ugly treatment of Seliščev's manuscript "Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages." Seliščev was well aware that Bulgaria needed him only as the author of research on Macedonia and that the Bulgarians did not care about other sections of Slavic studies.

Indeed, Seliščev's monographs on Macedonian Bulgarians and their language – *Polog i ego bolgarskoe naselenie* (Polog and its Bulgarian Population) and *Slavjanskoe naselenie v Albanii* (The Slavic Population in Albania) – were published rather quickly, in 1929 and 1931, respectively, although Seliščev completed their drafts later than the *Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages*.

Considering the abovementioned facts and observations, Seliščev's manuscript preserved at the RGALI is most probably part of his unpublished *Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages*, from which Seliščev wanted to prepare his future *Slavic Linguistics II. South Slavic Languages*. However, the manuscript is quite far from complete, as it was left almost untouched, except for the original manuscript being separated into parts, including missing ones.

3. Reconstructing Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages

Because the complete manuscript of the *Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages* no longer exists, the exact content of the unpublished manuscript is unknown. The original structure of the planned book, however, was described by Seliščev in his letter to Stefan Mladenov dated December 3, 1931:²⁰

Yesterday, I wrote to prof. Miletič (I have not received any news from him for a long time) and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences about my textbook in Slavic linguistics. I am ready to shorten the textbook to eliminate the introductory part and the first two sections: Proto-Slavic and East Slavic. The (following) sections will remain: South Slavic, West Slavic, Slavs and their neighbors. I do not agree with separating these sections.

Among the abovementioned chapters, it is unclear if the *Introduction* and *Proto-Slavic* were preserved; at least, the RGALI database does not indicate this. *West Slavic*, which was elaborated later for publication in the late 1930s, has been preserved,²¹ and the *East Slavic* was preserved only in part.

²⁰ Вчера я написал проф. Милетичу (- от него я давно не получал никаких известий) и в Болг. Академию Наук о своем курсе славянского языкознания. Я готов сократить этот курс: выпустить вводную часть и первые два отдела: праславянский и восточнославянский. Останутся отделы: южнославянский, западнославянский, славяне и их соседи. На разединение этих отделов я не могу согласиться. This letter was published in Mladenov (1979: 70).

²¹ F. 2231 op.1 ed. xr 29 and 30 at the RGALI.

The RGALI data indicate that this chapter consists of 30 sheets of paper, but in reality, there are 33 sheets that are divided into two parts: an introductory part (14 sheets) and general information about East Slavic (19 sheets). Only a few pages have section numbers, and they seem to originally belong to the East Slavic chapter but with a considerable number of missing pages (Appendix 3).²² The first 14 sheets might be the *Introduction* to the entire volume and not just to the East Slavic chapter. The structure of the manuscript in the South Slavic chapter preserved at the RGALI can be summarized as follows:

Unknown subchapter

Section 258 (pp. 181–187), dealing with the migration of Slavs to the Balkans (no section title, page 188 is missing)

Bulgarian subchapter

Section 259 (pp. 189-193): Bulgarians

Sections 260–285 (pp. 194–260): *The Bulgarian language* (Sections 267–279, 286–312 are missing)

Section 313 (p. 260): *Literary language and script, orthography* Sections 314–319 (p. 261): *Phonetic structure* (Sections 315–318 are missing) Dialect texts, glossary, bibliography (pp. 268–282)

Serbo-Croatian subchapter

Section 315 (pp. 283–287): *Serbs and Croats* (The section number overlaps with that in the Bulgarian subsection)

Sections 316–365 (pp. 288–342): The language of Serbs and Croats (Serbo-Croatian)

Sections 366-369 (pp. 342-361): The Serbo-Croatian dialect groups

Section 370 (p. 362): Literary language

Section 371 (pp. 362-364): Phonetic structure

Section 372 (p. 365): Script and orthography

Dialect texts, glossary, bibliography (pp. 366–378)

²² F. 2231. op.1 ed. xr. 32 at the RGALI. The RGALI archivists do not seem to be sure whether this position was indeed the manuscript for his planned *Slavic Linguistics* III, as a question mark has been added. It is important to note that sheet 19 starts with Section 118 in the future tense, whose page numbering is 104. This means there should be 117 sections and 103 pages prior to the page, but there is no observable succession in the manuscript.

Slovene subchapter Section 373 (pp. 374–382): *Slovenes* Sections 374–415 (pp. 383–438): *The Slovenian language* Sections 416–425 (pp. 439–448): *The Slovenian dialect groups* Section 426 (p. 449): *Literary language* Section 427 (pp. 449–451): *Phonetic structure* Section 428 (p. 451): *Script and orthography* Dialect texts, glossary, bibliography (pp. 452–463)

Unknown subchapter

Subsection numbers missing (pp. 491–497, 510) dealing with language contact and multilingualism (no section titles are provided. Pages 498–509 are missing)

The last subsection in the manuscript, dealing with language contact and multilingualism in the Balkans, has many missing parts and is fragmented; therefore, it is difficult to get a full picture of those sections. Page 491 (f.2231 op.1 ed. xr. 31 1.552– 555) states: *Представим главные направления культурно-языковых отношений славян и их соседей* (Let me discuss the main direction of cultural and linguistic relations of the Slavs and their neighbors). Thus, these sections were not originally part of the South Slavic section, but another chapter entitled *Slavs and Their Neighbors*. Therefore, we do not discuss them here.

The structure of each subsection reminds us of Seliščev's 1914 monograph *Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Slavic Languages*. Indeed, in a sense, this manuscript was an updated and enlarged version of that publication, as Seliščev recycled some parts of the book and expanded it, following changes since 1914 (Appendix 2).

Except for the first and last sections, the structure of this chapter is quite transparent. The first sections with nation names provide an overview of the history of each South Slavic nation. The immediately following section with the name of each language deals with historical phonetics and morphology, but without a single word about syntax, quite in the Neogrammarian tradition, as is the case with his *Slavic Linguistics* I. The sections that follow discuss the dialectal features of each language of each South Slavic group. The subchapters of Serbo-Croatian and Slovene are complete and fully covered, including the most complicated issues of accentology.²³ Although there are very few original analyses of these languages, their descriptions are as detailed, precise, and up-to-date (as of 1925) as the major reliable works in the

²³ When Seliščev was writing this manuscript, Slovene dialectology did not have such important works by Ramovš as *Dialektološka karta slovenskega jezika* (Dialect Map of the Slovene Language, 1931) or *Historična gramatika slovenskega jezika* VII. *Dialekti* (Historical Grammar of the Slovene Language VII. Dialects, 1935). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Seliščev divided Slovene dialects into two main groups: north-east and south-west (p. 444). See f.2231. op.1 ed. xr. 487–488 at the RGALI.

field (works produced by scholars such as Fran Ramovš, Anton Breznik, Stanislav Škrabec and others for Slovene, Vatroslav Jagić, Aleksandar Belić, Stjepan Ivšić, Milan Rešetar and others for Serbo-Croatian, and many Russian Slavists).

Additionally, unlike other compendiums of a similar nature, such as Timofej Florinskij's *Lekcii po slavjanskomu jazykoznaniju* (Lectures on Slavic Linguistics) (1894–1897), Seliščev's work can be characterized by his thorough historicism, including a discussion of extra-linguistic issues as the first section in the manuscript; sections dealing with each South Slavic group start with the history of each nation. In the first section on the history of South Slavs, Seliščev states the following:²⁴

In what geographical, socio-economic, and cultural situations did the South Slavs find themselves having settled in the Danube region and the Balkans, as well as to the west of the peninsula? What kind of relationships did these Slavs have with the people that they found here? How did the cultural elements that were presented in the Danube region and the Balkans affect the life of the South Slavs? What were the linguistic relationships of these Slavs to each other at first after their occupation of the Balkan Peninsula and then in the following centuries of their life here? These are questions that not only a historian of the cultural life of the South Slavs but also a researcher of the fate of the language of these Slavs cannot avoid.

For Seliščev, a specialist in Balkan languages and a scholar in language contact, a multidisciplinary and extra-linguistic approach to the history of Slavic languages is essential. Indeed, it is this approach that makes him original and distinguishes him in the history of Slavic studies, as evident in the abovementioned capital works, such as *Polog and its Bulgarian Population* and *The Slavic Population in Albania*, not to mention his compendium *Slavic Linguistics* I.

4. Seliščev on Balkan Slavic dialects

The most interesting subchapter would have been the one about the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages because Seliščev was one of the most eminent specialists in these fields at that time. Moreover, the Macedonian issue was very disputable, particularly among Bulgarians and Serbs regarding the affiliation of some dialects and eventual territories. It is well known that Seliščev was also involved in this issue (cf. Seliščev 1986: 55–154). In this respect, it is unfortunate that the Bulgarian sections have many missing parts, including the one on Macedonian dialects.²⁵ However, in

²⁴ В какой географической, общественно-экономической и культурной обстановке оказались южные славяне, поселившись в Придунавье и на Балканах, а также к западу от полуострова? В какие отношения стали эти славяне к тем народам, какие они застали здесь? Как отразились на жизни южного славянства те культурные элементы, которые были представлены в Предунавье и на Балканах? В каких языковых отношениях находились эти славяне между собою в первое время по занятии Балканского полуострова, а затем в последующие века их жизни здесь? Вот вопросы, миновать которые не может не только историк культурной жизни южных славян, но и исследователь судеб языка этих славян. See f.2231 op.1 ed. xr.31 5–7 at the RGALI.

²⁵ One can find only the following fragment with regard to Macedonian in the whole text: In

the existing parts, it is evident that Seliščev was much more objective in a linguistic sense than his contemporary scholars, for instance, the Serb Aleksandar Belić or the Bulgarian Stefan Mladenov, who made claims with political overtones that were sometimes far from linguistic facts.²⁶

In some cases, Seliščev's stance may be overly rash because as a sample of a Bulgarian dialect, Seliščev offered the Prizren-Timok dialect material collected by Marinko Stanojević and published in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik* II (Serbian Dialect Review II, 1911) in the Bulgarian subchapter on page 280.²⁷ In this respect, Seliščev's view was stable, as demonstrated in his previous publications. Indeed, among others, Seliščev opined about the status of (part of) the Timok-Prizren dialect as follows on page 193:²⁸

In northern Macedonia, disputed areas begin between the Bulgarians and the Serbs; the disputed areas continue further north, to Vranje, Leskovac, Pirot, Zaječar, and Vidin. An impartial study of the available dialectological data indicates that the northern part of Macedonia (the districts of Tetovo, Skopje [with the exception of Skopska Crna Gora], and Kratovo [the southern part]), according to their dialects, should be attributed to the Bulgarian language area. The dialects in the east also belong to the latter: from the line of Vranje, Pirot, and Belgradčik, the lower course of the Timok, to the Danube.

However, Seliščev also includes the Prizren-Timok dialect as a peripheral dialect of Serbo-Croatian in the Serbo-Croatian subchapter. In this subchapter, Seliščev wrote the following on pages 348–349.²⁹

the Western Macedonian dialects, several smaller dialect groups should be distinguished: 1) Debar group, 2) Ohrid group, 3) Central group, 4) Tikveš-Мариово group, 5) Veles-Skopje group, 6) Upper Polog group, and 7) Lower-Polog group. Many interesting phenomena and curious hybridizations are presented by these groups but their details are reported in a separate course on the Bulgarian language or see my *Essays on Macedonian Dialectology*, vol. 1. (*B западно-македонских говорах надо выделить несколько более мелких диалектических групп: 1) дебарскую, 2) охридскую, 3) центральную, 4) тиквинско-мариовскую, 5) велесско-скопскую, 6) горне-положскую, 7) долне-полонскую. Много интересных явлений и любопытных скрещиваний представляют эти группы. Но подробности о них сообщаются в отдельном курсе болгарского языка или см. в моих "Очерках по македонской диалектологии", т. 1). See f. 2231 op.1 ed. xr.31 49–54 at the RGALI.*

²⁶ For instance, see Belić (1913 and many others) and Mladenov (1914 and many others).

²⁷ See f. 2231 op.1 ed. xr.31 91–92 at the RGALI.

²⁸ В северной Македонии начинаются спорные области между болгарами и сербами; спорные области продолжаются и дальше к северу, к Вране, к Лесковацу, Пироту, Зайечару, Видину. Беспристрастное исследование имеющихся диалектологических данных свидетельствует о том, что северная часть Македонии (округа Тетовский, Скопский (за исключением Скопской Черной Горы, Кратовский (южная часть)), по своим говорам должна быть отнесена к языковой области болгарской. Последней же принадлежат и говоры на востоке от линии - Враня, Пирот, Белградчик, нижнее течение Тимока до Дуная. See f. 2231 ор.1 ed. xr.31 21–25 at the RGALI. This fragment is an almost complete copy from Seliščev's 1914 book.

²⁹ Говоры призрено-тимочской группы в ранний период своей жизни переживали одинаковые процессы с говорами сербскими... Позднее говоры в призрено-тимочской группе

The dialects of the Prizren-Timok group in the early period of their existence experienced the same processes as the Serbian dialects ... Later, the dialects of the Prizren-Timok group were drawn into the sphere of influence of the Slavic dialects of the east–Bulgarian. With these dialects, the Prizren-Timok group experienced common formal and syntactic innovations... The phenomena that are common to the Bulgarian and Prizren-Timok dialects testify to the connections of these groups, the connections that existed in the past. These phenomena would by no means lose their indicativeness in relation to connections if the impetus for the origin of some of the phenomena was given from the outside, from the side of a foreign language: the commonality of processes remains a linguistic factor for the Bulgarian and Prizren-Timok Slavs. The initiative in these experiences came from the Bulgarian Slavs.

Seliščev's idea of including one and the same dialect – the Prizren-Timok dialect – in two languages might appear controversial at first glance. However, one cannot deny that the Prizren-Timok dialect shares common structural features with both Bulgarian and Serbian. Therefore, Seliščev might see in this dialect a kind of dualistic affiliation as a maximally objective linguistic reality that transitional dialects often have, particularly when considering both synchronic and diachronic linguistic facts. One could easily imagine that this kind of Seliščev's objectivity was negatively perceived by Bulgarian scholars such as Miletič and the publication of Seliščev's monograph did not materlialize after all.

In contrast, throughout his publications, including this manuscript, Seliščev neither classified Macedonian dialects into Serbian nor gave them a dual status – Bulgarian and Serbian. Seliščev always treated Macedonian dialects as Bulgarian in a convincing manner, and later, in 1933–1935, he thoroughly denied Belić's and his followers' claim that Macedonian is a dialect of Serbian, purely basing himself on scholarly facts, and not political reasons.

5. Concluding remarks

In this article, I have demonstrated that, contrary to general belief, the manuscript in question was not a manuscript of *Slavic Linguistics* II per se, but fragmented parts of Seliščev's *Introduction to the Study of Slavic Languages* completed in 1925, which should have appeared in Bulgaria but never materialized.

It was a pity that the manuscript was not published in a timely manner. Seliščev wanted his *Introduction* to be published as soon as possible, as he thought that a general course like his *Introduction* would allow us to "painfully experience the emergence of new products on individual issues" (Mladenov 1979: 60). Seliščev wrote

были вовлечены в сферу воздействия славянских говоров востока, — болгарских. С этими говорами призрено-тимочская группа пережила общие новшества формальные и синтаксические... Явления, общие в болгарских и призрено-тимочских говорах, свидетельствуют о связках этих групп, — о связках, существовавших в прошлом. Эти явления отнюдь не утратят своей показательности в отношении связей, если бы толчок к происхождению некоторых из явлений дан был извне, со стороны иноязычной: общность процессов остается языковым фактором для славян болгарских и призрено-тимочских. Инициатива в этих переживаниях исходила от славян болгарских. See f. 2231 ор.1 ed. xr.31 241–244 at the RGALI.

with deep anger and evident regret in his letter to Stefan Mladenov (Mladenov 1979: 71), "*The Academy has buried my perennial work* (italics Seliščev's)," demonstrating that the manuscript lost its meaning already in the 1930s and does not seem to be a useful reference book today. However, in the description of the manuscript and its analysis, in a limited way, my article demonstrates that, in terms of its size, content, scholarly objectivity, level, and originality in its structure and approach, Seliščev's manuscript is evidence of his high ability to synthesize the latest and best knowledge of South Slavic languages and their linguistic and extra-linguistic history.

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Мотоки Номаћи

НЕОБЈАВЉЕНИ РУКОПИС А. М. СЕЛИШЧЕВА О ЈУЖНОСЛОВЕНСКИМ ЈЕЗИЦИМА

Резиме

А. М. Селишчев (1886–1942), један од најистакнутијих стручњака за словенске језике у 20. веку, посебно за њихову јужну грану, намеравао је да објави трилогију под насловом Славянское языкознание (Лингвистичка славистика) четрдесетих година 20. века, што је остварено само делимично због његове смрти, 1942. године. Поједини проучаваоци сматрају да је његов необјављени рукопис изгубљен, док други претпостављају да текст који је сачуван у Руском државном архиву за књижевност и уметност (РГАЛИ) заправо представља Селишчевљев рукопис другог тома књиге Славянское языкознание, посвећен јужнословенским језицима. У овом раду аутор идентификује рукопис у Руском државном архиву за књижевност и уметност, а затим га анализира у контексту актуелног стања славистике.

Кључне речи: А. М. Селишчев, С. Б. Бернштејн, лингвистичка славистика, јужнословенски језици.

Юнсно-слав гисках 525 Mr. noust V-20 - be replace gecommut mine VI-20 bonce atimber butent co chauser upoduraum cubbrause rase manin obracom y numeris in Dyrean. Ometogo on colep. man chon noxoghe na pomerienir noobertusie . Atember regain semalounce y, Dynan : our coepedomornique ler Successo Dutonpan Dutompa. Cuobtue une nortouries. in chou onyconourmenters nauncintair ner inputyrauckus " Sauveneria sonciem.) Hellen aparaulet it entertilet the bear-Replaur creaborier inaucombis na Eccencirconis adracum, nameembir, nemopureen zoichneytmensemboberneur, omnoermes KO lepuneren npabreniar Hemuticitica (cr. 5272.). Comoro apanene crabrue up- 2000 les 2003, za Medoreturnun только променентании, опусташанать ролийских npolumin. Our provodsmir os spadenca me, naturacure и полеарания по Иллирику, Оракт, Паннония, Даннан Mpanukanan an n ganexo les Epersiro, Doxoarmer a Da yxptnicie Bappipada. Norburburieer na bankencer crabsucrice omposeder u noverwayar les neples le putter chauts namecmbin, narpabuli godairin n naspales metremendes, dagapaujounce ofpammer les clin obracom, nuithy vemoriou Dynar. Bronoevtyppausie sue noxogue Soutomis nur Meteris racemu cuabson manapetering Ha bankarais. pergubmants burner mo, rmo pordo obracemen na Bane. naxo " lo Preisin accepturer zanomalus cueboncum. The au lepeur Koncentima II (npalubuar & 642-66822.) Expariria un di Expaririar adoquarama adracom meene na chept za Dynalus, a anympu baukanro. Ju monto, mropku - Sourpor, repetiger les 40-xr roder VIIв. Дунай изаничива Мизіно, застани присе зова pro mabruckust melineur n norogumusts. Browsie, оккупсизия Талканского получетрова славичение Ko Koung VII-20 boxa Sala zakanzena. Cuabrue zaullender as Ino lepenter beech no upsempoles, builtorais

Appendix 1. The first page of Seliščev's manuscript of South Slavic Group preserved in f.2231 op.1 ed.xr.31 at the RGALI

(13) §3 литературный языкъ. Графика. Ороография Въ основѣ болгарскаго литературнаго языка лежатъ говоры восточной Болгаріи. Многіе изъ дѣятелей болгарскаго возрожденія и возрождавшейся болгарской письменности (во 2-й половинѣ XIX в.) происходили изъ восточной Болгаріи. Вслъдствіе этого въ качествъ языка письменности, литературнаго утвердилось нарѣчіе восточное. Но какая діалектическая область лежить въ основъ этого языка, указать нельзя: въ современномъ болгарскомъ литературномъ языкѣ находятся элементы и съверо-восточныхъ говоровъ и центральныхъ и юго-восточныхъ. Кромъ того, въ немъ можно наблюдать нѣкоторыя особенности и западныхъ болгарскихъ говоровъ. Вслъдствіе тъсныхъ связей Болгаріи съ Россіей, русскій литературный языкъ оказалъ сильное вліяніе на литературный болгарскій: въ послъднемъ можно указать длин-2 ный рядъ руссизмовъ и въ области звуковъ, и формъ, и лексики 52 Графика у болгаръ-русская гражданка. Выброшено Графика у оолгаръ-русская гранания. лишь нъсколько знаковъ, какъ лишнихъ: i, ы, э, ө. Оста- Venaposo, napenin Болгарское правописание въ основъ этимологическое. Пишутъ напр., в въ концъ такихъ словъ, какъ царь, радость, хотя ь не имъетъ теперь никакого звукового значенія; въ концѣ словъ онъ не выражаетъ и мягкости согласныхъ: царь произносится, какъ цар; радость, какъ радост или радос и т. под. На основании указаний истории языка различается въ письмѣ употребленіе ж и ъ, хотя въ литературномъ произношении тотъ и другой знакъ выражаютъ въ (чит. път), джбъ (чит. дъп), ржка (ръка), но сънъ, лъжа, мъгла. Въ концѣ слова въ литературномъ языкѣ принято произносить а-й (вм. ж). Въ графикъ также теперь употребляютъ въ концѣ не ж, а а и я послѣ мягкихъ согласныхъ: неса (1 л. вм. неск), моля (1-е л., вм. мол'к) и т. под.. Били попитки реформировать болгорское правотесние. предаланось исключить & (micerné buseno riero 2), E, b es range cicler, buseno E micerné e una a comacrio norally unities un semabume 5 ar znarenin mossoro a (Stre Senie), bleem i lu. n nucamb ice e.u. A., iy e.u. H., Imm no numen vemeilium cutgue as sourcepской пегата, но общаго согувствия на вотро-тим. Из посибунее время регрорина превотнания

Appendix 2. Section 313 on the Bulgarian literary language and the orthography

104 \$118. Figdyryle lepeuler. Rocinorno-curbineraus 2pgsna quaentogoboura amo nocenationenaro squera maisin nenegarn Sygnyyaro breneun, 1) hoc pegembour gropus nacm. Ep. gues manuales cohe priestinaro lugar: napiso - ranning, 2) noepegenhaur coremanie openes recen ly. nacong (pocong, ueone) um leede um imp in cr unquumulour gaunaro marona. No beneropycernes roborraer la comal nepegaru Syl. hpeenen bloghin marouse yrter norreg uny, Sygy. Nepetter legisim coremosions uncontramuber cropopor maronous Sygy, Sydem um. D. Meneplan coremanier orbiterramed to beter heunopycerices 20 hoperts. буду носити (носит), буден носити (посит) more les ubranopaies etternolieunomsecuits sohoneitre lo comales nepegaru Syd. bp. lexoquend incurre menous uny uneu ...: way go sam, uneur go ram (nongo, br momenerous " 2persoheuskous yy. Borowe. 2.); xay y 2050 compour yep'rly ga unig b ej kypum ratanon (Tepenokeykin y. Hobrop. 2.]. Ва малорусской ибълорусской групов вы составия синиской repregare Syl lep. beogune Syly ...; les un porous ynonge-Sneriu a coremanies or any (my) ... Man Sugy nucamu, Sygen meann, Syde meann ...; um : meann - my, писати-пеш, писати-те, писати-пете, писати-лиут § 119. Утрата орорных наст. вр. нетенатических гнагонавья. По свертовеникорусский, болорусский и наси pycc kuur robopaur Deprecimer eure ritxomoque verman Ku muer grommer. § 120. Окангание орорий Зл. Д. нин. г. настар. Imox apopular quaentopolarion es oxourapienes - to, Misereal t' go and nop's upegemabussoms forestohauropyceric. remenorie ethephoheminopyeckie (& bs anoneyxon nyo, br доория Зл. иноне.г.), малорусские и былорусские. По 20hopaur upour our les meresie bremesur omliepotrie I ba amus apopulars

Appendix 3. The first page of the main part in the East Slavic chapter