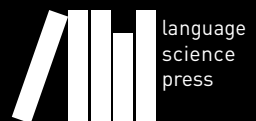


Elementa universalis linguae Slavicae

Annotated translation with
introductory essays by Raf Van Rooy
and Alexander Maxwell

Jan Herkel

History and Philosophy of the Language
Sciences 7



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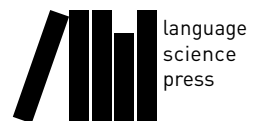
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Preface

This volume presents an annotated English translation of *Elementa universalis linguae Slavicae* (*Elements of a universal Slavic language*, hereafter *Elementa*), an 1826 appeal for Slavs to reform their language in the name of Slavic unity. Its author, the Slovak lawyer and amateur linguist Jan Herkel (Ján Herkeľ, 1786–1858), originally wrote it in Latin. Ours is the first English translation. Furthermore, it is only the second translation into a living language. Our only predecessor is classical philologist Ľudmila Buzássyová, who published a Slovak translation in 2009. Our text also provides two essays contextualizing Herkel’s thought.

Herkeľ’s *Elementa* was first published at the Royal University Press in Buda, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Hungary. The Kingdom of Hungary belonged at that time to the Habsburg Empire, a state whose ethnolinguistic diversity has since become proverbial. Nineteenth-century Hungary could also boast more ethnolinguistic diversity than can the twenty-first century Hungarian republic. Before the 1920 Treaty of Trianon partitioned the crownlands of St. Stephen between Romania, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, the Hungarian crownlands included a large Romanian population in the east, now part of Romania, German colonies throughout, but also in the west, in a strip of territory now part of Austria, and Slavic populations to the north and south, now divided between Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Ukraine, and Slovakia. In Herkeľ’s day, Hungarians of different ethnicity often used Latin as the medium for inter-ethnic communication. Latin also served as the medium of state administration, jurisprudence and scholarship (Almási & Šubarić 2015). Herkeľ had learned his Latin primarily as a lawyer, but was neither the first nor the last Slavic patriot to articulate national aspirations in the classical tongue.

Herkeľ’s Latin, however, differed significantly from the Latin of Virgil, or even Erasmus: he used a nineteenth-century Hungarian brand of Latin, which poses some difficulties for classically-trained Latinists. We do not attempt a full analysis of Herkeľ’s Latin here, but a few examples illustrate some of his linguistic peculiarities, as seen from the perspective of classical Latin. Herkeľ employed several unclassical words, such as *praeinvenire* (p. 4) and *seorsivus* (e.g. p. 150); hypercorrect etymological spellings, such as *exmitto* (e.g. p. 10) and *ethymon* (p. 151); and unexpected word meanings such as *supplere* (p. 162) with the meaning

of ‘to supplant’, which Lewis and Short’s classical Latin dictionary renders as ‘to fill up, to complete’ (Lewis & Short 1879). Herkel’s subject matter, furthermore, calls for technical terminology describing linguistic concepts. In short, Herkel’s Latin text does not make a smooth read.

Herkel’s argumentation also tends to be suggestive, rather than explicit. He frequently leaves steps in his reasoning unexplained, leaving the reader to complete his line of thought. For instance, at the end of §32 (p. 149), Herkel once more made his methodological point that the genius of the Slavic language should be uncovered by making a comparison of different varieties, ending with an abrupt “etc.”, as if he got tired of his own reasoning: “The same should be understood about the other words, and for that reason one should examine the genius of the language by comparing dialects etc.” The abbreviation “etc.” appears no less than 280 times in our translation of the *Elementa*, reflecting Herkel’s original use.

The *Elementa* also contains multiple typographical errors, which, Herkel hoped, “the benevolent reader will easily correct”.¹ The book’s 164 pages contain dozens of typos, suggesting either carelessness or haste in production. Most of these typos can easily be corrected, such as *protissimum* for *potissimum* on page 43, but one passage contains textual problems which cannot be confidently solved. Page 159 contains the following sentence:

[...] sic e. g. *kniaz* apud alios denotat Principem, apud alios sacerdotem; combinatio ta- [sic] hujus usus est facillima; nam Slavi affines sunt Indis orientibus et linguaa [sic], et mythologia [...]

In this way, for instance, *kniaz* for some means ‘prince’, for others ‘priest’. This double use is very straightforward, as the Slavs are related to the Oriental Indians both by language and by mythology.

The meaning of the passage is more or less clear: the double meaning of *kniaz* can be explained by Slavic affinity with India, where the term *kagan* denoted a prince who governed both worldly and sacred matters. But the syllable *ta-* left us baffled. It appears right before a line break, but is not continued on the next line, where one reads *hujus* (‘of this’, genitive of *hic*). In this case, and other cases where Herkel’s reasoning is lapidary, we were guided by our judgement of Herkel’s intended meaning.

In preparing this translation, we have inevitably had to make judgement calls. We sought to replicate Herkel’s original text faithfully while yet producing a

¹P. 164: “Errata benevolus lector facile emendabit.” See for instance our footnote at Section I, §8, where we have tried to act like benevolent readers.

fluent text accessible to English speakers. We have normalized capitalization throughout the text: Herkel wrote important nouns with an initial capital letter, but we have omitted irregular capital letters in our translation. We have retained the Slavic orthography of Herkel in the examples and texts he quotes rather than standardizing them following modern norms. We render blackletter typeface fonts with bold type. On pages 27–31, the sections of Herkel’s *Elementa* are numbered incorrectly. Following Buzássyová, we have deleted “§. 5” so that the numbering is now consistent.

Herkel apparently assumed his readers understood Slavic, but we do not make that assumption, and have thus provided English translations for Slavic words or phrases. Our glosses are marked by square brackets. We have also given Herkel’s original page numbers in square brackets. The few Latin glosses that Herkel provided himself are left unmarked.

The title page of the *Elementa* Latinizes Herkel’s name as “Joannes Herkel”. Modern Slovak scholars prefer to spell the Herkel’s name as “Ján Herkel”, with the long vowel <á> in his given name and the palatalized final <ľ> in his surname. We have, however, opted for “Jan Herkel”, using unaccented <a> and final <l> with no palatalizing diacritic. We follow Herkel’s own precedent. As a supporter of Slavic patriotic causes, his name appears in the subscriber lists of several patriotic publications. Slavic works published in both Buda and Prague give his name as “Jan Herkel” (*Časopis Společnosti vlastenského museum w Čechách*, Anon. 1827a: no page numbers; Kollár 1830: no page numbers). Only when contributing to Serbian causes did Herkel append a palatalizing symbol: he signed his name in Serbian Cyrillic “Јоаннѣ Херкелъ” (Pačić 1827: no page numbers). The modern “Slovak” spelling inappropriately associates Herkel with twenty-first century Slovak nationalism. Since Herkel is the original Pan-Slav, we prefer to distance him from subsequent particularist nationalisms.

For similar reasons, we have refrained from adapting Herkel’s ethnonyms (or glottonyms) to contemporary thinking. When Herkel discusses the speech of *Vindi*, for example, he draws on the linguistic works of Jernej Kopitar, a notable Slavic scholar who was born in Carinthia and educated partly in Ljubljana. Herkel also associates Kopitar’s work with the speech of Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria. In short, Herkel is referring to that part of the Slavic world that now comprises the Republic of Slovenia. Some scholars, therefore, might expect us to gloss *Vindi* as “Slovenes”. We have, however, consistently chosen an ethnonym (glottonym) with a shared etymology, and in this case glossed *Vindi* as “Winds”. We similarly glossed Herkel’s *Pannonii* as “Pannonian”, rather than “Slovaks” or “Hungaro-Slavs”.

Preface

The importance of glossing ethnonyms (glottonyms) with an etymologic translation can perhaps best be illustrated explained through examples. When comparing *Bohemi* to *Poloni* and *Pannonii*, Herkel apparently contrasted “Czechs” with Poles and Slovaks. Yet in other passages, Herkel juxtaposed *Bohemi* with *Moravi*, thus distinguishing “Bohemians” from “Moravians”. The politics of ethnonyms (glottonyms) can be subtle. We thought it a mistake to introduce our judgements about the distinction between “Bohemian” and “Czech” into Herkel’s text. Etymological translation, we reasoned, provides an essentially unmediated window into Herkel’s usage. When Herkel distinguishes *Croatae* from *Slavonitae* and *Dalmatae*, therefore, our text distinguishes Croatians from Slavonians and Dalmatians.

We have been somewhat less puristic when translating Herkel’s grammatical terminology. Most importantly, throughout the text, for example, we have translated *socialis* as “instrumental”, following current usage. We have otherwise retained here, too, as much as possible Herkel’s own terms. Herkel’s linguistic analysis rests on the work of previous grammarians. Herkel reproduced declensions and conjugations found in the work of his predecessors, whom he described as *grammatici* or *dialectici*, terms we have respectively glossed as “grammarians” and “dialect grammarians”. Where possible, we have identified those sources and offered bibliographical details in footnotes. In order to ease the navigation of our English translation, we have included in the running text Herkel’s original page numbers between square brackets.

Our translation owes a significant debt to other scholars. We frequently consulted Antal Bartal’s *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis regni Hungariae* (first edition in 1901), a specialized dictionary of Hungarian Latin.² For instance, Bartal helped greatly to understand the meaning of the Latinized Greek word *cynosura*, which Herkel used to mean ‘norm’, not in the classical sense of the ‘dog’s tail’, an ancient reference to Ursa Minor (or in the meaning of *cynosura ova*, ‘addled-eggs’). Buzássyová’s footnotes provided invaluable guidance about Herkel’s predecessors, and the text of her translation clarified several obscure passages for us, even if our interpretations sometimes differ from Buzássyová’s. Any errors of course remain our responsibility. Like Herkel, we trust the benevolent reader will easily correct any mistakes that may have remained.

The two essays accompanying Herkel’s translation reflect the respective background and expertise of the two scholars who prepared the translation. Alexander Maxwell is a historian specializing in the emergence of nationalism in the

²Like Lewis and Short’s classical Latin dictionary, we consulted this Hungarian Latin dictionary through BREPOLiS’ *Database of Latin Dictionaries* (<<https://clt.brepolis.net/dld/Dictionaries/Search>>), last accessed on 8 June 2023.

Habsburg lands; Raf Van Rooy is a Neo-Latin scholar interested in the history of linguistic thought and the interplay between language and literature. Our collaboration arose from a shared fascination with the language/dialect dichotomy. In defiance of twentieth- and twenty-first century consensus opinion about the “Slavic language family”, Herkel posited a single and unitary “Slavic language”, and analysed Russian, Polish, Serbian and so forth as “dialects” of that language. Both of us, for our own reasons, found Herkel’s linguistic taxonomy fascinating.

Maxwell provides a biography of Herkel in the context of Slavic intellectual life in the Kingdom of Hungary. He explains the emergence of linguistic Pan-Slavism with reference to Herkel’s predecessors and contemporaries, discusses Herkel’s proposals in the context of Slavic language planning, warns against interpreting early nineteenth-century Hungaro-Slavic thought with the analytical categories generated by twentieth and twenty-first century nationalism, and ends with a brief history of Herkel’s term *Panslavismus*, which is perhaps his most enduring legacy.

Van Rooy focuses instead on the concept of “genius”. Herkel justified his various proposals with reference to the “genius of the Slavic language”, a concept located at the core of his understanding of Slavic linguistics, and impregnated by both the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Van Rooy contextualizes Herkel’s place in the history of linguistic thought on the “genius” concept from antiquity through the Middle Ages and early modern period to Herkel’s transformation of it in view of his Pan-Slavist ideas.

This volume would not have been possible without the generous support of an FWO senior postdoctoral fellowship at KU Leuven (2020–2022), an MSCA-IF of the European Commission at the University of Oslo (2021–2022), and a research professorship at KU Leuven (2022–2027). Our warmest thanks go out to Herman Seldeslachts for general advice and numerous corrections throughout the translation and for pointing out certain allusions (e.g. to Augustine), to Alicja Bielak for her help with Polish, and Richard Millington for insight into Polish and Russian. We also thank Ludmila Buzássyová for generously sending us copies of her book. We would also like to express our gratitude to James McElvenny and the other members of the editorial board of the Language Science Press series “History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences” for critical remarks on earlier drafts of this volume. Finally, we are grateful to Dustin Saynisch for his careful management of the typesetting process.

Note on conventions

Central European cities have different names in different languages. A few important cities, such as Vienna and Prague have English names whose use in Anglophone scholarship is widely accepted. Most towns, however, do not, so Anglophone scholars face a choice between competing names. Herkel's birthplace, for example, has the Hungarian name "Vavrecska" and the Slovak name "Vavrečka". What to do? Central European scholars cannot agree on a convention for selecting placenames, but more annoyingly also cannot agree to disagree. Authors thus face the tedious task of justifying their conventions, lest their choices be construed as mistakes.

In this book, we have opted to prioritize contemporary names, that is, the name of the state language of the government that administers the city at the time of writing. In practice, therefore, we use Slovak names to discuss places that belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary during the nineteenth century. In the main text, however, we also mention Hungarian names either by providing an explanation of the multiple names of important cities, or by listing Hungarian names in parentheses. Much contemporary scholarship acknowledges names in multiple languages so as to emphasize the multilingual quality of urban life in the Habsburg domains.

In the references, however, we list only contemporary names. Our bibliography, for example, anachronistically claims that several nineteenth-century books were published in the town of "Bratislava". even though the name "Bratislava" was adopted only with the establishment of the first Czechoslovak Republic. Hungary's former capital is known in Hungarian as "Pozsony". The town's predominantly German population referred in German to "Pressburg". Even nineteenth-century Slavs, following German usage, called the city "Prešporok" or "Prešporek". Our anachronistic bibliography also retroactively anticipates the 1873 unity of "Budapest" when listing books published at a time when Pest and Buda were separate towns. We accept such anachronism as a price worth paying in order to assist readers who want to search for a town on a contemporary map.

1 The inspiration for and reception of Jan Herkel's Pan-Slavism

Alexander Maxwell

Victoria University of Wellington

1.1 Introduction

The term “Pan-Slavism” first appeared in print in Jan Herkel’s 1826 *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae* [‘Elements of a Universal Slavic Language’]. This short book, written in Latin, sought to reduce the grammatical and above all orthographic diversity in the Slavic world. Herkel’s linguistic ideas won no adherents, even among his friends and associates, yet the word “Pan-Slavism” has enjoyed great success. There are innumerable books about “Pan-Slavism” and “Pan-Slavs” in many different parts of the Slavic world, though subsequent scholarship typically invests the word with a meaning quite different from what Herkel originally intended. This essay seeks to explain Herkel’s work within the context of Hungaro-Slavic linguistic thought. What did Herkel hope to accomplish with his grammar? What impact did his ideas have? Why did the term “Pan-Slavism” strike such a chord when Herkel’s actual ideas did not?

1.2 Jan Herkel as a national activist

Jan Nepomuk Herkel (1786–ca. 1853), described on his birth certificate as “Georgius Hrkel” (Treimer 1931: 404), and remembered in Slovak historiography as Ján Herkeľ, was born on 22 January 1786 in Vavrečka (Vavrečka), near the White Orava river, around fifteen kilometers from the Polish frontier. He spent his early childhood in his hometown. Herkel was raised Roman Catholic, but additional documentary evidence about his family is scarce.

A short story from 1836 might provide some information about Herkel’s ancestors. Herkel wrote it for the literary magazine *Zora* when he was about fifty

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years old. The story, titled *Pramény* [‘springs’ in the sense of ‘fountains’], is written in the third person for two pages, then shifts to a first-person narrative with a young male narrator. The final four pages are then told from the perspective of the narrator’s mother, who tells her son about the life of his grandfather. The narrator’s grandfather, a village official, led a difficult life. Oppressive imperial taxation provoked brigandage and eventually rebellion. The grandfather fled into the woods and built a hut for shelter. His wife died, his sons were drafted into both imperial and rebel armies. After the triumph of imperial forces, the grandfather returned to his native town, which war and famine had reduced to fifty inhabitants. Even the family’s swords suffered: at the end of the story, treasured heirlooms had been reduced to cabbage-cutting knives (Herkele 1836: 209–215).

Herkele’s story provides at most problematic evidence about Herkele’s family background. The story might be autobiographical, it might be fictionalized, or it might simply be fiction. The shifting narrative voices also conceal the author’s perspective. Contemporaries found the story baffling. Josef Chmelenský’s (1836: 213) laconic review was “what Jan Herkele’s *Pramena* wants to say, I know not”.

Herkele received a good education for his era. He attended a Piarist secondary school in Ružomberok (Rózsahegy) and then worked a few years as a school-teacher in the same Piarist school. In 1813, he travelled to Pest to do a law degree, which he completed in 1816. As a student, he became good friends with Martin Hamuljak (1789–1859), who subsequently played an important role in the Slovak community of Pest (Buzássyová 2009: 3). Hamuljak, like Herkele, also came from the Orava region, and also studied law.

During the decade after the completion of his law degree, the period during which he composed *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae*, Herkele’s biography is somewhat obscure. Ludmila Buzássyová (2009: 3) suggests that Herkele spent most of his time in Budapest, but Karl Treimer (1931: 404) thinks he spent some time in Croatia. He did not, however, support himself by practicing law. Instead, baron József von Wenckheim (1778–1830), who held a series of important administrative positions in the Banat, hired Herkele to tutor his son and four daughters (von Wurzbach 1886: 270).

In 1831, the year after Baron Wenckheim died, Herkele bought a house in Pest. He settled permanently in Hungary’s greatest city (Mařovčik 1961: 62; Kerecman & Manik 2011: 113), even if Buzássyová (2009: 3) reports that he frequently visited the Vavrečka region. His death date is not known. His last public act was to sign a petition for a Slovak censor in 1842 (Mařovčik 1964: 13), though we will see that he was apparently discussing public affairs with Ľudovít Štúr in the mid-1840s. Ctiboh Zoch’s “Alphabetical list of Slovak authors”, published in 1853, listed Herkele’s birth year with no year of death, implying that Herkele was then

still alive (1853: 270; see also Mařovčik 1964: 13). A 12 April 1865 letter by Michal Godra makes clear that Herkel had died by that date (Mařovčik 1961: 63).

Herkel first entered public life in 1826, about nine years after completing his legal studies. In that year, he not only published *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae* but also collaborated with Hamuljak on a pamphlet for distribution at the Hungarian parliament, then meeting for the first time since 1812. The pamphlet itself has not survived, but Augustín Mařovčik found a draft manuscript in Hamuljak’s papers, now held in Martin at the literary archive of the Matica Slovenská. In 1969, Mařovčik published a brief introduction to the text (1969: 223–226), along with a Slovak translation by Jozef Havaš (1969: 224–235).

Herkel and Hamuljak’s pamphlet responded to an 1825 editorial published in the prestigious Hungarian journal *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* [‘Scientific Collection’]. The editorial’s authors were András Thaisz (1789–1840) and Mátyás Trattner (1745–1828), respectively the journal’s editor and publisher (Thaisz & Trattner 1825: 118–127). Thaisz and Trattner advocated what historians of Hungary have come to call “Magyarization”: the linguistic assimilation of all inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary, including the Slavs, to the language and culture of the Magyars, that is, of the ethnic Hungarians.

Thaisz and Trattner’s (1825: 118) watchword “let us speak frankly of spreading the Magyar language in Magyar” rings more sonorously in the original Hungarian [*a’ Magyar nyelvnek terjesztéséről magyarul és magyarán szölljunk*] since the Hungarian word here translated as “frankly” also derives from the Hungarian endonym.¹ They extolled Hungarian as the *Nemzeti nyelv* [‘national language’] (1825: 118, 124, 126) characteristic of the *Magyar nemzet* [‘Hungarian nation’] (1825: 119, 120, 125) and the *Magyar nemesség* [‘Magyar aristocracy’] (1825: 126). They wanted to make Hungarian the “diplomatic language [*diplomátikiai nyelv*]” (1825: 126), as the language of state administration was usually known, and forbid “educating our children in any foreign language, unless they already know the national language perfectly [*idegen nyelvre [...] taníttassuk gyermekeinket*]” (1825: 124). They predicted that Hungary’s non-Magyars, whom they characterized as *nem Nemzetek* [‘not nations’] (1825: 118), would assimilate: “clever and honest Slavs [*okos ’s betűletes Tótok*] will become perfect Magyars, and be joyfully welcomed like true sons of the homeland” (1825: 125). Thaisz, an active member of Budapest’s Lutheran community (László 2004: 176, 178), even attributed the spread of “Slavic books in Hungarian land” to Catholic conspiracy. They concluded by urging their readers: “let us be Magyars [*legyünk Magyarok!*]” (1825: 126).

Herkel (1969: 227), addressing Thaisz and ignoring Trattner, began by asking “who is to be understood under the name ‘not-nations?’” Herkel thought the

¹On the Hungarian endonym, see Maxwell (2019: 14–21).

1 The inspiration for and reception of Jan Herkel's Pan-Slavism

phrase referred to the *Tót nemzet*, whose rights he then defended. Indeed, since so few inhabitants of Hungary spoke the Magyar language, Herkel attacked Magyar pretensions to unique nationhood: “if the Slav nation is a not-nation, then the Magyar must be a not-not-not nation!!! [*a magyar nemzet kell lennie a nem-nem-nem nemzet!!!*]” (1969: 228). He also accused Thaisz of hypocrisy, since, in his essay, Thaisz expressed love for his own language and sought to promote it, while complaining “that the *Tótok* love and promote their language” (1969: 229).

Though Mařovčik (1969: 225) characterized Herkel's pamphlet as “a defence of the rights of the Slovak language and nation”, Herkel's phrase *Tót nemzet* actually contains some ambiguity. Havaš straightforwardly translated it as *národ slovenský* [‘the Slovak nation’], but Peter Macho (2001: 612) observed that at various points in the text Herkel refers to the accusative plural *Tót nemzeteket*, a phrase which in context could only mean *slovanské národy* [‘Slavic nations’]. Since Herkel's ethnonym *Tót* implied ‘Slav’ when appended to plural ‘nations’, Macho found it ambiguous in the singular, preferring to render it not as “Slovak”, but as *Slovania/Slováci* [‘Slavs/Slovaks’] (2001: 617), since “the terms *tót* and *szláv* appear to a great extent as synonyms” (2001: 615).

In some passages of Herkel's tract, the difference between “Slav” and “Slovak” may indeed be hard to distinguish since, as Macho observed, Slavs in Hungary were “*de facto* Slovaks” (2001: 616). Yet Herkel claimed in one passage that the inhabitants of Hungary “for the most part use the *Tót* language, in one or another dialects”. Here, the singular *Tót* clearly meant ‘Slavic’, since Slovaks on their own could not claim a majority of Hungary's population. Indeed, one 1790 statistical survey of the Habsburg monarchy claimed of the Slavs that “the language of this nation is spoken here [in Hungary] in various dialects, e.g. Bohemian, Moravian, Croatian, Serbian or Rascian, Wendic, Dalmatian, Russian and quasi-half Polish” (Grellmann 1795: 380). Only together could these disparate Slavic communities pose as a majority.

The confusion surrounding Herkel's Hungarian usage can also be clarified by placing Herkel's pamphlet in its political context. Herkel's pamphlet belongs to a popular genre of polemical writing in the early nineteenth century kingdom of Hungary. Indeed, the lively debate over Hungary's administrative language (or languages) ultimately became so heated that several authors invoked the military metaphor of a “language battle [*Sprachkampf* or *Sprachenkampf*]” (Thomášek 1841; Békésy 1843; Roth 1842, 1847; Štúr 1843b: 1070–1092; 1077–1078, 1088–1090; 1800–1802). Slavs from northern Hungary, lacking any administrative unit to serve as a focus for political activism, particularly emphasized linguistic rights in their political tracts (Kollár 1821: 552–558; Hoitsy 1833, 1843; Šuhajda 1834; Štúr 1843a, 1845; Hodža 1848).

Literary historian Ján Ormis (1973) collectively described such polemics against Magyarization as “Slovak national defences”, but many of the texts that Ormis depicted as “Slovak” national defences did not articulate Slovak particularist nationalism, but rather a linguistic Pan-Slavism. Several explicitly refer to “Slavs” in the title. Consider Jan Kollár’s “Something about the Magyarization of the Slavs [*Slaven*] of Hungary” (1821: 552–558), Štúr’s “Complaints and Accusations of the Slav [*Slaven*] of Hungary” (1843a), Ján Čaplovič’s “Slavism and Pseudomagyarism” (1842), and Samuel Hoitsy’s “Apology of Hungarian Slavism” (1843).² Ormis’ 800-page study appeared in 1973, and thus was presumably written during the aftermath of the 1968 Soviet invasion. During the era of so-called “normalization”, perhaps Ormis, or his publisher, found it prudent to transform nineteenth-century Pan-Slavs into good Slovaks? (Taborsky 1973: 207–211). In happier times, however, scholars should acknowledge that when Kollár and Štúr wrote about *Slaven*, Čaplovič and Hoitsy about *Slawismus*, and Herkel about *Tótok*, they were writing about “Slavs”.

Herkel circulated his pamphlet widely. He also sent a copy to Juraj Palkovič (1769–1850), professor at the Lutheran gymnasium in the town now known as Bratislava, but then called Pozsony, Pressburg, or Prešporok/Prešporek. He won the support of archbishop Alexander Rudnay (1760–1831) (Macho 2002: 16), a prominent Slavic prelate who would become a cardinal in 1828. Though both Palkovič and Rudnay came from Slovak northern Hungary, neither articulated Slovak particularist sentiments. On the title pages of his numerous published works, Palkovič variously described himself as a “professor of the Bohemian-Slavic language” (1820–1821, 1830), or a professor of *slovenský* (1808, 1832–1834), an ambiguous adjective arguably translatable as either “Slovak” or “Slavic”. Rudnay, meanwhile, famously declared in one of his sermons *Slavus sum, et si in cathedra Petri forem: Slavus ero!* [‘I am a Slav, and if I should sit in Peter’s chair, I will remain a Slav!’] (*Sokol: obrázkový časopis pre zábavu a poučenie*, Anon. [“M.V.”] 1863: 122; Precechtěl 1872: 156).

In the late 1820s, following the publication of *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae* and the distribution of his pamphlet, Herkel participated regularly in Slavic public life in the Hungarian capital. He financially supported Slavic literary works funded through subscriptions, including Šafařík’s 1826 influential *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur: Nach allen Mundarten* [‘History of the Slavic language and literature, in all dialects’] (Šafařík 1826: 520; see also

²Ormis (1973: 169–176, 515–594, 595–665) gives these titles as *Něco o pomadařčování Slovanov v Uhorsku, Sťažnosti a žaloby Slovanov v Uhorsku na protizákoné prechmaty Maďarov, Slovanstvo a psuedomaďarstvo*, and *Apologie uhorského Slovanstva*.

1 The inspiration for and reception of Jan Herkel's Pan-Slavism

Mařovčik 1965b: 9–10), and Kollár's 1830 booklet investigating the origins of the ethnonym "Slav" (1830: no page numbers), both published by Buda University press. Kollár also credited Herkel with contributing "several songs" to his 1835 *Národiníe zpiewanky čili pjsně swětské Slowákůw w Uhrách* ['National Songbook, or Secular Songs of the Slovaks in Hungary'] (1835: 505). In 1831, Herkel participated in Hamuljak's unsuccessful attempt to found a newspaper called *Budínský Priatel* ['The Buda Friend'] (Pišút et al. 1960: 117; Vyvíjalová 1960: 123; Ruttkay 1999: 63). In 1842, he signed a petition requesting the appointment of a censor specifically for Slovak books (Mařovčik 2002: 11).

Significantly, Herkel's Slavic philanthropy extended beyond "Slovak" particularist circles. Starting in 1825, he financially supported the scholarly journal *Serbske Lětopisi* ['Serbian Chronicle'] both when it was initially published by Buda University press (*Serbske Lětopisi*, Anon. 1825: entry for *Budimě*), and when it was subsequently published by the newly-established Matica Serbska (*Serbske Lětopisi*, Anon. 1826a: entry for *Peshta*). Herkel also supported the literary efforts of various Serbian writers in Buda or Pest, including Jovan Pačić (1771–1849) (Pačić 1827: entry for *Budimě*), and Dositej Obradović (1739–1811) (Obradović 1826: entry for *Peshta*). Nor did Herkel confine his Slavic philanthropy to the Hungarian capital. From 1827 to 1833, Herkel subscribed to the *Časopis Českého Musea*, a scholarly journal published by the Bohemian museum in Prague (*Časopis Společnosti vlastenského museum w Čechách*, Anon. 1827a: no page numbers; *Časopis Českého Musea*, Anon. 1829a: 135; *Časopis Českého Musea*, Anon. 1830: 488; *Časopis Českého Musea*, Anon. 1832: 491; *Časopis Českého Musea*, Anon. 1833: no page numbers). He also appears on the subscriber list for Serbian-Cyrillic literary journal *Danica* ['Morning Star'], which Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) published in Vienna from 1826 to 1829 (Anon. 1826b: 123; Anon. 1827b: 159; Anon. 1828: no page numbers; Anon. 1829b: no page numbers). Though Herkel apparently confined his patronage to the Habsburg lands, he supported the literary efforts not just of Slovaks, but of Serbs and Czechs, his fellow Slavs.

Herkel typically appears on such subscriber lists as a "lawyer in Pest", and he at least once used his legal expertise to defend Slavic interests. In 1828, four Lutheran peasants from Lajoskomárom parish, in Fejér county, approached Herkel for help. Nearly twenty years later, Herkel shared his recollections with Ludovít Štúr (1815–1856), who used Herkel's recollections in his own "national defence", *Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert und der Magyarismus* ['The Nineteenth Century and Magyarism'] (1845), a polemic against the Hungarian government's assimilationist policies. Štúr apparently transposed Herkel's first-person dictation into a third person narrative.³ Herkel was nearly sixty years old when he spoke

³Štúr (1845: 25) wrote, for example, that "the names of the plaintiffs were Bartosch and Wrabec, he could not recall the names of the other two".

to Štúr, but if his recollections wandered, Štúr edited them into a coherent narrative condemning Magyar injustice.

Some years ago (it was in 1828) four peasants from Lajoskomárom came with a petition from their village notary [...] They, the Lajoskomároers, after notifying church authorities, had elected a minister with the general consent of the parish and had even gathered the requisite paperwork, but instead another pastor whom they had not elected came to their parish [...] who either would not or could not speak to them. This development greatly disturbed them, some of them understood a little Magyar, but the others, and the womenfolk, only understood their mother language, they had always had church services in their mother tongue, but now they had gone a long time without any church service. For poor farmers, religion is the only comfort in this world, and now they were forced to travel to a distant locality for this consolation to have service on holy days, since the pastor who had suddenly arrived in their village either would not or could not speak to them. (Štúr 1845: 24–25; see also Kis 1890: 589–603)

When the peasants complained to the church authorities, they were thrown into prison, whipped, and told to abandon their “repulsive Slavic language”. This outrage not only became a stock grievance in Slovak national defences (Hoitsy 1833: 10; *Vierteljahrsschrift aus und für Ungarn*, Anon. 1843d: 199; Hodža 1848: 10; *Vorbis* 1861: 211, 1862: 487; Gerometta 1876: 4), but even attracted the condemnation of foreign travelers (Mackenzie & Irby 1862: 116).

Herkel told Štúr that he initially found the story hard to believe, but, once persuaded that the peasants had done nothing to provoke such treatment, agreed to help. Shared nationality and love of a shared language overcame confessional difference between the Catholic Herkel and Protestant peasants. Herkel eventually won a royal resolution granting the peasants the right to a chaplain who knew the Slavic language [*der slavischen Sprache kundig*]. Local officials in Fejér county, however, still tried to punish the peasants for disturbing the peace and disrespecting Hungary’s “national language”, adding that “nothing good comes from language confusion and the country’s happiness depended on unity of language”. County officials also tried to censure Herkel for his involvement with the case (Štúr 1845: 26–27).

Herkel thus participated in Slavic national life through a wide variety of public acts. He co-wrote a “national defence” in 1826, and in 1845 provided material for Štúr’s. He financially supported several literary initiatives, and personally wrote a short story. He used his legal expertise to help the Lajoskomárom peasants,

who presumably could not pay handsomely. Apart from these political activities, however, Herkel also participated in Slavic debates about linguistic reform. Before turning to *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae*, his most important work, let us consider the literary and linguistic context which Herkel's proposals addressed.

1.3 *Zora* as a window on Slavic literature in Herkel's Hungary

During his later middle age, Herkel took an active interest in the literary cultivation of his native Slavic. In 1834, he became a founding member of a literary society variously known to its contemporaries as the *Spolok milovníkovi reči a literatury slowenskég*, the *Cultorum Linguae et Literaturae Slavicae Unio* or the *Societas cultorum literaturae Slavicae*, but remembered in modern orthography as the *Spolok milovníkov reči a literatury slovenskej* (Úrhegyi 1984: 209). Hamuljak was the Spolok's founder and *unionis director*. The treasurer, legal professor Anton Ottmayer (1796–?), was, like Herkel and Hamuljak, a Slovak Catholic who had studied law at Buda University; he had completed his studies the year after Herkel. Another prominent member of the Spolok, Lutheran pastor Jan Kollár (1793–1852), an important community leader, noted poet, and active polemicist, was the most famous Slav living in the Hungarian capital (Kačírek 2016: 68–79). Lutheran participation again illustrates the pan-confessional quality of Herkel and Hamuljak's literary aspirations.

The Spolok's most visible product was the literary almanac *Zora* ['Dawn'], initially inspired by the example of the Hungarian-language literary almanac *Aurora*, first published by Trattner in 1822 (Kisfaludy 1822). Four volumes appeared between 1835 to 1840. *Zora* had a print run of 500, though the relatively high price (2–3 Gulden) meant that many copies went unsold (Úrhegyi 1984: 212, 226–227). Herkel's only contribution to *Zora* was *Pramény*, the possibly autobiographical description of the Orava region discussed above. Nevertheless, as an ardent Slav and Hamuljak's friend, Herkel apparently provided additional help behind the scenes. In 1835, for example, Kollár sent Herkel a brief letter praising the almanac; Kollár's letter was probably intended as a thank-you note (Ambruš 1991: 144).⁴

Zora, like many Slavic publications of its era, lacked orthographic consistency, and might be taken as representative of orthographic conditions in Hungary's

⁴Letter 104 (Kollár to Herkel) 12 August 1835", in: Ambruš (1991: 144).

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Slavic literature in the early nineteenth century. Authors of different confessions represented different literary traditions. Even within a given tradition, however, additional diversity existed. Since the diversity of literary conventions inspired Herkel's *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae*, a survey of *Zora*'s orthography provides insight into Herkel's literary activity. A detailed analysis of *Zora* provides a microcosm of the linguistic challenges that Slavic literati faced in the early nineteenth century.

Catholic contributors to *Zora*, including Herkel and the priest-poet Ján Hollý (1785–1849), generally followed the orthographic conventions set down in Anton Bernolák's 1790 Latin-language grammar, which also appeared in German translation in 1817.⁵ Bernolák (1762–1813), a Catholic priest, was born in Slanica (Szlanica), not far from Herkel's home town. Bernolák's orthography, variously called *Bernolákovčina* or *Bernoláčtina*, inspired a voluminous yet mostly confessional literature dominated by prayer guides, catechisms, and sermons (Kotvan 1957; see also Maxwell 2009: 85–88).

Lutheran contributors to *Zora*, such the physician Martin Sucháň (1792–1841) or Michal Godra (1801–1874), belonged to a different orthographic tradition ultimately derived from the Králice Bible, often called *Bibličtina*. The Králice Bible, composed in the eponymous Moravian town and published in Halle and Prague between 1579 and 1593, also enjoyed several reprintings in Bratislava around the turn of the nineteenth century (Pišna 2013: 175–193). Hungary's Lutheran Slavs published liturgical works in this tradition, but also produced a broader range of poetry and *belles lettres* than their Catholic counterparts.

Publications from the *Bernolákovčina* and *Bibličtina* traditions are easily distinguished by their orthographies. Texts from the Lutheran *Bibličtina* tradition use several letters which Bernolák rejected, most notably {ě, ř, ů}. When examining a "Slovak" text published in Herkel's time, therefore, the presence or absence of the letters {ě, ř, ů} provides some indication of the author's religion.

Other orthographic controversies visible in *Zora*, however, have no confessional significance. Sucháň and Godra were both Lutherans, and both used the letters {ě, ř, ů} (Sucháň 1835: 157–166; Godra 1835: 268–281), but where Sucháň used the letters {j, w}, Godra preferred {í, v}. Hollý and Herkel were both Catholic, both eschewed {ě, ř, ů}, and thus both belonged to the *Bernolákovčina* tradition (Hollý 1835: 5–70; Herkel 1836: 209–215), but Hollý used {w} where Herkel used {v}. Such differences reflect a generational shift. Both modern Slovak and modern Czech use {v} in places where Doležal's 1746 grammar and Bernolák's 1790

⁵See also Bernolák (1787) and his posthumously-published, multi-volume dictionary (1825–1827).

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grammar used the letter {w}, or more accurately the letter {w̥}, printed in a black-letter typeface. The shift from blackletter type to Latin type, and from {w/w̥} to {v}, no longer arouses passions in either Slovakia or Czechia. The letters {ě, ř, ů}, by contrast, remain important shibboleths: all three appear in modern standard Czech and are absent in modern standard Slovak. They have ceased to signify the confessional difference between Catholic *Bernolákovčina* and Lutheran *Bibličina*; they now signify the national difference between Slovaks and Czechs.

In terms of the shibboleths discussed above, Herkel qualifies as part of the *Bernolákovčina* tradition because he eschewed {ě, ř, ů}. He also sided with the younger generation by using {v} instead of {w}. Nevertheless, Herkel's own Slavic diverged significantly from Bernolák's rules, at least to judge by the only text he ever published in Slavic, the aforementioned short story *Pramény*. Katarína Habovštiaková (1970: 102), in a detailed linguistic analysis of *Zora* contributors, concluded that "Herkel deviated from *Bernolákovčina*", while Josef Vavro (1961: 197) characterized the story as "a sort of mixture of Herkel's native dialect, *Bernolákovčina*, and Czech". Emília Ūrhegyi (1984: 222), meanwhile, detected so many regionalisms that she argued that the story was "not in *Bernoláčtina* at all, but instead written according to the linguistic usage of his hometown (Upper Orava)".

Herkel's short story did not establish a new literary standard. Nothing justifies Fráňo Ruttkay's (1999: 65) assertion that Herkel "returned to philological problems in 1836 in the almanac *Zora* [...] in which in the article 'Premena' he attempted to create an individual Slovak written language different from Bernolák's linguistic norms". Instead, Herkel's personal idiosyncrasies suggest that the literary standards circulating in northern Hungary were only weakly established, even in the minds of ardent patriot intellectuals.

Zora's mixed orthography attracted the criticism of contemporaries. Writing in the *Časopis Českého museum*, Bohemian poet and translator Josef Chmelenský (1800–1839) scathingly reviewed the first two volumes as follows:

Is *Zora* written in Czech? – It isn't. – Slovak? – Not at all. – Polish, Croatian or maybe Russian? – not at all. – Which language [řeč] is it? – Please don't ask. We in Bohemia don't know, but it is not written in Czech or in any other Slavic language [gazyk] that we know. It is a mixture of various gentlemen who would, I suspect, like to deafen us; gentlemen who perhaps do not know what they want, who with their unnatural love harm their mother language [řeč] more than they could with their worst hatred; gentlemen, who have no native language [řeč], grammar or orthography. (Chmelenský 1836: 208; see also Mařovčik 1971: 144)

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When citing individual poems or stories, Chmelenský (1836: 211) signaled his orthographic disapproval by appending “(sic)” to non-standard spellings as often as seven times per page. While Chmelenský’s haughtiness surely reflects his individual pomposity, Slavs from northern Hungary could be forgiven if they experienced it as Czech arrogance.

Nevertheless, numerous scholars, following Chmelenský, have tried to analyze *Zora*’s orthographic and linguistic diversity through the analytical categories “Slovak” and “Czech”, without concern that these contemporary ethnonyms may mislead when applied to a text from the early nineteenth century. Such scholars routinely classify *Bernolákovčina* as a form of “Slovak”, and essentially interpret *Bibličtina* texts as “Czech”. Slovak historian Dušan Kováč (1999: 103), for example, wrote that *Zora* “published contributions in Czech and Bernolákovčina”. Mária Vyvíjalová (1970: 53) described *Zora* as a platform for “cultural collaboration between Bernolák’s supporters and supporters of Czech”. Augustín Maňovčík (1965b: 18) thought that Hamuljak accepted contributions in the Czech and Bernolákovčina orthographies”. Other scholars characterized the *Bibličtina* tradition as “Biblical Czech”, signaling its archaic quality but still associating it with the Czech ethnonym. Milan Čechvala (1970: 124), for example, wrote of *Zora* that “the Lutheran intelligentsia wrote in Biblical Czech, and a substantial part of the Catholic intelligentsia used Bernolákovčina”. Even though Ūrhegyi (1984: 224) analyzed *Zora*’s orthography in terms of “the dual literary languages, Bibličtina and Bernoláčtina”, she still glossed *Bibličtina* as “the Czech of the Králice Bible” (1984: 221).

Treating *Bibličtina* as “Czech” implies that it is not “Slovak”, which within the context of Slovak national historiography implicitly denationalizes Slavic Hungary’s influential Lutheran intelligentsia. Indeed, some modern Slovak scholarship explicitly refuses to acknowledge *Bibličtina* contributions as part of Slovak literature. Diaspora Slovak literary historian Peter Petro (1995: 67), for example, adduced *Zora* as evidence that “Catholics continued to publish in Bernolák’s Slovak [...] since they did not suffer from the ‘Czech complex’”. Stanislav Kirschbaum (2010: 49, 2014: 48), focusing on the Spolok rather than *Zora*, claimed that its function was “to support the Slovak language codified by Anton Bernolák”, and though he admitted that the Spolok published works from “those who preferred to use literary Czech”, he insisted that “supporters of the latter left the association in 1835”. The 1840 volume of *Zora*, however, includes several works from the *Bibličtina* tradition, complete with {ě, ř, ů}, not only from Kollár but also from the comparatively obscure Lutheran poet Ludovít Źelo (1809–1873) (Kollár 1840: 7–10, 275–80; Źelo 1840: 23–24). Mária Zsilák (2017: 388), finally, wrote that

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Zora demonstrated “the flowering of Bernolákovčina literature”, evidently ignoring the *Bibličtina* contributions entirely.

Why scholars would seek to excise *Bibličtina* literary works from the Slovak literary heritage is unclear. Perhaps some ardently Catholic scholars hope to depict their religious traditions as more authentically national than those of their Lutheran rivals? If so, it may be worth remembering that Slavic Lutherans in Hungary had been cultivating, codifying and debating Slavic grammatical and literary conventions since the Reformation (Masnicius 1696; Doležal 1746; Palkovič 1820–1821). The *Bibličtina* tradition could also claim Kollár's poetry, including the literary sensation *Sláwy dcera* [‘The daughter of Sláva’], an epic poem first published in 1824, and later expanded in 1832. In Herkel's day, *Bibličtina* could boast a much longer and more impressive literary tradition in Slavic Hungary than the relatively upstart and predominantly confessional literature written in *Bernolákovčina*.

Though orthographic shibboleths {ě, ř, ů} easily sort individual Zora contributors into the *Bernolákovčina* or *Bibličtina* traditions, a more nuanced analysis problematizes a binary dichotomy. Ūrhegyi (1984: 222) found that some contributions to Zora “are not in any literary language, but in the dialect of upper Orava county”, specifically characterizing various dialectical elements in Herkel's contribution as “very strange” (1984: 222). By denigrating non-standard texts as dialectical and “strange”, Ūrhegyi, following Chmelenský, reveals a somewhat unrealistic expectation that Slovak literati should have mastered the fine conventions of a literary codification without the benefit of extensive schooling in its peculiarities.

In practice, however, few texts from the early nineteenth century, whether from the *Bibličtina* or *Bernolákovčina* traditions, conformed to any literary standard, much less to literary Slovak or literary Czech as subsequently codified. As evidence that the orthographic differences between the *Bibličtina* and *Bernolákovčina* traditions do not correspond to the standard national codifications of subsequent centuries, consider a pair of proverbs. The top two rows of Table 1.1 show how they appeared in Pavel Doležal's 1746 *Bibličtina* grammar and in Bernolák's 1790 grammar. The bottom two rows show the same proverb in twentieth-century standard Czech and Slovak orthographies.⁶

⁶Documenting the second proverb in “modern Czech” poses difficulties; most twentieth-century versions read *kdo mlčí, souhlasí*. The version here comes from an 1867 translation of a Polish short story. The other “modern” versions are from the twentieth century. Doležal (1746: 286 (*włas*), 279 (*mlčj*)); Bernolák (1790: 311 (*Wlaf*), 297 (*mlčj*)); Hanusem (1867: 167 (*vlas*)); Flajšhans (1911b: 770 (*vlas*), 1911a: 967 (*mlčj*)); Melicherčik & Pauliny (1953: 258 (*vlas*), 90 (*mlčj*)).

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Table 1.1: Two proverbs as they appear in different orthographic conventions.

	“Each hair bristles differently”	“Who stays silent, consents”
Doležal (1746)	Kajdy vlas ruzno se geži.	Kdo mlčj, ten se priznává.
Bernolák (1790)	Každi Blaj ruzno sa geži.	Kdo mlči, ten sa priznává.
Modern Czech	každý vlas různě se ježí	kdo mlčí, ten se přiznává
Modern Slovak	Každý vlas rôzno sa ježí.	Kto mlčí, ten sa priznáva

All four orthographies differ, but readers can also see for themselves that all four versions also resemble each other closely. The differences between the eighteenth-century versions, furthermore, do not always foreshadow those of the subsequent Slovak/Czech binary. Doležal's usage indeed resembles modern Czech and differs from Bernolák and modern Slovak by using the letters {ř, ů} and the reflexive *se* instead of *sa* (or *sa*). However, Doležal also resembles Bernolák in using blackletter type and {g, w} in place of modern {j, v}. Modern Slovak, furthermore, has some unique features not present in Bernolák: the letter {ô}, the short vowel at the end of the word *priznáva*, and the unvoiced medial consonant in the word *kto*. The blackletter typeface, furthermore, makes the eighteenth-century versions resemble each other. If we classify Doležal's *Grammatica Slavico-Bohemica* as “Czech” and Bernolák's *Gramatica Slavica* as “Slovak”, then the differences between “Slovak” and “Czech” seem less striking than the differences within the “Slovak” versions and within the “Czech” versions.

Nevertheless, modern scholars find it hard to escape the analytical categories “Slovak” and “Czech”, even when they transcend the *Bernolákovčina/Bibličtina* dichotomy and accept works in the *Bibličtina* tradition as part of “Slovak” literature. Konstantin Lifanov, for example, judged both *Bernolákovčina* and *Bibličtina* contributions to *Zora* as fundamentally similar, and thus as fundamentally Slovak:

[T]hanks to the penetration of Pan-Slovak elements into texts written “in Czech”, the strengthening of the Central Slovak elements in *Bernolákovčina*, and the penetration of Central Slovak elements into both “Czech” and *Bernolákovčina*, these texts acquire many common features. (Lifanov 2010: 41)

Habovštiaková (1970: 95), by contrast, emphasized overall diversity. She depicted each Catholic contributor as using his own individual “variant of *Bernolákovčina*”, and while she characterized several *Bibličtina* contributions as “Czecho-

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slavic" (1970: 105), she described Kollár's contributions both as "Old Slovak" and as coming "from the tradition of Czech orthography" (1970: 103). Whether the linguistic features of *Zora* contributors are fundamentally similar or fundamentally different, of course, is a matter of opinion: Lifanov chose to emphasize similarity, and Habovštiaková chose to emphasize difference. Yet while both Lifanov and Habovštiaková accepted that *Zora's* orthographic diversity transcends a neat Slovak/Czech binary, they both nevertheless invoked that binary by describing *Bibličtina* as "Czech".

In practice, orthographic differences in the 1830s did not correspond to subsequent national categories. To classify early nineteenth-century texts in terms of those categories is therefore anachronistic. Habovštiaková's label "Czechoslavic" probably sheds more light into *Zora* contributors than the labels "Slovak" or "Czech", precisely because the latter categories have subsequently become so important. Scholars could, perhaps, even better avoid anachronism with a description like "North Hungarian Slavic".

The orthographic diversity of *Zora* not only problematizes the analytical dichotomy between "Slovak" and "Czech", it also calls into question the utility of the category "Slovak". The category "Slovak" is deeply entrenched in modern scholarly thinking, since for more than a century social, economic, legal and cultural institutions have posited "Slovak" as a distinct ethno-linguistic category. Twenty-first century observers may struggle to dispense with the notion of "Slovak" when considering that region on the Slavic dialect continuum which now corresponds to the Slovak Republic, and which in Herkel's lifetime formed the northern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary. The importance and success of Slovak institutions, however, underscores the transformative differences between Herkel's day and the twenty-first century. An overview of such transformations may prove instructive.

The category "Slovak" was not always so well-established. In 1907, Austrian Social Democrat Otto Bauer described the Slovaks as a "nation without history" (Bauer 1907: 188). The phrase alluded to the lack of independent statehood, implying that Slovaks had no distinct political history, at least, not since the short-lived medieval Kingdom of Great Moravia, which had collapsed more than a thousand years previously.⁷ Since 1907, however, Slovakia has not only acquired a political history, but a history that has undergone several phases. After 1918, the government of interwar Czechoslovakia established Slovakia as a distinct administrative unit, a step which may be more important than statehood in establishing

⁷The final collapse of Great Moravia cannot be dated precisely, but probably occurred between 903 and 904. See Spinei (2003: 69); Kouřil (2019: 69).

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distinct “languagehood” (Maxwell 2015: 40). The years between 1939 and 1945 witnessed a new Slovak state, characterized by historian Marián Mark Stolarik (2010: xxiii) as “a semi-independent Slovak republic, backed by Germany”, and somewhat less charitably by Stefan Auer (2004: 131) as “a Nazi puppet state”. Communist Czechoslovakia declared itself a federal state in 1969, granting further weight to Slovakia as an administrative unit (Kirschbaum 1977: 444–467). In 1992, when federal Czechoslovakia dissolved, a renewed Slovak republic not only gained political independence, but became, in the memorable phrase of Rogers Brubaker (1995: 107–132, 1996: 411–437, 2011: 1785–1814), a “nationalizing state”.

Many of these “Slovak” administrative structures have bestowed an official status to a unique literary standard, usually characterized as “the Slovak language”, which uses several distinctive letters that do not occur in literary Czech, namely {ä, ĺ, Í, ô, ř}. The First Czechoslovak Republic admittedly postulated a single “Czechoslovak language” encompassing both a “Czech version [české znění]” and a somewhat disadvantaged “Slovak version [slovenské znění]” (Horáček 1928: 20–22). Interwar Czechoslovakia nevertheless introduced the visually distinct “Slovak version” into government administration, courts, and schools. In 1938, the First Slovak Republic elevated this literary standard from a “version” of Czechoslovak to “the exclusive state language in the Slovak Republic [vylučným statným jazykom v slovenskej republiky]” (Jánošík 1938–1939: 209–210). The 1968 Czechoslovak constitution further declared that the “the Czech language and the Slovak language enjoy” equality under the law (*Ústavní zákon ze dne 27. října 1968*, 1968: §6(1), 382). Under the 1992 Slovak constitution, literary Slovak enjoys the status of “state language [štátnym jazykom]” (*Ústava Slovenskej republiky*, 1992: §6(1)).

The governments that bestowed official status on a distinctively “Slovak” literary standard have also created institutions to codify and promote it. A scholarly journal devoted to the cultivation of the Slovak language, *Slovenská reč*, began publishing in 1932. The Linguistic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, founded on 1 April 1943, has lent the journal its prestige since September 1950, when it took over the journal’s publication.⁸ Since 1953, the Slovak Academy of Sciences also boasts an institute for the study of Slovak literature; its journal, *Slovenská literatúra*, first appeared in 1954 (*Slovenská literatúra*, Anon. 1954: 3–4).

Elite institutions devoted to standardized Slovak have helped establish a mass education system that trains children to read and write according to its conventions. Indeed, institutional efforts to separate literary Slovak from literary Czech

⁸On the shift in ownership, cf. *Slovenská reč*, Anon. (1949–1950: 192); *Slovenská reč*, Anon. (1950–1951: 32).

began under the Habsburgs: Hattala's comparative grammar of Slovak and Czech was used a school textbook as early as 1857, though not in very many schools (Lindner 1873: 507). In the second half of the nineteenth century, leading Slovak literary figures had to take great pains to write in conformity to the newly codified standard: Svetozár Miloslav Hurban, who wrote under the pen-name Svetozár Hurban-Vajanský, meticulously corrected his own poetry from draft to draft; one interwar Slovak educator characterized Hurban-Vajanský's small refinements as "correcting the dialectical".⁹ By the end of the Czechoslovak era, however, all Slovak children underwent nine years of compulsory education using a Slovak standard, codified in textbooks, as the medium of instruction (von Kopp 1992: 104, 106).¹⁰ The Slovak literary standard itself also became a compulsory subject in schools (Pokrivčáková 2013: 32). In 2013, to give a sample year, the Slovak educational system boasted 2,716 state schools, supplemented by 154 private or church schools, educating around 153,000 pupils annually (Santiago et al. 2016: 46). Such institutions have created mass literacy in a unique literary standard associated with the glottonym "Slovak".

State institutions have also sponsored and promoted the concept of a distinct "Slovak language" outside of the school system. The independent Slovak republic employs state power to promote its preferred literary standard. Act 270/1995 "on the State Language of the Slovak Republic", for instance, declared "the Slovak language" to be "the most important attribute of the Slovak nation's specificity and the most precious value of its cultural heritage, as well as an expression of sovereignty of the Slovak Republic (see the preamble to *Zákon č. 270/1995 Z. z. 1995: 1999–2002*)".¹¹ The law initially required Czech films shown in Slovakia to have Slovak subtitles, though protests from film distributors and public ridicule forced the Slovak government to back down (Fisher 2006: 109). At the time of writing, however, legislation still insists that "an audiovisual work in another language intended for minors below the age of 12 that is transmitted by broadcasting must be dubbed into the state language" (*Zákon č. 270/1995 Z. z. 1995: §5(2)*). Slovak and Czech appear as separate languages on the labels of consumer products, such as cereal boxes, vitamin tablets, shampoo bottles, and so forth (Nábělková 1999: 83, 2008: 32).

⁹Sample changes: *Dvatsať päť* > *Dvadsaťpäť* ['twenty-five'], *Chéf* > *Šéf* ['boss'], *prísnokárný* > *prísnokárný* ['strict, stern'], *ubieram* > *uberám* ['I harvest'], *hľadievam* > *hľadievam* ['I'm looking'], *módnych* > *módnych* ['fashionable']. See Krušínský (1928: 20).

¹⁰Figures as of 1984.

¹¹Also available from *Zbierka zákonov: Zákon č. 270/1995 Z. z. (1995: 1999–2002)*, *Zákon č. 184/1999 Z. z. (1999: 1418–1419)*, *Zákon č. 318/2009 Z. z. (2009: 2362–2367)*, *Zákon č. 35/2011 Z. z. (2011: 388–389)*.

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Institutional support has influenced popular attitudes. Czech books are regularly translated into Slovak (Nábělková 2003: 95). At least two separate services offer machine translation from Czech to Slovak (Kuboň & Vičič 2014: 92–93). Twenty-first century Slovaks admittedly vary in how strongly they experience their linguistic distinctiveness in relationship to Czech. Slovak sociolinguist Mira Nábělková (2003: 90) posits Slovak-Czech “interlinguality [*medzijazykovost*]”, since a “wide range of contact with Czech (watching TV and movies, reading books and magazines) still remains in the Slovak environment after 1993” (Nábělková 2014: 66). Nevertheless, a sociolinguistic survey as far back as 1971 found that 71% of Slovaks viewed Slovak and Czech as separate languages, and only 23% as “two different literary forms of the same language” (Salzmann 1971: 24). Decades of Slovak statehood can only have heightened the sense of Slovak linguistic distinctiveness.

Outside Slovakia, furthermore, a scholarly consensus recognizes a distinct “Slovak language” alongside other Slavic languages. A comparison of encyclopedia entries, for example, shows that “since the Second World War [...] the Slovak category has enjoyed a nearly universal support” (Maxwell 2015: 37). Heinz Kloss influenced many sociolinguists with his concept of an *Ausbausprache*, or “language by development”. When Kloss (1967: 32, cf. 1976: 311) first introduced these terms to Anglophone scholarship, he chose the specific example of Slovak in relation to Czech to illustrate the concept.¹² The “Slovak language” was the original *Ausbausprache*.

In Herkel's day, however, none of these developments had yet taken place. While the language of state administration had become an object of heated political contestation in Herkel's Hungary, the primary options were Latin and Hungarian. The vast majority of Slovak children did not attend schools; those few that did studied Latin, German or Hungarian. Only a handful of people studied any Slavic literary standard, and those that did were confessionally divided between the *Bernolákovčina* and *Bibličtina* traditions.

During Herkel's lifetime, finally, most Slavs in northern Hungary were wholly illiterate. Samuel Czambel's orthographic handbook, which guided educators in the First Czechoslovak Republic, may have first been printed in 1890, but the number of Slovaks who mastered its conventions in 1918 was demographically insignificant (Maxwell 2009: 150). While Habsburg census returns suggest that the Slovak literacy rate had reached 50.1% in 1900 (Kuzmin 1981: 146, 166), Habsburg census-takers asked respondents only whether they could sign their name,

¹²A subsequent English article using the same graphic gave Czech/Slovak, Danish/Swedish, and Bulgarian/Macedonian as three equivalent examples; see Kloss (1993: 160).

not whether they mastered the finer orthographic distinctions of a particular literary standard. When Czechoslovakia was founded, only a handful of intellectuals could have confidently judged between *ten se přiznává*, *ten sa priznává*, *ten se přiznává*, and *ten sa priznáva*. The establishment of Slovak as a distinct language, in short, did not occur until decades after Herkel's death.

Conscious effort, then, is required for twenty-first century readers to imagine the linguistic situation in Slavic northern Hungary in the early nineteenth century. Illiterate peasants would presumably have distinguished the spoken variety of their particular village from local varieties spoken in distant locale. But how would illiterate "Slovak" peasants have understood the linguistic differences at the Hungarian-Moravian frontier? To have understood that difference as a discontinuity between "Slovak" and "Czech", those peasants would have had to believe that a certain region within the Slavic dialect continuum had a special status as "Slovak" within the Slavic world, and to judge the internal diversity of that "Slovak" region as less significant than the diversity between adjacent parts of the Slavic dialect continuum across the frontier with Moravia. Such an understanding seems unlikely.

Indeed, strong evidence suggests that in Herkel's day even educated Slovaks had not yet developed the concept of a "Slovak language". The leading savants of Slavic north Hungary, even those active in the codification of a unique literary standard for the use of north Hungarian Slavs, instead imagined a "Slavic language". They believed that Slavs in northern Hungary spoke one and the same language as the inhabitants of Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Carinthia, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria and so forth. Nineteenth-century Slavic savants acknowledged differences between the Slavic spoken in St. Petersburg and the Slavic spoken in Prague, just as twenty-first century Slovaks acknowledge differences between what is spoken in Prešov and what is spoken in Trnava. Nevertheless, they imagined such differences as merely "dialectal".

1.4 The idea of the Slavic language

Evidence that Hungarian Slavs imagined a single Slavic language is abundant, yet sometimes ambiguous. We have noted above the difficulty of interpreting Herkel's use of the word *Tót*. Similar problems arise when reading Slavic texts. Taking the contemporary Slovak terms as a reference point, the adjective *slovanský* ['Slavic'] and the adjective *slovenský* ['Slovak'] both derive from the same proto-Slavic root, which Max Vasmer (1958: 664–665) has reconstructed as **slověninъ*. The distinction between *slovanský* and *slovenský*, while firmly established by the First World War, was not yet fully developed in Herkel's day.

1.4 The idea of the Slavic language

That Hungarian Slavs used descendants of **slověninъ* to mean both ‘Slavic’ and ‘Slovak’ is easily documented, since geographic clues sometimes remove any doubt as to the intended meaning. In an 1842 poem by Bohuslav Nosák (1818–1877), for example, the (nominative feminine singular) adjective *slowenská* clearly means ‘Slavic’:

<i>I skály Kaukasa</i>	And the stones of the Caucasus
<i>Slawii se kořj</i>	Burn with glory;
<i>Šjře slowenská řeč</i>	The broad <i>slowenská</i> speech
<i>Gak dennice zořj</i>	Shines like the morning star.

(Nosák 1842: 164)

By contrast, Lutheran theologian and patriotic writer Karol Kuzmány (1806–1866) probably used the (nominative masculine singular) adjective *slowenský* to mean ‘Slovak’.

<i>Po horách, po dolách,</i>	In hills and in valleys,
<i>Letj zpěw slowenský:</i>	Soars the <i>slowenský</i> song,
<i>Nože len užime</i>	Let us then enjoy
<i>Ten věk náš mládenský!</i>	The age of our youth!

(Kuzmány 1835: 167)

Kuzmány’s subsequent stanzas refer to the Tatra mountains, the Turiec (Turóc) and Liptov (Liptó) regions, and the towns of Trenčín and Zvolen; his imagined geography thus evokes a specifically Slovak ethnoterritory. That said, Nosák’s stanza more persuasively documents Pan-Slavism than Kuzmány’s poem demonstrates Slovak particularism: Kuzmány might theoretically have extolled the Tatras as a part of Slavdom, Zvolen as a Slavic town, and so forth.

In several important works by “Slovak” savants, geographic clues explicitly specify a Pan-Slavic ethnoterritory. Verse 257 in the expanded 1832 edition of Kollár’s famous poem *Sláwy dcera*, for example, posits the following national homeland:

<i>Od Athose k Trigle, k Pomořanům,</i>	From Athos to Triglav, and Pomerania,
<i>od Psjho k poli Kosowu,</i>	from Pskov to Kosovo field,
<i>ode Carigradu k Petrowu,</i>	from Constantinople to St. Petersburg,
<i>od Ladoğy dole k Astrachanům;</i>	from Lagoda down to the Astrachanese;

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od Kozáků ku Dubrowničanům,
od Blatona k Baltu, Ozowu,
ode Prahy k Moskwě, Kyowu,
od Kamčatky až tam ku Japanům,

from the Cossacks to the Dubrovnikers,
from Balaton to the Baltic, to Azov,
from Prague to Moscow, Kiev
From Kamchatka there to the Japanese.
(Kollár 1832a: verse 257 (no page numbers))

This territory, which Kollár described as “All-Slavia [*Wšeslávía*]”, exceeds the wildest daydreams of Slovak irredentism.¹³ Clearly, Kollár imagined a Pan-Slavic ethnoterritory, not a Slovak ethnoterritory.

Formal linguistic works from Herkel's era prove equally explicit in their Slavism, even if subsequent scholars tend to categorize them in terms of subsequent linguistic categories. Since Doležal's 1746 grammar “used many Slovak words and forms”, for example, Eugen Jóna (1978: 265) suggested that “Doležal's book can be understood as the first Slovak grammar”. Some Slovak diaspora scholars are even more strident: Josef Kirschbaum (1975: 101) described Matej Bel's preface to Doležal's grammar as an “introduction on the beauty of the Slovak language”, while Josef Mikuš (1973: 22) claimed Bel had “exalted the Slovak language”. Bel (1746: ix (no page numbers)) himself, however, posited an unambiguously Pan-Slavic geography, claiming that the *lingua Slauica* was spoken in “Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Bohemia, Silesia, Lusatia, Poland, Lithuania, Prussia, Scandinavia and Russia”.

In the 1790 *Grammatica Slavica*, Bernolák posited an imagined geography identical to Doležal's. According to Bernolák (1790: v), the language he described was “used by the inhabitants of Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Bohemia, Silesia, Lusatia, Poland, Lithuania, Prussia, and Scandinavia, and widely spread in Russia”, and “differing only in dialects”.¹⁴ Bernolák (1790: 3, 7, 36, 248, 269) described his native north-Hungarian variety as “Pannonian-Slavic [*Pannonico-Slavica*]”, spoken by “Pannonian Slavs [*Pannonios Slavos*]”, who supposedly spoke the “most magnificent” and “genuinely Slavic idiom” (1790: iv). Bernolák's translator Andrej Bresťansky articulated an equally explicit Slavism with different geographic clues: Bernolák's grammar, according to Bresťansky, described the language spoken in “Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Moldova, Wallachia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and the great Russian Empire”, then adding that the language also used in “Asiatic Turkey, through Anatolia to Armenia and Persia” (Bernolák 1817: i-ii (no page

¹³On extremist Slovak claims to territory currently governed by Austria, Poland or Czechia, see Mareš (2009: 88, 92).

¹⁴On the phrase “to differ only in dialects”, see Van Hal & Van Rooy (2017: 95–109).

numbers)). Such geographic clues have, however, not prevented scholars from repeatedly proclaiming Bernolák “the first codifier of the Slovak language” (Šebík 1940: 61; Kirschbaum 1964). Richard Auty (1958: 401) even wrote that Bernolák’s “Slovak grammar [...] was firmly based on the concept of a separate Slovak nation”. Bernolák’s imagined geography, however, suggests otherwise.

Perhaps the most unambiguous evidence of a Pan-Slavic linguistic concept comes from the work of Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795–1861), an influential linguist, ethnologist and antiquarian who was born near Rožňava and eventually settled in Prague. (Šafařík’s surname, which modern Slovak scholarship gives as *Šafárik*, again illustrates the orthographic uncertainty of the early nineteenth century: he published, as Robert Pynsent (1994: 215) observed, under the “semi-Hungarian name *Safáry*, German *Schaffarik* and Czech *Šaffářík*”). In an 1842 ethnographic study, Šafařík proposed a seven-layer hierarchy of linguistic classification: human speech, described with the word *howor*, was divided into various languages, denoted with the word *jazyk*, the standard Slavic word for “language”. According to Šafařík (1842: 3), a *jazyk* could be subdivided into *mluvy*, a *mluva* into *řeči*, a *řeč* into *nářečí*, the (singular) *nářečí* into (plural) *podřečí*, and a *podřečí* into various *různořečí*. Šafařík (1842: 5–6) provided no criteria for assigning a particular variety to any particular rung of the taxonomy, but classified *uherskoslowenské* [‘Hungarian Slovak’] as one of two *nářečí* of the Czech *řeč*, part of the western *mluva* of the Slavic *jazyk*. For Šafařík, therefore, Slovak did not have the status of a *jazyk* [‘language’]: it was a *nářeč*, a subcategory of a subcategory of a subcategory of a *jazyk* (Maxwell 2023: 738–739).

Štúr, though remembered as the “codifier of written Slovak” (Jóna 1956: 197–213; Žigo 2005: 265–275; Ďurovič 2007: 21–34), also propounded a Pan-Slavic linguistic concept, rather than believe in a particularist “Slovak language”. In 1846, after consulting with both Catholic and Lutheran savants, Štúr published a new grammar, *Nauka reči slovenskej* [‘Handbook of Slovak Speech’] (Štúr 1846b), and an important pamphlet justifying the new codification: *Nářečja slovenskuo alebo potreba písanĳe v tomto nářečí* [‘The Slovak Dialect, or the Need to Write in this Dialect’, hereafter *Nářečja slovenskuo*] (Štúr 1846a: 51). As these titles suggest, Štúr variously imagined Slovak not as a *jazyk*, but as a *řeč* or a *nářečja*. Indeed, he invoked several of Šafařík’s other terminological categories when justifying his new codification: Štúr’s grammar (1846b: vii) declared that Slovaks have their “own *nářečja*, which is not just a *rozličnorečja* of Czech”. Though Ján Doruľa (2011: 3) wrote that Štúr had “scientifically formulized the essential relationship between Slovak and Czech as two similar, yet distinct Slavic languages”, and treated as factual “Štúr’s scientific finding that Slovak is a separate Slavic

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language” (2011: 5), Štúr actually subsumed Slovak within a greater Slavic language. Indeed, insofar as he accepted Šafařík’s terminology, Štúr variously saw the Slovak *reč* as a subcategory of a subcategory of the Slavic language, or the Slovak *nárečja* as a subcategory of a subcategory of a subcategory of the Slavic language (Maxwell 2023: 739–740).

If subsequent scholars have struggled to realize that grammarians such as Doležal, Bernolák, and Štúr imagined a Slavic language of which Slovak was merely a “dialect” (or other more subordinate subcategory), the blame may lie partly with twentieth-century theories about how to distinguish “languages” from “dialects”. Several scholars assume some sort of developmental process transforms “dialects” into “languages”, or alternatively into “standard languages” (Lodge 1993; Nielsen 2005; van Marle 2014: 13–34). Einar Haugen (1966: 933), for example, treated “codification” as one of the “crucial features in taking the step from ‘dialect’ to ‘language’, from vernacular to standard”. Haugen specifically proposed a four-stage developmental model, though other models have been suggested (Ferguson 1968: 28–33; Hroch 1994; 2007: 67–96). Linguists accustomed to thinking about codification as the defining criterion for successfully claiming the prestigious status of “language” may be surprised or confused by codifiers who contentedly assign the status of “dialect” to the object of their codification efforts. Nevertheless, Slavic grammarians, philologists, dictionary-compilers, poets and savants repeatedly proclaimed the existence of a “Slavic language” with multiple written codifications.

The grammatical traditions of Slavic northern Hungary generally challenge contemporary linguists’ assumptions about the nature of language standardization. One recent study by René Appel and Pieter Muysken described the process of “language codification” as follows:

The central problem in codification, of course, is homogeneity. For example, codification of the grammar of a language is not simply writing down the grammatical rules of language, but generally means that one of two or more rules from different dialects will have to be chosen as the “standard” one. (Appel & Muysken 1987: 51–52)

By contrast, Doležal, Bernolák, and Štúr believed that a single “language” could encompass multiple literary traditions, even multiple grammatical standardizations. Hungarian Slavs understood that Slavs from other regions were proud of their particularities: they imagined Russian as part of a common Slavic language, for example, but did not expect Russians to abandon Cyrillic. They described

their preferred declensions or conjugations while acknowledging and respecting alternatives from other corners of the Slavic world. Even within the confines of Slavic north Hungary, Slavic grammarians showed a remarkable tolerance for heterogeneity. Bernolák, for example, was presumably thinking of the Protestant *Bibličtina* tradition when he wrote in 1787 that he “leaves fully to his own will he who wishes to write in the Czech fashion” (Bernolák 1787: 22–23).

As linguistic nationalism gained momentum in the early nineteenth century, however, Slavic savants who celebrated grammatical and lexical heterogeneity increasingly found orthographic diversity problematic. Grammarians and philologists took for granted the essential unity of the Slavic world; their linguistic patriotism also led them to celebrate local grammatical variations, regional vocabulary, and the like. The diversity of spelling, by contrast, troubled them.

The patriotic fantasies of Slavic savants focused above all on orthographic unity. On 6 December 1789, for example, the respected philologist Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), based in Prague, complained about Dalmatian orthography in a letter to Juraj Ribay, a (1754–1812), a Hungarian savant writing in the *Bibličtina* tradition. Dobrovský specifically lamented that Dalmatian priest and diplomat Aleksandar Komulović had written *charf* where Dobrovský would have preferred *krew* or *karw* [‘blood’]. Slavic literary progress, Dobrovský thought, would be easier “if only all the Slavs had our own, truly good orthography” (Patera 1913: 150; cf. Agnew 1993: 217). Observe that Dobrovský’s desire for a common orthography extended not merely from Prague to northern Hungary, the territory of the future Czechoslovakia; it also extended south to the Adriatic coast.

Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844), a Carniolan-born savant working in Vienna, first as librarian at the Imperial Court Library and later as the imperial censor for Slavic and Greek books, similarly advocated a uniform Slavic orthography in his 1808 “Grammar of the Slavic language in Carniola, Carinthia and Styria”. Kopitar unfavorably compared Slavic orthographic diversity to the relative homogeneity in other European languages:

The Germans all have one and the same writing system, and so too the French, the English, the Italians, but the Slavs have one in Carniola, another in Dalmatia, a third in Croatia, in Bohemia a fourth, in Poland a fifth, and in Lusatia a sixth; what’s more in Dalmatia alone Dellabella for example writes in one way, Voltiggi another, and still others in still other ways!! (Kopitar 1808: xxv–xxvi)

After a brief historical overview of Slavic alphabets, he lamented that “words become unrecognizable, words that are not only the same but even words that

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are pronounced the same" (Kopitar 1808: xxvi). The word for 'six', to give one of Kopitar's examples, was variously spelled *uecmь*, *fesft*, *fcest*, *shest*, *šeft*, *szećś*, *ŕchęŕ*. The pronunciation varied slightly, but the orthography magnified small differences, concealing a fundamental similarity.

In his grammar, therefore, Kopitar (1808: xxi) urged Slavs to follow the example of Ancient Greeks: "all of their tribes wrote in their own dialect, as with us, but all tribes used one and the same alphabet, one and the same orthography!" Kopitar used the Greek example to express a striking tolerance for lexical diversity: "Just give us a uniform alphabet! Where the Athenian wrote θεος [sic], because that's how he spoke, the Spartan wrote σιος [sic] because that's how he spoke. If one would just simplify the writing, it is in general a necessary tool, so everybody should be able to use it easily!" (Jagić 1895: 136–137).¹⁵ Elsewhere, Kopitar invoked Slavic history: in his 1810 "Patriotic fantasies of a Slav", Kopitar recalled that "in the 9th century Cyrill's dialect was well on the way to become the common written language [*Schriftsprache*] of all Slavs". He implicitly urged his readers to follow that example: "write like the Greeks, all with one alphabet, and not according to a dozen contradictory writing systems" (Kopitar 1810: 92).

In a lengthy correspondence, Kopitar and Dobrovský pondered orthographic reform at length. Kopitar sent Dobrovský at least seven different alphabets,¹⁶ frequently making orthographic suggestions of his own (Jagić 1895: 160–161, 163; 278; 291).¹⁷ In an 1812 letter, Kopitar longed for "the unification of all Slavs with one alphabet, and then the beautifully eternal consequence that every peasant who has learned his ABCs would be able to write orthographically" (1895: 251–252).¹⁸ In another letter proclaiming "his love for the beautiful Slavic language" (1895: 29).¹⁹ Kopitar momentarily conceded that the division between the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets was unbridgeable, yet still wished "that the half of the

^{15a}Letter no. 13 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 20 April 1810", in: Jagić (1895: 136–137).

^{16a}Letter no. 1 (Kopitar to Dobrovský), 30 March 1808", in: Jagić (1895: 6–7 (*Alphabetum Venedicum*)); "Letter no. 8 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 1/5 February 1810", in: (1895: 103–104 (*Alphabetum Tzervianum*), 105 (*Alphabetum Hieronymianum*), 106 (*Alphabetum Latinoslavum*)); "Letter no. 11 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 26 March 1810", in: (1895: 130 (Valentin Vodnik's alphabet)); "Letter no. 33 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 27 October 1811", in: (1895: 220 (*versionem Agendorum Wirtembergicorum*)); "Letter no. 61 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 22 April 1813", in: (1895: 332–333 (*Carn. Croat. Dalm. Novum*)).

^{17a}Letter no. 16 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 8 August 1810", in: Jagić (1895: 160–161, 163)); "Letter no. 45 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 2 August 1812", in: (1895: 278); "Letter no. 48 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 19 October 1812", in: (1895: 291).

^{18a}Letter no. 39 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 28 March 1812", in: Jagić (1895: 251–252).

^{19a}Letter no. 5 (Kopitar to Dobrovský), 6 February 1809", in: Jagić (1895: 29 (*Liebe*)).

Slavs writing in Latin had the same alphabet!" (1895: 33, 41–42).²⁰ Awareness of how strongly individual Slavs clung to their orthographic peculiarities, Kopitar (1810: 92) even longed for a “wise despotism” that would impose one particular standard, any standard, and thus “compel fools to be wise”.

At times, Kopitar seems to have cast the influential and respected Dobrovský in the role of wise despot. In May 1810, he urged Dobrovský to write “a Slavic Lord’s Prayer in all dialects, but in only one orthography” (Jagić 1895: 148).²¹ That same October, he begged the Bohemian savant: “make us an uniform orthography, with a simple alphabet, so that we can read each other, and also that the foreigner does not recoil in horror before Polish and Croatian consonant clusters!” (1895: 179).²² Dobrovský, however, refused to don the mantle of orthographic despotism. In a 6 March 1810 letter to Kopitar, he recalled an unpleasant interaction with South-Slav grammarians Marijan Lanosović (1742–1812) and Joakim Stulić (1730–1817):

In Vienna, Lanosovich and Stulli once came to me and wanted to make me the deciding judge over their orthographic differences. May God protect me from having to make such decisions. Stulli flew into a rage at the slightest contradiction, and I was happy when the two of them left my room. (Jagić 1895: 108)²³

While Dobrovský eventually made some orthographic suggestions, he characterized them as *rude et impolitum* (1895: 230).²⁴ In the end, Dobrovský never shared Kopitar’s optimism that Slavic orthographic differences could be overcome: “we are not even agreed on the ABC” (1895: 172).²⁵ Other Slavic scholars, however, dared where Dobrovský demurred.

Šafařík’s 1826 *History of the Slavic Language and Literature in all its Dialects*, published the same year as Herkel’s *Elementa*, took particular pains when describing Slavic orthographic disunity. Šafařík began by attributing the division between Latin and Cyrillic letters to confessional differences. Within that part of the Slavic world that had adopted the Latin alphabet, however,

²⁰Letter no. 5 (Kopitar to Dobrovský), 6 February 1809”, in: Jagić (1895: 33 (*Kroatische Dialekt*), 41 (*Krainische Dialekt*), 42 (*Alphabet*)).

²¹Letter no. 14 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 15/17 May 1810”, in: Jagić (1895: 148).

²²Letter no. 23 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 20 October 1810”, in: Jagić (1895: 179).

²³Letter no. 9 (Dobrovský to Kopitar) 9 March 1810”, in: Jagić (1895: 108).

²⁴Letter no. 34 (Dobrovský to Kopitar) 20 November 1811”, in: Jagić (1895: 230).

²⁵Letter no. 19 (Dobrovský to Kopitar), 20 October 1810”, in: Jagić (1895: 172).

1 *The inspiration for and reception of Jan Herkel's Pan-Slavism*

this adoption took place among tribes [...] who were politically divided, and not in reciprocal exchange with each other, and thus with diverse or even contradictory combinations of Latin letters (e.g. Polish *cz* instead of *ч*, Croatian *c* instead of *ц*, Polish *sz* instead of *ш*), which means that these tribes cannot read each other's books. (Šafařík 1826: 64–65)

Since “the Latin alphabet has fewer symbols than the Slavic language needs”, furthermore, Slavs had to “amalgamate several letters to depict a third sound, completely different from the sounds of the individual letters”. He consoled himself somewhat with the thought that “the orthography of the Italians, Germans, French and English, etc.” shared some similar difficulties. Nevertheless, echoing a similar passage from Kopitar, cited above, Šafařík lamented that

all these, despite the clumsiness and awkwardness of combination at least have one and the same writing system; while the Slavs, as previously noted, have in Carinthia one writing system, in Dalmatia another, in Croatia a third, in Bohemia a fourth, in Poland a fifth, and in Lusatia a sixth. And on top of that: even in Dalmatia e.g. Dellabella writes one way, Voltiggi another, and others differently again; in Windic we find the same by Bohorizh and P. Parcus; even the Slavonians needlessly mix Croatian letters into their normally Dalmatian orthography in their catechisms and other school books; the Sorbian Wends in Upper and Lower Lusatia diverge from each other in various small things and what would one have to say about the Czechs and Poles, if one compared the writing systems of Kochanowski, Gornicki, Januszowski, Dmochowski, Kopczynski, and many others on the one hand, and the orthography of Hus, Weleslawín, the Bohemian brothers, Dobrovský, Tomas, Hromadko and many others! (Šafařík 1826: 65–66)

Šafařík (1826: 66) concluded that such diversity “annoys every friend of the Slavs, frightens away foreigners otherwise eager to learn, and is unhappily the greatest self-inflicted obstacle to the united progress of the Latin half” of the Slavic world.

1.5 Pan-Slavism as orthographic reform

Such was the intellectual atmosphere in which Herkel wrote his *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae*. Herkel, like his predecessors and contemporaries, assumed that all Slavs spoke a single Slavic language. Like most of his predecessors and contemporaries, he characterized the differences between Russian, Polish, Serbian and so forth as those between “dialects” which “differed more or less with

strange vocabulary, even though the original expressions are still present in all dialects” (Herkele 1826: 17). Herkel provided grammatical information about the various dialects, providing various declination charts for nouns and adjectives. Like Bernolák, furthermore, he devoted disproportionate attention to his native dialect, and like Bernolák characterized that dialect as “Pannonian”.

Herkele nevertheless proposed a universal Slavic orthography that transcended any particular “dialect”. If “the only impediment to the literature of the Slavic nations was diversity of letters for writing, in other words orthography”, then the obvious solution was to devise a common alphabet meant for all Slavs. Herkel copied most of his letters from the Latin alphabet, though he saw no need for Latin {q} = {k}, {x} = {ks}, {y} = {i}. However, he adopted three letters from Cyrillic: {ч, ш, x}. He rejected Cyrillic {ж} because it was “too different from European letters”, proposing {z} in its place (1826: 8). The resulting basic alphabet has 27 basic letters: {a, b, c, ч, d, e, f, g, h, x, i, j, y, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, ш, t, u, v, z, z} (1826: 11).

He also provided a conversion table with Grazhdanka Cyrillic, which he called “Russian”, even though one of the letters, {h}, was not used in Russia, but only in the Balkans. Herkel’s transliteration table proposed digraphs for five Cyrillic letters, {ш, я, љ, љ, ю} (1826: 164) (see Figure 1.1).

<i>Alphabetum Russicum, et Latinum.</i>	
Аа, Бб, Цц, Ч, Д, Ее, Ф, Г, Х, І, М, Ы,	a, b, c, č, d, e, f, g, h(=ch)i, j, ü(y)
К, Л, М, Н, О, П, Р, С, Ш, Ц, Т, У,	k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, š, šč, t, u,
В, З, Ж, Я, Ѓ, Ѓ, Ю	v, z, z, ja, tj, je, ju.

Figure 1.1: Herkel’s basic alphabet with Cyrillic conversion table

Herkele’s alphabet distinguishes itself from both the *Bernolákovčina* and *Bibličtina* traditions in its lack of diacritical marks. According to Robert Auty (1968: 327–328), several of Herkele’s Catholic contemporaries shared this distaste for diacritics: Samuel Linde (1771–1847), author of a six-volume Polish dictionary, supposedly disliked them; Kopitar saw them as “a Hussite institution which the ‘Bohemian Hussites and Lutherans’ were trying to impose on true Catholics”. In his private correspondence, Kopitar repeatedly denigrated them as “fly excre-

ment [*Fliegendreck* (see Sakcinski 1875: 96, 99, 107),²⁶ *Fliegenschmisse* (see 1875: 104, 105)²⁷]. Perhaps Herkel's Catholic background explains why he too saw diacritics as a problem. Catholic feeling, however, hardly explains Herkel's willingness to borrow letters from Cyrillic.

Herkel was not the first reformer of Slavic orthography to combine the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets. In 1810, Kopitar had also proposed a Latin alphabet supplemented with {ш, ч} (Jagić 1895: 163).²⁸ If Jagić's transcriptions can be trusted, furthermore, Kopitar in his correspondence with Dobrovský sometimes mixed Cyrillic and Latin letters in individual words, e.g. the place-name *utajersko* ['Styria'] (1895: 232),²⁹ and the surname *Жупан* (1895: 159, 161).³⁰ Carniolan priest Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819) had also supplemented an alphabet consisting mostly of Latin letters with five Cyrillic letters: {з, ж, ч, ш, џ} (1895: 130).³¹ When asked to comment on Vodnik's alphabet, Dobrovský initially approved, in one sentence specifically accepting {ч, ж, x} "even though the Bohemians do not want to give up č". Dobrovský's approval, however, proved fickle: later in the same paragraph he proposed {q} in place of {ч} so that "it does not look too much different from Latin", "ff (ss)" in place of {ш}, and "ffq" for {џ}, since "in this way the alphabet would be all Latin, *mutatis mutandis*" (1895: 132).³² In subsequent letters, Dobrovský proposed {ç, f} for {ч, ш} (1895: 187),³³ {q} for {ч}, and "x or χ" for {ж} (1895: 259).³⁴ Dobrovský also proposed the word "чловiek" ['human being', cf. OCS ЧЛОВѢКЪ, Russian *человек*, Czech *člověk*] (1895: 245).³⁵

Dobrovský may have also foreshadowed Herkel's {z}, though the typefaces available to Vatroslav Jagić when publishing Dobrovský's correspondence make analysis difficult. In a 6 March 1810 letter, as Jagić reprinted it in 1895, Dobrovský wrote: "for ж I suggest z (with a strong line down the center) because of its similarity with z, or alternatively ẓ with a cedilla, because not everybody is comfort-

²⁶Letter no. 17 (Kopitar to Kristianović) 4 May 1838", in: Sakcinski (1875: 96), "Letter no. 18 (Kopitar to Kristianović) 8 June 1838", in: (1875: 99), "Letter no. 23 (Kopitar to Kristianović) 13 October 1840", in: (1875: 107).

²⁷Letter no. 21 (Kopitar to Kristianović) 25 January 1839", in: Sakcinski (1875: 104, 105).

²⁸Letter no. 16 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 8 August 1810", in: Jagić (1895: 163).

²⁹Letter no. 35 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 25 November 1811", in: Jagić (1895: 232).

³⁰Letter no. 16 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 8 August 1810", in: Jagić (1895: 159, 161).

³¹Letter no. 11 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 26 March 1810", in: Jagić (1895: 130).

³²Letter no. 12 (Dobrovský to Kopitar) 2 April 1810", in: Jagić (1895: 132). Kopitar asked in reply "what do Bohemians have against ш? It has the same relationship to m that u does to n!" See "Letter no. 13 (Kopitar to Dobrovský) 20 April 1810", in: Jagić (1895: 142).

³³Letter no. 25 (Dobrovský to Kopitar) 30 January 1811", in: Jagić (1895: 187).

³⁴Letter no. 41 (Dobrovský to Kopitar) 3 May 1812", in: Jagić (1895: 259).

³⁵Letter no. 38 (Dobrovský to Kopitar) 22 February 1812", in: Jagić (1895: 245).

able with the dot in ž” (1895: 108).³⁶ I have not been able to examine Dobrovský’s original manuscript, but the “strong line” seems to suggest {z}, much as the “dot” suggests {ž} rather than {ž}.

Awareness of Slavic phonetic diversity limited Herkel’s orthographic uniformity: Herkel understood that some varieties of Slavic require unique sounds not found in the rest of the Slavic world. Since, for example, Polish has two nasal vowels, Herkel acknowledged the need for the uniquely Polish letters {ą} and {ę}, though he saw no need for Polish {ł}. He also accepted the Czech {ř} (Herkel 1826: 129), and indeed recommended it to Poles, apparently from a distaste of digraphs: “the Bohemians have already eliminated z with r, [...] we would not be discouraged if the same would happen with the Poles” (1826: 12). When transliterating from Polish, however, Herkel simply replaced {rz} with {r} (1826: 135).

Herkel’s grammar acknowledged grammatical diversity. *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae* provided a series of noun declension tables, and each associated with a particular “dialect”. For example, Herkel provided masculine noun declensions from seven Slavic varieties, copied from leading linguists of his time. Herkel specifically transcribed *pannonica dialectus* from Bernolák (1790: 27–28),³⁷ the *dialectus bohémica* from Dobrovský (1819: 165),³⁸ and Slovene (*Vindi*) from Kopitar (1808: 232).³⁹ He transliterated Russian from Antonín Puchmajer’s 1820 *Lehrgebäude der russischen Sprache* (1820: fold-out between 204–205).⁴⁰ Serbian from Vuk Karadžić’s 1818 *Srpski rječnik* (1818: xxxvii),⁴¹ and Polish (*dialectus polonica*) from Jerzy Bandtkie’s 1824 grammar (1824: 47).⁴² He also provided declensions in the *vetus dialectus* [‘old dialect’], taken from Dobrovský’s 1822 *Institutiones linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris* (1822: 466, 486).⁴³ Herkel’s Cyrillic transliterations were not always faithful. For example, he softened hard vowels (e.g. Dobrovský’s Old Slavonic **сын** > *sin* instead of *syn* [‘son’] (1822: 466); Puchmajer’s Russian **столы** > *stoli*, instead of *stoly* [‘tables’] (1820: 34).⁴⁴ The important point, however, is that Herkel’s various declensions do not agree with each other. According to Herkel, the masculine dative singular declension is {-u} in Serbian, {-ovi} in Polish, {-u} or {-ovi} in “Pannonian”; {-u}, {-ovi} or {-i} in Slovene, {-u} or {-i} in Czech, {-u} or {-iu} in Russian, and {-u}, {-ovi}, {-evi}, or {-iu} in Old Slavonic.

³⁶Letter no. 9 (Dobrovský to Kopitar) 6 March 1810”, in: Jagić (1895: 108).

³⁷Herkel (1826: 43–44); cf. Buzássyová (2009: 72–73, 206–207).

³⁸Herkel (1826: 41–42); cf. Buzássyová (2009: 68–71, 206).

³⁹Herkel (1826: 50); cf. Buzássyová (2009: 78–79, 207).

⁴⁰Herkel (1826: 34–35); cf. Buzássyová (2009: 62–63, 206).

⁴¹Herkel (1826: 51); cf. Buzássyová (2009: 80–81, 207).

⁴²Herkel (1826: 38, 90); cf. Buzássyová (2009: 66–67, 206).

⁴³Herkel (1826: 29–30); cf. Buzássyová (2009: 56–59, 205).

⁴⁴Herkel (1826: 29, 35); cf. Buzássyová (2009: 206).

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Herkeľ's transcribed declensions differ from those of his sources. Herkel turned Dobrovský's Old Slavonic {-ови}, Bandtkie's Polish declination {-owi}, Bernolák's Pannonian {-owí}, and Kopitar's Carniolan {-òvi} into {-ovi}. He turned Dobrovský's Old Slavonic {-ŝ}, Puchmajer's Russian {-ÿ}, Dobrovský's Czech {-u}, Bernolák's Pannonian {-u}, Karadžić's Serbian {-y}, and Kopitar's Slovene {-u, -ù} into {-u}. Herkel's proposed grammar thus minimized orthographic diversity (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2: Masculine singular dative noun endings: Herkel (above), Herkel's sources (below).

Serbian	Russian	Polish	Pannon.	Czech	Slovene	OCS
-u	-u, -iu	-ovi	-u, -ovi	-u, -i	-u, -ovi, -i	-u, -ovi, -evi, -iu
-y	-ÿ, -iô	-owi	-u, -owí	-u, -í	-u, -u, -ù, -òvi, -i	-ŝ, -ови, -єви, -ю

Herkeľ also endorsed some particular declensions. In general, he tried to differentiate between the merely "dialectal" forms from other forms characterized as "genuinely Slavic" or as "the genuine Slavic". Even here, however, he tolerated diversity. Herkel's proposed masculine singular dative ending, for example, was {-u, -vi}, illustrated in part by declining the word *sin* ['son'] into the dative as "*sinu*, or *sinovi* etc.", forms which, Herkel claimed, agree "with both the usage and the genius of the language, and without any exception". He similarly acknowledged three locative neuter forms, {-ax, -ix, -ox}, illustrated with the sample words *sercax*, *sercih*, *sercox* (from *serce* ['heart']). This sample word, finally, illustrates Herkel's surprising tolerance of lexical diversity: elsewhere in *Elementa*, he spelled it *srdee* (1826: 25, 71). Though Herkel tried to stigmatize forms that were "merely one-sided, dialectal, and by all means not based on sound logic", he acknowledged diversity of grammatical endings.

Herkeľ then provided sample texts in the Russian, Little Russian [*maloruska*], Polish, Bohemian, Serbian, and Pannonian "dialects". He prepared them by transliterating from a two-volume collection of "Slavonic songs" gathered by František Čelakovský (1799–1852).⁴⁵ As authentic examples of Slavic writing, Čelakovský's songbook leaves something to be desired; Čelakovský (1825: 90, 113) presented both Russian and Ukrainian songs in the Latin orthography then current in Prague, complete with the letter {ř}. Herkel's transliterations in turn differ from

⁴⁵Čelakovský (1825: 90–92 (*russica*), 1825: 112–114 (*maloruska*), 1822: 150–151 (*polonica*), 1822: 176 (*serbska*), 1822: 12–14 (*bohematica*)). On Herkel's sources, see Buzássyová (2009: 219); Mařovčik (1964: 25–26).

Čelakovský's texts, though the orthographic differences between Čelakovský and Herkel remain comparable to those between *Bibličtina* and *Bernolákovčina*. Herkel's sample Polish text ultimately derived from an 1820 poem by Polish diplomat and man of letters Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758–1841). A comparison illustrates the orthographic differences between Niemcewicz's Polish as printed in 1820 (see Table 1.3), and Polish printed six years later in Herkel's orthography (see Table 1.4) (Niemcewicz 1820b: 201; cf. Herkel 1826: 134).

Table 1.3: Niemcewicz's original (1820)

Już mgła na morskiéy opadła powodzi, Już żalóść padła w serce woiownika, Z sinego morza, mgła szara nieschodzi, Ni żalóść z serca molodca nie znika.	Już mgła na morskiéy opadła powodzi, Już żalóść padła w serce woiownika, Z sinego morza, mgła szara nieschodzi, Ni żalóść y serce molodca nie znika.
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Table 1.4: Herkel's revised orthography (1826)

Juz mgła na morskiej opadła provodzi Juz żalóść padła v serce vojownika. Ze sinego mora, mgła sara nie sxodzi, Ni żalóść ze serca molodca nieznika.	Juz mgła na morskiej opadła provodzi Juz żalóść padła v serce vojownika. Ze sinego mora, mgła sara nie sxodzi, Ni żalóść ze serca molodca nieznika.
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Note that Herkel's text acknowledged Polish distinctiveness in grammatical declensions, in vocabulary, and even in orthography. The letter {ć}, furthermore, illustrates Herkel's awareness of phonetic diversity: he acknowledged that Polish needed a special letter to depict a unique sound not used in other Slavic varieties.

Scholars have not always realized the extent to which Herkel's orthography accepted lexical and grammatical diversity. When Maria Dernałowicz (2002: 167) wrote that "Herkel proposed the formation of one single grammar, one single written language and one alphabet for all the Slavs", she was right only about the single alphabet: Herkel envisioned a multiplicity of grammatical rules, as exemplified in the diversity of noun declensions. Herkel also provided examples of six different writing systems. Mieczysław Basaj (1985: 39) rightly emphasized the alphabet when describing Herkel's work as "full project for a general Slavic language and alphabet [*projektem języka i alfabetu ogólnosłowiańskiego*]", yet implied that Herkel's ambitions also extended to the "language", whatever the term might mean in this context. Robert Auty (1968: 327) more strikingly adduced Herkel as evidence that "proposals for a pan-Slavonic alphabet were sometimes

[...] specifically linked to proposals for a single pan-Slavonic language". Auty's term "language" apparently implies something more than a shared alphabet.

The ambiguity of the term "language" extends to more technical linguistic jargon. Helmut Slapnicka (1974: 441), for example, spoke not of unmodified "language", but of Herkel's "utopian plan to create one Slavic written language". Other anglophone scholars have claimed that Herkel "proposed a common Slav literary language" (Kohn 1953: 254; Kirschbaum 1966: 36); that he "promoted a single Slavic written language" (Koch 1962: 116), that he "presented the concept of a joint Slavonic literary language" (de Lazari 2009: 315), that he "advocated a common Slav literary language" (Roucek 1953: 21), or that he "advocated a common literary language for all Slavic nationalities" (Grebmeier 1951: 93). Scholars writing in German concur, variously describing Herkel's goal as a "common written language [*gemeinsame Schriftsprache*]" (Hantsch 1965b: 94; Picht 1969: 84; Meyer 2014: 103), or as "a common Slavic literary language [*eine gemeinsame slavische Literatursprache*]" (Biedermann 1967: 110).

Slavic scholars describe Herkel's plans with equivalent Slavic phrases. Herkel has supposedly promoted "one written language [*jeden spisovný jazyk*]" (Rosenbaum 1954: 191; Vyvíjalová 1960: 131), "a single Slavic literary language [*jednolity słowiański język literacki*]" (Chlebowczyk 1975: 254), "a single literary language [*единый литературный язык*]" based on all current Slavic languages" (Zlidnev 1977: 118), a "common Slavic literary language [*skupen slovanski literarni jezik*]" (Zajc 2009: 33), a "common book language [*skupni knjižni jezik*]" (Dolgan 1995: 69), a "universal written language [*univerzální spisovný jazyk*]" which transcends particularism and brings about all-Slavic literary unity" (Šefčík 2010: 376), or "an artificial common written language for the Slavs [*umelý spoločný spisovný jazyk Slovanov*]" (Butvin 1978: 105). Herkel's translator Buzássyová (2002: 42) thought he wanted "the artificial creation of a common cultural language [*kultúrny jazyk spoločný*]". Other Slavic scholars, dispensing with the adjectives "written", "literary", and "cultural", simply proclaim that Herkel wanted to create a "general Slavic language [*język ogólnosłowiański*]" (Baziur 2016: 162), "a common Slavic language [*wspólni język słowiański*]", (Kola 2004: 67), a "common language [*общего языка*]" for all the Slavs" (Pavlenko 2016: 4), or a "common Slavic language [*Общеславянский язык*]" (Kulikovskij 1885: 18).

Such descriptions are not entirely mistaken. Herkel's orthographic proposals were linguistic. They concerned "language", as opposed to, say, political frontiers or legal reform; they also specifically addressed written language, as opposed to spoken language. Nevertheless, phrases translatable as "written language", such as *Literatursprache*, *Schriftsprache*, *spisovný jazyk*, *knjižni jezik*, *język literacki*, imply something more extensive than a new orthography. They connote a set

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of prescriptive rules defining “correct” writing, which in turn implies prescriptive grammatical rules, normative pronunciation, and standardized vocabulary. While Herkel endorsed certain declensions and criticized others, he did not proscribe uniform rules, he at most suggested the use of common forms. He noted diversity of pronunciation without passing judgement. He rarely discussed vocabulary.

Nevertheless, several scholars, perhaps misled by ambiguity in the secondary literature, apparently believe that Herkel provided a full prescriptive grammar. Scholars have variously claimed that Herkel tried to “produce a universal Slavic grammar” (Haraksim 2011: 108), that he “sketched out the grammar of a pan-Slavonic language” (Auty 1967: 197), that he “set forth the grammar of the all-Slavic language” (Smirnov & Kataeva 2000: 50), that he “tried to give grammatical rules of a common Slavic language” (Churkina 1998: 27), or that he “demanded the creation of a unified Slavic grammar” (Kun 1982: 177). Inna Leshchilovskaja (1977: 118) claimed that Herkel had not only justified “the idea of a common Slavic language, but also developed its rules”. Endre Arató (1976: 76), finally, wrote that Herkel had “summed up the rules of the non-existing unified Slavic language, which were to be accepted by all Slavic peoples” (see also Arató 1971: 260). In fact, when Herkel discussed grammatical rules, he emphasized diversity. Furthermore, he described what he believed was existing usage, drawing on existing literature. He did not attempt to impose his own fancies by fiat, he supported whichever forms that already enjoyed the broadest usage, to the best of his admittedly imperfect knowledge.

In light of such misunderstandings, therefore, let us emphasize that Herkel’s book prescribed no standard vocabulary, presented its preferred declensions and conjugations as suggestions, and took a strong normative stance only on questions of orthography. Minimizing orthographic difference, Herkel hoped, would facilitate the exchange of ideas between different parts of the Slavic world. If Slavs could more easily read each other’s books, they could learn from each other, better appreciate one another’s ideas, share in each other’s accomplishments. He famously advocated “*unity in literature* among all Slavs, which is the true Pan-Slavism” (Herkel 1826: 4). This reference to “literature” may be somewhat misleading, since Herkel expressed no particular interest in *belles lettres*. He probably used the term to invoke writing, as opposed to spoken conversation. While the unity he advocated touched on grammatical issues, it remained primarily orthographic.

Herkel’s orthographic system attracted no adherents. His conventions were never adopted by any authors or publishers, nor were they ever taught in any classrooms. Auty (1968: 332) thought that the “enthusiasm for Slavonic unity

which marked the national revivals of the early nineteenth century was not powerful enough to impose a single orthography (let alone a single language) on all the Slavs". Herkel's enthusiasm, certainly, did not suffice to impose anything on anybody.

Herkel's work nevertheless attracted some interest among his contemporaries. In an undated letter, Dobrovský wrote with some excitement that Herkel's universal grammar had been published, promising that copies would soon be distributed (Jagić 1895: 682).⁴⁶ The book was reviewed in *Rozmaitości*, the cultural supplement to a Polish-language newspaper in L'viv (Lwów) (*Rozmaitości*, Anon. 1827c: 180). Adam Dragosavljević (1800–1862), a Serbian pedagogue living in Hungary, cited it in an 1840 tract about Serbian orthographic reform (1840: 91). Bernolák's nephew, Andrej Radlinský (1817–1879), an important Catholic dignitary and language reformer, also alluded to Herkel in 1852, particularly noting the Latin base with Cyrillic letters (Radlinský 1852: xiv).

Kollár was particularly effusive about Herkel's work. For the expanded 1832 edition of *Slawy dcera*, Kollár added a short verse praising Herkel (1832a: verse 462). That same year, a primer explaining his poem to student readers credited Herkel with having written *Elementa grammaticae linguae slavicae universalis* [sic] (Kollár 1832b: 349). On 15 January 1842, Kollár again praised Herkel's effort in a letter to Hamuljak (*Sokol: obrázkový časopis pre zábavu a poučenie*, Anon. 1863). Most dramatically, Kollár quoted Herkel's definition of Pan-Slavism in an 1837 tract on "Literary Reciprocity" (1837: 88–89).⁴⁷ Kollár, the famous poet, particularly emphasized literary exchange: he wanted Slavs of all "tribes" to read literary works in all Slavic "dialects". To facilitate this goal, he called for comparative grammars and dictionaries (1837: 126, cf. 2009: 133), university chairs (1837: 122, cf. 2009: 131), and most colorfully a "general trans-dialectal literary magazine, in which every new Slavic work will be shown and reviewed in the dialect in which it was written" (1837: 123, cf. 2009: 132). Kollár (1837: 127–128, cf. 2009: 134) also advocated "an uniform and philosophic orthography, based on the spirit of the Slavic language, which all Slavs can use, at least for those that use the same letters, the Latin and the Cyrillic", a reform almost identical to what Herkel had proposed, even if Kollár himself did not at that time endorse Herkel's orthography, or indeed any particular orthography at all. Kollár (1837: 128, cf. 2009: 134) confined himself to the hope that Slavs would develop "orthography resting on the spirit of the Slavic language, or at least, for all those who use the same letters, whether Latin or Cyrillic. Neither Magyar, nor Italian, nor the German language should have any influence on Slavic orthography".

⁴⁶Letter 16" (undated, but received 6 April 1827), in: Jagić (1895: 682).

⁴⁷See also the English edition Kollár (2009: 115–116).

Other Slavists, however, were less impressed with Herkel's proposals. Šafařík, who had gathered funds to support Herkel's work (Mařovčík 1965a: 68, 75),⁴⁸ and then impatiently awaited its publication in the final months of 1826 (1965a: 85, 95),⁴⁹ expressed a bitter disappointment. On 13 July 1827, he declared it "crazy – such must be the judgement of every understanding Catholic" (1965a: 164).⁵⁰ By 26 September his judgement was less emotional: "Too bad! The author would have made better use of his time and effort if he had given us a *comparative* grammar of the main dialects [*Hauptdialekte*], instead he teaches us *an entirely new Slavic Language* [*Sprache*], half of which consists of new symbols which he has proposed. Honor to this *pium desiderium* ['pious wish']" (Francev 1927: 310).⁵¹ Martin Hattala (1821–1903), in a 31 July 1871 lecture to the Bohemian Academy of Sciences, also reacted dismissively. Hattala, a noted linguist best known for codifying a distinctly Slovak literary standard (1850, 1865), somewhat inconsistently declared both that Herkel's orthography was an "extremely arbitrary mingling of Slavic dialects" (Anon. 1872: 51), and that Herkel had based "his would-be Pan-Slavic gibberish" on his "mother tongue [*Muttersprache*]" (1872: 52).

Contemporary linguists echo Hattala's opinion. Anna-Maria Meyer (2014: 104) wrote of Herkel's plan that "overall Slovak elements predominate, which is unsurprising, since that was the author's mother tongue". Tadeusz Lewaszkiwicz (2014: 80) thought Herkel had "used grammatical and lexical elements of various Slavic languages, but the foundation of his common Slavic language was only Slovak". To the best of my knowledge, no scholars have viewed Herkel's plans as disproportionately favoring the usage of the Orava region: scholars view the disproportionate influence of Herkel's native variety as the influence of "Slovak". Such descriptions perhaps reflect the current consensus that there is a "Slovak language", while the variety of the Orava region does not enjoy such recognition.

The subsequent marginalization of Herkel's thought, however, derives less from the establishment of a "Slovak language" than from the dis-establishment of the "Slavic language". Slavists and linguists now assign the status of "language" to subdivisions of Slavic, rather than to the Slavic world as a whole. Scholars have variously posited the "Slavic language family" (Milewski 1973: 99), the "Slavonic language family" (Corbett & Comrie 1993: 5, see also 3), "the Slavic language group" contained within "the Indo-European family" (Lipson 1981: 76), "the Slavic

⁴⁸Letter no. 18 (Pavel Šafařík to Martin Hamuljak), 27 July 1826", "Letter no. 21 (Pavel Šafařík to Martin Hamuljak), 14 September 1826", in: Mařovčík (1965a: 68, 75).

⁴⁹Letter 24 (Pavel Šafařík to Martin Hamuljak) 28 October 1826", "Letter 28 (Pavel Šafařík to Martin Hamuljak) 17 December 1826", in: Mařovčík (1965a: 85, 95).

⁵⁰Letter 66 (Pavel Šafařík to Martin Hamuljak) 13 July 1827", in: Mařovčík (1965a: 164).

⁵¹"5. Šafařík Koeppenovi, 26 September 1826", in: Francev (1927: 310).

language group" (with "three subfamilies") (Brown 2006: 415), "the Slavic phylum" (Stolz & Stolz 2009: 77), or even "the Slavonic stock of languages" (Fowler 1859: 73). Such disparate formulae reflect the ongoing lack of terminological consensus about how to label a collection of related "languages" (Swadesh 1954: 321; Wurm 1975: 153; McGregor 2015: 391). Nevertheless, subsequent scholars have apparently agreed to cease regarding Slavic as a single "language".

Indeed, the idea of a "Slavic language" has so completely lost its adherents that contemporary scholars not only disagree with Herkel and the Slavic language reformers of his generation, but sometimes struggle to understand their motives. How, for example, can modern scholars acknowledge Herkel's reforms as "language planning" if they refuse to acknowledge Slavic as a "language"? Scholars do not expect a "language family", for example, to require a common orthography. Such considerations might explain some of the hostility that scholars have retroactively directed at Herkel. Endre Arató (1976: 76), for instance, wrote that Herkel had "compiled an all-Slavic grammar, with the unrealistic [sic] thought of promoting the cause of the uniform Slav literary language by this. In his grammar he summed up the rules of the non-existing unified Slavic language, which were to be accepted by all Slavic peoples". Perhaps Arató's disapproval reflects the vigor with which he disbelieved in the notion of a single "Slavic language".

Herkel's work thus had little impact on subsequent Slavic studies. His taxonomy of the Slavic world no longer enjoys any support. As a spelling reformer, Herkel had no detectable impact. Perhaps the most enduring legacy of Herkel's orthographic proposals, therefore, was the word he coined to champion them: "Pan-Slavism."

1.6 Pan-Slavism: The history of a watchword

The word "Pan-Slavism" plays a marginal role in Herkel's thinking. As Raf Van Rooy argues in this volume, Herkel's thought owes more to the concept of the "genius" of the Slavic language. The term "Pan-Slavism" nevertheless went on to have a dramatic and surprising career, not least because it quickly acquired meanings quite different from Herkel's original coinage.

When Herkel defined "the true Pan-Slavism" as "unity in literature", he neglected many potential forms of "unity". He did not seek to reconcile the confessional differences between Slavs of different denominations: he ignored religion. He did not seek to improve the legal status of disenfranchised peasants: he ignored the injustice of serfdom, and social inequality generally. Nor did he seek common citizenship by redrawing political frontiers: he ignored statehood.

His analysis was exclusively linguistic, and his proposals mostly orthographic. Herkel's contemporaries, however, quickly adopted his word to describe Slavic irredentism. The revanchist meaning of the word "Pan-Slavism", though developed mostly by non-Slavs hostile to Slavic aspirations, subsequently became the dominant meaning of the word.

Starting in the 1840s, articles denouncing "Pan-Slavism" began appearing in the Hungarian-language press. Pan-Slavism proved a particularly popular bugbear of the journal *Pesti Hirlap* ['Pest Gazette'], which the influential Lajos Kosuth (1802–1894) began publishing on 1 January 1841 shortly after his release from prison. *Pesti Hirlap* launched with the financial support of sixty subscribers, but quickly became the most important journal in Hungary: one study estimated that it "reached an estimated 100,000 readers [...] out of a total of 136,000 enfranchised nobles and an estimated million literate people in Hungary" (Judson 2016: 146), another that "its readership constituted about one-fourth of the estimated 200,000 Hungarians who read newspapers at the time" (Sugar & Hanak 1990: 199). Whatever the true readership figures, *Pesti Hirlap* influenced an unprecedented audience in the Kingdom of Hungary.

On 2 October 1842, *Pesti Hirlap* published an editorial by Ferenc Pulszky (1842: 702–703) that discussed both Herkel's grammar and Kollár's tract on Slavic reciprocity. Pulszky engaged most directly with Kollár. Firstly, he saw a "slight contradiction" in a call for "literary unity" that acknowledged linguistic diversity. Kollár's desire to replace loanwords with words of Slavic origin does not actually contradict his acceptance of distinct Russian, Polish and Czech literary standards. Pulszky, however, pretended there was a contradiction in order to ridicule:

the author believes that the amalgamation of all Slav dialects into one main literary language is a phantom and protests against it in the name of reciprocity, yet also hopes from the same reciprocity that "the general *overcoming of words* from foreign languages, the adoption of genuine and purely Slavic forms, and therefore the approaching of the ideal of a Pan-Slavonic language". (Pulszky 1842: 702–703)

Pulszky then told an anecdote about a Gypsy selling a donkey. Asked if a donkey was pregnant, the Gypsy answered no. When the customer turned to leave, the Gypsy insisted that the donkey was pregnant after all. Called out on his contradiction, the Gypsy declared: "if I want, it's pregnant, and if I want, it's not" (1842: 703; citing Kollár 1837: 10, 126, cf. 2009: 76, 133).

Pulszky drew attention to this supposed contradiction to depict Kollár's tract as fundamentally dishonest. He ascribed a sinister subtext to Kollár's emphasis

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on the linguistic and literary: Pan-Slavs, Pulszky (1842: 703; citing Kollár 1837: 89, cf. Kollár 2009: 116) acknowledged, proclaimed purely literary objectives; as shown by Herkel's definition of "unity in literature". But Pulszky (1842: 703) argued that cunning Pan-Slavs secretly nurtured political ambitions, writing of Kollár that "for the author 'Pan-Slavic' is everything which concerns and interests [*illet és érdekel*] the Slavs (*alle Slawen betreffend und umfassend*), and it is hard to believe that all Slavs are interested and concerned only with literature". Pulszky cited Kollár quite out of context. The full passage, from a chapter explaining "how far should this reciprocity extend?", urges that

every educated Slav should have at least a *grammatical-lexical* knowledge of the dialects spoken by his brothers. This means knowing the meaning of the words unique to each dialect, their forms, declensions and conjugations, and the extent to which they deviate from the other sister dialects. We do not believe that every Slav must be able to speak all Slavic dialects, to say nothing of being able to write books in them. We say only that he should understand the speech of all fellow Slavs, and be able to read every book. Since individual means are not sufficient, we also do not demand that every Slav should buy all books and periodicals appearing in all dialects, but only that which is in its way relevant, classic and Pan-Slavic in its content (i.e. concerning and encompassing all Slavs). (Kollár 1837: 14, cf. 2009: 78)

Pulszky (1842: 704) read this paragraph about vocabulary, declensions, conjugations, and the choice of reading material, and saw a threat to Hungary's territorial integrity so pressing as to warrant double parenthetical exclamation points: "After all this, I do not think I could find a person in the whole width of Hungary who would dare to claim that Pan-Slavism is nothing but unity in literature (!!)"

Another editorial in *Pesti Hirlap*, published anonymously in July 1844, characterized Kollár's epic poem *Sláwy dcera* as "a literary work composed in the spirit of Pan-Slavism". The author admitted that the poem made no political claims, but argued nevertheless that literary works "are not actions, but ideas that hold the seeds of future actions, the seeds of a carefully prepared future". It predicted that if Slavic reciprocity succeeded, then "fragments of the Slavic will merge in the civic sense, since the inner life cannot remain an abstract notion, but with time will manifest itself concretely, and since only one purely Slavic throne that is powerful and strong, the Slavic nationality will embrace this throne" (*Pesti Hirlap*, Anon. 1844c: 479).

More frequently, however, *Pesti Hirlap* denounced the Pan-Slav danger without bothering to engage with any actual Pan-Slav thinkers. The journal warned

its readers that schools in northern Hungary were rife with Slavic propaganda, and that students in Prešov (Eperjes) broke windows and insulted their teachers because of their enthusiasm for “Pan-Slavism” (*Pesti Hirlap*, Anon. 1841c: 437). It characterized Pan-Slavism as “a nest of wasps” whose full extent “had not yet come to light” (*Pesti Hirlap*, Anon. 1842e: 640). It called on the government to investigate Pan-Slavism as “an element in the bosom of the nation” which did not move “in a friendly direction” (*Pesti Hirlap*, Anon. 1842c: 689), and because the “Pan-Slav element” opposed “a free nation fighting for the unity of the Magyar homeland” (*Pesti Hirlap*, Anon. 1843c: 38). It criticized “the Pan-Slav direction inherent in the teachings of the Moscow school of history”, according to which “Attila was a Russian Tsar” and “the Magyars originally Russians” (*Pesti Hirlap*, Anon. 1841a: 98). When the *Allgemeine Augsburgische Zeitung* published a “national defence” by Ľudovít Štúr (1843b), *Pesti Hirlap* responded with an article denouncing “Pan-Slav lies” as “brazen suspicion, false slander, and unfounded lies” (Sörös 1844: 89). Indeed, Pan-Slavs served a bogey even when *Pesti Hirlap* argued for ethnic tolerance: an 1843 article arguing for Jewish legal emancipation declared of Jews that “the people is not alien to Magyar nationality, like the Pan-Slavs and Illyrians” (*Pesti Hirlap*, Anon. 1843b: 704).

While *Pesti Hirlap* took an exceptional interest in denouncing Pan-Slavism, other Magyar newspapers published similar articles (*Társalkodó*, Anon. 1840b: 365–367; *Társalkodó*, Anon. 1840a: 405–406; *Nemzeti ujság*, Anon. 1841b: 81–82; *Jelenkor*, Anon. 1842a: 261, 265–266, 271–272; *Hirnök*, Anon. 1842d: 1; *Világ*, Anon. 1842f: 186). During the 1848 Revolution, one Lutheran newspaper even declared that “Pan-Slavism is not just treason against the homeland, it is killing the homeland” (Melczer 1848: 1). Hysteria in the Magyar press reflected the attitude of leading politicians. In a letter of 13 September 1842, count György Andrassy, writing to a Bohemian aristocrat, denounced “the devotees of Russia, the apostles of Pan-Slavism” for their “hatred of Hungary” (Thun 1843: 27). Baron Miklós Wessélyeni (1843: 166), conflating “Russian-Slavic propaganda” and “revolutionary Slavic propaganda” (1843: 52–53), denounced “the idea of a gigantic Slavic republic, or federal monarchy, or smaller independent states” (Wessélyeni 1844: 116), which had supposedly “become the idol to which millions sacrifice their sighs, but are also prepared to sacrifice their blood” (1844: 37).

The suspicion, fear, and hysteria that characterized Magyar perceptions of Hungary’s Slavs quickly spread to Germany. An 1843 article in Leipzig’s *Die Grenzboten* identified three different types of Pan-Slavism: one based in Moscow seeking to overthrow the Russian dynasty, a “Polish-Russian Pan-Slavism” seeking “the freedom of Poland and with it that of all Slavdom, under a Polish-Russian scepter”, and a Czech Pan-Slavism confusingly described as “a unity of ideas

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for Slavdom, which is also a physical unity, i.e. through the commonality of a spiritual-political main tendency" (*Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, Anon. 1843a: 1486–1487). Most German periodicals, however, imagined only a revanchist political Pan-Slavism. An 1842 essay published in the literary supplement to Leipzig's *Allgemeine Presse Zeitung* linked "the dangers of Pan-Slavism" to "the relationship of the Slavs to the Russian government and the political importance of current aspirations of the Slavs" (*Allgemeine Presse Zeitung*, Anon. 1842b: 931). In 1843, the literary supplement to Munich's *Allgemeine Zeitung* conflated "Pan-Slavs and Russophiles", describing Hungary's Slavic movement as "coquetry for Russia" (Lukács 1843: 1089). In 1844, Stuttgart's *Deutsche Vierteljahrs-Schrift* proclaimed that "Slavdom has devised the slogan of Pan-Slavism as the signal for the unification of all Slavic peoples into a great Slavic empire" (*Deutsche Vierteljahrs-Schrift*, Anon. 1844a: 121). That same year, *Wiener Zeitung* imagined Pan-Slavism as a "net" in which Greece had been ensnared (*Wiener Zeitung*, Anon. 1844b: 227); two years later Vienna's *Illustrierte Zeitung* warned that Pan-Slavism "can set the world in flames" (*Illustrierte Zeitung*, Anon. 1846: 186).

Slavs active in Hungarian public life took offence at such characterizations, which they typically dismissed as slanders. Zagreb's *Agramer Zeitung* wrote that "Pan-Slavism has no relevance to the unification of Kingdoms, so I consider it unnecessary to lose a single word over it" (*Agramer Zeitung*, Anon. 1844d: 368), and in a subsequent article hopefully proclaimed that "slanders about Russian, Pan-Slavic tendencies [...] no longer deceive anybody" (*Agramer politische Zeitung*, Anon. 1845: 471). In 1843, Croatian Baron Franjo (Ferencz) Kulmer (1806–1853), speaking in the Hungarian parliament, complained that the Hungarian press accused anybody of Slavic descent of "Slavism, Pan-Slavism, Illyrianism, and God knows what other isms have been thought up" (Kulmer 1843: 163). Hoitsy (1843: 40) attacked *Pesti Hirlap* as the voice of the "the ultra-Magyar party" and accused it of fomenting civic unrest:

Brother is ready to fight against brother, even the son against the father, one hates and suspects the other, simply because the one intends to call himself a "Magyar", while the other wants to remain a "Hungarian", even though both know very well that they wish in their hearts for the welfare of their father's beloved country. (Hoitsy 1843: 6)⁵²

⁵²For other references to *Pesti Hirlap*, see Hoitsy (1843: 20, 41, 63, 77–79, 82, 93).

Noting that accusations of Pan-Slavism could prevent Slavic youth from attending university, Štúr (1843a: 25) concluded that “the rights of Slavs in Hungary as such were being denied”.⁵³

Several of these Slavic national defenses explicitly distinguished “political Pan-Slavism” from something literary and thus implicitly apolitical. Hoitsy (1843: 97) wrote that “there are friends of the literary Pan-Slavism in Hungary, but this is a world apart from the political sort”, insisting that “the political Pan-Slavism has no friends among us” (1843: 99). Nobleman-author Jonáš Záborsky (1812–1876) similarly disavowed “any civic union of All-Slavia [*Všeslávie*]” while hoping for “literary reciprocity to take root between Slavs” (1851: ii). Jan Tenora (1885: 83) contrasted “political Pan-Slavism” with “spiritual or ecclesiastical Pan-Slavism”. The prolific journalist Daniel Lichard (1861: 5, 7) also defended “Pan-Slavism” and “literary reciprocity” while attacking “political Pan-Slavism”. Such efforts at terminological differentiation, however, did nothing to calm Magyar hysteria.

When the nineteenth-century Anglophone reading public first began discussing Pan-Slavism, they mostly adopted the usage of Hungarian aristocrats. An article by Count László Teleki, published in English translation in 1849, attributed the movement “which has been designated Pan-Slavism” to Kollár. Initially, Teleki (1849: 19) wrote, Pan-Slavism was “an intellectual communion between the scattered nations and tribes of the race, and to establish a literary reciprocity amongst all the Slavonic nations. Later, it acquired a political complexion, in which boundless aspirations were breathed of Slavonian empire”. An 1849 summary of Kossuth’s life in London’s *Athenaeum* criticized Magyarization: “the notion of the Ministry was that it could make all the Hungarians one united people by *Magyarizing* them”, but when describing the resulting “hate and bitterness in nearly all the Slavonic inhabitants of Hungary” claimed that Slavs used Magyarization “as a pretext to conceal their plans inimical to liberty” (*The Athenaeum*, Anon. 1849: 855). The memoirs of Therese Pulszky, Ferenc Pulszky’s Viennese-born wife, published in English translation in 1850, claimed that “Russian machinations, and Polish fantasies [...] rapidly spread the idea of ‘Panslavism’ (the political union of all Slavonians)” (Pulszky 1850: 149).

Anglophone observers, perhaps less frightened by Slavic aspirations, sometimes acknowledged dueling definitions of Pan-Slavism. An 1850 review of the continental press, published in London, pondered the future of Pan-Slavism as follows:

Shall it be a political Panslavism or united empire of all the Slavonic nations under one flag – say that of Russia, either as Russia now is, or as she may

⁵³On Kossuth see also Štúr (1843a: 28–30).

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soon be? Or shall it rather be a literary and intellectual Panslavism, based on a political distribution of the whole Slavonic mass into four groups of states, corresponding to the four great centres now existing – a Russian group, a Polish group, a Tcheckish, a Bohemian group, and an Illyrian or Graeco-Slavonian group. All this is mysterious to us; time alone can reveal it. (*British Quarterly Review*, Anon. 1850b: 244; reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, Anon. 1850a: 343)

Therese Robinson (1850: 86), née von Jakob, a German-American linguist familiar with several Slavic literatures, defined Pan-Slavism as “the close connection or union of all the Slavic races among themselves”. When discussing Polish author Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), Robinson (1850: 294) spoke of “Panslavism spiritualized and idealized”. Yet when discussing Russian historian Nikolay Gerasimovich Ustryalov (1805–1870), she equated “the principles of Panslavism” with the tendency “to represent Russia as the central point of the Slavic race” (1850: 89).

Various Russian nationalists indeed adopted the word “Pan-Slavism” to describe imperial expansionism, as an extensive literature has elsewhere described (Petrovich 1956; Fadner 1962). A few representative passages from the naturalist, ethnographer, and ideologue Nikolaj Danilevskij (1822–1885) illustrate Pan-Slavism as a theme in Russian thought. Danilevskij, whom Andrzej Walicki (1973; cited from 1979: 291) characterized as “the theorist of Pan-Slavism”, and whose 1869 *Rossija i Evropa* [‘Russia and Europe’] Walicki described as “the first [!] and probably only systematic exposition of Panslavism”, complained that his fellow Russians

shy away from accusations of pan-Slavism, as if an honest Russian man, who understands the meaning and knowledge of the words he pronounces, could ever not be pan-Slavic, that is, would not strive with all his soul to overthrow every yoke from his Slavic brethren, to unite them into one whole. (Danilevskij 1871: 311)

The united whole Danilevskij (1871: 387) wanted would find political expression: he advocated an “All-Slavic federation [*всеславянская федерация*]”.

Though Danilevskij Pan-Slavism had both a political and a linguistic dimension, it owed nothing to Herkel. Future Russian conquests at the expense of Austria and Turkey, Danilevskij hoped, would

spread knowledge of the Russian language in Slavic lands after their liberation and a political union in Russia, where friendship will spread in place of

hostility; will not friendship undoubtedly increase greatly when the Slavs are given a fraternal helping hand to win their freedom and affirm our common greatness, glory and prosperity? (Danilevskij 1871: 458)

Danilevskij anticipated neither diversity of grammar, diversity of vocabulary, nor unique letters to represent the phonological peculiarities of particular Slavic dialects. Instead, he simply expected Slavs in the Habsburg and Ottoman lands to adopt Russian. Danilevskij Pan-Slavism, in short, was indeed indistinguishable from Russian expansionism.

Some non-Russian Slavs also proposed political forms of “Pan-Slavism”. In 1848, to give one final example, Lutheran Polish exile Walerjan Krasiński, writing in English, used the slogan “Panslavism” to advocate “the voluntary union of Russia and Poland, under the same sovereign” (Krasiński 1848: 88–89). He hoped to create “a Slavonic empire sufficiently strong to exercise a decided preponderance over the rest of the continent”, and specifically capable of regaining Polish provinces under German control (1848: 88–89). Krasiński, evidently unfamiliar with Herkel, attributed Pan-Slavism to Kollár. He understood that Kollár had advocated only literary objectives. He nevertheless thought literature led straight to politics:

Was it possible that this originally purely intellectual movement, should not assume a political tendency! And was it not a natural consequence, that the different nations of the same race, striving to raise their literary significance, by uniting their separate efforts, should not arrive, by a common process of reasoning, to the idea and desire of acquiring a political importance by uniting their whole race into one powerful empire or confederation, which would insure to the Slavonians [sic] a decided preponderance over the affairs of Europe! (Krasiński 1848: 111–112; see also Maxwell 2008: 101–120)

Much as *Pesti Hirlap* had predicted, Krasiński treated literary Pan-Slavism as the precursor of political agitation.

By curious coincidence, several modern nationalism theorists also interpret linguistic nationalism as the precursor of political agitation. Several models of non-state-based nationalism posit generalizable stages through which nationalism develops. An influential model proposed by Miroslav Hroch (1985: 26), for example, treated “scholarly interest” as the first stage in a process of mobilization culminating in a “mass national movement”. Stage theories encourage scholars of nationalism to view grammatical codification, linguistic standardization, dictionary compilation, and other literary activities as important not in their own right, but merely as the groundwork for something political, implicitly treated

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as more important. Stage theories encourage the study of literary activism as something that foreshadows political activity. Interpreted in light of such theories, therefore, Herkel's literary Pan-Slavism deserves study only insofar as it anticipates Slavic irredentism and Russian expansionism.

While stage theories facilitate comparative study and have much to recommend them (Maxwell 2012), scholars nevertheless err if they treat any stage theory as an unbreakable law. Literary and linguistic activism sometimes anticipates political movements, but not all linguistic or literary activism leads to political agitation and state formation. Stage theories, in other words, must leave room for contingency: activism for a particular national concept may fail, or be supplanted by some other rival concept. Herkel's activism for the "Slavic language", as a case in point, did not lead to a Pan-Slavic state. During the First World War, Herkel's successors instead promoted a Czechoslovakism that led to the Czechoslovak republic (Locher 1931; Maxwell 2009). Subsequent generations promoting Slovak particularist nationalist politics, furthermore, successfully founded an independent Slovak state. The ultimate success of Slovak particularist nationalism, however, does not retroactively invalidate the Pan-Slavism of Herkel's era.

In general, scholars considering the early phases of Slavic nationalism have not paid enough attention to contingency. The resulting teleological narratives have greatly impeded the study of Pan-Slavism, since scholars wrongly presume literary activists ultimately pursue political ambitions. Hugo Hantsch (1965a: 23), for example, conceded that Pan-Slavism originally "had no political, but only a literary, meaning", but still argued that since "Pan-Slavism could reach its goal only if the Austro-Hungarian monarchy fell to pieces [...] the actions of Pan-Slavs, therefore, had to be hostile to the monarchy" (1965a: 25). Nothing in Herkel or Kollár supports such a conclusion. Hantsch's error, however, seems more comprehensible in light of stage theories of nationalism. If all literary initiatives actually did lead to political activism, then literary Pan-Slavism would indeed by necessity foreshadow something hostile to the monarchy.

Several factors, then, have conspired to conceal literary Pan-Slavism from the historian's view. Some scholars anachronistically impose modern Slovak nationalism onto the nineteenth century. Other scholars are interested primarily in high-politics and thus neglect linguistic politics. Still others have taken more interest in Russia than in the Slavic intelligentsia in northern Hungary, and presume that Russian Pan-Slavs speak for all Pan-Slavs. Perhaps the Slavophobia of Hungarians, Germans or others has eclipsed the memory of Herkel and Kollár. Perhaps other factors are at play? Whatever the cause, the effect is clear: scholars have generally ignored Herkel's orthographic reform scheme, and indeed the complex politics of Slavic language codification in the early nineteenth century.

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Recent reference works, for example, define Pan-Slavism as “the movement of aspiration for the union of all Slavs or Slavonic peoples in one political organization” or as “the principle or advocacy of political unification for the Slavic peoples” (Simpson & Weiner 1991: 1265; Atkin et al. 2011: 312). The *Encyclopedia of the United Nations* even claims that “the Czech writer J. Herkel in 1826” used it “with reference to the aspirations of the Slav peoples for unification” (Osmańczyk 2003: 1762). Another encyclopedia edited by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, a former Secretary-General of the United Nations, declared that

Pan-Slavism, the call to unite all the peoples of eastern Europe speaking Slav languages, was one of the many powerful and ultimately destructive linguistic national forces which swept Europe in the 19th century. Its ambitions could only be realized by force, as Stalin demonstrated in 1945 when he united Eastern Europe under Soviet control. (de Cuéllar 1999: 128)

Even specialist studies by Slavic authors accept the revanchist understanding of the term. In 2015, Ludmiła Łucewicz rightfully acknowledged the diversity of Slavic thought, differentiating “the concepts ‘Pan-Slavism’, ‘All-Slavism’, ‘Slavic reciprocity’, ‘Slavic unity’, ‘Slavic brotherhood’, etc. There neither was nor is a single interpretation of these concepts”. Łucewicz also acknowledged different ideas of what “unity” between the Slavs might entail. Nevertheless, Łucewicz (2015: 69) still assumed that unity would take a political form: “1) Some saw in it the possibility of preserving political and/or cultural ties with Russia; 2) others, by contrast, sought to unite Slavic peoples in opposition to Russia.” Modern scholars have thus almost entirely adopted the revanchist and “political” understanding of Pan-Slavism.

The current terminological consensus often confuses scholars examining nineteenth-century Pan-Slavism. Not only Herkel and Kollár but the majority of Habsburg Pan-Slavs repeatedly explicitly denounced the high-political Pan-Slavism that recent scholarship expects to find. Even during the heady days of the 1848 Revolution, and specifically in the 16 June resolution passed at the Prague Pan-Slav Congress, Slavic patriots insisted that they sought domestic reforms rather than Russian annexation, and sought to calm German fears by explicitly renouncing “political Pan-Slavism” (Moraczewski 1848: 107). The Pan-Slav Congress was, of course, a “political” event, insofar as it sought various constitutional and administrative reforms. Nevertheless, scholars who insist that “Pan-Slavism” implies Slavic irredentism and Russian expansionism would, it seems, be forced to conclude that the 1848 Pan-Slav Congress rejected Pan-Slavism.

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A few scholars have indeed been so insistent that “Pan-Slavism” seeks political unification with Russia that they find the relatively apolitical activity of actual Pan-Slavs disappointing. In 1934, for example, Norman Jopson questioned whether “there ever had been such a thing as Panslavism, in the sense of an alliance and an equality of the Slav peoples” (Jopson 1934: 210). In 1948, Henryk Batowski doubted that “any sort of Panslavism, i.e. of a movement aiming at uniting the Slavs on a racial footing, with a front directed against other nations” (1948: 407), had ever played an important role in European politics. In 1963, Stephan Horak even declared that “there is no such thing as Pan-Slavism, i.e., as an organic, racially binding idea” (1963: 140). Perhaps Pan-Slavism would reappear in the historical record if scholars would permit the word to have a meaning more closely aligned to the usage of those Slavic patriot-intellectuals who actually espoused it.

Unfortunately, even those few scholars who acknowledge or investigate a less political Pan-Slavism ignore Herkel. Katharina Krosny wrote that

while today generally associated with Russian aspirations for hegemony, the Pan-Slavism that emerged during the Romantic period denotes the movement of the disparate Slav people of Europe toward the recognition of their common ethnic background, and their various attempts to achieve a common front against the dominant nations of Europe. (Krosny 2004: 849)

Krosny acknowledged that Romantic Pan-Slavs eschewed political goals, emphasizing in particular that “while failing to draw up any realistic political goals, Pan-Slavists encouraged their fellow Slavs to learn the four principal Slavonic languages (Czech, Illyrian, Polish and Russian), which they regarded as dialects”. She even acknowledged the disproportionate Slovak contribution to early Pan-Slavism. Nevertheless, Krosny ignored Herkel entirely. She instead discussed Kolár and Šafařík, whom she depicted as direct successors of Herder.

Our translation, then, seeks to establish Herkel’s place in Slavic history. We suggest that Herkel’s linguistic reform scheme deserves scholarly attention and analysis in its own right, on its own terms. History is more than wars, insurrections, and state-formation: the history of nationalism includes cultural and linguistic initiatives. Linguistics also has a history, perhaps analyzable as part of the history of science. Herkel’s grammar, we suggest, sheds light not only on the history of linguistic thought, but on Slavic linguistic nationalism generally, since his work illustrates the once widespread belief in a single “Slavic language” and its consequences for nationalist language planning. His particular proposals,

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finally, show how the generation of Slavic patriots active in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution hoped to promote national unity by reforming the national language.

2 The genius of the Slavic language according to Jan Herkel

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2.1 Introduction

Every verb is inflected according to the aforementioned principles, but I am not unaware that some dialect grammarians will condemn these principles, but they alone will reach such a judgment of condemnation, since what one dialect approves, the other condemns, and vice versa. Nor indeed can reference grammarians sustain any other opinion. However, it remains an unshakable truth that in accordance with the genius of the Slavic language there is only one single form of verb inflection. Let us see how six forms of Russian can be reduced to a single form, a reduction which we will see confirmed by the usage in various other dialects.¹

This remark on the Slavic verb reveals Jan Herkel's program of linguistic Pan-Slavism quite neatly, and is just one among many possible passages that could be cited to illustrate it. Time and again, Herkel underscored the fundamental unity of all varieties of Slavic, which he typically referred to as "dialects", a flexible

¹Herkel (1826: 146–147): "Quaecumque verbum secundum praemissa inflectitur principia; eundem non ignoro a nonnullis dialecticis isthaec principia damnatum iri; verum tale damnationis iudicium nonnisi [*sic*] dialectici ferent Grammatici, quod enim una dialectus approbat, id altera damnat, et vice versa, nec enim aliam Grammatici Referentes ferre possunt sententiam. Caeterum inconcussa veritas manet, e genio linguae Slavicae nonnisi unam inflectendorum verborum dari formam; videamus enim Russorum 6 formas ad unam redactas, observabimus ipso usu variarum dialectorum hanc reductionem confirmari." I always cite our English translation in the main text. The present contribution is limited by my linguistic expertise: as a historiographer of linguistics with only a little Old Church Slavonic, I analyze Herkel's conceptual toolkit revolving around the term *genius*, an important one in the history of linguistics. I thank Alexander Maxwell for his insightful comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

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but problematic term in itself which he did not care to define. His usage, however, suggests that he understood dialect as a language variety which diverged only superficially from the essential substance, or basic unity, of the underlying language. As such, his conceptualization of the language-dialect distinction can be interpreted in terms of what I have elsewhere called “the Aristotelian criterion” (Van Rooy 2020: 109–124). The Slavic dialects differed in their accidents, but their core was a unitary substance, which Herkel did not cease to label “the genius of the Slavic language”. Remarkably enough, for Herkel, this conceptualization did not have a strictly linear chronology: the various living dialects could help unravel this genius, but this did not equal a kind of Proto-Slavic as one would expect from an account which has unmistakable historical-comparative traits. Such an approach would only become dominant later in the century, after historical-comparative linguistics had fully developed as an autonomous academic discipline thanks to the pioneering work of scholars like Rasmus Rask and Franz Bopp (Swiggers 2017). Herkel, instead, was tracing an idealized form of Slavic, only existing on paper – a true Pan-Slavic language that could serve as the common literary and written standard. His concern was, in other words, not with oral language, which remained too varied, but with written forms of language, especially in literature.

The search for a perfect language form, as Umberto Eco (1995) has eloquently illustrated, was a long-standing endeavor in premodern reflections on the nature of language. The language spoken before the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel was often identified, or at least closely associated with perfection. In scientific writing, many scholars came to attribute this quality to Latin, the supposed uniformity and sterility of which was considered a great asset (e.g. Stroh 2013). Herkel, by using a brand of nineteenth-century Latin as the metalanguage for his Pan-Slavic program, inscribed himself in this tradition, and showed at the same time that he wanted his ideas to circulate among the intellectual élite of his days.² Even in the Middle Ages, however, the artificial nature of this scholarly and scientific Latin, with its rigid grammar, had inspired certain authors to look for a more natural perfection elsewhere, in the vernacular languages, for instance. Indeed, Herkel’s idealized Slavic recalls, in several ways, Dante Alighieri’s *volgare illustre*, a perfect yet fictional form of his native Italian vernacular. Dante, whose imagination easily outshone Herkel’s, powerfully pictured this *volgare illustre* as a tiger that is scented everywhere through the different levels of linguistic variation in Italian but remains invisible:

²See my brief notes on Herkel’s Latin, discussed as part of our Preface.

Now that we have hunted across the woodlands and pastures of all Italy without finding the panther we are trailing, let us, in the hope of tracking it down, carry out a more closely reasoned investigation, so that, by the assiduous practice of cunning, we can at last entice into our trap this creature whose scent is left everywhere but which is nowhere to be seen.³

It is difficult to say whether Herkel had read *De vulgari eloquentia*, but as a man of learning he obviously knew Dante, even applauding Samuel Gottlieb Linde (1771–1847), author of a Slavic dictionary, for saying: “if the Italians, who are so very diverse in terms of dialect, have boasted a uniform written language since Dante’s times, why should the Slavs not enjoy the same?”⁴ This quotation makes clear that Dante and Herkel have another thing in common: their focus on written, literary forms of language. With Roger Bacon, like Dante a medieval pioneer in developing ideas on regional language variation, Herkel shared the insistence on the Aristotelian criterion to distinguish languages from dialects, identified above and prominent especially in early modern scholarship from around the mid-sixteenth century (Van Rooy 2018: 190–194). Herkel, in sum, inscribed himself in the European tradition of linguistic thought on the ideal language and on regional language variation.

Herkel’s strong embrace of tradition does not mean that he lacked all originality. In one passage, he offered his readers a very clever take on historical semantics:

Here we should remark that as long as the language and the people itself were still in their infancy, distinct ideas that shared some common characteristics were very often expressed by the same word. So much is clear both from books and from very ancient languages. Yet those ideas on the quality of objects were the most frequent, which most often applied to the physical condition of man, such as the idea of “good” and the idea of “bad”. Hence, they indicated everything that pleased them with the word for ‘good’, and everything that displeased them with the word for ‘bad.’ For instance, we know that ancient peoples, and especially the Slavs, delighted in the color

³Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.16.1. Translation taken from the Princeton Dante Project <<https://dante.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/dante/DispMinorWork.pl?TITLE=V.E.&REF=I%20xvi%201-6>> (last accessed 22 June 2023). The Latin original reads: “Postquam venati saltus et pascua sumus Ytalie nec pantheram quam sequimur adinvenimus, ut ipsam reperire possimus, rationabilius investigemus de illa ut, solerti studio redolentem ubique et necubi apparentem nostris penitus irretiamus tenticulis.”

⁴Herkel (1826: 23): “si Itali dialecto distinctissimi a temporibus Dante lingua uniformi scripturistica gloriantur, cur Slavi non gauderent?”

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white, and they expressed this idea with the word for ‘good’, equating the white with the beautiful. On the other hand, objects which triggered an unpleasant sensation, such as something bitter, or a burning sensation on the body, they indicated with the generic word for ‘bad.’⁵

More pertinent to the core theme of his grammar, however, is that Herkel further fleshed out earlier ideas about the relationships between Slavic varieties. He took the idea that Slavic tongues formed one language one step further. Among early modern thinkers, Slavic unity was widely accepted, and became a theme especially in the sixteenth century. This holds for scholars of western areas of Europe such as Jean Bodin (1529/1530–1596) and scholars of Slavic background such as Jan Mączyński (ca. 1520–ca. 1587). Bodin, for instance, observed:

For surely I hear that the Polish, Bohemians, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Muscovites, Bosnians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Dalmatians, and Vandals use the same language of the Slavs, which is used in Scandia, and that they differ only in dialect.⁶

Similarly, Mączyński wrote in his definition of Latin *dialectus*:

The Greeks call “dialects” species of languages, a property of languages, like in our Slavic language, the Pole speaks differently, the Ruthenian differently, the Czech differently, the Illyrian differently, but it is nevertheless still one language. Only does every region have its own property, and likewise it was in the Greek language.⁷

⁵Herkel (1826: 101): “Hic animadvertendum est, quod, dum lingua, ipsaque gens adhuc in suis incunabulis exstitisset, saepissime ideae distinctae, in aliquibus tamen notis convenientes, eodem vocabulo expressae fuerint, id patet tum e libris, tum e linguis antiquissimis, ideae vero qualitatis objectorum illae erant frequentissimae, quae creberrime in physicum hominum statum egerunt, uti est idea boni et idea mali, hinc quidquid illis placuit, vocabulo boni, et quidquid displicuit, vocabulo mali indicarunt, sic scimus antiquas, potissimum Slavicis gentes albo colore delectatas fuisse, et hanc ideam vocabulo boni expresserunt, uti et id, quod formosum fuit; e contra, objecta, quae inamoenum sensum in iis excitarunt, uti quid amari, vel quid urentis corpus, vocabulo mali insigniverint tamquam generico.”

⁶Bodin (1566: 439): “sic enim audio Polonos, Bohemos, Rußios, Lithuanos, Moschouitas, Boßinios, Bulgaros, Seruios, Croatios, Dalmatas, Vandalos eade[m] Sclauorum vti lingua, quæ in Sca[n]dia vsurpatur, ac sola dialecto differre.”

⁷Mączyński (1564: s.v. *dialectus*): “Dialectos Graeci vocant linguarum species, Vlasność języków yáko w naszym języku Slawáckim ynáczey mowi Polak ynáczey Ruśyn, ynáczey Czech ynaczey Ilyrak, á wždy yednak yeden język yest. Tylko ysz każda ziemiá ma swę vlasność, y także też w Greckim języku bylo.” The form *wždy* should be read as *wždy*. For this information, see Seldeslachts & Van Rooy (2022: 33), whence also the English translation is taken.

These scholars seem to have transposed the idea that a language such as Ancient Greek or German had different dialects to the level of the Slavic family of languages as a whole, counterintuitive for present-day readers, who perhaps would expect a projection of this idea on the lower level of individual Slavic tongues such as Polish, Bulgarian, or Russian (see Maxwell 2022a). However, for a long time there was a consensus that Slavic was the language, which appeared in different regional guises or “dialects” across a large portion of eastern Europe and beyond (see Maxwell 2018). This idea culminated in the nineteenth century, where it became known under the term *Panslavismus* (see Kamusella 2021: 9; and Maxwell’s essay in this volume). Present-day readers should therefore be weary of projecting their current ideas about the languagehood of individual Slavic varieties like Slovak back in time, as for centuries scholars believed them to be dialects of a superordinate Slavic language. The historical sources should be interpreted on their own terms, with careful attention to the conceptual toolkit their authors rely on, in order to avoid anachronistically attributing present-day ideas to earlier thinkers.

Generally, and probably rightly so, Jan Herkel is credited with coining the influential term *Panslavismus*. He did so at the very beginning of his grammar, entitled *Elements of a universal Slavic language, drawn from the living dialects and based on sound logical principles*. Announced in the title, the idea of Pan-Slavism is crystallized in the Latin term *Panslavismus* on page 4, where Herkel writes of the Slavic language that its

genuine principles should preferably not be sought in one but in all dialects. Hence it also follows naturally that this language, as the original, should be cultivated by the common effort of the Slavic nations; only in this way, following the example of other nations, will flourish, even in the face of geographic, historic and political diversity, the greatly desired *Union in Literature* among all Slavs, which is the true Pan-Slavism.⁸

For Herkel, literature – understood broadly as the written word – presented itself as the domain where the Slavs should try to overcome their manifold differences, since in other domains changes were if not impossible (e.g. history and geography), at least unfeasible in the foreseeable future (e.g. spoken language

⁸Herkel (1826: 4): “[...] genuina principia non in una, sed in omnibus dialectis quaerenda esse pronum est; hinc suapte etiam fluit, Linguam hanc ut pote Originalem communi Slavicarum Nationum conatu esse colendam, hinc tantum efflorescet etiam penes diversitatem geographicam, historicam et politicam, ad exemplum aliarum Nationum, exoptata *Unio in Litteratura* inter omnes Slavos, sive verus Panslavismus.”

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and politics). To counter this diversity, he put forward a first proposal to make Slavic orthography and morphology homogeneous, not in order to offer a definitive solution but rather to stimulate the international community of scholars he was addressing with his Latin work to reflect on and debate the matter. Or in Herkel's own words:

[...] I have decided to put forward in this booklet some proposals about a common method of writing Slavic and inflecting its parts of speech, yet in such a manner that I myself also invite men skilled in the philology and etymology of the Slavic tongue either to endorse my proposals or to refute them and formulate more suitable proposals.⁹

However, in this contribution, I will not focus on Herkel's term *Panslavismus*, not only because Alexander Maxwell has already discussed its historical context in detail in the previous chapter, but also because I argue that *Panslavismus* is not the key term of Herkel's *Elements*, despite its powerful legacy. Indeed, it is another term that already featured in the quotation with which I started my chapter: *genius*, which occurs 62 times in his grammar.

2.2 **Genius: a broad historical view on Herkel's key term**

The Latin word *genius* contains the stem *gen-*, also found in *gignere* (*gi-gn-ere*), 'to create, to engender', and is probably related closely to *gens*, 'people', if it is not derived from it. In fact, the original meaning is something like 'the spirit of a *gens*' or also of a particular place or person (Lewis & Short 1879: *s.v. genius*; de Vaan 2008: 260–261).¹⁰ In the first half of the sixteenth century, and no later than the 1540s, the term *genius* came to be applied to the "spirit" of a language, or in Toon Van Hal's (2013a: 92) phrasing: "the subtle properties of a certain language giving way to serious translation problems."¹¹ Although especially popular in the early modern period, the underlying idea can be traced even further back in time: to the work of Early Christian authors, engaged in reading, interpreting

⁹Herkel (1826: 3): "[...] quaedam de communi Slavice scribendi, partes Orationis inflectendi ratione hoc in opusculo proponere statui, ita tamen, ut philologice, et etymologice gnaros Slavici sermonis viros ipse ultro orando provocem ad ea, quae propono vel stabilienda, vel refellenda, et commodiora proponenda."

¹⁰It is of note that Herkel occasionally used *spiritus* as a synonym of *genius*. See Herkel (1826: 54, 61, 138) and Buzássyová (2012).

¹¹The sixteenth century seems to have been an era which witnessed a large number of metalinguistic neologisms. An important term borrowed into Latin around 1500 is *dialectus*: see Van Rooy (2019).

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and translating the Bible in its original languages. In that era, the untranslatable particularities of individual languages were expressed in the first place by the Ancient Greek term *idiōma* (ἰδίωμα), ‘property’ or ‘individuality of tongue’, which usage Origen (ca. 185–ca. 253) probably pioneered in his work, preserved only very fragmentarily today, partly in Latin translation. In any case, according to the Early Christian Latin author Jerome, Origen advocated the view that in some cases it is impossible to translate a word or phrase in a text properly, “on account of the native idiom of each of the two languages”, and that in these cases it is better to leave the original expression untranslated.¹² This concept found an expression in the phrase *idiōma tēs glōttēs* (ἰδίωμα τῆς γλώττης), which the Early Christian Greek author Theodoretus of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–ca. 458/466) adopted, applying it twice to the idiom of Hebrew: “the property of that tongue spoke as follows”, and “doubling is a property of the Hebrews’ tongue”.¹³ It seems that the phrase got translated into Latin as *proprietas linguae*, probably from Origenes’ work, and that it became more popular in Latin Early Christian works than it had been in Greek Early Christian texts.¹⁴ Its most eager users are Augustine and especially the Bible translator Jerome, who employed the phrase also in four prefatory letters accompanying the translation of Psalms.¹⁵

The phrase *proprietas linguae* continued being used throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁶ The idea that each language had its individuality became mixed up with the idea that a language had different varieties, which later would be called “dialects”. This confusion emerges most clearly from the works of thirteenth-century Franciscan friar Roger Bacon:

but it is impossible that the property of one language is preserved in another. For also idioms of the same language are varied among diverse [nations],

¹²Cited from Bartelink (1980: 52): *Ep.* 26.1: “[...] licet [...] Origenes adserat, propter vernaculum linguae utriusque idioma non posse ita apud alios sonare, ut apud suos dicta sunt, et multo melius ininterpretata ponere, quam vim interpretatione tenuare.”

¹³Fernández Marcos & Sáenz-Badillos (1979: 15): “τὸ τῆς γλώττης ἐκείνης ἰδίωμα οὕτως ἔφη [...]”; Migne (1857–1866: 81, 1145): “Ὁ δὲ διπλασιασμός τῆς Ἑβραίων γλώττης ἰδίωμα [...]”

¹⁴A proximity search for *proprieta** and *linguae* that allowed a maximum of three intervening words, using the Cross Database Searchtool (CDS) of Brepolis Latin databases <<https://clt.brepolis.net/cds/pages/Search.aspx>> (conducted on 26 June 2022), resulted in 48 hits, with 4 instances being recorded doubly; this brings the total number of hits to 44. Most notably, Rufinus’ translation of Origenes’ *In Numeros homiliae* 27.13 (cited from the CDS) reads: “Verum ne huiusmodi expositio, quae per Hebraeorum nominum significantias currit, ignorantibus linguae illius proprietatem affectata videatur et violenter extorta, dabimus etiam in nostra lingua similitudinem, qua consequentiae huius ratio pateat.”

¹⁵The search reported in the previous note resulted in 8 hits for Augustine and 18 for Jerome.

¹⁶76 hits in CDS as per a search conducted on 27 June 2022.

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as is clear from the French language, which is varied by a manifold idiom among the Walloons, the Picards, the Normans, and the Burgundians. And what is properly said in the idiom of the Picards, becomes rough among the Burgundians, indeed even among the Walloons, who live nearer to Picardy; so how much more will this occur among different languages? Therefore, what is well done in one language, cannot be transferred to another according to the property it had from the start. (The English translation of Bacon's original Latin is quoted from Van Rooy 2020: 35)

The interference of the “idiom” and “dialect” concepts continued in the early modern period, even when the Neo-Latin borrowing from Greek *dialectus* was adopted as metaterm to designate a variety of a “language”, however a scholar defined this conceptual distinction between “language” and “dialect”.¹⁷ Perhaps as a strategy to circumvent the conceptual confusion of “idiom” and “dialect”, sixteenth-century scholars jargonized *genius* to convey a language's individuality and idiomaticity. They reasoned, it seems, that if in the classical Latin expression a people and a region can have their *genius*, their peculiar character, the same noun could be applied to a people's language. Given the close tie scholars saw between a people, their territory, and their language, harking back to antiquity, the early modern association of the term *genius* with language comes as no surprise, all the more since in this period, as Joep Leerssen (2007: 17–32) has argued, ethnic stereotypes were starting to crystallize.¹⁸

It is surely no coincidence that one of the early adopters of the phrase *genius linguae*, ‘genius of a language’, Theodore Bibliander (1504/1509–1564), also conflated the concepts of “idiom” and “dialect” (Van Hal 2013a: 84–85; Van Rooy 2020: 77–78). Perhaps this confusion incited Bibliander to look for a clearer terminological apparatus that allowed for a distinction of the two concepts, although it must be stressed that his conceptual framework to refer to linguistic diversity and individuality is terribly chaotic, allowing for significant polysemy in linguistic metalanguage. He moreover was, as said, merely an early adopter of the phrase *genius linguae* in his 1542 commentary on Hebrew grammars, where he, as can be expected, applied the phrase to the singularity of Hebrew (Bibliander 1542: 15). A search in Google Books for *linguae genius* reveals that, as early as 1529, an opponent of Martin Luther's plan to translate the Bible into German praised “that true and natural genius of the Latin language”.¹⁹ Future research

¹⁷See the discussion in Van Rooy (2020: 76–78).

¹⁸For the age-old tie between language and ethnic character, see Van Hal (2013b).

¹⁹George of Saxony (1529: Y1v): “Neq[ue] sane hactenus vllu[m] libru[m] vllasue l[ite]ras legi, in q[ui]bus verus ille & natiuus latinæ linguæ genius fuisse.”

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will no doubt be able to adjust and correct our image, especially once extensive and reliable corpora will be established. The “genius” concept soon led to the idea that all languages had their own “genius”, which a letter of the humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) succinctly voiced in 1586: “every language has its own characteristics which cannot be torn away from it and simply transferred to another body.”²⁰ Lipsius’ letters were widely read and probably stimulated the *linguae genius* collocation which can be found throughout the early modern era. It came to rival, and eventually overtake, the more ancient phrase *linguae proprietates*, to which it was more or less synonymous.²¹ In its French version, the phrase *génie de la langue* featured quite prominently in a speech by Amable de Bourzeys from 1635, edited only in modern times, and wrongly credited with coining the phrase. In it, one can read observations such as: “every language has its air and its particular genius.”²² Most notably, Bourzeys was exceptional in tying the genius of a language explicitly to the “nation” speaking it, thus expanding the link that scholars had been making for centuries between language and its speech community (Hüllen 2001: 242).

However, Bourzeys worked in an age before nationalism. Even though many early moderns came to express increasing patriotic sentiments, the nation-state was still a long way in the future. In the process leading up to this, language became closely associated with national identity, crystallized in phrases such as *ut lingua, natio*, ‘like language, like nation.’²³ Around the turn of the nineteenth century, emergent nationalism probably further reinforced this association, as language became nationalized together with a host of other domains related to public life. This evolution, however, requires further analysis, but it is clear that it partly ran in parallel with the rationalization of language in the course of the early modern period. Starting from Julius Caesar Scaliger’s extensive description of Latin and culminating in the Port Royal universal grammar, rationalist approaches to language in early modernity have attracted extensive scholarly attention.²⁴ The ways in which rationalism influenced the interpretation of existing metalinguistic terminology would benefit from a concerted investigation going beyond Germanic and Romance Europe, in general, and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, in particular.²⁵ The same holds for nationalism, and the com-

²⁰Quoted from Van Hal (2013a: 88): “Est suus videlicet cuique linguae Genius, quem non avellas, nec temere migrare iusseris in corpus alienum.”

²¹Van Hal (2013a: 88–90), where other (near-)synonyms are noted, such as *indoles*. Van Hal also offers select examples for the entire early modern period.

²²Cited from Van Hal (2013a: 84): “Chaque langue a son air et son genie particulier.”

²³For France and Italy, respectively, see Siouffi (2010), and Gambarota (2011).

²⁴Lardet et al. (2019); Arnauld & Lancelot (1660). See e.g. Eco (1995: Chapter 15).

²⁵For some concepts as understood by the contributors to the *Encyclopédie*, see Swiggers (1986).

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bined impact of rationalism, Romanticism, and nationalism on linguistic ideas in the Slavic world has been poorly studied to this date. The analysis I present below of Herkel's term *genius* suggests that it might be fruitful to combine these perspectives in analyzing to what extent they influenced linguistic interpretations of *genius* in the Slavic world.

2.3 The direct sources for Herkel's *genius*

Herkel was certainly not the first Slav to apply the term *genius* (and *spiritus*) to this language family, and Ludmila Buzássyová (2012: 136) has claimed that his usage of the term “probably stems from Jernej Kopitar's workshop as well”, just as several other aspects of Herkel's work.²⁶ While I have illustrated above that the origin of the phrase harks back to the sixteenth century, Buzássyová may well be right in attributing Herkel's usage to Kopitar's influence. However, Kopitar cannot have been Herkel's only source, since he used the Germanized term *Genius* only sparingly in his *Grammatik der Slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* of 1808, which did not give Herkel much to go on, since Kopitar employed it quite vaguely.²⁷ The term *genius* shows up more frequently in other works Herkel cited in his *Elements*. Indeed, it seems that he particularly followed the example of Josef Dobrovský, who like his colleague Kopitar was an advocate of orthographic reform in Slavic and an important source of Herkel's; Buzássyová acknowledges Herkel's debt to him, but not for the term *genius*.²⁸ In Dobrovský's grammar of Old Church Slavonic, written in Latin and published in 1822, *genius* occurs six times, and in a more marked way than in Kopitar's grammar. For instance, an Old Church Slavonic rendering of a Greek composite word is said to be “wholly conform to the genius of the Slavic language”, a phrasing encountered also in Herkel's *Elements*, where a certain form is said to “conform to the genius of the language”.²⁹ Dobrovský's most telling observation involving the term *genius* regards the Slavic idiomaticity that is not respected in rendering the Greek New Testament:

²⁶“Es ist eine Kategorie, die wahrscheinlich auch aus Jernej Kopitars Werkstatt stammt.” See e.g. Herkel (1826: 48), where Kopitar is explicitly followed.

²⁷Searching the digitization of Google Books, I only came across three attestations in more than 500 pages: Kopitar (1808: 37): “die Stimme des Slavischen Genius”; (1808: 128): “von einem Genius der Slavischen Sprache hatte ihm nie geträumt”; (1808: 302): “Ueberhaupt scheint der Genius des Slavischen Sprache auf einen ganz eigenen Weg zur Behandlung des Verbi hinzuweisen, welchen zu verfolgen wir jetzt nicht gerüstet sind.”

²⁸See also Maxwell's essay in this volume.

²⁹Dobrovský (1822: 455): “[...] genio linguae slavicae prorsus conformi.” See our translation of Herkel (1826: 93): “[...] genio linguae conformiter dictum est.”

2.3 The direct sources for Herkel's *genius*

You have here a specimen of the grammatical corrections made by monks of the holy mountain, who push the Greek subtleties too far through, thus violating the genius of the Slavic language because of an excessive reverence for Biblical Greekness.³⁰

Notably, Dobrovský applied the term *genius* also to Greek in three instances, and clearly invoked it in the context of translation, whereas Herkel did not, using it only in connection with Slavic. In one case, Herkel's reasoning clearly followed that of Dobrovský in the quotation above. When discussing two alternative Slavic translations of a New Testament passage, Herkel preferred the option that "also occurs in the most ancient Bible as if it were an original Slavic expression", whereas the other alternative "evokes the Greek text more than the Slavic genius".³¹ Dobrovský did not use the term in his earlier grammar handbook of Czech (1809), which he wrote in German for both German and Czech speakers, and which Herkel also quoted in his *Elements*. This fact suggests that *genius* might have been typical especially of the Latin metalanguage of Slavic grammar, although certainly not exclusively. In addition to Kopitar, Herkel no doubt also encountered the German form *Genius* in Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie's Polish grammar (1824), where it is used twice, though only once in the linguistic sense.³² *Genius* likewise makes two appearances in Alexander Adamowicz's Polish grammar for German learners (1796a), both times in the linguistic sense.³³ It does not feature in other sources of Herkel's, not even Puchmajer's Russian grammar (1820), even though it is based on Dobrovský's Czech grammar. It is also absent from Anton Bernolák's *Grammatica slavica* of 1790 and from Dainko's Windic grammar of 1824. As far as I can tell, even as prominent a scholar and compiler as Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864), who insisted on the individuality of Serbian, and whom Herkel (1826: 51) cited as "the illustrious *Vuk*", did not grant a central position to a "genius"-like concept either, perhaps because he was not looking for Pan-Slavic commonalities.

³⁰Dobrovský (1822: 713): "Habes hic specimen correctionum grammaticarum monachorum sancti montis, graecas subtilitates nimis prementium, itaque prae nimia in biblicam graecitatem reverentia Slavicae linguae genio vim inferentium."

³¹Herkel (1826: 35): "[...] haec loquendi ratio exstat in antiquissimis Bibliis tamquam originalis Slavica expressio, prior enim magis Graecum textum, quam Slavicum genium redolet."

³²Bandtkie (1824: 287): "[...] in jeder dieser vier Sprachen nach ihrem besondern Genius [...]" The other instance occurs at page 30 but expresses the meaning of 'exceptionally intelligent person' (1824: 30).

³³Adamowicz (1796a: 29): "[...] sich überhaupt mit dem Genius der polnischen Deklinationen bekannter gemacht hat"; (1796a: 161): "Ueberhaupt ist zu bemerken, daß wenn man den Infinitivum umschreiben kann, man allemal richtiger und dem Genius der Sprache gemäßer sprechen wird."

2 *The genius of the Slavic language according to Jan Herkel*

HerkeI thus probably found the term *genius* and his key phrase *genius Slavicae linguae* in several of his sources and naturally took them over. It seems that the term *genius* is particularly frequent in those grammatical works among Herkel's sources that appeared in the German-Slavic borderlands, and featured most prominently in Dobrovský's extensive Old Church Slavonic grammar, written in Latin and published in Vienna. These works were at least partly written with a non-Slavic – usually German-speaking – target audience in mind, and it is not inconceivable to conjecture that the Slavs addressing these others adopted a concept widely applied to classical and vernacular languages and extended it to Slavic in order to make their readers feel at home. In the European tradition, especially under impulse of Enlightenment scholarship, the "genius of a language" had become a very popular concept, closely associated with ethnic-regional groups and their different cognitive constitutions, as Nicolas Beauzée's entry *Grammaire* in the *Encyclopédie* may suffice to illustrate:

The diversity of climates; the political constitution of States; the revolutions that change its appearance; the status of the sciences, arts, and trade; religion and the degree to which one is attached to it; the opposing pretenses of nations, provinces, cities, families even: all that contributes to adopting a view of things that varies from here to there, from yesterday to tomorrow; and it's the origin of the diversity of the geniuses of languages.³⁴

The concept of "genius" gained further momentum due to Romanticism, which partly reacted against Enlightenment rationalism. In the case of "genius", however, the two trends coalesced, resulting in a concept that combined features of both, as in the case of Herkel (see my analysis in the next section). Just like the *Encyclopédie* is often used synonymously with the Enlightenment, Romantic thought typically conjures up the name of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803). In his *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, published in 1772, Herder occasionally used the term *Genius*, but mainly in the meaning of a people's rather than a language's spirit, with one notable exception.³⁵ Toward the end of his *Abhandlung*, Herder (1772: 212) directed criticism toward travel writers and missionaries; among them, "there have been so few true language philosophers, who

³⁴My English translation of the French text, cited in Haßler (2009: 780): "La diversité des climats; la constitution politique des Etats; les révolutions qui en changent la face; l'état des sciences, des arts, du commerce; la religion & le plus ou le moins d'attachement qu'on y a; les prétentions opposées des nations, des provinces, des villes, des familles même: tout cela contribue à faire envisager les choses, ici sous un point de vûe, là sous un autre, aujourd'hui d'une façon, demain d'une maniere toute différente; & c'est l'origine de la diversité des génies des langues."

³⁵I have found five instances. See Herder (1772: 81, 85 (twice), 185, 212).

2.4 *Genius restyled: a touchstone concept for Herkel*

would have been able or willing to report about the genius and the characteristic grounds of their tribes' languages, that one generally still errs in this respect".³⁶ This lack of data and expert analyses is also why Herder refrained from offering language genealogies in his work.

While the concept of "genius", as shown in Section 2.2, has roots as far back as the sixteenth century, it was popularized mostly by the grammatical and linguistic thought of seventeenth-century France (Haßler 2009: 784). Soon, the concept gained a firm footing also in German-speaking territories, thriving during the Enlightenment and the Romantic movement, and through these in the Slavic world at the turn of the nineteenth century. There, Herkel seems to have acted as an exceptionally eager adopter and promotor of the term *genius* as part of his Pan-Slavic project, hunting as it were for the core features of the Slavic language panther, to use Dantean imagery.

In conclusion, Herkel and his colleagues were partly writing for a non-Slavic target audience, and resorted to a concept firmly anchored in the European tradition of linguistic thought to talk about the Slavic linguistic situation and its basic unity. In the case of Herkel, Enlightenment ideas about the rationality of language seeped through in his use of genius, which he actively restyled on a fundamental level, as I argue in the next section.

2.4 *Genius restyled: a touchstone concept for Herkel*

Herkel used the term *genius* 62 times on 164 pages, thus occurring, on average, once every three to four pages. By far the most often, the term *genius* appears in conjunction with the genitive *linguae* (54 times), often accompanied by the adjective *Slavicae* (25 times) – see Figure 2.1.

In all cases, it refers to Slavic, explicitly or implicitly. Telling is, for instance, Herkel's observation, quoted already above, that a certain Slavic Bible translation "evokes the Greek text more than the Slavic genius", in which case he seems to have purposely contrasted the Greek textual facts in the New Testament with the elusive Slavic genius (see Herkel 1826: 35, quoted in footnote 31 above). Unlike *Panslavismus*, featuring only once in his introduction, *genius* occurs throughout the *Elements*, being concentrated especially in the sections devoted to Slavic inflection: especially noun declensions (25 instances) and verb conjugations (22 instances). This is not surprising, as Herkel aimed to propose a new Pan-Slavic

³⁶Herder (1772: 212): "Zudem sind unter den Reisebeschreibern und selbst Mißionarien so wenig wahre Sprachphilosophen gewesen, die uns von dem Genius und dem charakteristischen Grunde ihrer Völkersprachen hätten Nachricht geben können oder wollen, daß man im Allgemeinen hier noch in der Irre gehet."

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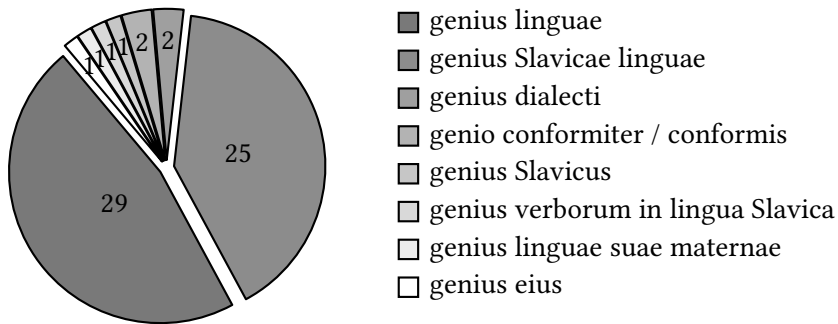


Figure 2.1: Collocations with *genius* in Herkel's *Elements*

norm in orthography and grammar that corresponded as closely as possible to the Slavic genius. He was looking for conformity among the Slavic dialects that reflected this Pan-Slavic genius, a supranational linguistic level that at the same time transcended and united the Slavic nations. This unity could be achieved with regard to language and literature, Herkel made clear at the outset of his *Elements*, as he cherished no hopes for political unification.³⁷ Instead, Herkel launched his Pan-Slavic *genius* as a linguistic touchstone to develop a cultivated written language, based on rational principles and approximating the invisible *genius* of the Slavic language – and hence its original form – as closely as possible. In the remainder of my contribution, I will investigate how Herkel interpreted the *genius* concept in the frame of his linguistic idealism.

The end of Herkel's section on the declension of adjectives features a key quotation for a better understanding of his *genius* concept: "That method of inflection which conforms to the genius of the language and prevails in all Slavic dialects should be adopted."³⁸ A linguistic form adopted in Pan-Slavic should conform to the principles found in the blueprint that Slavic dialects shared. The full title of the *Elements* already announced that the recovery of this blueprint should be "based on sound logical principles".³⁹ Nowhere in his book, however, did Herkel define these "logical principles". Nevertheless, they can be gathered from passing observations, such as the following:

³⁷See on Herkel's apolitical Pan-Slavism and nationalism Alexander Maxwell's essay in this book.

³⁸Herkel (1826: 95): "Ea inflectendi ratio est adoptanda, quae et genio linguae conformis est, et in omnibus Slavicis dialectis viget [...]"

³⁹Herkel (1826: title page) "[...] sanis logicae principiis suffulta."

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Thus it follows that only one logical form of the neuter inflections can be established, from which it is clear that combining the dialects is absolutely indispensable for cultivating the Slavic language.⁴⁰

In order to arrive at a rational Pan-Slavic language form, one needed to compare the language facts across the different Slavic “dialects”, a complicated endeavor, as the logical principles have been obfuscated in the dialects:

For all dialects are more or less burdened by various exceptions which emerged from diverging usage. Thus the cultivation of the Slavic language needs logical combination, and then rules will emerge that are firm, plain, clear, and beneficial for both Slavs and foreigners wanting to learn this language.⁴¹

Indeed, most dialectal endings and the variation in them are “clearly not based on sound logic”.⁴² Herkel argued, instead, that rational consideration of all Slavic language forms should lead to the development of logical principles of writing grounded in the Slavic genius:

No Slavic dialect, viewed in isolation from the others, can reasonably serve as the common literary Slavic language. Firstly, each dialect currently abounds in foreign words, even though indigenous expressions are present in the other dialects. Secondly, the individual dialects lack thoughtful principles of writing. The reason is that the nations speaking individual dialects to a greater or lesser extent mixed with other peoples, and that mixing has greatly influenced the language itself. Hence it follows that [18] the genius of the original Slavic language does not consist of, and is not grounded on, any one dialect, but all of them. Thus not only Church Slavonic is relevant, but also Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Pannonian, Illyrian, and Windic, together with their subdialects.⁴³

⁴⁰Herkel (1826: 19): “hinc sequitur inflectendorum neutrorum nonnisi unicam logicam posse stabiliri formam, ex quibus patet pro cultura linguae Slavicae combinationem dialectorum esse absolute necessariam.”

⁴¹Herkel (1826: 22): “omnes enim dialecti plus minus variis onerantur exceptionibus a vago usu ortis; logica itaque combinatione opus est in cultura linguae Slavicae, et tunc orientur regulae firmae, planae, clarae, et hoc ipso et Slavis et exteris hanc linguam noscere volentibus proficuae.”

⁴²Herkel (1826: 46): “in Logica sana plane non fundatae.”

⁴³Herkel (1826: 17–18): “Dialectus quaecunque Slavica ab aliis separata pro litteraria communi Slavica lingua sumi rationabiliter haud potest; nam Imo quaevis dialectus, uti nunc sunt,

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Logical reasoning should be combined with civic cultivation of language, Herkel believed. This civic cultivation corresponds more or less to what scholars of language standardization would today call “elaboration”, following Einar Haugen’s example: the use of a language form in a growing body of functions, mostly public-administrative and literary.⁴⁴ In Herkel’s words:

The civic cultivation of language occurs when the use of a language prevails in a civil society. The more circumstances in which a language is used, addressing more diverse or even all possible subjects, the greater the civic cultivation of that language. Hence it follows that the larger a nation with the same language and civil society may be, the greater the civic cultivation of language within it, for we suppose the affairs of a great nation will also be great.⁴⁵

As the last sentence indicates, Herkel tied this civic cultivation to emergent national feelings, but he was clearly imagining the “nation” in a broader Pan-Slavic sense, rather than invoking any particularist national concept.

The original Slavic genius, however, cannot be accessed directly. Uncovering it requires far-going linguistic comparison of Slavic dialects, an intellectual exercise which Herkel aimed to initiate with his *Elements*. In the study of Slavic verbs, for instance, one needed particular care to uncover the primal genius of the language, since this domain of the language had been obfuscated by grammarians oriented toward other European languages:

Before we turn to the inflection of verbs, however, it is important to clear up the meaning and genius of the Slavic verbs, since the genius of this language

scatet peregrinis plus minus vocabulis, licet originariae expressiones in aliis dialectis adsint; do singillativae dialecti criticis destituuntur scribendi principiis, ratio est, quia aliquae nationes singillativarum dialectorum sunt plus minus aliis gentibus mistae, quae commistio in linguam ipsam magnum habet influxum, hinc sequitur non in una dialecto, sed in omnibus consistere, ac fundari genium originariae linguae slavicae, adeoque huc spectant praeter Ecclesiasticam, Russica, Polonica, Bohemica, Pannonica, Illyrica, Vindica, una cum suis subdialectis.”

⁴⁴For the term “elaboration”, see the foundational contribution by Haugen (1966). See e.g. also Joseph (1987).

⁴⁵Herkel (1826: 20): “[...] civilis linguae cultura tunc est, dum linguae alicuius usus in societate civili viget, et quo linguae alicujus usus in pluribus, vel plane omnibus negotiis occurrit, eo major est etiam ejusdem linguae civilis cultura, hinc sequitur, quo amplior aliqua natio ejusdem linguae ac societatis civilis est, eo ampliorem in ea esse civilem linguae culturam, nam ampla natio ampla supponitur habere etiam negotia [...]”

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differs from that of all other European languages. As some Slavic grammarians have followed the norms of other languages when composing their grammars, they have entangled themselves in inextricable difficulties.⁴⁶

As such, Slavic grammarians “extended” the descriptive frameworks of other European languages to their native forms of speech, a linguistic approach that has attracted much attention in recent years, although not for the Slavophone sphere (see e.g. Aussant & Dumarty 2021). Instead of extending classical grammar to Slavic languages, however, the Pan-Slavic genius needed to be sieved out of the various dialects, a metaphor evoked by the Latin verb *erudere*, ‘to clear from rubbish.’ Herkel apparently pictured himself as an archeologist going through the Pan-Slavic irregular bits and pieces he encountered in the dialects in order to create a grand palace of the Slavic language.⁴⁷ This image finds confirmation in the full title of Herkel’s book, cited in the introduction above and indicating that the author ‘dug out’ [*erueret*] the “elements” of Slavic “from the living dialects”.

Herkel in other words developed a historical-comparative mindset toward the Slavic dialects in order to lay bare the original Pan-Slavic genius. However, unlike co-eval scholars such as Rasmus Rask and Franz Bopp, who were turning historical-comparative grammar into a separate discipline (Swiggers 2017), Herkel practiced his Pan-Slavic grammar not for its own sake, but in service of literature and public uses. In one respect, Herkel may have been a little ahead of Rask and Bopp, in that he did not identify the original Slavic *genius* with an existing language such as the revered Old Church Slavonic tongue, whereas Bopp initially strongly considered Sanskrit a principal candidate for protolanguage in the Indo-European family (Swiggers & Desmet 1996: 125, 155). Still, Herkel’s approach was conceptually a much fuzzier one, in that he nowhere defined the Slavic *genius* in detail. Indeed, he did not even situate the Slavic *genius* within a

⁴⁶Herkel (1826: 103–104): “Antequam tamen inflexionem verborum adgrediamur, interest vim, et genium verborum in lingua Slavica erudere, siquidem genium hujus linguae differat ab omnibus Europaeis linguis, et ideo, quia nonnulli Grammatici Slavici cynosuram aliarum linguarum in concinnandis suis Grammaticis sunt secuti, inexplicabilibus semet involverunt difficultatibus.”

⁴⁷Cf. Herkel (1826: 150): “Thus if we consider the Slavic language through all its dialects as one language, then every irregularity dissipates like clouds at dawn. However, if we consider the dialects individually, they will be more or less overwhelmed with exceptions, and experience teaches us that every day new ones arise. For every dialect has its particularities, or so-called provincialisms either to greater or lesser extent.” (Original Latin: “[...] ut adeo, si linguam Slavicam per omnes dialectos ut unam consideraverimus linguam, omnis irregularitas veluti nebulae orto sole dissipabuntur; si vero seorsivas dialectos spectemus, plus minus seorsivis obruuntur exceptionibus, novasque in dies oriri experientia docet; nam omnis dialectus habet suas singularitates, seu ita dictos Provincialismos jam majoris, jam minoris extensionis [...].”)

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clear chronology, but conceived the *genius* as an atemporal spirit permeating all Slavic dialects. In laying bare the Pan-Slavic *genius*, Herkel moreover resorted to praising and rebuking words and forms across different Slavic dialects, reducing them as much as possible to simpler paradigms, based on the idea that the many different declensions and conjugations appearing in grammars of individual Slavic varieties are unnecessary complications reflecting only superficial variations on the grammatical patterns of the Pan-Slavic *genius*.

The way Herkel differed from Rask and Bopp can be demonstrated excellently by his discussion of the Slavic dual. Although he noticed that “remnants of the dual [...] are found in all dialects”,⁴⁸ and that it “is in use among the Carinthians, Carniolans, and Styrians to this day”,⁴⁹ he did not sense that the dual deserved a wide application in his Pan-Slavic language form:

since the dual number is currently not distinguished from the plural in the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, and southern dialects, I judge that one needs to refrain from rigidly introducing it into use, so that, by all means, one makes no mistake when using the dual at a suitable place.⁵⁰

For this reason, Herkel typically refrained from offering dual forms. When he discussed the indicative present using the verb *nesu*, ‘to carry, to bring’, for example, he explained that “[t]he dual number is not shown, since no living dialect uses it except for Windic”.⁵¹ Contrary to the historical-comparative Indo-Europeanists, who wanted to arrive at the most ancient form of language and considered the dual to be integral part of it, Herkel (1826: 27) dismissed the dual as an undesirable complication, despite its old age and the authority of Old Church Slavonic, which he considered to be “not at all rationally cultivated, as the various texts of the Bible prove”.⁵²

In sum, whereas Rask and Bopp studied linguistic variation mainly for the sake of knowledge, Herkel’s intentions were both functional and pragmatic. While not challenging existing political structures or seeking to redraw borders,⁵³ Herkel’s Pan-Slavism was:

⁴⁸Herkel (1826: 36): “[...] haec sunt manifesta dualis numeri vestigia, quae in omnibus dialectis existunt [...]”

⁴⁹Herkel (1826: 49): “[...] apud Carinthios, Carniolos et Styrios hucdum est in usu [...]”

⁵⁰Herkel (1826: 49): “[...] quum vero nunc dualis numerus in Russica, Polonica, Bohemica, et meridionalibus dialectis a plurali non distinguatur, ab eo stricte in usum inducendo super sedendum duxi, quin tamen erretur tunc, quum loco opportuno ejusdem usus fiat [...]”

⁵¹Herkel (1826: 125): “Dualis numerus non exponitur, quia eo nulla viva dialectus praeter Vindicam utitur.”

⁵²[...] logice tamen culta haud fuit, id probatur variis Bibliorum textibus.”

⁵³Herkel’s pannationalism was hence not “high political” as defined by Alexander Maxwell but rather focused on “low political” phenomena like language and literature. See Maxwell (2022b).

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- rational, based as it was on logical principles that went against the grammarians' fictions;
- literary rather than spoken, resulting in a focus on orthography and morphology;
- invisible but recoverable by rationally comparing dialects, which should not be described using frameworks tailored to the classical, Germanic, and Romance languages;
- and original-idealistic, since Herkel wanted to arrive at a uniform Slavic that reunited the core features of all varieties, not least Old Church Slavonic, and hence reflected the primal properties of this language.

As such, Herkel combined Enlightenment with Romanticism, looking for rational principles to discover the unfathomable genius of the Slavic language, implicitly believed to resonate with the spirit of the various Slavic peoples.⁵⁴ The impossibility of putting one's finger on the Slavic genius makes it somewhat awkward that Herkel persistently used it as a touchstone concept to measure the appropriateness – or even Slaviness – of specific linguistic forms. Where the term *genius* appears, it typically indicates that a form is in agreement with the Slavic genius, or is grounded in it, with recourse to the metaphor that the genius forms the fundament of all Slavic tongues. For instance, reflecting on the adjectival declension of animate nouns, Herkel reasoned as follows:

The inflection *krolovie* is adjectival, which the genius of the language uses not only for the names of illustrious persons, as the Polish grammarian claims, but also for other masculine nouns, particularly those denoting a substance. That is clear from the ancient dialect, in which is said also *meuove* ['swords'], *dezdove* ['rains'], *kamenove* ['stones']; thus *rakove*, just like *krolovie*, conforms to the genius of the language just as much as *nozi*, *nozove*, or *noze*. For if only the adjectival inflection is displayed in the dative singular, why would that inflection be invalid in the plural?⁵⁵

⁵⁴See e.g. Herkel (1826: 144), where rationalism and Romanticism go hand in hand: "In my humble opinion, I would judge that the Polish-Bohemian form should be adopted, grounded in the ancient dialect, and mixed in with the southerners' sweetness [...]" (Original Latin: "Tenui opinione mea existimarem Polono-Bohemicam formam assumendam, in veteri dialecto fundatam, et svavitare meridionalium temperatam.")

⁵⁵Herkel (1826: 38–39): "*krolovie* enim est adjectivalis flexio, quam e genio linguae, non tantum nomina Personarum honoratorum, uti Polonus autumat, sed etiam aliorum masculinorum,

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Less often, the *genius* of Slavic is contrasted with phenomena in individual dialects that are presented as later deviations from it, or with the grammarians' fictions that did not correspond to actual usage, or with both, as in the case of the Slavic pluperfect, which, Herkel argued, did not exist:

The genius of the Slavic language rejects the expression of the pluperfect; for this reason there is not any mention of it in any grammars of any dialects. Yet some form it from the perfect by adding *byl*, and in Russian *byvalo* for all genders. Thus Polish *xvalilem byl*, Bohemian *byl sem xvalil* ['I had praised']. But these expressions seem to have come in from the servile imitation of other languages because they are not grounded in the ancient dialect, and also because they are not confirmed by the usage of the dialects themselves, unless one would slavishly imitate other languages. For a true Pole never uses it; Russian *byvalo*, for similar reasons, is only a grammarians' fiction and does not reflect the genius of the language.⁵⁶

Herke's criticism of the grammarians' fictions is, arguably, striking in that his Pan-Slavic proposal constituted a fiction itself, albeit a fiction transcending those of the grammarians by its alleged reflection of the Slavic genius.

2.5 Conclusion

Although mainly remembered for his coining of the term *Panslavismus*, Herkel operated with a different keyword throughout his *Elements*, as I have argued in this contribution: *genius*. Related to the idea of *Panslavismus*, the *genius* captured the genuine forms the Slavic tongues shared. Indeed, in Herkel's eyes, everything that belonged to the genius of the Slavic language was Pan-Slavic. His supranational approach to Slavic unity despite diversity made his approach not

maxime substantiam aliquam denotantium recipiunt, id patet e veteri dialecto, in qua dicitur et *meчove*, *dezdove*, *kamenove*; ergo et *rakove* prout et *krolovie* genio linguae conformiter dicitur prout et *nozi*, *nozove*, or *noze*, nam si in dativo singulari tantum adjectivaliter exponitur, cur inflexio haec in plurali respueretur?"

⁵⁶Herke (1826: 140): "Genium linguae Slavicae respuit expressionem plusquam perfecti, ideo in non nullarum dialectorum Grammaticis nec occurrit ejus mentio; aliqui tamen illud formant a perfecto addendo *byl*, et Russus *byvalo*, pro omni genere. sic: Polonus: *xvalilem byl*, Bohemus: *Byl sem xvalil*; verum hae expressiones videntur e servili imitatione aliarum linguarum immigrasse, quia nec fundatur in veteri dialecto, sed nec usu ipsissimarum dialectorum comprobatur, nisi quis serviliter alias imitetur linguas, originarius enim Polonus, nunquam eo utitur, ideo et Russicum *byvalo* est tantum Grammaticorum commentum, non vero linguae genium [...]."

political but literary, in keeping with the *Cultorum Linguae et Literaturae Slavicæ Unio* that he co-founded in 1834 and its literary almanac *Zora*, where different orthographies were in use. Still, indirectly, a uniform Pan-Slavic language would be conducive to political emancipation on the local level in the Hungary of his day and age, where local Slavs were subject to far-going Magyarization (see Maxwell in this volume).

With his insistence on the Slavic *genius*, Herkel adopted a term from European language studies that had risen to popularity since the sixteenth century and “extended” it to Slavic with greater emphasis than any of his predecessors. Along the way, it seems that he restyled the *genius* concept from “subtle properties of a certain language giving way to serious translation problems” (Van Hal 2013a: 92) to intrinsic, primal and charming properties of a language that constitute the foundations for the ideal, rational form of that language. The issue of untranslatability that had been central to earlier discussions of the geniuses of individual languages remained largely under Herkel’s radar, with the exception of a brief allusion to the Old Church Slavonic Bible text having a Greek and hence un-Slavic air. Concomitantly, Herkel’s *genius* did not concern solely the subtle properties and intricacies of a language, but its very core and essence, its intrinsic good properties. His interpretation of the Slavic *genius* did, however, have common ground with earlier conceptions in that it is unfathomable. One may approach it through rational comparison of existing diversity, but one can never lay it bare entirely. Herkel’s Slavic *genius*, then, resulted from fusing Enlightenment rationalism with Romantic sentiment, as he looked for logical principles that corresponded to what he believed to be the innate spirit, the genius, of the Slavic peoples and their essentially unitary, Pan-Slavic language.

3 Elements of a universal Slavic language

[Title page / p. 1]

Elements of a universal Slavic language, drawn from the living dialects and based on sound logical principles, the author being Johannes Herkel from Pannonia.

In Buda, with the typeface of the Royal Hungarian University – 1826.

[Imprimatur / p. 2]

Admitted for print.

Antonius Tumara signed with his own hand,
censor and reviewer of books.
On the 25th day of February 1826.

Introduction [p. 3–4]

Not only the Slavic nations, but also other cultivated nations have a burning desire for a uniform script for the Slavic tongue, which should act like a suitable key, opening at last the door to this widely extended tongue. No wonder, for the Slavic nations are encouraged by a mutual love which nature has instilled in them, while other peoples are exhorted by the practical advantage of communicating with sixty million Europeans as conveniently as possible.

To this end, the Herculean work of the illustrious Linde was published under the patronage of the most august monarchs of Great Russia and Prussia.¹ Inspired by this common desire, I have decided to put forward in this booklet some proposals about a common method of writing Slavic and inflecting its parts of speech,

¹Linde should be identified with the Swedish-German lexicographer of Polish Samuel Gottlieb Linde (1771–1847): see Section III, §8 below and our note there.

yet in such a manner that I myself also invite men skilled in the philology and etymology of the Slavic tongue either to endorse my proposals or to refute them and formulate more suitable proposals. For what is needed is a work perfect in its kind which commends itself both by the ease of its writing and comprehension and by the pleasantness of its expression. For this is not a matter [4] concerning a single dialect, but the Slavic language taken as a whole, whose genuine principles should preferably not be sought in one but in all dialects. Hence it also follows naturally that this language, as the original, should be cultivated by the common effort of the Slavic nations; only in this way, following the example of other nations, will flourish, even in the face of geographic, historic and political diversity, the greatly desired *Union in Literature* among all Slavs, which is the true Pan-Slavism.

Section I. *On the letters.* [p. 4–12]

§. 1.

The sole impediment to the literature of the Slavic nations was, and remains, the diversity of writing, in terms of both letters and orthography; for the enormously extended Russian people, as well as the Serbs, use a double type of writing: church and civil. The church letters are, to be sure, nothing else than the letters which Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs, took from the Greeks. They fashioned these same letters to express the sounds proper to the people – or rather they had already anticipated them. For these men were philosophers; hence they acted in agreement with reason and devised proper letters in order to render the sounds proper to the people. And most certainly, if the Cyrillic letters indeed had been capable of great fluency, [5] no Slavic people would have ever adopted any others, given the enormous power they possess to express Slavic sounds. Yet because they lack both splendor in their external form and a swiftness in writing, most peoples gradually stopped using them, and even the Russians, under Peter the Great, introduced more practical letters for civil life. Most of these letters agree with their European counterparts in form but disagree in sound.

§. 2.

In fact, the other Slavic nations use Latin letters, now called “European”, which also the Bohemians and the Pannonians have generally adopted, after abandoning the Gothic-Latin script. Yet even though they use the same letters, there is still

such a great orthographic diversity in writing that texts written in the various dialects are barely understood. But also within individual dialects there is such a great variety in writing that even men from the same diocese employ three writing systems (or rather no system). The cause for this state of affairs is that the European alphabet lacks sufficient characters to express Slavic sounds, so it happens that people variously change the sound of the letters, overload them with diacritics, or laboriously wrench a typical Slavic sound from a conglomerate of several letters. A saddening example of this reality is offered by books composed in various dialects. For this reason, let us take [6] Cyril as our guide in these matters, and adapt his argument to our own times as follows.

§. 3.

A letter is nothing else than a symbol for a sound uttered by the human mouth. Hence, as many sounds there are in speech, exactly so many symbols have to be present, symbols which are called “letters”. The more distinctly the letters express the sounds of the language, the more perfect they will be. Thus it arises that one letter should never be confused with another, because then we would also confuse the sounds from which human speech is composed. For this reason, a letter should always retain the sound given to it. It is a poor way of writing if the sound of a letter depends on this or that word, on this or that vowel or consonant following or preceding it.

§. 4.

Each language normally has, apart from the sounds it shares with other languages, also sounds that are peculiar to itself. That is what experience teaches us. By consequence, one should use common letters for common sounds, and likewise particular letters for particular sounds. Certainly, grammarians would indeed create great confusion if they adopted the letters of a certain people without providing particular letters for the sounds particular to their own language, instead making a great effort to find various subterfuges to express them. [7]

§. 5.

The simpler, the more pleasant, the easier letters are to write, the more they are recommended for public use. For a pleasant script or typeface seduces even reluctant persons to read, since by our very nature we take delight not in ugliness but in beauty. Hence it is easy to judge: should we use the Cyrillic, Gothic-Latin, or indeed the more polished European letters?

§. 6.

The European letters seem to be the most adequate for public usage, for the Gothic-Latin letters are disfigured by superfluous angles. The Cyrillic letters, in turn, have long been judged wholly inappropriate for common usage even by our brothers of the Eastern rite, not just by other Slavs. All these elements weigh in favor of adopting the more cultivated European letters, because, firstly, they enjoy the required qualities more than the other scripts, secondly because most Slavic nations are already using them, and finally because the whole of cultivated Europe has adopted these very same letters. However, these letters do not suffice to express all sounds of the Slavic tongue. Let us therefore either imitate Cyril and create new letters, or if any letters exist in particular dialects, let us adopt them, and if they are unpolished, let us polish them.

§. 7.

The letters of the Europeans are the following: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, [8] q, r, s, t, u, v, x, y, z. Their number is 25, among which q = k, x = ks, and y = i have the same sound. So if you take away the superfluous letters, 22 remain. But these letters cannot express all Slavic sounds, as, for example:

1. Russian ч is to the Bohemian č, the German *tsch*, the Croatian *ch*;
2. Russian ж is to the Bohemian ž;
3. Russian ш is to the Bohemian š.
4. Soft sounds are lacking in some Slavic dialects.
5. Finally, the pleasant sound known to both the ancient Slavs and to the Russians and the Winds which the Germans express by means of *ü*, but which the ancient Slavs expressed by means of ѡ.

§. 8.

Russian ч is the most appropriate, since it is close to the European letters and as a letter is simple enough. Admittedly, the Bohemian č would be even more appropriate to express the essence of the sound because of the affinity between *c* and *č*, but the mark attached above deforms both writing and typeface, which is not the case with its Russian equivalent.

2. Russian ж differs from the European letters, but Bohemian ž is European, especially if the mark is positioned at the middle: *z*.

3. Russian ш (= German *sch*, Bohemian *š*) is too different from the form of the letter *s*. In truth, Windic *š* is nothing but a double *S* formed by means of one ductus.² We would have no reason to scorn its use, save that the authority of the Russian ш prevails. [9]

The letter *x = ks* is superfluous for us, since *ks* performs its role. The Dalmatians use it instead of *z*, but the Russians in place of Bohemian *ch*; it seems that at least in this case the Russians should be imitated. Hence, the entire Slavic nation will equally write as well as say: *žena* ['woman'], *duua* ['soul'], *dux* ['spirit'], *ulovek* ['person, human being'].

§. 9.

Some dialects are used to softening the following letters: *d, l, n, t*, but this habit of softening smells merely like provincialism in some dialects, to such an extent that in Pannonia itself the populace sometimes pronounces these letters soft before *e, i*, and other times hard. Hence, in order to designate these soft sounds, peculiar letters do not seem to be necessary at all. A softening dialect will soften e.g. *Nebo* ['sky, heaven'], *Niva* ['field'] even without any symbol, but a dialect that does not soften would be brought into confusion. This habit of softening in some regions of Pannonia has developed to the point that the letters *t* and *d* have been entirely turned into the letter and the sound of the letter *c*. This habit of speaking and writing is common to the Poles. For instance, in original Slavic fashion the following should be written: *napelniti* ['to fill'], *pokoiti* ['to rest'], *idjem* ['I am going'], those who soften *t* and *d* mark them as *ĩ, d'³*, but the Poles write *pokoic, idzem* = this sounds like *icem*.

§. 10.

The Bohemians use a triple *i*, namely *i, j, y*, all of which nonetheless always retain the sound *i*, yet with [10] the following orthographic distinction: *y* is employed after certain consonants, but they employ *j* to soften a preceding consonant or to lengthen a syllable. However, the native Bohemians themselves do not care

²The Windic letter Herkel here has in mind presumably comes from Peter Dainko's 1824 *Lehrbuch der windischen Sprache*, where it refers to the sound [ʃ] (1824: 2). Dainko's letter looks like <8>. Dainko's letter as it appears in Herkel's typeface actually resembles <8>. Herkel also used <8> to describe the letter <S> which, when doubled, produces <8>. We surmised Herkel's meaning from context, drawing inspiration from Herkel's instruction that a benevolent reader will easily correct mistakes.

³While in modern orthography one would expect the *ĩ*, in Herkel's text the diacritics on the *t* and *d* are not the same.

much about this subtle distinction. It would certainly be more satisfying if *j* were employed instead of *g*. Then the excellent Bohemian writers would be more easily understood by most Slavs. One should therefore write *javor* [‘maple’], *jagoda* [‘strawberry’], but not *gavor*, *gahoda*, and *stoji* [‘he stands’] instead of *stogi*.

But let us assign to the letter *y* that sound, common among the Winds, which approximates the German *ü*. This sound was known to the ancient Slavs, the Russians, and the Winds. The other nations supply this sound only through *i*, but the ancient Slavs accurately distinguished *i* from *y* both in sound and in writing, such as *vlk vyje*, ‘the wolf howls’, – similarly *dievica vienec vije* [‘the girl wreathes a wreath’], ‘I howl’ is written as БЫИИ, ‘I bind’, however, as ВИИИ.⁴

§. 11.

The Bohemians and Poles usually pronounce the letter *r*, especially before *e* and *i*, in a way not found among other Slavic nations. This sound used to be written as *rz* even among the Bohemians. So instead of *Zverina* [‘wild game’], the Pole writes *Zverzina*, the Bohemian drops the *z* and notes the *r* with a diacritic = *Zveřina*. – In the meantime, the diacritic itself above the letter *r*, too, is superfluous, since a native Bohemian or Pole will read the letter *r* before *e* and *i* only in the manner natural to him. It seems this nasality is related to [11] the old yer, Ъ, which in ancient books used to be annexed to the consonants, and especially also to the letter *r*.

§. 12.

Thus we have the following letters, distinct in form and sound: a, b, c, ч, d, e, f, g, h, x, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, ш (š), t, u, v, z, z (ж) – 27 in total, by means of which every authentic Slavic sound is very aptly expressed.

But perhaps some will say that there are more letters present than would be right, whereas others will maintain that there are fewer letters than necessary. The southerners will perhaps not be pleased by the letter *x* instead of Polish *ch*, because for some the letter *h* supplements this sound. They don’t say *xudi* [‘poor’], *xvalim* [‘please’], *xram* [‘temple’] etc. deeply out of their throat, but only *hudi*, *hvalim*, *hram*. What is more, some even change *h* into *f*, thus *xvala* = *hvala* = *fala*. In addition, the Dalmatians have given the letter *x* our sound *z*. Again, how great is the resulting diversity of writing, reading, and meaning! So

⁴The capital *ИИИ* is printed upside down here and elsewhere in Herkel’s text. Only in the Russian sample alphabet at the end of the text is the capital *ИИИ* printed correctly. Because the lowercase *ш* is always printed correctly, we suspect a typesetter’s eccentricity.

the Russian writes and reads *xlieb* [‘bread’]. The Dalmatian reads this as *zlieb*, which has a very different meaning [‘groove, gutter’]. Only agreement therefore will be able to establish a more extensive literature and culture, for both language and nation. In the meantime the Poles can rightly complain about the neglect of their sweet sound *dz*; but let it be supplanted with one single letter, namely with *ð*. This way, they will have a simple letter, but also it will facilitate reading among others. Among the Poles, for instance, the *d* in the word *dielo*, coming before *e* or *i*, sounds almost like *c*, and they show that by writing the letter *z*, thus *dzielo*. It would be more convenient to write *ðielo*. [12]

But the question of what should be done with *rz*, *q*, *ę* is left for the Poles themselves to decide. The Bohemians, as I’ve said, have already eliminated the letter *z* from *r*. What is more, in recent times, they have also come to dislike the diacritic on *ř* itself. Certainly, we don’t despair that the Poles will also take this step. But it would be better to write *q* and *ę* as they are pronounced, as follows: *kvitnql* [‘bloomed’], *vziql* [‘took’] = *kvitnol*, *vziol*. It is in any case not up to us to invent new sounds but rather to preserve the sounds that are fixed in the genius of the Slavic language. The objective is a common method of writing. Surely, more will be achieved with united strength, for when dispersed, or in plain opposition, they will sooner or later be extinguished.

§. 13.

Where other dialects use the *g*, the Bohemians, Moravians, Pannonians use the letter *h*. So instead of *grad* [‘city’], *gruda* [‘heap, lump, clod’], *griada* [‘garden bed, shaft’] they say and write = *hrad*, *hruda*, *hriada* etc. On this account, since *g* instead of *h* is common to most nations as well as the ancient Slavic, I for one see no reason why the Bohemians and Pannonians shouldn’t use this *g* in the common kind of writing; among those who are concerned about the culture of their mother tongue, one should therefore write *glava* [‘head’], *jeden* [‘one’], but not *hlava*, *geden*; for in this way excellent Bohemian books will be very easily understood by other fellow nationals. [13]

Section II. *On diacritics.* [p. 13–16]

§. 1.

One should properly distinguish punctuation marks from diacritics. Without punctuation marks anything written, apart from very brief texts, would dissolve into disorder, since readers could take any meaning they please. Punctuation

marks determine the meaning of speech put down on paper. Diacritics, however, are symbols attached to letters to prolong or shorten the vowel of a word etc. So what about these diacritics?

The origin of diacritics should be sought in the most ancient writing system, in which vowels were omitted and supplanted only by points. The following arguments seem to favor the preservation of diacritics. Several nations use them to more accurately depict how vowels are spoken. Additionally, diacritics can distinguish the meaning of ambiguous words. There are no other arguments in defense of diacritics.

It is important to consider how much weight to place on these arguments. Only one thing follows from the fact that many nations place diacritics above letters: those nations are either imitating the ancient way of writing, or are forced to use them because of some deficiency of their letters. If a language had enough letters, why would the typeface or script be deformed with useless marks? [14]

§. 2.

By means of diacritics, a word acquires its due sound, but the Slavic language in its entirety has absolutely no need to use them, since it is already provided with sufficient letters. Let us take, for instance, the word *zena* [‘woman’]. In the ancient dialect, and most other dialects, it is written without any diacritic. Some Russian grammarians have now burdened it with a diacritic: *zenà*. The Serb also adds a diacritic, but not where the Russian puts it: he writes *zèna*, using a diacritic which is doubled in the vocative: *zèna*.⁵ Now on what grounds has the grammarian doubled this diacritic in the vocative? Perhaps because when someone is addressed, the voice of the person addressing him changes? But when someone is angry, is fawning, or shows any other emotion, the sound of the voice also changes. What a great crowd of diacritics would then have to be introduced!

§. 3.

Then, by means of diacritics a word acquires its due sound; this observation would remain invalid even if all Slavic peoples lengthened or shortened every word equally; for then, on that very account, diacritics would be superfluous. Furthermore, the Slavic peoples show a great diversity of vowel lengthening and shortening. Indeed, I have heard a Wind say the following: *Nógí má bóléjó* [‘my feet/legs hurt’]. He lengthened [15] every syllable equally. However, such lengthening is not universal among all Winds, for experience shows diverse prosody

⁵The correct form would be *zèno*.

even among speakers of the same dialect. The reason for this is that the protraction or shortening of syllables is not grounded in the genius of the Slavic language, but in the manifold habits of speaking.

§. 4.

Finally – ambiguous words can be distinguished only if the diacritics are added. Yet ambiguous words are not distinguished by adding a mass of extra symbols, but rather by the context of conversation. The word *vije* has very different meaning in *Vlk vije*, ‘the wolf howls’, and *dievica, (panna) vienec vije*, ‘the maiden wreathes a wreath’, but the meaning is absolutely clear from the context. The Bohemians do indeed distinguish these meanings with their orthographic system, writing ‘to howl’ *vyti* with *y*, and *vije* ‘wreathes’ with *i*, but this distinct method of writing is right and correct only if it also produces a distinct sound. Otherwise, useless subtleties understood only by their fabricators will arise. The ancient dialect and the Russians write ‘I howl’ as ВЫИИ, but ‘to wreath’ as ВИИИ, the different method of writing indicates a different sound, and indeed Ы = *y* = German *ü*, [16] French *eu*; and thus the sound of *vyti* is different from that in *viti*. These arguments demonstrate that using diacritics in the Slavic language would just be multiplying entities beyond necessity,⁶ slowing down the writer, troubling the reader, and spoiling handwriting and typefaces. So if there are sufficient letters to express the genuine Slavic sound, it follows that diacritics should be left to those peoples who are forced to use them because of the deficiency of their letters.

Section III. *On the cultivation of language in general, then in particular.* [p. 16–25]

§. 1.

With a uniform writing system, all Slavic peoples can engage in literary interaction among themselves. They understand one another very easily, for there is not such a great distinction between them as one observes among the Italian or German dialects. The Pannonian Slav in the Carpathian Mountains speaks as easily with the Bohemian and the Pole as with his brother, and with the Russian as with his neighbor. This was abundantly shown by the passage through these regions of the Russian army, but anyway the dialect of some Pannonians differs

⁶Herkel here refers to Ockham’s razor: *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*.

3 Elements of a universal Slavic language

little from Russian. They can likewise understand southern Slavs, perhaps with greater difficulty, but eight days of [17] conversation with them removes all difficulty (as I can attest from my own experience in Croatia), especially when both parties would abstain from foreign words. Now if oral communication is possible, a common writing system could much more easily be established. To that end, a uniform script is absolutely necessary, both in terms of letters and spelling. Without uniformity we have nothing, but with it, it will be clear that all Slavic dialects are but one single language. In particular, if foreign words are noted in dialect dictionaries and replaced by genuine words from another dialect, then variation will cease spontaneously, and there will be, as there once was, a single language. And if a philosophical grammar would accompany it, this original language, alive among numerous peoples of Europe, is bound to be very useful and flourish greatly.

§. 2.

No Slavic dialect, viewed in isolation from the others, can reasonably serve as the common literary Slavic language. Firstly, each dialect currently abounds in foreign words, even though indigenous expressions are present in the other dialects. Secondly, the individual dialects lack thoughtful principles of writing. The reason is that the nations speaking individual dialects to a greater or lesser extent mixed with other peoples, and that mixing has greatly influenced the language itself. Hence it follows that [18] the genius of the original Slavic language does not consist of, and is not grounded on, any one dialect, but all of them. Thus not only Church Slavonic is relevant, but also Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Pannonian, Illyrian, and Windic, together with their subdialects.

§. 3.

If one particular dialect were taken as the basis for a common Slavic, it would first have to be purged of foreign expressions, and then its method of inflecting compared with that of the other dialects. Whatever dialect were chosen, it would be appropriate to consider the authentic words in each dialect and the original pattern of inflection, since otherwise a hodge-podge of useless rules and exceptions will arise. The following example will illustrate why. The Bohemian dialect currently inflects nouns of the neuter gender in various ways.⁷ For instance:

⁷Dobrovský (1809: table insert at 234–235).

Singular.			
<i>Nom. Ac. V.</i>	<i>Pole</i> [‘field’],	<i>Slovo</i> [‘word’],	<i>Znameni</i> [‘sign’].
<i>G.</i>	<i>Pole,</i>	<i>Slova,</i>	<i>Znameni.</i>
<i>D.</i>	<i>Poli,</i>	<i>Slovu,</i>	<i>Znameni.</i>
<i>Locative.</i>	<i>v Poli,</i>	<i>Slove,</i>	<i>Znameni.</i>
<i>Instrumental.</i>	<i>Polem,</i>	<i>Slovem,</i>	<i>Znamenim.</i>

Plural.			
<i>Nom. A. V.</i>	<i>Pole,</i>	<i>Slova,</i>	<i>Znameni.</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Poli,</i>	<i>Slov,</i>	<i>Znameni.</i>
<i>D.</i>	<i>Polim,</i>	<i>Slovum,</i>	<i>Znamenim.</i>
<i>L.</i>	<i>v Polix,</i>	<i>Slovix,</i>	<i>Znamenix.</i>
<i>I.</i>	<i>Poli,</i>	<i>Slovi,</i>	<i>Znamenimi.</i>

[19] Here every word has a distinct declension. The Pole declines the very same words, but the paradigm follows only one norm of inflection, as shown below.⁸

Singular.			
<i>N. A. Vo.</i>	<i>Pole,</i>	<i>Slovo,</i>	<i>Znamenie.</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Pola,</i>	<i>Slova,</i>	<i>Znamenie.</i>
<i>D.</i>	<i>Polu,</i>	<i>Slovu,</i>	<i>Znameniu.</i>
<i>L.</i>	<i>v Polu,</i>	<i>Slovie,</i>	<i>Znameniu.</i>
<i>I.</i>	<i>Polem,</i>	<i>Slovem,</i>	<i>Zameniem.</i>

⁸Bandtkie (1808: 122–123). The declension Herkel ascribes to *znamenie* ‘doctrine’ Bandtkie actually gives for *kazanie* ‘sermon’. Herkel is obviously offering *znamenie* for Polish for the sake of parallelism with his earlier Czech declension table.

Plural.			
Nom. A. Vo.	<i>Pola,</i>	<i>Slova,</i>	<i>Znamenja.</i>
G.	<i>Pol,</i>	<i>Slov,</i>	<i>Znamien.</i>
D.	<i>Polom,</i>	<i>Slovom,</i>	<i>Znameniom.</i>
L.	<i>v Polax,</i>	<i>Slovax,</i>	<i>Znamenjax.</i>
I.	<i>Polami,</i>	<i>Slovami,</i>	<i>Znameniami.</i>

Though the Pole here follows only one single declension, he makes an exception for the word *Slovo* in the locative singular, to which he appends not *u*, as in the other cases, but *e*. But if we would then consult the other dialects, both northern and southern, we find in everyday life the ending of the locative of the word *slovo* as follows: *v Bozim slovu*, *v mojim slovu* etc. [‘in God’s word, in my word’]. Thus it follows that only one logical form of the neuter inflections can be established, from which it is clear that combining the dialects is absolutely indispensable for cultivating the Slavic language. [20]

§. 4.

But what do we mean by “cultivating the language”? The cultivation of language can be sometimes civic, sometimes rational. The civic cultivation of language occurs when the use of a language prevails in a civil society. The more circumstances in which a language is used, addressing more diverse or even all possible subjects, the greater the civic cultivation of that language. Hence it follows that the larger a nation with the same language and civil society may be, the greater the civic cultivation of language within it, for we suppose the affairs of a great nation will also be great. And if these affairs are conducted in the mother tongue, the language of the nation is cultivated and amplified in the military, in the home, outdoors, in training, at work, and in thousands of other activities. Hence it is clear that the smaller a nation is and the more insignificant its affairs, the less national language will undergo civic cultivation. The civic cultivation of language should therefore not be sought in the fancies of men of letters but in public usage. A man of letters devises words in vain if they do not find practical use, but diverse activities quickly generate terminology and put it to use. Languages are therefore enriched above all by the diversity of citizens’ occupations, and for this reason it becomes clear that the civic cultivation of language is to be measured by the number of citizens and their occupations.

§. 5.

From this perspective, if the Slavic language is considered across its entire expanse, as a language [21] extending widely across eastern Europe and northern Asia: observe that many peoples of Europe speak it; the sacred Eastern rite is conducted in it, as is that of the Western Church, and of the Reformed rite. It is the language of the military, of trade, and thousands of other occupations. Yet consider also that this language is sundered into various dialects, so its civic cultivation depends on the situation of the peoples speaking it. For in one place it is the administrative language, at another the language of home or the family, at still another merely the language of servants, and the civic cultivation of the language is determined by this foundation.

§. 6.

But what is meant by “logically cultivated language”? What is meant by “logically cultivated language” is abundantly indicated by the expression itself: a language should have firm principles, clear rules of writing, and not be crippled by a multitude of exceptions. The fewer exceptions to the rules, the firmer those rules will be. Hence a language absolutely does not deserve to be called “logically cultivated” if its grammar book is as long as or even longer than its dictionary. Such a language certainly lacked logical cultivation right at the start, thus it is wrong to believe that the cultivation of language resides in the idle subtlety of grammarians. The following example will confirm this truth. The Pannonians express the adjective ‘long’ by means of the word *dluhi*, but they form the comparative [22] by adding *-ui* instead of *-i*, as in *xudi xudui* [‘poor, poorer’], so also *dluhi*, *dluhui* etc. But here already dialect grammarians form an exception and advocate *dlukui* or *dluzui*, but where does this exception come from? Whence have *z* and *k* intruded? It is only from the dialect, or rather the subdialect: for Pannonians do not always say *dluzui* or *dlukui*, they also say *dluhui* – this is the same. But logic itself does not acknowledge this exception, since the regular pronunciation is established above all through usage itself. But *dluhui* is actually said, for *z* has crept in not so much by usage as by misuse; for *dlukui* is nothing else than a corruption of the original way of writing. For the original Slavic was not *dluhi* but *dlugi*, and hence *dlugui*, not *dlukui*. There are thousands of exceptions of this type which constitute a true labyrinth for memory: for *kniha* or *kniga* [‘book’], for instance, the dialect experts give dative *knize* instead of *knihe* or *knige* as in the other dialects etc. For all dialects are more or less burdened by various exceptions which emerged from diverging usage. Thus the cultivation of

3 Elements of a universal Slavic language

the Slavic language needs logical combination, and then rules will emerge that are firm, plain, clear, and beneficial for both Slavs and foreigners wanting to learn this language.

§. 7.

For the logical cultivation and union of the Slavic dialects there are means available, for recently very erudite men [23] have accurately composed grammars of almost every dialect. And from these it is clear how much the dialects diverge from one another, or rather how much they vary, which is why the Slavic language does not need any more similar grammars. If the smaller Slavic nations cultivate their dialect grammatically with no regard for their relation to the other dialects, the growth of Slavic literature will be stunted. For the Slavic language is divided into various dialects, and their separate writing conventions also separate the language itself. For this reason grammars should be made which introduce a greater range of their language; for while civic cultivation does not flower among the dialects of smaller Slavic peoples, it is flourishing for the Slavic language viewed in its full extent. Dialect experts should therefore work to direct the various dialects like rivulets that will flow into one great stream.

§. 8.

To this end, the very erudite *Samuel Bogomil Linde*,⁹ rector of the Warsaw Lyceum, published a dictionary of all Slavic dialects in the Polish dialect saying: if the Italians, who are so very diverse in terms of dialect, have boasted a uniform written language since Dante's times, why should the Slavs not enjoy the same? Indeed, the illustrious *Samuel Bandtke*,¹⁰ professor in Cracow, says in his work: there is no doubt that the Slavic dialects can be united, and that a common way of writing can be introduced. If the German nations, which are more diverse in dialects, have accomplished this, what impedes the Slavs? [24]

⁹The Slavic alias of Samuel Gottlieb Linde (1771–1847), who was born in Prussia to a Swedish father and a German mother. He was the author of a six-volume Polish dictionary (*Słownik języka polskiego*, 1807–1814) that compared Polish words to their counterparts in other Slavic languages.

¹⁰Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie or Georg Samuel Bandtke (1768–1835) was a Polish philologist from Lublin. Herkel quotes his *Polnische Grammatik für Deutsche* (1824). We refer to this scholar as Bandtkie, as is common in secondary literature, but preserve in our translation Herkel's form.

§. 9.

For this goal, a common writing system is necessary, in terms of both letters and orthography, for instance: *Ad* ['hell'], *Adám* ['Adam'], *Bog* ['God'], *brada* ['beard'], *brana* ['gate'], *cerkva* ['church'], *čast* ['part'], *červ* ['worm'], *dvor* ['court'], *den* ['day'], *deut* ['rain'], *grad* ['city'], *grib* ['mushroom'], *jama* ['pit'], *jesen* ['autumn'], *izba* ['cottage'], *xram* ['temple'], *xrom* ['thunder'], *kon* ['horse'], *kov*, *kova* ['metal'], *libost* ['pleasure'], *liud* ['people'], *meč* ['sword'], *maso* ['meat'], *mladost* ['youth'], *mleko* ['milk'], *nebo* ['sky, heaven'], *niva* ['field'], *oko* ['eye'], *orel* ['eagle'], *plod* ['fruit'], *rozen (rozen)* ['skewer'], *slovo* ['word'], *slava* ['glory'], *sused* ['neighbor'], *temno* ['dark'], *temnica* ['dungeon'], *ud* ['limb'], *vjek* ['age'], *zor* ['view, look'], *pozor* ['attention'], *zila* ['vein'], *život* ['life'], and so on. Every northern, central, and southern Slav will very easily read, write, and understand these and similar words. This common writing system is necessary, since without it all literature, and indeed all culture, of the minor Slavic peoples will only remain a pious wish.¹¹

§. 10.

Furthermore, dictionaries of dialects are necessary, but fashioned in such a way that foreign words are accurately distinguished, and native words from the other dialects are put in their stead. For the Slavic language is a true cornucopia; it is indeed a fact that even native Slavic words themselves vary in the speech of those populations using different dialects. However, this variation consists mostly in the mutation of vowels, the consonants remain the same, as if they were the bones of the word. Hence it happens that the rougher dialects leave out the vowels, but soft dialects insert [25] them and soften the consonants themselves. The Illyrian dialects soften, as do Polish and Russian, so instead of *smrt* ['death'], *srdce* ['heart'], *prst* ['finger'], *tvrdi* ['hard'] one says in the soft dialects: *smert*, *serdce*, *serce*, *serco*, *perst*, *tvardi* = *tverdi* etc. Once there are particularist lexica, a universal etymological-philological dictionary will have to be compiled; if this were accompanied by a rational method of inflecting the parts of speech, then we can rightly claim the Slavic language has been cultivated both civically and logically. Reason restrains empty language rules, but instead establishes firm linguistic principles that conform to its genius. Let us therefore proceed to the rational examination of the parts of speech.

¹¹The phrase "a pious wish" is associated with pietism.

Section IV. *On the inflection of the parts of speech.*

[p. 25–76]

§. 1.

Henceforth, I will follow the method adopted by grammarians in transmitting and explaining languages, even though all might not approve, since our grammars are more occupied with terminology than with the subject matter itself. Some parts of speech are inflected, but others are immutable. For instance, nouns, pronouns, and verbs are mutable, but prepositions, adverbs, interjections, and conjunctions do not change. So seven parts of speech emerge, for the participle is not a distinct part of speech, since it either retains the value of a verb, and in this case it belongs to [26] the verb, or it assumes the form and nature of an adjective, and in this case it belongs to the noun. Otherwise, one could also call the so-called gerund and supine a distinct part of speech.

§. 2.

The noun is a word by means of which an object or a property or quality thereof is designated, hence the name “substantive” and “adjective”. Examples of substantives are: *bob* [‘bean’], *pup* [‘navel’], *um* [‘intellect’], *pokoj* [‘peace’], *len* [‘flax’], *vol* [‘ox’], *dol* [‘valley’], *udol* [‘valley’], *stol* [‘table’], *san* [‘dignity’], *mir* [‘peace’], *zavjet* [‘treaty’], *ad* [‘hell’], *med* [‘honey’], *sud* [‘law court’], *xod* [‘pace, step’], *zaxod* [‘circuit, (sun)set, latrine’], *liepota* [‘grace’], *krim* [‘lily’], *kot* [‘cat’], *kit* [‘whale’], *sovjed* [‘council’], *sovjest* [‘consciousness’], *bies* [‘demon’], *lis* [‘fox’], *bieg* [‘course’], *lug* [‘grove’], *rog* [‘horn’], *miex* [‘wineskin’], *ux* [‘Bohemian’], *poslux* [‘aural witness’], *bok* [‘side’], *mak* [‘poppyseed’], *zamok* [‘lock, castle’], *rak* [‘crayfish’], *lik* [‘choir’], *tok* [‘flow’], *potok* [‘stream’], *otrok* [‘boy, servant’], *ryk* [‘roaring’], *vyk* [‘wolf howling’], *tuk* [‘fat’], *sok* [‘juice’], *suk* [‘tree knot’], *mol* [‘moth’], *xmel* [‘hops’], *kniaz* [‘prince’], *zeravel* [‘crane’], *put* [‘road’], *tat* [‘thief’], *zlat* [‘son-in-law’], *test* [‘father-in-law’], *gost* [‘guest’], *noz* [‘knife’], *strax* [‘fear’], *lemes* [‘plow blade’], *meu* [‘sword’], *plau* [‘lamentation’] etc. These and other nouns have retained the same meanings which they had a thousand and more years ago, and in all dialects. Hence, old Slavic should be regarded, as it were, as the nursery of the remaining dialects, which already flourished in civic fashion a thousand and more years ago. If only we possessed more monuments in this language than just the Bible [27]. Some peoples have more or less departed from the meaning and expression of old Slavic. For instance, *san* [‘dignity’] is unfamiliar to many: the Pannonians express it by *hodnost*. *Tuk* [‘fat’] [noun], whence *tučni* [‘fat’] [adjective], is expressed

by the Moravians by *masnost* from *maso* [‘flesh’], but not at all authentically, for *masnost* and *tuk* are not the same thing. For this reason one should always keep the old Slavic in mind, and supplement from it in those cases where the authentic meaning has been lost.

§. 3.

Should the old Slavonic method of inflecting nouns be strictly maintained? Not at all, for old Slavic, into which the holy Bible was translated, once underwent civic cultivation, though it was not at all rationally cultivated, as the various texts of the Bible prove. In subsequent times, erudite men tried to draw up some grammatical rules from it. On the basis of Biblical texts, some derived 50 paradigms of noun inflections, others reduced these to 40; the immortal Dobrovský¹² limited these to nine forms, including two masculine, three neuter, and four feminine forms. There is a straightforward explanation for this great variation: the Bible was written in popular, and therefore very free, speech. In truth, the speech of the common people fluctuates; it changes, deletes, or adds vowels as it pleases. Hence it is not surprising to observe in the Bible as many as three declensions of the same noun in the same case [28]: for instance, *gosti* ‘guests’, or *gostie*, or *gostove*, or *gostia*. Similarly, Pannonians also commonly say *priuli nauui hosti* [‘our guests arrived’], *hostia*, *hostove*, or *hostie* etc. Yet no one will dare to condemn this or another way of talking, as everyone speaks in the way he has learned from hearing. The Bible was translated in this fashion. Those grammarians claiming that only this ending or that ending is authentic bring nothing useful to Slavic literature. It is no wonder, then, if some grammarians gather 50 noun declensions from the Bible, and others 40.

§. 4.

Since the old Slavic language underwent no rational cultivation at all, it should not be treated as the exclusive norm from which inflections are derived. The living dialects and subdialects should also be consulted, and the principles of the language will eventually be discerned from all of them in combination. When considering this combination, it will be easiest to follow the general rule, so long as the dialects do not all share an exception in some noun or verb. But when in doubt, a single dialect will have to yield to the plurality of dialects. This law is

¹²Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) was one of the pioneers of Slavic comparative linguistics and authored a grammar of Old Church Slavonic (1822) and an outline for a general Slavic etymological dictionary (1813), which made Dobrovský a living monument for Herkel.

just, founded as it is on sound reason. If reason will be observed, the labyrinth of grammars that torments natures longing for knowledge will vanish, and the language will obtain firm principles that are therefore easy to learn. [29]

§. 5.

Because nouns have three genders, all dialect grammarians establish three declensions, namely masculine, feminine, and neuter. The most recent grammar of the ancient dialect divides the masculine nouns into two forms, and illustrates both by means of four paradigms, as follows:¹³

Declension of the first form of masculine nouns.

Singular.				
N.	<i>Rab</i> [‘slave, servant’],	<i>Sin</i> [‘son’],	<i>Jarem</i> [‘yoke’],	<i>Dom</i> [‘house’].
G.	<i>Raba,</i>	<i>Sina,</i>	<i>Jarma,</i>	<i>Domu.</i>
D.	<i>Rabu,</i>	<i>Sinovi,</i>	<i>Jarmu,</i>	<i>Domu.</i>
A.	<i>Rab,</i>	<i>Sin,</i>	<i>Jarem,</i>	<i>Dom.</i>
L.	<i>Rabje,</i>	<i>Sinje,</i>	<i>Jarmje,</i>	<i>Domu.</i>
I.	<i>Rabom,</i>	<i>Sinom,</i>	<i>Jarmom,</i>	<i>Domom.</i>
Plural.				
N.	<i>Rabi,</i>	<i>Sinove,</i>	<i>Jarmi,</i>	<i>Domove.</i>
G.	<i>Rab,</i>	<i>Sinov,</i>	<i>Jariem,</i>	<i>Domov.</i>
D.	<i>Rabom,</i>	<i>Sinovom,</i>	<i>Jarmom,</i>	<i>Domom.</i>
A.	<i>Raby,</i>	<i>Sinovy,</i>	<i>Jarmy,</i>	<i>Domy.</i>
L.	<i>Rabjex,</i>	<i>Sinovjex,</i>	<i>Jarmjex,</i>	<i>Domjex.</i>
I.	<i>Raby,</i>	<i>Sinovy,</i>	<i>Jarmi,</i>	<i>Domy.</i>

¹³Dobrovský (1822: 466, 468).

Declension of the second form of masculine nouns.

Singular.				
N.	<i>Car</i>	<i>Vrau</i>	<i>Kniaz</i>	<i>Mravij</i>
	['emperor'],	['physician'],	['prince'],	['ant'].
G.	<i>Carja,</i>	<i>Vraua,</i>	<i>Kniazza,</i>	<i>Mravija.</i> [30]
D.	<i>Caru,</i>	<i>Vrauevi,</i>	<i>Kniazuu,</i>	<i>Mraviju.</i>
A.	like the <i>nominative</i> or the <i>genitive</i> .			
V.	<i>Carju,</i>	<i>Vrauu,</i>	<i>Knianzje,</i>	<i>Mraviju.</i>
L.	<i>Cari,</i>	<i>Vraui,</i>	<i>Kniazii,</i>	<i>Mravii.</i>
I.	<i>Carem,</i>	<i>Vrauem,</i>	<i>Kniazem,</i>	<i>Mraviem.</i>
Plural.				
N.	<i>Carije,</i>	<i>Vrauevje,</i>	<i>Kniazii,</i>	<i>Mravije.</i>
G.	<i>Cary,</i>	<i>Vraujev,</i>	<i>Kniaz,</i>	<i>Mravij.</i>
D.	<i>Cariem,</i>	<i>Vraujem,</i>	<i>Kniaziiem,</i>	<i>Mraviem.</i>
A.	<i>Carja,</i>	<i>Vrauja,</i>	<i>Knazja,</i>	<i>Mravija.</i>
V.	like the <i>nominative</i> .			
L.	<i>Carjex,</i>	<i>Vraujex,</i>	<i>Kniazjex,</i>	<i>Mravijex.</i>
I.	<i>Cary,</i>	<i>Vraui,</i>	<i>Kniazii,</i>	<i>Mravij.</i>

The ancient dialect inflected masculine nouns designating something perceptible by means of the senses in a twofold manner, namely commonly and in some cases adjectivally. The most common manner of inflecting is *dub* ['oak'], G. *duba*, D. *dubu*, but the adjectival is *dubovi*, *muzovi* ['to the man'], *vrauevi* etc. This can properly be called the adjectival way of inflecting because adjectives denoting possession are formed from masculine substantives by adding the syllable *ov*: for instance, from *car* ['emperor'], *carov*, *a*, *o*, (*e*), and *Pavel*, *Pavelov* or *Pavlov*, *a*, *o*, (*e*) derive *carov dvor* ['the emperor's court'], *Pavlov sin* ['Pavel's son'], *kniazov dom* ['the prince's house'] etc. And for this reason the dative singular and the nominative plural are pronounced, in both the old and in the living dialects, in a twofold manner, [31] as follows: *Caru*, *Pavlu*, *kamenu* ['to the stone'], or *Carovi*, *Pavlovi*, *kamenovi*; nominative plural, *Cari* or *Carove*, *kameni* or *kamenove*, *kniazii* or *kniazove* etc. This twofold way of inflecting is used among the Slavs everywhere, but grammarians describe this use with anxious rules. The Pole, for instance, attributes an adjectival ending only to animate substantives

denoting some excellence or dignity, such as *Bogovi* ['to God'], *duxovi* ['to the spirit'], *Panovi* ['to the Lord'], *kastellanovi* ['to the castellan'] etc. The Bohemian restricts this use especially to monosyllabic words, yet makes an exception for *Dux*, *Bux*, and says that these have in the dative only *Duxu* and *Bohu*, an exception which is directly opposed to the rule of the Poles, which contends that one should say *Bogovi*, *Duxovi* etc. Yet even the Bohemian permits the adjectival plural in *Bohove*, *Duxove* – see Dobrovský's grammar, pages 170 and 172.

§. 6.

The Pannonian grammarian restricts the adjectival form of inflecting chiefly to verbal nouns ending in *-el*, such as: *uittel* ['teacher'] *uittelovi*, *spasitel* ['savior'] *spasitelovi* etc. Yet common usage does not conform to the grammarian's rules, but uses the adjectival ending freely, just like in old Slavic. Indeed, if we closely inspect the Biblical record, it will be clear that masculine plurals took both the common and the adjectival form with no regard for the aforementioned restrictions [32], whether those words were animate or inanimate, monosyllabic or polysyllabic. For one reads in the dative *dnevi* ['to the day'], *ognevi* ['to the fire'], *konevi* ['to the horse'], *kamenovi* ['to the stone'], *carovi* ['to the emperor'], *vinarovi* ['to the winemaker'], *gospodevi* ['to the lord'], *muzevi* ['to the man'], *mecevi* ['to the sword'], *dezdevi* ['to the rain'], *jezevi* ['to the hedgehog'], *molevi* ['to the moth'], *vrabievi* ['to the sparrow'], *smijeви* ['to the snake'] instead of *dnu*, *ognu* etc., but in the nominative plural *dni*, *ogni* etc. or *dneve*, *ogneve*, *koneve*, *carjeve*, or by abbreviation *dne*, *ogne*, *carje* etc. Hence, if I observe in the Bible this or another ending, I would shrink from asserting that this or that ending indicates a Russianism, Polishism, Bohemianism, or Serbianism. If the Bible were to be translated into the Pannonian dialect today, many different endings of the same case and word would certainly be used in its composition. One would say, for instance, *s mojimi bratmi* ['with my brothers'], as well as *bratami*, or *bratrami*, or *bratrimi*, or *bratji* etc. and the like. And if a thousand years hence such a composition were discussed, erudite men would torment themselves in vain trying to deduce fixed rules from it. The very same thing now also holds for the ancient dialect of the Bible. One recent grammarian, for example, claims to establish an instrumental plural ending similar to that of the *a*-stems or *o*-stems, namely: *s rabi*, *sini*, *jarmi*, *domi*, *Cari*, *vraчi*, *kniazі* ['with the slaves, with the sons, with the yokes, with the homes, with the emperors, with the physicians, with the princes'] etc., even though in the most ancient manuscripts one also reads endings with *mi*, as *s gospodmi*, *sinmi*, *darmi*, *muzmi*, *denmi*, *liudmi*, *stepenmi* ['with the lords, with the sons, with the gifts, with the men, with the days, with the people, with the

steps'] etc. And this seems to be the original ending of the instrumental plural, both because it appears in the most ancient manuscripts, but also because it is endorsed by the common use of all dialects; for all [33] dialects append the characteristic *-mi* to the instrumental plural. Only the Bohemians like to abbreviate this ending. So in the original Slavic one says: *s mečami* ['with the swords'], which becomes through syncope *s mečmi*, and finally, after deletion of *m*, *s meči*. Yet the Bohemian grammarian warns that this abbreviation should be avoided, if any ambiguity could arise, since in this abbreviated form the instrumental is identical with the accusative (Dobrovský, *Lehrgebäude der Böhmisches Sprache*, page 175).

§. 7.

From the aforementioned, and from the Biblical corpus, it is clear that masculine nouns designating something perceptible by means of the senses were inflected by the old Slavs also in adjectival fashion, namely by addition of the syllable *-ov*. Hence, although the grammarian's paradigm gives the dative *rabu* and *domu* for *rab* and *dom*, witnesses from antiquity, were they alive and present, would testify that *rabovi* and *domovi* were also in use. But the living dialects also demonstrate that *domovi* is just as correct as *domu*. The word *put* 'road' is read in the genitive and dative as *puti*, but it does not follow that, just as in the inflection of modern dialects, the genitive *puta* and the dative *putu* were not also used. Modern dialects have these endings only in audible form, but hearing surely reflects usage. For it is certain that old Slavic lacked a codified grammar back when the Bible was translated into it; hence one reads without distinction e.g. *grob*, loc. *grobu* or *grobje* ['in the grave'], *domu* or *domje* ['in the house']; *zakonu* or *zakonje* ['in the law']; *uglu* [34] or *uglje* ['in the corner']; *smjexu*, *smexje* or *smesje* ['in the laughter'] etc. Hence it is no wonder if grammarians can derive from the Bible 50 or 40 declension paradigms of the ancient dialect, just as today one could also derive them from every spoken dialect.

§. 8.

Although more than a thousand years have passed since the translation of the Bible into the Slavic idiom, still Slavic dialects currently thrive which barely deviate from the old language in form, and not at all in their essence. Consider the inflection of masculine nouns, whose form of inflection is still observed today in the various dialects. All dialects and even subdialects should therefore be taken into consideration when devising a universal manner of writing.

§. 9.

The Russians establish for the inflection of masculine nouns only two paradigms, for with them the Slavic language has achieved a greater rational cultivation than the ancient dialect.¹⁴

	Singular.		Plural.	
N.A.V.	<i>Stol</i> [‘table’],	<i>Korabl</i> [‘ship’].	<i>Stoli</i> [‘tables’],	<i>Korabli</i> [‘ships’].
G.	<i>Stola,</i>	<i>Korabilia.</i>	<i>Stolov,</i>	<i>Korablei.</i>
D.	<i>Stolu,</i>	<i>Korabliu.</i>	<i>Stolam,</i>	<i>Korabliam.</i>
L.	<i>Stolie,</i>	<i>Korablie.</i>	<i>Stolax,</i>	<i>Korabliax.</i>
I.	<i>Stolom,</i>	<i>Korablem.</i>	<i>Stolomi,</i> ¹⁵	<i>Korabliami.</i>

[35] Here we see that in the Russian dialect the eight paradigms of the ancient dialect have contracted into two forms, which other dialects have contracted into only one, since *korabl* or *korabel*, or *korab* are inflected like *stol*. Indeed, the fact that this word *korabl* in the oblique cases is augmented with the letter *i* shows the softening pattern of the Russian dialect, yet whether that *i* is inserted or not, the pattern is the same. Indeed, the fact that the instrumental case in one pattern is pronounced with *-om*, but in the other with *-em*, is not an essential distinction, but only a free pronunciation variant in which the Russians themselves indulge. For instance, *otec* [‘father’] they say as *otcom* or *otcem*, just as other dialects say *stolem* or *stolom*, *korabljem* or *korabliom* etc. Furthermore, some words in common usage are pronounced in the genitive singular with *u*: for instance, *vosk* [‘wax’], *vosku, lies* [‘forest’], *liesu, most* [‘bridge’], *piesok* [‘sand’], *riad* [‘row’], *jad* [‘poison’], *polk* ‘legion’, *roj* [‘swarm’], *boj* [‘struggle’], yet the more elevated style follows that general and rational way of writing, thus *dom* takes genitive *doma*, *most mosta* etc. The genitive is namely always pronounced with *-a*. In the ancient Bible, the accusative singular of animate things is read the same as the nominative, but the living dialects, including Russian, pronounce the nouns of animate things the same way as the genitive singular, as e.g. is read among the ancients: *Privjedox sin moj k tebje*, ‘I brought my son to you’. The more recent editions conform themselves to the living dialects: *privjedox sina mojego k tebje*. This way of speaking also occurs in the most ancient Bible as if it were an original

¹⁴Puchmajer (1820: table insert at 204–205).

¹⁵We suspect this may be a typo for *Stolami*.

Slavic expression, for the former evokes the Greek text more than the Slavic genius. [36]

§. 10.

Concerning the masculine plural among the Russians, note the following: the regular nominative plural ending is *i*, as with the other Slavs, but just as other dialects allow the so-called adjectival ending, as *sini* or *sinove* [‘sons’], *muzi* or *muzove* [‘husbands’], so do the Russians change that *e* into *a* for the sake of euphony as follows: *sinovia*, *muzovia*, *stavotoja* [‘tasks’], or *kumovja*, from *kum* ‘godfather’. Yet the endings of the plural number of some words are in *a*, so *bok* [‘side’], *rog* [‘horn’], *rukav* [‘sleeve’], *bereg* ‘river bank’, *golos* ‘voice’, *obraz* [‘image’] are *boka*, *roga* etc. in the plural, instead of *boki*, *rogi*, *rukavi* etc. These are clearly remnants of the dual, which are found in all dialects. For example, Pannonian has *liudja* [‘people’], *bratja* [‘brothers’], *hostja* [‘guests’] etc. instead of *ljudi*, *hosti*, *bratji*. Grammarians note this sort of nominative plural using *a* with a diacritic *à*, so as to distinguish it from the genitive singular. Hence it follows that the regular nominative plural ending, both in the living dialects and in the ancient one, is either *i* or the adjectival form; thus either *sini*, *kameni* [‘stones’], *svati* [‘matchmakers’], or *sinove*, *kamenove*, *svatove* etc.

§. 11.

For noun inflections following the pattern of *korabl*, the genitive plural ending is *-ov* or *-ev*, and particularly nouns ending in *-j*, such as *pokoj* [‘peace’], *zlodej* [‘thief’], take *-ov* or *-ev* in the genitive plural. Thus *pokojev* [37], *zlodejev* in Russian, but in the other dialects *pokojev*, *zlodejev*, since other dialects pronounce *korabl* in the genitive plural with *-ov* or *-ev*. Both Polish as well as the southern dialects take this ending, yet some words in the southern dialects are pronounced differently in the genitive plural; for instance the genitive plural of *gost* [‘guest’] in some dialects is *gosti*, and *gostov* in others. The genitive plural of *muz* [‘man’], to give another example, is for the Winds *muz* in the style of neuter nouns, but other dialects say it regularly, and vice versa.¹⁶ Combining these observations leads to the following general rule, which has no exceptions:

¹⁶Kopitar (1808: 232).

Singular.		Plural.
N.		<i>i</i> , or adjectival <i>-ve</i> .
G.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ov</i>
D.	<i>-u</i> , or <i>-vi</i>	<i>-om</i>
A.	animate <i>-a</i> inanimate like the nominative	inanimate like the nominative, or animate like the genitive
V.	like the nominative	like the nominative
L.	<i>-u</i> , or <i>-e</i>	<i>-ax</i>
I.	<i>-om</i> , or <i>-em</i> .	<i>-ami</i> .

§. 12.

The Polish grammarian illustrates the inflection of masculine nouns by means of twelve paradigms, but since most agree with each other, it is convenient to present only four, namely two of animate and two of inanimate objects, as follows:¹⁷ [38]

	Singular.		Plural.	
N.	<i>Krol</i>	<i>Rak</i>	<i>Krolovie,</i>	<i>Raki.</i>
	['king'],	['crayfish'],		
G.	<i>Krola,</i>	<i>Raka,</i>	<i>Krolov,</i>	<i>Rakov.</i>
D.	<i>Krolovi,</i>	<i>Rakovi,</i>	<i>Krolom,</i>	<i>Rakom.</i>
A.	<i>Krola,</i>	<i>Raka,</i>	<i>Krolov,</i>	<i>Raki.</i>
V.	<i>Krolu,</i>	<i>Raku,</i>	like the nominative	
I.	<i>Kroliem,</i>	<i>Rakiem,</i>	<i>Krolami,</i>	<i>Rakami.</i>
L.	<i>v. Krolu,</i>	<i>Rakiu,</i>	<i>Krolax,</i>	<i>Rakax.</i>

¹⁷Bandtkie (1808: 47–49).

	Singular.		Plural.	
N.	<i>Noz</i> [‘knife’],	<i>Skarb</i> [‘treasure’],	<i>Noze,</i>	<i>Skarbi.</i>
G.	<i>Noza,</i>	<i>Skarbu,</i>	<i>Nozov,</i>	<i>Skarbov.</i>
D.	<i>Nozovi,</i>	<i>Skarbovi,</i>	<i>Nozom,</i>	<i>Skarbom.</i>
A.	<i>Noz,</i>	<i>Skarb,</i>	<i>Noze,</i>	<i>Skarbi.</i>
V.	<i>Nozu,</i>	<i>Skarbie,</i>	<i>Noze,</i>	<i>Skarbi.</i>
I.	<i>Nozem,</i>	<i>Skarbem,</i>	<i>Nozami,</i>	<i>Skarbami.</i>
L.	<i>Nozu,</i>	<i>Skarbie,</i>	<i>Nozax,</i>	<i>Skarbox.</i>

Aminate nouns do not differ from inanimates in the singular, but they do in the plural, namely *krol* is said *krolovie* and *rak raki*, but this difference is grounded only in varying usage, not in the genius of the Slavic language. For in other dialects the nominative plural of *krol* is pronounced *kroli*, just like *rak, raki*. The inflection *krolovie* is adjectival, which the genius of the language uses not only for the names of illustrious persons, as the Polish grammarian claims, but also for other masculine nouns, particularly those denoting a substance. That is clear from the ancient dialect, in which is said also *meuove* [‘swords’], *dezdove* [‘rains’], *kamenove* [‘stones’]; thus *rakove*, just like *krolovie*, [39] conforms to the genius of the language just as much as *nozi, nozove, or noze*.¹⁸ For if only the adjectival inflection is displayed in the dative singular, why would that inflection be invalid in the plural?

§. 13.

The inflection of inanimate masculine nouns is illustrated equally by two examples, namely *skarb* and *noz*, whose inflection agrees in essence both with each other and with the earlier paradigms, except that the accusative of inanimate nouns follows the nominative. While the grammarian distinguishes also the genitive singular endings, namely *skarbu, noza*, Polish grammar is truly a torture of memory as far as the genitive endings *-a* or *-u* are concerned. This is unavoidable, for a dialect grammarian has to expound the dialect as it is, which is grounded in usage. Yet usage changes, so the rules of grammar also necessarily lack constancy. Thus in vain does a grammarian list 48 root word endings for which the genitive ending *-u* is specified, for the assigned endings are merely weakened by

¹⁸Herkel’s original has *nozi, nozove*, not *nozi, nozove*, as one would expect.

so many exceptions, a matter which the erudite Bandtke treats in greater detail in his grammar, pages 53 to 90.¹⁹

The genitive singular ending *-a* for all masculine nouns is genuine and similar in all dialects, as the most ancient Polish books themselves testify, in which one reads: *Rim* > *Rima* [‘Rome’], *Dunaj* > *Dunaja* [‘the Danube’], *jastrab* *jastraba* [‘hawk’], [40] *liud* *liuda* [‘people’], *pokoj* *pokoja* [‘peace’], to which however the grammarian, following current usage, attributes the ending *-u*. But a dialect grammarian can only honestly describe current usage as it is, it is not up to him to enquire into the causes of these or other endings, why the previous *pokoja* is now said *pokoju*. For a dialect grammarian, usage justifies the rule. Yet things are different with a rationally devised grammar of Slavic, or with a rationally cultivated language, for such a grammar examines usage strictly, harmonizes with the other dialects, pursues clarity, and unravels the firm principles of language as grounded in usage. There are already traces of such a cultivation in Russian, where more elevated usage does not allow any other ending of the genitive of masculine nouns than *-a*.

Furthermore, the locative of *skarb* is produced with *-e*, but of *noz* with *-u*. This only shows that the original locative ending is *-e* or *-u*. It does not show that some nouns like to take *-u* as locative ending, but others *-e*, because southern Slavs barely know any other locative ending than *-u*. Thus it is clear that the masculine endings noted above are confirmed also by the very usage of the Poles.

§. 14.

The Bohemian grammarian [Dobrovský] establishes two forms for the masculine nouns, yet illustrates both of them by means of four paradigms: namely one form for animate beings, and another for inanimate objects. [41]

Singular.				
<i>N.</i>	<i>Xlap</i>	<i>Hrau</i>	<i>Dub</i>	<i>Meu</i>
	[‘boy’],	[‘player’],	[‘oak’],	[‘sword’].
<i>G.</i>	<i>Xlapa,</i>	<i>Hraue,</i>	<i>Dubu,</i>	<i>Meue.</i>
<i>D.</i>	<i>Xlapu,</i>	<i>Hraui,</i>	<i>Dubu,</i>	<i>Meui.</i>
<i>A.</i>	<i>Xlapa,</i>	<i>Hraue,</i>	<i>Dub,</i>	<i>Meu.</i>
<i>V.</i>	<i>Xlape,</i>	<i>Hraui,</i>	<i>Dube,</i>	<i>Meui.</i>
<i>I.</i>	<i>Xlapu,</i>	<i>Hraui,</i>	<i>Dube,</i>	<i>Meui.</i>
<i>L.</i>	<i>Xlapem,</i>	<i>Hrauem,</i>	<i>Dubem,</i>	<i>Meuem.</i>

¹⁹Bandtkie in the 1824 edition, especially at 58–62.

Plural.				
N.	<i>Xlapi,</i>	<i>Hrači,</i>	<i>Dubi,</i>	<i>Meče.</i>
G.	<i>Xlapů,</i>	<i>Hračů,</i>	<i>Dubů,</i>	<i>Mečů.</i>
D.	<i>Xlapům,</i>	<i>Hračům,</i>	<i>Dubům,</i>	<i>Mečům.</i>
A.	<i>Xlapi,</i>	<i>Hrače,</i>	<i>Dubi,</i>	<i>Meče.</i>
V.	similar to the nominative.			
I.	<i>Xlapix,</i>	<i>Hračix,</i>	<i>Dubix,</i>	<i>Mečix.</i>
L.	<i>Xlapi,</i>	<i>Hrači,</i>	<i>Dubi,</i>	<i>Meči.</i>

This diverse form of inflecting nouns is dialectal, a property of Bohemian alone, for in the other dialects these forms are reduced to one, with the following rule common to all dialects: the accusative of animate nouns resembles the genitive, and indeed the nominative takes no ending; genitive *-a*; dative *-u*. The accusative of animates follows the genitive, not the nominative; the vocative and the nominative, either *-i*,²⁰ or *-e*; the locative has *-u*; the instrumental *-m*. In the plural, the nominative takes *-i*, or *-ove* in the adjectival form, e.g. *xlapove*, *dubove*, *hračove*, *mečove*, or by syncope, with *-ov* omitted, e.g. from *mečove*, *meče*, from *dezdove*, *dezde* ['rains']. The genitive takes *-ov*; dative *-om* or *-am*; the accusative is like the nominative for inanimates and like the genitive for animates, or entirely like the nominative; the locative *-ox*; and the instrumental *-ami*. [42]

§. 15.

Apart from this particularity, we observe in the Bohemian dialect that the genitive singular of some nouns is produced by means of *-e*, as *hače* ['hooks'], *meče* ['swords'], *pritele* ['friends'] etc. This genitive ending is not found in any other dialect, which is also why the utmost erudite author says that it is an innovation in place of *-a*, just as also the genitive plural *xlapů* ['of the lads'] from *xlapov*, in place of the original *xlapuo*, was introduced relatively recently.

The Bohemians mostly abbreviate the instrumental plural, as has been shown in the paradigm: *xlapi* ['with the guys/fellows'], *dubi* ['with the oaks'], *hrači* ['with the hooks'], *meči* ['with the swords'], instead of *xlapmi*, *dubmi* etc., or even *xlapami* etc. Yet the grammarian of great erudition admonishes that this syncope should be avoided for fear that ambiguity could arise from it, and thus in essence Bohemian, too, agrees with the other dialects.

²⁰The original edition has *-u*, which must be a typo for *-i*.

§. 16.

Almost all Slavic dialects are in use in Pannonia. For in almost every county they use a different accent and another prosody. And indeed: the central Pannonians retain much from the ancient dialect; at the borders of Galicia the Slavs are mixed with the Poles, in the east with the Russians, or Magyarized with the Hungarians. In the counties of Sopron, Moson, Vas, and Zala, there are Winds and Croats; in Bács province and the Banat, there are Serbs and Bulgarians etc., but the more cultivated and indeed educated Slavs [43] take particular delight in Bohemian books, because of the scarcity of books written in the Pannonian dialect. The first to have broken the ice of this dialect was a man who has deserved well of Pannonian literature, the late Master Bernolák, for he was the first to publish a grammar of the Pannonian dialect, which had, however, not won universal approval, because he based his work on the dialect of one province only. But had he rigidly accommodated every Pannonian dialect, the result would not have been a grammar, but utter chaos. Be that as it may, this indefatigable man nonetheless produced a Pannonian grammar. So what does it say about the inflection of masculine nouns? It determines two forms of masculine nouns, illustrated with three examples each.²¹

Declension I of masculine animates.

Singular.			
N.	<i>Sluha</i>	<i>Sudce</i>	<i>Pan</i>
	[‘servant’],	[‘judge’],	[‘Lord’].
G.	<i>Sluhi,</i>	<i>Sudca,</i>	<i>Pana.</i>
D.	<i>Sluhovi,</i>	<i>Sudcovi,</i>	<i>Panovi.</i>
A.	<i>Sluhu,</i>	<i>Sudca,</i>	<i>Pana.</i>
V.	<i>Sluho,</i>	<i>Sudce,</i>	<i>Pane.</i>
L.	<i>Sluhovi,</i>	<i>Sudcovi,</i>	<i>Panovi.</i>
I.	<i>Sluhom,</i>	<i>Sudcom,</i>	<i>Panom.</i>

²¹Bernolák (1790: 27–28).

Plural.			
N.	<i>Sluhi,</i>	<i>Sudci,</i>	<i>Pani.</i>
G.	<i>Sluhov,</i>	<i>Sudcov,</i>	<i>Panov.</i>
D.	<i>Sluhom,</i>	<i>Sudcom,</i>	<i>Panom.</i>
A.	<i>Sluhov,</i>	<i>Sudcov,</i>	<i>Panov.</i>
V.	<i>Sluhi,</i>	<i>Sudcov,</i>	<i>Panov.</i> [44]
L.	<i>Sluhox,</i>	<i>Sudcox,</i>	<i>Panox.</i>
I.	<i>Sluhmi,</i>	<i>Sudcmi,</i>	<i>Panmi.</i>

Declension II of inanimates.

Singular.			
N.	<i>Dub</i>	<i>Dezd</i>	<i>Dobitek</i>
	[‘oak’],	[‘rain’],	[‘wealth’].
G.	<i>Duba,</i>	<i>Dezda,</i>	<i>Dobitku.</i>
D.	<i>Dubu,</i>	<i>Dezdu,</i>	<i>Dobitku.</i>
A.	<i>Dub,</i>	<i>Dezd,</i>	<i>Dobitek.</i>
V.	<i>Dube,</i>	<i>Dezdu,</i>	<i>Dobitku.</i>
L.	<i>Dube,</i>	<i>Dezdu,</i>	<i>Dobitku.</i>
I.	<i>Dubom,</i>	<i>Dezdom,</i>	<i>Dobitkom.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Dubi,</i>	<i>Dezde,</i>	<i>Dobitki.</i>
G.	<i>Dubov,</i>	<i>Dezdov,</i>	<i>Dobitkov.</i>
D.	<i>Dubom,</i>	<i>Dezdom,</i>	<i>Dobitkom.</i>
A.	<i>Dubi,</i>	<i>Dezde,</i>	<i>Dobitki.</i>
V.	<i>Dubi,</i>	<i>Dezde,</i>	<i>Dobitki.</i>
L.	<i>Dubox,</i>	<i>Dezdox,</i>	<i>Dobitkox.</i>
I.	<i>Dubmi,</i>	<i>Dezdmi,</i>	<i>Dobitkmi.</i>

§. 17.

Before anything is said about these forms of masculine nouns, it is important to reflect first on this word *Sluha*, or *Sluga*. Almost every dialect inflects this

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word differently. And indeed the Russians have the words *Sluga* ‘servant’, *Vojvoda* or *Bojvoda* ‘duke’, *Vladika* ‘lord, ruler’, which take the feminine declension forms because they end in *-a*, [45] an ending which the genius of the Slavic language considers proper only for feminine nouns. Masculine nouns always end in a consonant, but the aforementioned words have been Greco-Latinized. For in original Slavic one says *slug* or *slux*; hence *poslux* ‘earwitness’ comes from *posluxati* ‘to listen’, or also ‘to obey’, which is for slaves. Then *Vojvod*, *Bojvod* for the ancients and *Vladik* in the nominative. And yet I do not deny that these words are already in the most ancient books read with *-a* as final vowel. Nonetheless, in the meantime, *Vladika*, *Vojvoda* instead of *Vladik*, *Vojvod* in the nominative is to every born Slav an act of violence, and at first sight this ending appears to oppose the genius of the language. Hence, the Russians have transferred these words *Sluga*, *Vojvoda*, *Vladika*, as if they were adorned with female dress, to the feminine form of declining, without any exception. The grammarians of other dialects inflect them as masculine nouns on account of their meaning, or as feminine nouns on account of their ending, while still others mix both forms. The Pannonian grammarian completely opts for the paradigm of masculine nouns, but it is very clear that this paradigm cannot be sustained, since it consists only of foreign and Greco-Latinized words, such as *armalista* [‘armalist’, a landless noble], *gardista* [‘imperial guard’], *Evangelista* [‘Evangelist’], *Patriarcha* [‘patriarch’], *Levita* [‘Levite’], for the Slavic ending for these words is: *armalist*, *gardist* etc.

§. 18.

For the animate paradigm, Bernolák took the second word *Sudce* [‘judge’]; this word is [46] genuinely Slavic, but the ending is dialectal, and in particular Bohemian, because in Slavic nominative masculine nouns do not end in *-e*, neither in the ancient dialect nor in any other living dialect apart from Bohemian. For this ending is proper to neuter nouns, and the genuine Slavic ending would *sudec*, *sudnik*, or *sudiar* from *suditi* [‘to judge’]. The third paradigm is *pan* [‘lord’], which is the same as *gospod*, *gospon*, *gospan*. With *gos* cast away, *Pan*, *Ban* emerged. However, these paradigms differ by inflection in grammatical exposition: e.g. *sluha* [‘servant’] appears in the genitive as *sluhi*, and in the accusative as *sluhu*; but in the plural all three agree.

§. 19.

However, the inanimate declensions of *dub* [‘oak’], *dezd* [‘rain’], *dobitek* [‘wealth’], but particularly of *dub*, which is *duba* in the genitive, are in direct

contrast to the Bohemian grammar, which likewise takes *dub* as a paradigm and takes *-u* as the genitive ending to the same word, thus *dubu*. So what is in fact needed here? Who can be a fair judge? Furthermore, the locative of each paradigm is different, *dube*, *dezdi*, *dobitku*, and in the plural *dubi*, *dezde* etc. These endings are certainly governed by rules and exceptions, but anyone who studies the Slavic language in the Bohemian dialect will be buried under rules and exceptions which are merely one-sided, dialectal, and clearly not based on sound logic; let us therefore consult both usage and reason to remove these differences; let us call for help on other dialects in combination [47]. As far as usage is concerned, in the Pannonian dialect itself (for I speak the same dialect as the Pannonian grammarian, my birthplace not being far from his), the abovementioned sample words are even declined differently from the forms displayed, thus one says *Toho sluha plat* or *togo sluga plat* [‘the servant’s salary’], thus the genitive singular does not always take *-i* as shown in the paradigms. I have likewise heard: *svojeho sluha sem videl* [‘I saw my servant’] etc., so the accusative is not always pronounced *sluhu* like a feminine noun, but *sluha* like a masculine noun. Then in the nominative plural not just *sluhi* etc., but one also hears *sluhove*, *sudcove* [‘judges’], *panove* [‘Lords’] in the manner of the ancients, or *sluhovja*, *sudcovja*, *panovja* in the Russian manner. Among the Pannonians not only the abbreviated locative is in use, as in *sluhmi* etc., but also *sluhami*, or entirely abbreviated to *sluhi* etc. *Dezd* [‘rain’] in the nominative plural is not only *dezde*, but also *dezdi*, *dezdove*, for *dezde* is merely an abbreviation of *dezdove* etc. Hence even in usage all paradigms are reducible to one form; but if we would consider the ratio and combination of dialects, no more than one form of masculine nouns can be reasonably admitted. For one dialect has an exception that another does not have, and vice versa, which is why the six Pannonian paradigms will follow one genuinely Slavic form, and specifically:²²

Singular.

- N. *Slug*, *sudec*, *pan*, *dub*, *dezd*, *dobitek*.
 G. *Sluga*, *sudca*, *pana*, *duba*, *dezda*, *dobitka*. [48]
 D. *Slugu*, *sudcu*, *panu*, *dubu*, *dezdu*, *dobitku* or *-ovi*.
 A. *animate* like the *genitive*, *inanimate* like the *nominative*.
 V. like the *nominative in the manner of the Russians and southerners*.
 L. like the *dative with -u*.
 I. *Slugom* etc.
-
-

²²Bernolák (1790: 27–28).

Plural.	
N.	<i>Slugi, sudci, pani, dezdi, dobitki, dubi</i> , or with <i>-ove, dubove</i> etc.
G.	<i>Slugov, sudsov</i> etc.
D.	<i>Slugom</i> or <i>slugam</i> etc.
A.	of the animates like the genitive, of the inanimates like the nominative.
V.	like the nominative.
L.	<i>Slugox</i> or <i>-ax</i> etc.
I.	<i>Slugami, dubami</i> , or abbreviated <i>dubmi</i> or <i>dubi</i> .

From these paradigms it is clear that the difference between the individual dialects is removed by combination, and that the language becomes rationally cultivated, achieving a greater clarity, ease, and sweetness. Is it clearer and easier to follow one set of declensions, or six, seven, eight etc.? Is it sweeter to temper the clash of consonants, or to be overwhelmed by rules about when and where to delete an existing vowel from the root? All these things are present in dialect grammars to such an extent that they necessarily produce boredom in the readers themselves. Yet all these things cannot be removed from dialect grammars, for they are only dialect collectors making note of those things which they have observed.

§. 20.

Among the southern dialects, let us look at the grammar of the most erudite Kopitar as concerns the declension of masculine nouns.²³ [49]

	Singular.		Plural.	
N. V.	<i>Rak</i> [‘crab’],	<i>Kraj</i> [‘edge, country’],	<i>Raki,</i>	<i>Kraji.</i>
G.	<i>Raka,</i>	<i>Kraja,</i>	<i>Rakov,</i>	<i>Krajov.</i>
D.	<i>Raku,</i>	<i>Kraju,</i>	<i>Rakam,</i>	<i>Krajam.</i>
A.	<i>Raka,</i>	<i>Kraj,</i>	<i>Rake,</i>	<i>Kraje.</i>
L.	<i>Raku (i),</i>	<i>Kraju (i),</i>	<i>Rakih,</i>	<i>Krajih.</i>
I.	<i>Rakam,</i>	<i>Krajam,</i>	<i>Rakmi (ki),</i>	<i>Krajmi (ji).</i>

²³Kopitar (1808: 221).

Kopitar also displays the dual number, which is in use among the Carinthians, Carniolans, and Styrians to this day. It appears to have once been common to all dialects, judging by the vestiges which have remained in all dialects. For instance, a Carpathian Pannonian commonly says: *moji bratia* [‘with my brothers’], *s mojima bratama* [‘with my brothers’], *s mojima volama* [‘with my oxen’], *s mojima ov cama* [‘with my sheep’] etc. Why not take into account the dual number, which in the nominative, accusative, and vocative ends with *-a*, but in the instrumental with *-ma*, while the remaining cases are declined like the plural? But since the dual number is currently not distinguished from the plural in the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, and southern dialects, I judge that one needs to refrain from rigidly introducing it into use, so that, by all means, one makes no mistake when using the dual at a suitable place, as in: *s mojima ouima* [‘with my eyes’], *nogama* [‘with legs, feet’], *rakama* [‘with crabs’] etc.

§. 21.

The Windic paradigm shown below agrees with the other dialects. The locative plural is pronounced with *h*, but only because the southern Slavs do not use the deeply guttural sound *x*. Nothing in the rest [50] differs in essence from the general forms. In addition to the regular paradigms, Kopitar also adds three irregular paradigms:²⁴

Singular.			
N.	<i>Moz</i> ‘man’,	<i>Bog</i> [‘God’],	<i>Tat</i> ‘thief’.
G.	<i>Moza,</i>	<i>Boga,</i>	<i>Tatova, or Tatu.</i>
D.	<i>Mozu,</i>	<i>Bogu,</i>	<i>Tatu, Tatovu (i).</i>
A.	<i>Moza,</i>	<i>Boga,</i>	<i>Tatu, or Tatova.</i>
L.	like the dative		
I.	<i>Mozam</i> etc.		

²⁴Kopitar (1808: 232).

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Plural.			
N.	<i>Mozje,</i>	<i>Bogovi,</i>	<i>Tatovi, Tatje.</i>
G.	<i>Moz,</i>	<i>Bogov,</i>	<i>Tatov.</i>
D.	<i>Mozem,</i>	<i>Bogovam,</i>	<i>Tatovam, Tatem.</i>
A.	<i>Moze,</i>	<i>Bogove,</i>	<i>Tatove (Tati).</i>
L.	<i>Mozeh,</i>	<i>Bogovih,</i>	<i>Tatovih.</i>
I.	<i>Mozmi,</i>	<i>Bogovmi,</i>	<i>Tatovmi.</i>

What can be said about this? The grammarian himself says that here no definite norm of declension can be assigned, and thus no rule can be fixed. Whichever nouns are inflected like *Moz*, which like *Bog*, and which like *Tat*, is something that the very learned man could surely have judged; he could indeed have assigned some rules, but he did not do so for the very reason that he saw that such rules would soon be overthrown by exceptions. In the meantime, the three aforementioned paradigms are regular in some dialects, and those which are irregular in other dialects are in turn regular among the Winds. But the words *sluga* [‘servant’], *vojvoda* [‘duke’], *vladika* [‘ruler’], [51] *starejuina* [‘elder’] (since there are no other masculine words that take the feminine form) have regular declensions among the Winds, namely following the general form. On these words, the sharpest investigator of the genius of the Slavic language clearly states that the masculine words’ nominative ending with *-a* does not at all agree with the genius of the Slavic language.²⁵

§. 22.

According to the illustrious *Vuk*, the Serbian method of inflecting masculine nouns is the following:²⁶

²⁵Herkel is referring to Kopitar (1808: 233), saying “die Endigung auf Vocale ist, in unserem Dialekte, so wenig den masculinis eigen, dass nur eigene Nahmen, und ein Paar, so zu sagen, Ur-Slavische Substantive sie haben”. Kopitar then gives a *Musterbeispiel* on p. 234.

²⁶Karadžić (1818: xxxvii).

Singular.			
N.	<i>Jelen</i>	<i>Kolau</i>	<i>Ora</i>
	['stag'],	['cake'],	'walnut'.
G.	<i>Jelena,</i>	<i>Kolaua,</i>	<i>Oraa.</i>
D.	<i>Jelenu,</i>	<i>Kolauu,</i>	<i>Orau.</i>
A.	<i>Jelena,</i>	<i>Kolau,</i>	<i>Ora.</i>
V.	<i>Jelenu,</i>	<i>Kolauu,</i>	<i>Oraue.</i>
I.	<i>Jelenom,</i>	<i>Kolauom,</i>	<i>Oraom.</i>
L.	<i>Jelenu</i>	<i>Kolauu,</i>	<i>Orau.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Jeleni,</i>	<i>Kolaui,</i>	<i>Orasi.</i>
G.	<i>Jelena,</i>	<i>Kolaua,</i>	<i>Oraa.</i>
D.	<i>Jelenima,</i>	<i>Kolauima,</i>	<i>Orasima.</i>
A.	<i>Jelene,</i>	<i>Kolaua,</i>	<i>Orae.</i>
V.	<i>like the nominative.</i>		
I.	<i>like the dative.</i>		
L.	<i>also like the dative.</i>		

[52] The inflection of the singular is genuine. It therefore also agrees with the other dialects, but the plural genitive differs from others, as there is no distinction between the singular and plural genitive. It is true that the grammarian writes the genitive singular as follows: *jelena*, but the plural as *jelêna*, yet the symbol attached to the letter *e*, the so-called *sigla* or *kamora* does not compensate for the absence of the characteristic *-ov* in the genitive plural. The remaining plural cases such as the dative, locative, instrumental are borrowed from the dual. On the other hand, however, the dative also uses *-om*. Thus in the recantation of the murder of Lazar at Kosovo Field, one reads: *Dosta mesa i gavranom* ['enough meat for the ravens']. Additionally, the adjectival ending is in use, for they say *volovi* ['to the ox'], *sokolovi* ['to the falcon'], *priatelovi* ['to the friend'] etc. In the remaining Illyrian dialects, too, there is the following peculiarity: that the masculine nouns ending in *-l* are pronounced with *-o*, as follows: *soko* ['falcon'], *kotao* ['boiler'] instead of *sokol*, *kotal* etc. Yet they accept this expunction of the *l* only in the nominative, not in the remaining cases. The same happens in the past tenses of verbs, as follows:

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Junak koniu govorio (govoril) [The hero said to his horse].
Oj koniucu! dobro moje! etc, [Oh dear horse! My good thing! etc].

So from a comparison of the dialects it is clear that the following declension of masculine nouns agrees with both the usage and the genius of the language, without any exception:

Singular.		Plural.	
N.	—	N.	-i or -ove
G.	-a	G.	-ov
D.	-u or -vi	D.	-om or -am.
[53]	animates -a, inanimates	A.	like the nominative
A.	like the nominative	V.	like the nominative
V.	like the nominative or -u, -e	L.	-ox, or -ax, or -ex.
L.	-u	I.	-ami.
I.	-om		

Singular.						
N.	<i>Sin</i> [‘son’],	<i>Vojvod</i> [‘duke’],	<i>Posel</i> [‘messenger’],	<i>Pritel</i> [‘friend’],	<i>Kamen</i> [‘stone’],	<i>Meč</i> [‘sword’].
G.	<i>Sina,</i>	<i>Vojvoda,</i>	<i>Posela,</i>	<i>Pritela,</i>	<i>Kamena,</i>	<i>Meča.</i>
D.	<i>Sinu,</i> or <i>Sinovi</i> etc.	<i>Vojvodu,</i>	<i>Poselu,</i>	<i>Pritelu,</i>	<i>Kamenu,</i>	<i>Meču.</i>
A.	<i>Sina,</i>	<i>Vojvoda,</i>	-a,	-a,	<i>Kamen,</i>	<i>Meč.</i>
V.	like the nominative.					
or	<i>Sinu,</i>	<i>Vojvodu,</i>	-u,	-u,	-u,	-u.
L.	<i>Sinu,</i>	-u,	-u,	-u,	-u,	-u.
I.	<i>Sinom,</i>	-m,	-m,	-m,	-m,	-m.

Plural.						
N.	<i>Sini,</i>	<i>Vojvodi,</i>	<i>Poseli,</i>	<i>Priteli,</i>	<i>Kameni,</i>	<i>Meči,</i> or -ove.
G.	<i>Sinov,</i>	<i>Vojvodov,</i>	-ov,	-ov,	-ov,	-ov.
D.	<i>Sinom,</i> or <i>Sinam</i> everywhere -om, or -am.					
A.	<i>Sinov,</i> or - <i>Sini</i> etc.				<i>Kameni,</i>	<i>Meči.</i>
V.	like the nominative.					
L.	<i>Sinox,</i> <i>Vojvodox</i> etc. or everywhere with -ax.					
I.	<i>Sinami</i> etc. everywhere in the same fashion.					

On the inflection of feminine nouns. [p. 53–66]

§. 1.

The best-known grammarian of the ancient dialect illustrates the inflection of feminine nouns with the following four forms:²⁷

Singular.					
N.	<i>Voda</i>	<i>Volja</i>	<i>Ladija</i>	<i>Cerkov</i>	<i>Kost</i>
	['water'],	['will'],	['boat'],	['church'],	['bone'].
G.	<i>Vodi,</i>	<i>Volja,</i>	<i>Ladija,</i>	<i>Cerkve,</i>	<i>Kosti.</i>
D.	[54] <i>Vodje,</i>	<i>Voli,</i>	<i>Ladiji,</i>	<i>Cerkvi,</i>	<i>Kosti.</i>
A.	<i>Vodu,</i>	<i>Volju,</i>	<i>Ladiju,</i>	<i>Cerkov,</i>	<i>Kost.</i>
V.	<i>Vodo,</i>	<i>Vole,</i>	<i>Ladije,</i>	<i>Cerkvi,</i>	<i>Kosti.</i>
I.	<i>Vodoju,</i>	<i>Voleju,</i>	<i>Ladieju,</i>	<i>Cerkviju,</i>	<i>Kostiu.</i>

Plural.					
N. A. V.	<i>Vodi,</i>	<i>Volja,</i>	<i>Ladija,</i>	<i>Cerkve,</i>	<i>Kosti.</i>
G.	<i>Vod,</i>	<i>Vol,</i>	<i>Ladij,</i>	<i>Cerkvij,</i>	<i>Kostij.</i>
D.	<i>Vodam,</i>	<i>Voljam,</i>	<i>Ladijam,</i>	<i>Cerkvam,</i>	<i>Kostem.</i>
L.	<i>Vodax,</i>	<i>Voljax,</i>	<i>Ladijax,</i>	<i>Cerkvax,</i>	<i>Kostjex.</i>
I.	<i>Vodami,</i>	<i>Voljami,</i>	<i>Ladijami,</i>	<i>Cerkvami,</i>	<i>Kostmi.</i>

These declension forms were collected from ancient manuscripts, but I would probably not err to conclude that, strictly speaking, only these endings prevail for these and other feminine nouns. The erudite disagree among themselves, but I believe that their opinions can be reconciled, just as I have suggested for masculine nouns: i.e. the Slavic language received a Bible translation before its critical cultivation, thus there is no wonder that there are diverse readings in different manuscripts. But if we consider the modern dialects, they inflect the five above-mentioned forms according to one form only, and in particular according to the ancient form *voda*; hence it is clear that now, too, the living dialects have not departed from the spirit of the ancient dialect.

²⁷Dobrovský (1822: 478). Dobrovský depicts the declensions for *вола* and *ладѣа* as variants of a single form, which probably explains why Herkel asserts he will give four forms, and then presents five.

§. 2.

The Russians reduce the inflections of feminine nouns to two forms, namely those ending in a consonant, and those ending in a vowel:²⁸ [55]

Singular.		
N.	<i>Voda</i>	<i>Trost</i>
	[‘water’],	(‘reed’).
G.	<i>Vodi,</i>	<i>Trostri.</i>
D.	<i>Vodje,</i>	<i>Trostri.</i>
A.	<i>Vodu,</i>	<i>Trost.</i>
L.	<i>Vodje,</i>	<i>Trostri.</i>
I.	<i>Vodoju,</i>	<i>Trostju.</i>
Plural.		
N.	<i>Vodi,</i>	<i>Trostri.</i>
G.	<i>Vod,</i>	<i>Trostej.</i>
D.	<i>Vodam,</i>	<i>Trostam.</i>
A.	<i>Vodi,</i>	<i>Trostri.</i>
L.	<i>Vodax,</i>	<i>Trostjax.</i>
I.	<i>Vodami,</i>	<i>Trostami.</i>

To these feminine nouns also belong a few masculine nouns, which end in *-a*, such as *Vojvoda*, *Sluga*, *Vladika* (‘ruler’), *sudja* (instead of *sudjar*). Some Russian nouns ending in *-a* are moreover particular to both masculine and feminine classes, such as: *Zapivoxa*, ‘drinker’ either masculine or feminine, *Obzora* ‘glutton’, *Kusaka* ‘biter’, *Zajka* ‘one who hesitates in speech’. But it is more in agreement with the genius of the language to attribute to masculine nouns a distinct ending with a consonant, but to feminine nouns with the vowel *-a*, such as: *Zapivox*, *Zapivoxa*, *obzor*, *obzora* etc. because indeed the genitive plural is formed from the nominative plural with the deletion of the letter *i*, as in *vod* [‘of the waters’], *pil* [‘of the saws’] etc., for *vodi*, *pili* etc. Yet if this deletion would leave a collision of consonants, they are mitigated by interjected vowels: this way, *doska* ‘pole, post’, in the plural *doski*, [56] would be *dosk* by deletion of *i*, but a vowel is interjected: *dosok*, *vodki* [‘vodkas’], *vodok*, *igli* [‘needles’], *ikri* [‘caviars’] to *igol*,

²⁸Puchmajer (1820: table insert at 204–205).

ikor etc., which happens also in other dialects. Hence, this Russian form of inflecting feminine nouns is so much in agreement with the genius of the language and measured by the rules of Logic and Philology, that all dialects, if any would differ, could safely adopt it. For they inflect the nouns ending in a vowel in the same way as the ancient dialect, as is clear from the paradigm of both dialects. But they inflect those consonantal endings with much the same form as the ancient and the living dialects, so much so that even the Winds concur on this form; this way, for instance, *reu* ['word'], G. *reui*, D. *reui*, A. *reu*, L. *reui*, I. *reui* etc. is like *trost* or *kost* in the ancient dialect. But the reason that the instrumental ends in *-o* is that the southerners take delight in the letter *-o* instead of *-u*; the same occurs also in verbs, instead of *budu* ['to be'], *budo*, instead of *pisaju* ['I write'], *pisajo* etc.

§. 3.

The Poles likewise do not differ essentially from this pattern, as, for instance:²⁹

Singular.		
N.	<i>Riba</i> ['fish'],	<i>Kość (Kost)</i> ['bone'].
G.	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Kosci.</i>
D.	<i>Ribie,</i>	<i>Kosci.</i>
A.	<i>Ribę, (Ribu)</i>	<i>Kość.</i>
V.	<i>Ribo,</i>	<i>Kości.</i>
I.	<i>Ribą (Ribom),</i>	<i>Kością (Kosciom).</i> [57]
L.	<i>Ribie,</i>	<i>Kości.</i>
Plural.		
N.	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Kosci.</i>
G.	<i>Rib,</i>	<i>Kości.</i>
D.	<i>Ribom,</i>	<i>Kościom.</i>
A.	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Kości.</i>
V.	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Kości.</i>
I.	<i>Ribami,</i>	<i>Kościami.</i>
L.	<i>Ribax,</i>	<i>Kościax.</i>

²⁹Bandtkie (1808: 84 (*ryba*), 88 (*kość*)).

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Yet the inflection of feminine nouns is illustrated with 16 paradigms, which nonetheless do not at all differ in essence from these two abovementioned forms, except that some nouns ending in a vowel have the dative singular identical to the genitive. For *ziemia* [‘earth’], the genitive and dative are *ziemii*, but in other dialects it is inflected as *riba*, namely genitive *ziemi*, dative *ziemie*. Additionally, some nouns in the nominative plural are pronounced with *-e*, as: *ziemie*, *suknie* [‘dress’], *sije* (*uije*) ‘necks’. Finally, the dative plural takes *-om* instead of *-am*, but these little things do not make any difference, for vowels are easily changed in the mouth of speakers, as both taught by experience and testified in the most ancient Polish books, for in Polish books many feminine nouns are read in the genitive singular with *-e*, which are, however, now pronounced with *-i*. For example, *tvierdza* [‘fortress’] in the genitive used to be *tvierdze*, but now is *tvierdzi*; *zemie* is now *ziemi*, *pivnice* [‘beerhouse’] is now *pivnici*, *krvie* [‘blood’] is now *krvi*, and vice versa, those which prevailed in the 17th century have disappeared, however, in the 18th, such as *siestra* [‘sister’], *zenia* [‘wife’] are now [58] *sostra*, *zona* etc. The genitive plural is also read in the fashion of masculine nouns taking *-ov*, which has now entirely vanished; furthermore, the dative plural is now commonly in *-om* in the fashion of masculine nouns, but previously it was pronounced as *-am*, as in *ribam*, *pivnicam* etc. instead of modern *ribom*, *pivnicom* etc. But this modest diversity should be derived only from varying usage, for just as the Polish nation has undergone various vicissitudes, in the same way this Slavic dialect, too, has had various mutations, to such an extent that the language of a people, when critically examined, provides a transparent history of that same people. For in the 16th century, the language of the Poles flourished greatly. Then civil wars immeasurably weakened the nation along with its language; domestic factions divided it still more; contact with the French has left a powerful mark on the very language itself, etc. Yet recent times promise a lot of good, for ample and at the same time powerful societies devoted to elevating the national culture are emerging, such as the Warsaw society *Tovaristvo osviasi, i culturi narodnej* [‘Society for national enlightenment and culture’].

§. 4.

The Bohemians establish three declensions to inflect feminine nouns.

Singular.			
N.	<i>Kost</i> [‘bone’],	<i>Riba</i> [‘fish’],	<i>Zeme</i> [‘land’].
G.	<i>Kosti,</i>	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Zeme.</i>
D.	<i>Kosti,</i>	<i>Ribe,</i>	<i>Zemi.</i> [59]
A.	<i>Kost,</i>	<i>Ribu,</i>	<i>Zemi.</i>
V.	<i>Kost,</i>	<i>Ribo,</i>	<i>Zemi.</i>
L.	<i>Kosti,</i>	<i>Ribe,</i>	<i>Zemi.</i>
I.	<i>Kosti,</i>	<i>Ribau,</i>	<i>Zemi.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Kosti,</i>	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Zemi.</i>
G.	<i>Kosti,</i>	<i>Rib,</i>	<i>Zemi.</i>
D.	<i>Kostem,</i>	<i>Ribam,</i>	<i>Zemim.</i>
A.	<i>Kosti,</i>	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Zeme.</i>
V.	<i>Kosti,</i>	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Zeme.</i>
L.	<i>Kostex,</i>	<i>Ribax,</i>	<i>Zemix.</i>
I.	<i>Kostmi,</i>	<i>Ribami,</i>	<i>Zememi.</i>

Kost and *riba* are inflected in the same way in the ancient and other dialects, except that the locative singular in the ancient dialect is not read as *kosti* but as *kostiu*. With *zeme*, which is *zemlia* for the Russians, *ziemnia* for the Poles, *zem* for the Pannonians, the Bohemians have changed the *-a* into *-e* according to the genius of the dialect, even though the feminine nouns in *-e* are not observed anywhere in the other dialects. The Pannonians, according to usage, inflect *ziemnia* both like *kost = zem* and like *voda = ziemia*.

§. 5.

The Pannonian grammarian proposes the inflection of feminine nouns in three forms, namely:³⁰

³⁰Bernolák (1790: 37).

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Singular.			
N.	<i>Ovca</i> [‘sheep’],	<i>Osoba</i> [‘person’],	<i>Čnost</i> [‘virtue’].
G.	<i>Ovce,</i>	<i>Osobe,</i>	<i>Čnosti.</i>
D.	<i>Ovci,</i>	<i>Osobe,</i>	<i>Čnosti.</i> [60]
A.	<i>Ovcu,</i>	<i>Osobu,</i>	<i>Čnost.</i>
V.	<i>Ovco,</i>	<i>Osobo,</i>	<i>Čnost.</i>
L.	<i>Ovci,</i>	<i>Osobi,</i>	<i>Čnosti.</i>
I.	<i>Ovcu,</i>	<i>Osobu,</i>	<i>Čnostu.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Ovce,</i>	<i>Osobi,</i>	<i>Čnosti.</i>
G.	<i>Ovec,</i>	<i>Osob,</i>	<i>Čnosti.</i>
D.	<i>Ovcam,</i>	<i>Osobam,</i>	<i>Čnostam.</i>
A.	<i>Ovce,</i>	<i>Osobi,</i>	<i>Čnosti.</i>
V.	<i>Ovce,</i>	<i>Osobi,</i>	<i>Čnosti.</i>
L.	<i>Ovcax,</i>	<i>Osobax,</i>	<i>Čnostax.</i>
I.	<i>Ovcami,</i>	<i>Osobami,</i>	<i>Čnostami.</i>

The grammarian distinguishes various cases for the words *ovca* and *osoba*, and also for other feminine nouns anxiously included in this category. These distinctions certainly prevail in usage, but a uniform model of inflection also prevails. It follows the paradigm *voda* of the ancient dialect, although *čnost* follows *kost* [‘bone’] in the ancient dialect. In the instrumental singular, furthermore, one also says *ovcov*, *osobov*, *kostov* etc., whence it is clear that the various endings of separate dialects are not founded in the genius of the language but in variable usage. For what one dialect expresses with the ending *-i*, another does with *-e* and vice versa, a fact which the Slavo-Carinthian dialect will immediately confirm. Its most erudite grammarian³¹ illustrates the feminine nouns with these paradigms more than any other:

³¹Kopitar (1808: 243 (*riba, voda*), 252 (*misel*)).

Singular.			
N.	<i>Riba</i> [‘fish’],	<i>Voda</i> [‘water’],	<i>Misel</i> [‘thought’].
G.	<i>Ribe,</i>	<i>Vode,</i>	<i>Misli.</i> [61]
D.	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Vodi,</i>	<i>Misli.</i>
A.	<i>Ribo,</i>	<i>Vodo,</i>	<i>Misel.</i>
L.	<i>Ribi,</i>	<i>Vodi,</i>	<i>Misli.</i>
I.	<i>Ribo,</i>	<i>Vodo,</i>	<i>Mislio.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Ribe,</i>	<i>Vode,</i>	<i>Misli.</i>
G.	<i>Rib,</i>	<i>Vod,</i>	<i>Misel.</i>
D.	<i>Ribam,</i>	<i>Vodam,</i>	<i>Mislim.</i>
A.	<i>Ribe,</i>	<i>Vode,</i>	<i>Misli.</i>
L.	<i>Ribah,</i>	<i>Vodah,</i>	<i>Mislih.</i>
I.	<i>Ribami,</i>	<i>Vodami,</i>	<i>Mislimi.</i>

Here, the spirit of Slavic inflection is present, yet dialectally mixed, as in the genitive the grammarian says *ribe*, *vode* instead of *ribi*, *vodi*, and vice versa the accusative *ribo*, *vodo* instead of *ribu*, *vodu* etc. Furthermore, in the nominative plural *ribe*, *vode* instead of *ribi*, *vodi* etc.

§. 6.

The Illyrians acknowledge an equally double inflection, one of words ending in a vowel, the other of words ending in a consonant, even though they often change that consonant in a vowel, as follows:

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Singular.		
N.	<i>Muka</i>	<i>Misao</i> (<i>Misal</i> , <i>Misel</i>)
	['pain'],	['thought'].
G.	<i>Muke</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> .
D.	<i>Muki</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> .
A.	<i>Muki</i> ,	<i>Misao</i> . [62]
V.	<i>Muko</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> .
I.	<i>Mukom</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> , <i>Mislu</i> .
L.	<i>Muci</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> .

Plural.		
N.	<i>Muke</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> .
G.	<i>Muka</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> .
D.	<i>Mukama</i> ,	<i>Mislima</i> .
A.	<i>Muke</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> .
V.	<i>Muke</i> ,	<i>Misli</i> .
I.	<i>Mukama</i> ,	<i>Mislima</i> .
L.	<i>Mukama</i> ,	<i>Mislima</i> .

This inflection differs from the other dialects in the following respect. It gives the instrumental singular with *-om* instead of *-u* for nouns ending in *-a*, but in usage this ending, too, is distributed indiscriminately. The plural cases have been borrowed from the obsolete dual, except the genitive plural, to which the Serbian dialect assigns the ending *-a*: as in *muka* ['fly'], *noga* ['leg, foot'], *zena* ['woman'], *kniga* ['book'], *smija* ['snake'], instead of *muk*, *nog*, *zien*, *knig*, *vod*, *smij* in other dialects etc. However, these endings also appear in various places in other Illyrian dialects, such as *vatra*, 'pyre, fire', *vatier* etc.

Hence, from the genius of the Slavic language, and from prevailing usage, two forms for inflecting feminine nouns are brought to light, one for those ending in a vowel, the other for those ending in a consonant. For instance:

	Singular.		Plural.	
N.	<i>Brana</i>	<i>Milost</i>	<i>Brani,</i>	<i>Milosti.</i>
	['gate'],	['mercy'].		
G.	<i>Brani,</i>	<i>Milosti.</i>	<i>Bran,</i>	<i>Milosti.</i> [63]
D.	<i>Branie,</i>	<i>Milosti.</i>	<i>Branam,</i>	<i>Milostiam.</i>
A.	<i>Branu,</i>	<i>Milost.</i>	<i>Brani,</i>	<i>Milosti.</i>
V.	<i>Brano,</i>	<i>Milost.</i>	<i>Brani,</i>	<i>Milosti.</i>
L.	<i>Branie,</i>	<i>Milosti.</i>	<i>Branax,</i>	<i>Milostiax.</i>
I.	<i>Branu,</i>	<i>Milostiu.</i>	<i>Branami,</i>	<i>Milostiami.</i>

But if we consider the dialects in greater detail still, we will observe that the same feminine nouns are pronounced with a consonant in one dialect, but in another with a vowel, such as *milostia* ['mercy'], *postelia* ['bed'], *zemia* ['earth'], instead of *milost*, *postel*, *zem* etc., to such an extent that, on this ground, feminine nouns ending in a consonant in some dialects are also inflected as if they ended in a vowel. Thus *milostia* can also be delightfully inflected like *brana*, and in this way feminine nouns are strictly speaking reducible to one single form, as in N. *milost* or *milostia*, G. *milosti*. D. *milostie*. A. *milostiu*. V. *milostio* etc. as with *brana*.

§. 7.

Some observations on the word *mati* ['mother'], *matier*, *mama*, *matka*, *majka*. Nearly all dialect grammarians give this word an irregular declension; it is important, therefore, to inquire after the reason why. This word has the same root as German *Mutter* and Greek *Meter* [μήτηρ]; hence, it follows that these languages are bound to each other by an important degree of kinship, since the first idea of a child, namely that of the mother, is expressed with nearly the same sound. Let us now then make an enquiry into the origin of this word [64] *mati*, *mama* etc. Certainly it is derived from nothing else than the word *mati*, *imati*, 'to have', or 'to be freed by birth', hence the way of speaking that is everywhere common among the Slavs: *uto* or *uo*, *co ma tvoja sestra? Sina, dceru* ['what did your sister have? A son, a daughter'] etc. Hence, she who held, she who carried someone below her heart, is naturally called their *mati*, *mama*, *matier* etc. Let now the Germans explain the origin of their *Mutter* and the Greeks of their *Meter*, and then we will see which of these languages is the most original.

The noun for 'daughter' in the ancient dialect is *duwi*, among the Winds *ci*, among the Illyrians *kui*, *ktji*, among the Russians *dou* etc. The dialect grammari-

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ans also count it, like ‘mother’, among the irregular nouns, for the reason that in the other cases the letter *r* is inserted, a letter which the Pole, the Bohemian, and the Pannonian already express in the nominative, and more precisely the Pole says *cora*, or with a certain tenderness *corka*, *coruska*, the Bohemians say *dcera*, the Pannonians *cera*. Now, if *cora* or *cera* is taken, every irregularity vanishes, and the result is:

Singular.		
N.	<i>Cora,</i>	<i>Matier.</i>
G.	<i>Cori,</i>	<i>Matieri.</i>
D.	<i>Core,</i>	<i>Matieri.</i>
A.	<i>Coru,</i>	<i>Matier,</i> or <i>Matieru.</i>
V.	<i>Coro,</i>	<i>Matiero.</i>
L.	<i>Core,</i>	<i>Matiere.</i>
I.	<i>Coru,</i>	<i>Matieru.</i>
Plural.		
N.	<i>Cori,</i>	<i>Matieri.</i> [65]
G.	<i>Cor,</i>	<i>Matier.</i>
D.	<i>Coram,</i>	<i>Matieram.</i>
A.	<i>Cori,</i>	<i>Matieri.</i>
V.	<i>Cori,</i>	<i>Matieri.</i>
L.	<i>Corax,</i>	<i>Matierax.</i>
I.	<i>Corami,</i>	<i>Matierami.</i>

Likewise *mama*, *mami*, *mami*, *mamu*, *mamo* etc.

There would surely be present both pleasantness and regularity, confirmed by the usage of the Poles, Bohemians, and Pannonians; for the power of expressions does not consist in a multitude of rules weakened by exceptions and exceptions to exceptions, but in the genius of the language itself. But it is the genius of the Slavic language to express at the same time affection of mind toward the object of speech, or alienation and contempt; hence emerge so-called diminutive expressions of tenderness, augmentatives, or contemptives, e.g. *mama*, *mamka*, *mamička*, *maminka*, *mamuuka*, *maminienka* are expressions of daughterly tenderness and are so diverse that I can neither express nor circumscribe these

expressions with Latin words, as these things are understood by native Slavs.³² The Slavs' natural and original poetry is full of similar expressions, since expressions of this kind are very powerful for declaring one's mood and giving color to an object.

*Russian song.*³³

Vstala ja mlada mladenka, Vstavala ranenko, [66]	[A young woman, I got up got up in the morning
Po jutru rano vstavala, Druga ('lover') provadzala.	I got up early in the morning To accompany my lover.
Na krylechushke ('threshold') stojala, Platoučkom ('kerchief') maxala ('to wave')	I stood on the threshold and waved with a kerchief
Ja platoučkom to maxala, Čto by mil vrotil sia.	I waved with a kerchief So that he would come back
Vroti sia moja nadeza, Vroti sia serdečko etc. ³⁴	Come back, my hope Come back, my heart etc.]

Bohemian song.

Ukazte mi tu cestičku, Kadi nesli mu holčičku, Cestička je provedoma, ³⁵ Rozmarinku propletena.	[Show me the little path Where they took my little girl The little path is well-known Entwined by rosemary.
Ukazte mi kosteliček, Kde lezi moj Andieliček etc. ³⁶	Show me the little church Where my little angel lies etc.]

³²The phrase "these things are understood by native Slavs" appears in Herkel's Latin original as *res natis nota est Slavis*. The possibility of a typographical error exists. The phrase *res satis nota est Slavis* means 'these things are sufficiently known to Slavs', and would better match Latin word order. Buzássyová's Slovak translation is *Sú to jednoducho veci známe rodeným Slovanom*, which might be glossed as 'these are easy things known by every native Slav'. See Buzássyová (2009: 95).

³³Herkel provided Latin glosses for some Slavic words, which we offer in English translation between brackets, as in Herkel's original. We offer an English translation in a separate column.

³⁴Excerpt from *Roztaužená*, Čelakovský (1822: 112).

³⁵*provedoma* is probably a typo for *povědoma*.

³⁶Cf. Čelakovský (1822: 4); Zbírka (1895: 97).

On the inflection of neuter nouns. [p. 66–76]

§. 1.

The ending of neuter nouns based on the genius of the language is in *-o*, or *-e*, and those denoting the young of animate beings or young animals ending in *-a*, such as *telia* [‘calf’], *dieta* [‘child’], *gusia* [‘goslings’], *jagnia* [‘lamb’], *zrebia* [‘foal’] etc., or ending in *-e*, such as *telie*, *dietie* etc., and these additionally take on an additional letter *-t* in the remaining cases. But most nouns ending in *-e* are verbal nouns, such as *pisanie* [‘writing’], *oranie* [‘ploughing’] etc. But they are inflected in agreement with the ancient dialect in the following way according to the most illustrious grammarian *Dobrovski*:³⁷

Singular.			
N. A. V.	<i>Slovo</i> [‘work’],	<i>Lice</i> [‘cheek’],	<i>Uenie</i> [‘doctrine’].
G.	<i>Slova,</i>	<i>Lica,</i>	<i>Uenija.</i> [67]
D.	<i>Slovu,</i>	<i>Licu,</i>	<i>Ueniju.</i>
L.	<i>Slovie,</i>	<i>Lici,</i>	<i>Ueniji.</i>
I.	<i>Slovom,</i>	<i>Licem,</i>	<i>Uenijem.</i>

Plural.			
N. A. V.	<i>Slova,</i>	<i>Lica,</i>	<i>Uenija.</i>
G.	<i>Slov,</i>	<i>Lic,</i>	<i>Uenij.</i>
D.	<i>Slovom,</i>	<i>Licjem,</i>	<i>Uenijem.</i>
L.	<i>Slovix,</i>	<i>Licjex,</i>	<i>Ueniix.</i>
I.	<i>Slovi,</i>	<i>Lici,</i>	<i>Uenii.</i>

This way of inflecting corresponds to the dialects that are still alive now; in the meantime, it should be remarked that the instrumental plural is shown only in abbreviated fashion in the examples, namely: *slovi*, *lici* etc., for the full instrumental would be *slovami*, *licami*, *uuenimi*; this syncope is also observed in the living dialects, especially Bohemian and Pannonian, without, however, rejecting the full expression, namely *slovmi*, *licami*, *uuenimi*. That the very same thing occurred also among the ancients is clearly indicated by the most ancient Bible, in

³⁷Dobrovský (1822: 474–475).

which both the abbreviated and the full instrumental is read, a fact which the most illustrious *Dobrovski* on his part acknowledges, such as: *igranmi* [‘with the games’], *bezzakonmi* [‘with the criminals’], *znamenmi* [‘with the signs’]. Furthermore, the locative is shown in *-ex*, but the endings *-ox*, *-ax* are also abundant in the codices, for vowels change very easily in a Slavic mouth. This is confirmed not only by the usage of the dialects, but also by people of the same dialect living in each other’s neighborhood. In Pannonia, for instance, some say *v Slovjex* [‘in the words’], others *Slovax*, still others *Slovox* etc. I believe that the same surely occurred also among the ancients, which is why [68] grammarians torture themselves in vain by devising rules about when the vowel *-e*, or *-a*, or *-o* should be put before the characteristic *-x* of the instrumental.

§. 2.

The Russians inflect neuter nouns in the following way:³⁸

	Singular.		Plural.	
<i>N. A. V.</i>	<i>Dielo</i> [‘thing, affair’],	<i>More</i> [‘sea’],	<i>Diela,</i>	<i>Morja.</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Diela,</i>	<i>Mora,</i>	<i>Diel,</i>	<i>Morej.</i>
<i>D.</i>	<i>Dielu,</i>	<i>Moru,</i>	<i>Dielam,</i>	<i>Morjam.</i>
<i>L.</i>	<i>Dielje,</i>	<i>Morje,</i>	<i>Dielax,</i>	<i>Morjax.</i>
<i>I.</i>	<i>Dielom,</i>	<i>Morem,</i>	<i>Dielami,</i>	<i>Morjami.</i>

This way of inflecting also corresponds to other dialects, but the grammarian observes some exceptions, namely: contemptuous augmentatives ending in *-sko* form the nominative plural with *-i*, for instance *domisko* [from *dom* ‘house’] or *domiuko* in the nom. pl. is *domiuki* instead of *domiska* as in the other dialects, and also *domiuue*, *domiuui* instead of *domiuua*.

§. 3.

The Pole inflects neuter nouns in the following way:³⁹

³⁸Puchmajer (1820: table insert at 204–205).

³⁹Bandtkie (1808: 106–107).

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Singular.			
N. A. V.	<i>Pole</i> [‘field’],	<i>Kazanie</i> [‘sermon’],	<i>Slovo</i> [‘word’].
G.	<i>Pola,</i>	<i>Kazania,</i>	<i>Slova.</i>
D.	<i>Polu,</i>	<i>Kazaniu,</i>	<i>Slovu.</i>
In.	<i>Polem,</i>	<i>Kazaniem,</i>	<i>Slovem.</i>
L.	<i>v Polu,</i>	<i>Kazaniu,</i>	<i>Slovje.</i> [69]

Plural.			
N. A. V.	<i>Pola,</i>	<i>Kazania,</i>	<i>Slova.</i>
G.	<i>Pol,</i>	<i>Kazan,</i>	<i>Slov.</i>
D.	<i>Polam,</i>	<i>Kazaniem,</i>	<i>Slovam.</i>
In.	<i>Polami,</i>	<i>Kazaniami,</i>	<i>Slovami.</i>
L.	<i>Polax,</i>	<i>Kazaniax,</i>	<i>Slovax.</i>

The Poles’ way of inflecting corresponds to the Russian. A small observation about the locative or prepositional case: the Russians form the singular with *-e*, but the Poles sometimes with *-e*, but sometimes with *-u*. The grammarian also tries to carve out rules, specifically for those ending in *-e*, but these rules cannot have any stability even among the Poles themselves, since Polish writers of diverse periods have written in diverse ways. Yet from the genius of the language it seems that the locative singular is identical to the dative. This is confirmed by the usage of all dialects, especially the southern, which is why the locative singular is either pronounced with *-e* in the fashion of the Russians, even though also among them the usage is mixed. It sometimes ends with *-e*, and other times with *-u*, even if the grammarian makes no mention of this usage, or is written with *-u* in the fashion of the southerners. But the text of a song teaches us that the Russians also pronounce the locative with *-u*:⁴⁰

Ti razmiu (a) *moju kručinu* (b) *po čistomu poli* etc.
 [‘Spread you my grief along the open field’]
 (a) *razmitati* ‘to dissipate’ (b) *kručinu* ‘grief, sadness’

⁴⁰Since the Russian preposition *no* always takes the dative case, Herkel has here not made a persuasive case that the locative resembles the dative.

§. 4.

The Bohemians have four distinct forms for neuter inflections, and those are:⁴¹
[70]

Singular.				
N. A. V.	<i>Pole</i> [‘field’],	<i>Slovo</i> [‘word’],	<i>Znameni</i> [‘sign’],	<i>Hause</i> [‘gosling’].
G.	<i>Pole,</i>	<i>Slova,</i>	<i>Znameni,</i>	<i>Hausete.</i>
D.	<i>Poli,</i>	<i>Slovu,</i>	<i>Znameni,</i>	<i>Hauseti.</i>
L.	<i>Poli,</i>	<i>Slove,</i>	<i>Znameni,</i>	<i>Hauseti.</i>
I.	<i>Polem,</i>	<i>Slovem,</i>	<i>Znamenim,</i>	<i>Hausetem.</i>

Plural.				
N. A. V.	<i>Pole,</i>	<i>Slova,</i>	<i>Znameni,</i>	<i>Hausata.</i>
G.	<i>Poli,</i>	<i>Slov,</i>	<i>Znameni,</i>	<i>Hausat.</i>
D.	<i>Polim,</i>	<i>Slovum,</i>	<i>Znamenim,</i>	<i>Hausatum.</i>
L.	<i>Polix,</i>	<i>Slovix,</i>	<i>Znamenix,</i>	<i>Hausatex.</i>
I.	<i>Poli,</i>	<i>Slovi,</i>	<i>Znamenimi,</i>	<i>Hausati.</i>

These four distinct declensions are reduced in the other dialects to one norm, as is clear from the Russian and Polish forms, which the Illyrian dialects also resemble.

Bohemian *hause*, and similar terms for young animals, are of neuter gender, and as far as concerns the form of the declension, do not differ from other nouns. For this reason, nouns of this kind are only mentioned by grammarians because they receive the addition of one syllable in the oblique cases, such as: *gusja* [‘goose’], *zerebja* [‘foal’], *golubja* [‘young pigeon’], *ovuja* [‘lamb’], *oslia* [‘little donkey’], *otrouia* [‘small child’] etc. They are regularly declined like *slovo*, N. *golubja*, G. *golubiata*, D. *golubiatu* etc. *gusjatu*, *dietatu* [‘child’], *tieliatu* [‘calf’]. This category contains some inanimate nouns which in certain dialects receive a suffix even in the nominative. For example, *ramje* [‘shoulder’], *semje* [‘seed’], *imje* [‘name’], *nebje* [‘heaven’], *kolje* [71] (*kolo*) [‘wheel’] are in the genitive *remjena*, *semjena*, *imjena*, *nebjesa*, *koljesa*; but other dialects already have the suffix in the nominative, *ramieno*, *semieno*, *imieno*, *nebeso*, *koleso*, and are hence declined following the pattern of *slovo*, without any remark or exception.

⁴¹Dobrovský (1809: table insert at 234–235).

§. 5.

The Pannonians' neuter way of inflecting shown in the grammar is the following:⁴²

Singular.			
N. A. V.	<i>Stavani</i> or (<i>Stavana</i>) [‘building’],	<i>Kura</i> [‘chicken’],	<i>Srdce</i> [‘heart’].
G.	<i>Stavani</i> , or <i>-a</i>	<i>Kurata</i> ,	<i>Srdca</i> .
D.	<i>Stavani</i> , or <i>-u</i>	<i>Kuratu</i> (<i>i</i>),	<i>Srdcu</i> (<i>i</i>).
L.	<i>Stavani</i> ,	<i>Kuratu</i> ,	<i>Srdci</i> .
I.	<i>Stavanim</i> , or <i>-om</i> ,	<i>Kuratom</i> ,	<i>Srdcom</i> .

Plural.			
N. A. V.	<i>Stavani</i> , (<i>a</i>)	<i>Kurata</i> ,	<i>Srdca</i> .
G.	<i>Stavani</i> ,	<i>Kurat</i> ,	<i>Srdc</i> .
D.	<i>Stavanim</i> ,	<i>Kuratam</i> ,	<i>Srdcam</i> .
L.	<i>Stavanix</i> (<i>ax</i>),	<i>Kuratax</i> ,	<i>Srdcax</i> .
I.	<i>Stavanmi</i> ,	<i>Kuratami</i> ,	<i>Srdcmi</i> .

The grammarian fixes three forms, but the observations of the grammarian himself already indicate that there must be only one. For the original ending is neither *stavan* nor *stavana* but *stavanje*, and it is inflected in the same form as the other dialects, since *stavani*, namely with the *-e* omitted, is the more recent Bohemian ending.

The dative singular is exposed in two ways, namely [72] *-u* and *-i*, but the locative also takes this double ending, as proved by everyday use, since it is said: *v srdcu* or *srdci*, *v kuratu* or *kurati*. In addition, *stavani* is put in the genitive plural only in Bohemian fashion, but it is originally also said *stavian* in the same form as the other dialects. And for this reason, one should be wary about following the grammarian of a certain dialect strictly, since dialect grammars rest not so much on the genius of the language as on partial usage. It is therefore important to produce a grammar measured by the rules of Logic and Criticism, as Logic urges not to multiply rules unnecessarily – otherwise we create unprofitable difficulties

⁴²Bernolák (1790: 41–42).

for ourselves and our descendants. One should therefore speak in conformity to the genius of the Slavic language and the other dialects.

Singular.			
<i>N. A. V.</i>	<i>Stavanje,</i>	<i>Serdce,</i>	<i>Kurja.</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Stavana,</i>	<i>Serdca,</i>	<i>Kurjata.</i>
<i>D.</i>	<i>Stavaniu,</i>	<i>Serdcu,</i>	<i>Kurjatu.</i>
<i>L.</i>	<i>v Stavaniu,</i>	<i>Serdcu,</i>	<i>Kurjatu.</i>
<i>I.</i>	<i>Stavanim (om),</i>	<i>Serdcom,</i>	<i>Kurjatom.</i>

Plural.			
<i>N. A. V.</i>	<i>Stavana,</i>	<i>Serdca,</i>	<i>Kuriata.</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Stavan,</i>	<i>Serdec,</i>	<i>Kuriat.</i>
<i>D.</i>	<i>Stavaniom, or -am.</i>		
<i>L.</i>	<i>Stavaniox, or -ix, or -ax.</i>		
<i>I.</i>	<i>Stavanami.</i>		

Behold: a single declension system, a regular one at that, and even sanctioned by usage! But the fact that [73] a double ending is in usage for certain cases, does not violate the general rule, but rather confirms it, just as the fact that vowels usually change in various dialects, as for instance with *v stavanix, stavanax, stavanox*. A change of vowels of this kind was also known to the ancient Slavs: this way, *lozesnex* [‘in the wombs’] is elsewhere in fact read *lozesnax, serdcix, serdcjex, serdcjax, serdcox, bratox* [‘in the brothers’], *koljenox* [‘in the knees’], *selox* [‘in the villages’] etc. Nevertheless, the typical locative ending *-x* always remains.

§. 6.

Let us look at the southern dialects, for instance Serbian.⁴³

Singular.			
N. A. V.	<i>Pole</i> [‘field’],	<i>Sretenje</i> [‘meeting’],	<i>Ime</i> [‘name’].
G.	<i>Pola,</i>	<i>Sretenja,</i>	<i>Imena.</i>
D.	<i>Polu,</i>	<i>Sretenju,</i>	<i>Imenu.</i>
I.	<i>Polem,</i>	<i>Sretenjem,</i>	<i>Imenom.</i>
L.	<i>Polu,</i>	<i>Sretenju,</i>	<i>Imenu.</i>

Plural.			
N. A. V.	<i>Pola,</i>	<i>Sretenja,</i>	<i>Imena.</i>
G.	<i>Pola,</i>	<i>Sretenja,</i>	<i>Imena.</i>
D.	<i>Polima,</i>	<i>Sretinima,</i>	<i>Imenima.</i>
I.	<i>Polima.</i>	—	—
L.	<i>Polima.</i>	—	—

The singular corresponds entirely to the other dialects, but the plural is the ancient dual, with the exception of the genitive, which absolutely does not correspond [74] to the genius of the Slavic language. Therefore, it also differs from all dialects. Even the Slavonians, the Serbs’ neighbors, differ on this point.⁴⁴

Singular.			
N. A. V.	<i>Vreme</i> [‘time’],	<i>Serdce</i> [‘heart’],	<i>Pivanje</i> [‘drinking’].
G.	<i>Vremena,</i>	<i>Serdca,</i>	<i>Pivanja.</i>
D.	<i>Vremenu,</i>	<i>Serdcu,</i>	<i>Pivanju.</i>
L.	<i>Vremenu,</i>	<i>Serdcu,</i>	<i>Pivanju.</i>
I.	<i>Vremenom,</i>	<i>Serdcom,</i>	<i>Pivanjem.</i>

⁴³Karadžić (1818: xvi).

⁴⁴Lanosović (1795: 39 (*vrime*), 40 (*serdce, pivanje*)).

Plural.			
N. A. V.	<i>Vremena,</i>	<i>Serdca,</i>	<i>Pivanja.</i>
G.	<i>Vremenah,</i>	<i>Serdcah,</i>	<i>Pivanjeh.</i>
D.	<i>Vremenom,</i>	<i>Serdcom,</i>	<i>Pivanjim.</i>
L.	<i>Vremenah,</i>	<i>Serdcih,</i>	<i>Pivanjim.</i>
I.	<i>Vremenama,</i>	<i>Serdcima,</i>	<i>Pivanima.</i>

The singular corresponds entirely with the other dialects, but some plural endings are taken from the dual, such as *serdcama*. The genitive plural is pronounced with $x = h$, an ending common to all genders in the genitive plural, but this way of speaking can be reconciled neither with the genius of the language, nor with the living dialects. The reason is that the entire plural is a mixture of the plural, the dual, and the inflection of the adjectives, for all adjectives have in the genitive plural the ending $-x (= h)$.

Since among the Winds the dual number is still alive, and accurately distinguished from the plural, let us now look at their most illustrious grammarian, and the greatest investigator of the genius of the Slavic language.⁴⁵ [75]

Singular.			
N. A. V.	<i>Serce</i>	<i>Delo</i>	<i>Seme</i>
	['heart'],	['work'],	['seed'].
G.	<i>Serca,</i>	<i>Dela,</i>	<i>Semena.</i>
D.	<i>Sercu,</i>	<i>Delu,</i>	<i>Semenu.</i>
L.	<i>Sercu (i),</i>	<i>Delu (i),</i>	<i>Semenu.</i>
I.	<i>Sercom,</i>	<i>Delom,</i>	<i>Semenom.</i>

Plural.			
N. A. V.	<i>Serca,</i>	<i>Dela,</i>	<i>Semena.</i>
G.	<i>Serc,</i>	<i>Del,</i>	<i>Semen.</i>
D.	<i>Sercam,</i>	<i>Delam,</i>	<i>Semenam.</i>
L.	<i>Sercih,</i>	<i>Delih,</i>	<i>Semenih.</i>
I.	<i>Serci,</i>	<i>Delmi,</i>	<i>Semeni.</i>

⁴⁵Kopitar (1808: 237 (*serza, délo*), 240–241 (*séme*)).

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This way of inflecting, proposed by the renowned Kopitar, agrees with the other dialects, and moreover with the genius of the Slavic language. He presents the instrumental *serci* only in the abbreviated form, for *serci*, *sercni*, or *sercami* is the same form, as the other grammarian of the same dialect presents the instrumental in full: *letami* [‘by years’], instead of *letmi*, or *leti*.⁴⁶ From all this it is clear that for the inflection of neuter nouns there is only one unique form from the genius of the language, and namely:

Singular.		
N. A. V.	—	<i>Serce.</i>
G.	-a	<i>Serca.</i>
D.	-u	<i>Sercu.</i>
L.	-u	<i>Sercu.</i>
I.	-om	<i>Sercom.</i>

Plural.		
N. A. V.	-a	<i>Serca.</i> [76]
G.	—	<i>Serc.</i>
D.	-am	<i>Sercam.</i>
L.	-ax, -ix, -ox	<i>Sercax, Sercix, Sercox.</i>
I.	-ami	<i>Sercami.</i>

Section V. *On the inflection of adjectives.* [p. 76–96]

§. 1.

If we take a look at the way of inflecting adjectives, we observe especially in southern dialects that adjectives are in harmony with nouns also in case endings, as follows: one says in the southern dialects *dam ti sladkega vina* [‘I’ll give you sweet wine’], *imam vernega prijatelja* [‘I have a true friend’] etc., where the northern dialects have *sladkego*, *vernego*. Now, from this fundamental agreement in the genitive plural, one should equally say *lepov obrazov* [‘of the pretty pictures’], that is, if the adjective exactly corresponded also in its ending with the

⁴⁶Dainko (1824: 151).

noun. But in all dialects adjectives are pronounced in the genitive plural with $x = h$, namely: *lepix*, or *lepih obrazov*. However, the Slavonians entirely conform the nouns of all genders to this ending, as follows: *vojakah* ‘of soldiers’, *vremenah* ‘of times’, *dievicah* ‘of girls’, *milostih* ‘of graces’, *obrazah* ‘of pictures’ etc. Hence it is clear that the inflection of adjectives is not guided by the inflection of nouns, but rather rests on the inflection of the third person pronoun, for the third [77] person pronoun’s mark of the genitive plural in all dialects is $-x$, which in the southern dialects corresponds to the less guttural $-h$. And for this reason, before we treat the inflection of adjectives, it is important to have a look at the inflection of pronouns.

§. 2. *On the pronoun.*

Pronouns take up the role of nouns in speech; their endings in the ancient dialect are the following:⁴⁷

Singular.									
			M.	F.	N.				
N.	<i>Az</i>	<i>Ti</i> ,	<i>On</i> ,	<i>Ona</i> ,	<i>Ono</i> ,	or	<i>On</i> ,	<i>Ona</i> ,	<i>Ono</i> ,
G.	<i>Mne</i> ,	<i>Tebje</i> ,	<i>Onogo</i> ,	<i>Onaja</i> ,	<i>Onogo</i>	—	<i>Ĵego</i> ,	<i>Ĵeja</i> ,	<i>Jemu</i>
D.	<i>Mnje (mi)</i>	<i>Tebje (ti)</i>	<i>Onomu</i> ,	<i>Onoj</i> ,	<i>Onomu</i> ,	or	<i>Ĵemu</i> ,	<i>Ĵej</i> ,	<i>Jemu</i> .
A.	<i>Mna</i> ,	<i>Tja</i> ,	<i>On</i>	<i>Onu</i> ,	<i>Ono</i> ,	—	<i>Ĵi</i> ,	<i>Ĵu</i> ,	<i>Je</i>
			(<i>Onogo</i>),						
L.	<i>Mnje</i> ,	<i>Tebje</i> ,	<i>Onom</i> ,	<i>Onoj</i> ,	<i>Onom</i>	—	<i>v Njem</i>	<i>Njej</i>	<i>Njem</i>
I.	<i>Mnoja</i> ,	<i>Toboju</i> ,	<i>Onjem</i> ,	<i>Onoju</i> ,	<i>Onjem</i>	—	<i>s Njim</i> ,	<i>Nju</i> ,	<i>Njim</i> .

Plural.									
			M.	F.	N.		M.	F.	N.
N.	<i>Mi</i> ,	<i>Vi</i> ,	<i>Oni</i>	<i>Oni</i>	<i>Ona</i>	or	<i>Oni</i> ,	<i>Oni</i> ,	<i>Ona</i> .
G.	<i>Nas</i>	<i>Vas</i>	<i>Onjex</i>			—	<i>Ĵix</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Nam</i> ,	<i>Vam</i>	<i>Onjem</i> ,	<i>Onjem</i> ,	<i>Ojem</i>	—	<i>Ĵim</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Nas</i> ,	<i>Vas</i>	<i>Oni</i> ,	<i>Oni</i> ,	<i>Ona</i>	—	<i>Ĵa</i> , or <i>Ĵix</i>	—	—
L.	<i>Nas</i> ,	<i>Vas</i>	<i>Onjex</i>	—	—	—	<i>NĴix</i>	—	—
I.	<i>Nami</i> ,	<i>Vami</i> ,	<i>Onjemi</i>	—	—	—	<i>Nimi</i>	—	—

The first and second person pronouns cannot at all serve as the norm for inflecting adjectives, because they lack gender distinctions. The third person is the basis for inflecting adjectives; and its components are apparently *ji*, *ja*, *jo*. [78]

The first person was expressed by the ancients by *az*, but in its place *ja* has since prevailed in all dialects. Across the Carpathian Mountains *jax* is also heard,

⁴⁷Dobrovský (1822: 490–497).

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especially when it is combined with a preterit, such as *jax robil* ‘I did’, but this *-x* seems to be a remnant of the ancient preterit, namely *robix*, instead of *robil*.

§. 3.

The Russians inflect in the following way:⁴⁸

Singular.					
			masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>Ja,</i>	<i>Ti,</i>	<i>On,</i>	<i>Ona,</i>	<i>Ono.</i>
G.	<i>Mnja,</i>	<i>Tebja,</i>	<i>Jego,</i>	<i>Jeja (jeè),</i>	<i>Jego.</i>
D.	<i>Mnje,</i>	<i>Tebje,</i>	<i>Jemu,</i>	<i>Jej,</i>	<i>Jemu.</i>
A.	<i>Mnja,</i>	<i>Tebja,</i>	<i>Jego,</i>	<i>Jèè (Jej),</i>	<i>Ono.</i>
L.	<i>v Mnje,</i>	<i>Tebje,</i>	<i>Nem,</i>	<i>Nej,</i>	<i>Nem.</i>
I.	<i>so Mnoju,</i>	<i>Toboju,</i>	<i>s Nim,</i>	<i>Neju,</i>	<i>Nim.</i>

Plural.					
			masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>Mi,</i>	<i>Vi,</i>	<i>Oni,</i>	<i>Onje,</i>	<i>Ona.</i>
G.	<i>Nas,</i>	<i>Vas,</i>	<i>Jix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Nam,</i>	<i>Vam,</i>	<i>Jim.</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Nas,</i>	<i>Vas,</i>	<i>Jix,</i>	—	—
L.	<i>v Nas,</i>	<i>Vas,</i>	<i>Nix.</i>	—	—
I.	<i>Nami,</i>	<i>Vami,</i>	<i>Nimi,</i>	—	—

This way of inflecting corresponds to the ancient dialect, and also to very many living dialects and even to the genius of the Slavic language itself. The genitive singular in the feminine is expressed in a twofold way, namely [79] *jeja* in the fashion of the ancients or *jee*, which in our fashion of writing is *jej*; the living voice of the Russians confirms that. The feminine accusative singular is likewise expressed with *jee*, but the ancient dialect does it with *ju*, an ending which the Russians also follow both in speech and in other pronouns, as follows: *tu*, *moju*, *nauuu* etc., which is why not the grammarian’s projection in *jee* but rather *ju* should be accepted, both because it is confirmed in the ancient dialect and because the Russians, too, speak like that, and so it will be:

⁴⁸Puchmajer (1820: 227–228).

Singular.			Plural.			
	[masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.]
N.	<i>On,</i>	<i>Ona,</i>	<i>Ona.</i>	N. <i>Oni,</i>	<i>Onje,</i>	<i>Ona.</i>
G.	<i>Jego,</i>	<i>Jej,</i>	<i>Jego.</i>	G. <i>Ix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Jemu,</i>	<i>Jej,</i>	<i>Jemu.</i>	D. <i>Im.</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Jego,</i>	<i>Ju,</i>	<i>Ono.</i>	A. <i>Ix.</i>	<i>Je.</i>	—
L.	<i>v Nem,</i>	<i>v Nej,</i>	<i>v Nem.</i>	L. <i>v Nix.</i>	—	—
I.	<i>s Nim,</i>	<i>s Neju,</i>	<i>s Nim.</i>	I. <i>s Nimi,</i>	—	—

And the inflection of adjectives is based on this form according to the genius of the language, about which more below. Let us now look at what the Polish grammarians say.

§. 4.

Since for both Poles and also the other Slavic Nations, first and second person pronouns correspond exactly to both the ancient dialect and the Russian, as far as their inflection is concerned, let us now consider only the inflection of the 3rd person pronouns as the supposed basis for inflecting adjectives. The Pole inflects in the following way:⁴⁹ [80]

Singular.			Plural.			
N.	<i>On,</i>	<i>Ona,</i>	<i>Ono.</i>	N. <i>Oni,</i>	<i>One,</i>	<i>One.</i>
G.	<i>Jego,</i>	<i>Jej,</i>	<i>Jego.</i>	G. <i>Jix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Jemu,</i>	<i>Jej,</i>	<i>Jemu.</i>	D. <i>Im.</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Jego,</i>	<i>Jq (Je),</i>	<i>Ono.</i>	A. <i>Ix,</i>	<i>Je.</i>	—
L.*	<i>v Nim,</i>	<i>v Nej,</i>	<i>v Nim.</i>	L. <i>v Nix.</i>	—	—
I.*	<i>s Njim,</i>	<i>s Nju,</i>	<i>s Njim.</i>	I. <i>s Nimi.</i>	—	—

Every language of great originality has its own philosophy. This is illustrated especially in the Slavic language, if its multiple dialects would be combined. Thus the Polish grammarian says of the chart shown above that the Poles lack those

⁴⁹Bandtkie (1808: 191). Herkel's transcriptions are sometimes simplified, e.g. Herkel gives *jemu* where Bandtkie has *jemu (mu)*.

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cases marked with an asterisk.⁵⁰ Another grammarian includes them.⁵¹ But it is easy to decide which of them has it right; for if the aforementioned cases are found in speech, if the sisters of the Polish dialect are not robbed of the marked cases, then it would be a contradiction to claim that Polish lacks them. The grammarian explains the lack of these marked cases on the grounds that they occur only with prepositions.⁵² However, a preposition does not produce a new case, but proves that this case should already be present. In the meantime, having said this between brackets, the pronominal inflection of the Poles offered above is consistent with the other dialects, and thus very much so with the genius of the Slavic language.

§. 5.

The inflection of the Bohemians is the following:⁵³ [81]

Singular.			Plural.				
N.	<i>On,</i>	<i>Ona,</i>	<i>Ono.</i>	N.	<i>Oni,</i>	<i>Oni,</i>	<i>Ona.</i>
G.	<i>Jeho,</i>	<i>Ji,</i>	<i>Jeho.</i>	G.	<i>Jix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Jemu,</i>	<i>Ji,</i>	<i>Jemu.</i>	D.	<i>Jim,</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Jej,</i>	<i>Ji,</i>	<i>Je.</i>	A.	<i>Je,</i>	<i>Je,</i>	<i>Ona.</i>
L.	<i>v Nem,</i>	<i>v Ni,</i>	<i>v Nem.</i>	L.	<i>v Nix,</i>	—	—
I.	<i>s Nim,</i>	<i>Ni,</i>	<i>s Nim.</i>	I.	<i>Nimi,</i>	—	—

The grammarian has explained the accusative of each number very dialectally, for the Bohemian also says: *Ja sem ho videl* [‘I saw him’], where *ho* is an abbreviation of *jeho*, which was originally *jego*, whence *go*, just as among the southerners *jega* is abbreviated to *ga*. So, similarly in the plural the Bohemians say: *Jix sem videl* [‘I saw them’]; for this reason, Bohemian does not at all differ from the remaining dialects either. The grammarian of this dialect profoundly observes

⁵⁰The asterisks do not appear in Herkel’s own text, and he does not seem to be referring to a paradigm of Bandtkie’s marked by asterisks. We have inserted asterisks at the locative and instrumental level, since Bandtkie indicates in his *Polnische Grammatik* (1808: 224–225) that the locative “fehlt, weil er nur mit Präpositionen vorkommt” (1808: 225), whereas the instrumental is obsolete, “weil es nicht ohne *Præp.* vorkommt” (1808: 225).

⁵¹Buzássyová (2009: 212, fn. 220), has not been able to identify this Polish grammarian. It seems to be a reference to Johann Moneta’s oft-published *Polnische Grammatik*, e.g. in the edition of Daniel Vogel (1805: 184 (*jego, jemu*)).

⁵²Bandtkie (1808: 225).

⁵³Dobrovský (1809: 282).

that in the nominative of this pronoun the double ending is also distinguished, namely: *on, ona, ono* is a demonstrative pronoun, and *ji, je, je*, or according to the genius of the language *ji, ja, jo* is strictly speaking a third person pronoun. This is why *on* in the genitive is said *onego*, but *ji* is said *jego*, expressions which are distinct in terms of both usage and meaning. Nonetheless, the grammarians attribute the nominative *on, ona, ono* to both, since indeed the original components of the third person have vanished from the dialects: namely *ji, ja, je* or *jo* have been supplanted by *on, ona, ono*.

§. 6.

The Pannonian inflects the said pronoun in the following way:⁵⁴ [82]

Singular.			
N.	<i>On,</i>	<i>Ona,</i>	<i>Ono.</i>
G.	<i>Jeho,</i>	<i>Jej,</i>	<i>Jeho.</i>
D.	<i>Jemu,</i>	<i>Jej,</i>	<i>Jemu.</i>
A.	<i>Jeho,</i>	<i>Ju,</i>	<i>Jehu, (ho) ono.</i>
L.	<i>Nom, Nem,</i>	<i>Nej,</i>	<i>Nom, Nem.</i>
I.	<i>Snjim,</i>	<i>Nju,</i>	<i>Njim.</i>
Plural.			
N.	<i>Oni,</i>	<i>Oni,</i>	<i>One.</i>
G.	<i>Jix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Jim,</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Jix,</i>	<i>Nje,</i>	<i>Jix.</i>
L.	<i>Nix,</i>	—	—
I.	<i>Nimi,</i>	—	—

The nominative plural in the feminine is shown as *oni*, but *one* is also said. The plural neuter *ona* would be more correct than *one* in the Polish fashion, since the Bohemians also say the neuter as *ona*.

The Serbians, the Slavonians together with the Croatians and Dalmatians, inflect in the following way:⁵⁵

⁵⁴Bernolák (1790: 64–65).

⁵⁵Karadžić (1818: xlix-l).

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Singular.			
N.	<i>On,</i>	<i>Ona,</i>	<i>Ono.</i>
G.	<i>Njega,</i>	<i>Nje,</i>	<i>Njega.</i>
D.	<i>Njemu,</i>	<i>Njoj,</i>	<i>Njemu.</i>
A.	<i>Njega,</i>	<i>Nju,</i>	<i>Njega.</i>
L.	<i>u Njemu,</i>	<i>Njoj,</i>	<i>Njemu.</i>
I.	<i>s Njime,</i>	<i>Njom,</i>	<i>Njime.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Oni,</i>	<i>One,</i>	<i>Ono. [83]</i>
G.	<i>Njix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Njim</i> or <i>Njima,</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Nje,</i>	—	<i>Ona.</i>
L.	<i>v Njix,</i>	—	—
I.	<i>s Nimi,</i>	<i>Njima,</i>	—

This way of inflecting is in neat agreement with the genius of the Slavic language. However, the fact that the genitive ends in *-a* in the masculine and neuter singular is explained by the grammarians as follows: the adjective follows the ending of the noun, as can be observed in the other cases. But this rule has its exceptions, for the neuter accusative ends in *-a*, e.g. *njega*, while the nouns are not pronounced that way; in the meantime, their plural becomes also confused with the dual, for their neighbors the Carniolan and Carinthian Slavs do not pronounce the dative and locative plural with *-ma*, as the following figure shows:⁵⁶

Singular.			
N.	<i>On,</i>	<i>Ona,</i>	<i>Ono.</i>
G.	<i>Njega,</i>	<i>Nje,</i>	<i>Njega.</i>
D.	<i>Njemu,</i>	<i>Nji,</i>	<i>Njemu.</i>
A.	<i>Njega,</i>	<i>Njo,</i>	<i>Njega.</i>
L.	<i>Njemu,</i>	<i>Nji,</i>	<i>Njemu.</i>
I.	<i>Njim,</i>	<i>Njo,</i>	<i>Njim.</i>

⁵⁶Kopitar (1808: 281).

Plural.			
N.	<i>Oni,</i>	<i>One,</i>	<i>Ona.</i>
G.	<i>Ĵih,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Ĵim,</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Nje</i> or <i>Ĵih,</i>	—	— [84]
L.	<i>Njih,</i>	—	—
I.	<i>Njimi,</i>	—	—

Some grammarians also take nouns as the basis for inflecting these adjectives, but the genitive plural with them always ends in *-h* = *-x* in adjectives, an ending that never occurs in nouns, and indeed in no other dialect except the Slavonian. Both current usage among the dialects and Old Church Slavonic show how far this expression deviates from the genuine Slavic ending.

§. 7.

The abovementioned inflections of the pronoun *on* in the various dialects reveal the following form as agreeing with the genius of the Slavic language, which will serve as the basis for inflecting all adjectives:

Norm for inflecting all adjectives.

Singular.			
	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>n.</i>
N.	<i>On (ji),</i>	<i>Ona (ja),</i>	<i>Ono (je, jo).</i>
G.	<i>Ĵego,</i>	<i>Ĵej,</i>	<i>Ĵego.</i>
D.	<i>Ĵemu,</i>	<i>Ĵej,</i>	<i>Ĵemu.</i>
A.	<i>Ĵego,</i>	<i>Ĵu,</i>	<i>Ono.</i>
L.	<i>v Njem,</i>	<i>Nej,</i>	<i>Njem.</i>
I.	<i>s Njim,</i>	<i>s Nju,</i>	<i>s Njim.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Oni (ji),</i>	<i>One (je),</i>	<i>Ona (ja).</i> [85]
G.	<i>Ĵix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Ĵim,</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Ĵix,</i>	<i>Ĵe,</i>	<i>Ona.</i>
L.	<i>v Nix,</i>	—	—
I.	<i>s Nimi.</i>	—	—

§. 8.

The other pronouns, along with the adjectives, also follow this inflection, but the reason why I have established this inflection as the norm for adjectives is that all Slavic dialects in all three genders end genitive plural adjectives with *-x*, i.e. in a way similar to the pronoun of the third person. Additionally, in very many dialects, and enormously widespread ones at that, adjectives also follow the inflection of the aforementioned pronoun. Croats and Slavonians, however, also attribute the genitive plural ending *-x = -h* to nouns of all genders in that case, an ending which nonetheless seems to have crept in through abuse, because it is observed neither in the ancient nor in the other living dialects. For instance, the Slavonians say: *vojakah* [‘of the soldiers’], *vremenah* [‘of the times’], *zenah* [‘of the women’], *dievicah* [‘of the girls’], instead of *vojakov*, *vremien*, *zien*, *dievic* etc. But let us consider the inflection of the adjectives in the different dialects to see whether the proposed norm persists. In the ancient dialect, as the most illustrious Dobrovský asserts, some adjectives have a definite form, but others an indefinite form, and indeed, indefinite adjectives follow the inflection of nouns, such as: [86]

Singular.

- N. *Meu Oster, Plau Gorek, Dar Blag, Slovo Lubavo, Miaso Junče.*
 ['A sharp sword', 'a bitter tear weeping', 'a good gift', 'a word of love', 'bull's flesh'.]
- G. *Mecha Ostra, Muza Premudra, Raja Bozija, Vodi Mnogi* etc.
 ['Of a sharp sword', 'of a wise man', 'of God's paradise', 'of much water'.]
- D. *Muzu Pravenu, Domu Carevu, Licu Boziju, Sinu Jedinorodnu* etc.
 ['To a just man', 'to the tsar's house', 'to God's face', 'to the only begotten son'.]
- A. *Glavu Zmievu, Rizu novu, Mzdu Prorocu, Goru Sionju* etc.
 ['The dragon's head', 'a new robe', 'the prophet's reward', 'the mountain of Zion'.]
- L. *v Glasie Trubnie, Na paziti Tuunie, Na Vode mnozie* etc.
 ['In the trumpet's sound', 'on a fat pasture', 'on much water'.]
- I. *Mnogom Jazikom, Boziem Slovom* etc.
 ['With many tongues', 'with the word of God'.]
-
-

Plural.

- N. *Kniazii Judovi, Rebra Sjeverova* etc.
 ['Priests of the Jews', 'ribs of the north'.]
- G. *Krup Pueniuen, Kamien Ognien* etc.
 ['Of groats of wheat', 'of fiery stones'.]
- D. *Dverom Zatverenam, Diakonom Čistom* etc.
 ['To closed doors', 'to pure deacons'.]
- A. *Ljudi Xrabri* ['brave people'] etc.
- L. *v Koziax Kozax, Po Mnozjex Dniex* etc.
 ['In goat's skins', 'after many days'.]
- I. *Mnogimi Slzami, Nitmi Zlatimi* etc.
 ['With many tears', 'with golden threads'.]
-
-

Additionally, the pronominal inflection of the adjective follows the inflection of the pronoun also in the ancient dialect, thus the genitive singular is not *mecha ostra*, but *ostrego*, *Muza premudrego*, *raja bozigo*, not *krup pueniuen*, but *pue-niunix*, *kamien ognix*, or *ognivix*. Note here that *kamien* in the genitive plural derives from *kamenie*, i.e. 'a great number of stones', but *kamen* is 'stone' etc. Yet Logic cannot explain why Grammarians call the former form of inflecting adjectives indefinite, but the latter definite, [87] for every adjective combined with a noun determines the quality of the noun itself, since if I say *mecha ostra* or *mecha ostrego*, it always designates the quality of the sword etc. For this reason, adjectives combined with nouns are wrongly divided into definite and indefinite. The situation is different if a solitary adjective is purely and clearly regarded as a word expressing a quality, for instance *nov* ['new'], *xud* ['poor'], *zelen* ['green'], *uerven* ['red'] etc., *učen* ['learned'], *dober* ['good'], *oster* ['sharp'] etc. Yet here it

is understood what *nov*, *xud*, *zelen* is; it is nevertheless left undefined to which object it applies. However, if I say *novi dom* ['new house'], *xudi uelovek* ['poor person'], or *zeleni strom* ['green tree'], or in the fashion of biblical expressions *uelovik xud*, *strom zelen*, *plac goreh* ['bitter weeping'], *dar blag* ['good gift'] etc., the quality of the object is already defined. Hence it follows: whichever form ties an adjective to a noun, it always determines the meaning thereof.

For this reason, it is more correct to divide the inflection of the adjectives into the pronominal and nominal. The substantival inflection flourishes in all northern dialects, such as Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Pannonian. The nominal inflection was no less frequent in the ancient dialect, but the southern dialects mix the pronominal with the nominal inflection, such as, for instance, *dobre* or *dobro sukno* ['good cloth']. All northerners use the genitive: *dobrego sukna*, *zutego sukna* ['of yellow cloth'], but the southerners say: *dobrega sukna*, *zutega sukna*. Here, *dobrega* is a mixed form. The southerners, and particularly the Serbs, also say *zuta sukna*; this inflection is entirely nominal, [88] which the grammarians describe as an abbreviation from *zutega*.

Now we must see which of the two ways of inflecting prevails. The biblical context indicates that the inflection was in mixed use in the ancient dialect. As far as the living dialects are concerned, the northern dialects exclude the nominal inflection, the southern mix it with the pronominal.

§. 9.

But let us return to our earlier topic and examine the inflection of the adjectives in the living dialects, and see whether they follow the substantival or pronominal way of inflecting. The Russians, according to the grammarian, indeed inflect the adjectives as in the ancient dialect, namely in the substantival and pronominal way. The substantival declension is as follows:⁵⁷

		Singular.			Plural.	
	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>n.</i>	for all three genders		
<i>N.</i>	<i>Dobr</i> ['good'],	<i>Dobra</i> ,	<i>Dobro</i> .	<i>N.</i>	<i>Dobri</i> .	
<i>G.</i>	<i>Dobra</i> ,	<i>Dobri</i> ,	<i>Dobra</i> .	<i>G.</i>	<i>Dobrix</i> .	
<i>D.</i>	<i>Dobru</i> ,	<i>Dobri</i> ,	<i>Dobru</i> .	<i>D.</i>	<i>Dobrim</i> .	
<i>A.</i>	<i>Dober (a)</i> ,	<i>Dobru</i> ,	<i>Dobro</i> .	<i>A.</i>	<i>Dobri</i> .	
<i>I.</i>	<i>Dobrim</i> ,	<i>Dobroju</i> ,	<i>Dobrim</i> .	<i>I.</i>	<i>Dobrimi</i> .	

⁵⁷Puchmajer (1820: 223).

The accusative singular in the masculine ends in *-a* when it concerns an animated object, as follows: *Ja dviġal ueloveka mertva* [‘I moved a dead person’], not *mertv*, because the accusative of animates takes the same form as the genitive. If, however, one would say: *Ja dviġal uelovieka mertvego*, here the adjective is inflected as a pronoun. The grammarian [89] says that the former norm of inflecting is abbreviated, which the most illustrious Dobrovský has called indefinite in the ancient dialect. The southern Slavs contract this double way of inflecting into one form, such as in Carinthian, where one says *videl sem mertvega uelovjeka* [‘I saw a dead person’]; here, the ending of the genitive of the pronoun *jego* is added to *mertv*, yet with *-o* changed into *-a*, so that it is consistent with the noun as concerns the ending.

The pronominal inflection in Russian is the following:⁵⁸

Singular.			
	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>n.</i>
N.	<i>Dobrji,</i>	<i>Dobroja,</i>	<i>Dobroje.</i>
G.	<i>Dobrago,</i>	<i>Dobroj,</i>	<i>Dobrago.</i>
D.	<i>Dobromu,</i>	<i>Dobroj,</i>	<i>Dobromu.</i>
A.	<i>Dobry (a),</i>	<i>Dobroju,</i>	<i>Dobroje.</i>
L.	<i>Dobrom,</i>	<i>Dobroj,</i>	<i>Dobrom.</i>
I.	<i>Dobrim,</i>	<i>Dobroju,</i>	<i>Dobrim.</i>

Plural.			
	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>n.</i>
N.	<i>Dobr<i>ji,</i>	<i>Dobrije,</i>	<i>Dobrija.</i>
G.	<i>Dobrix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Dobrim.</i>		
A.	like the nominative.		
L.	like the genitive.		
I.	<i>Dobrimi.</i>		

Here, the inflection of the adjective corresponds exactly with the inflection of the pronoun; yet, a certain grammarian posits that the nominative plural number is *dobrie, dobrija, dobrija*, complying with the grammarians [90] of the ancient dialect, and loads final *-a* with a diacritic; but if we would take a look at the usage of the Russians, it will be clear that *dobriji, dobr<i>je, dobrija* mostly prevails.

⁵⁸Puchmajer (1820: table insert at 222).

§. 10.

In the Polish dialect, adjectives only follow the pronominal inflection, such as, for instance:⁵⁹

Singular.			
N.	<i>Grubi</i> [‘fat’],	<i>Gruba,</i>	<i>Grube.</i>
G.	<i>Grubego,</i>	<i>Grubej,</i>	<i>Grubego.</i>
D.	<i>Grubemu,</i>	<i>Grubej,</i>	<i>Grubemu.</i>
A.	<i>Grubi</i> or <i>Grubego,</i>	<i>Grubju,</i>	<i>Grube.</i>
L.	<i>Grubim,</i>	<i>Grubej,</i>	<i>Grubim.</i>
I.	<i>Grubim,</i>	<i>Grubju,</i>	<i>Grubim.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Grubi,</i>	<i>Grube,</i>	<i>Grube.</i>
G.	<i>Grubix.</i>		
D.	<i>Grubim.</i>		
A.	like the nominative or genitive		
L.	<i>Grubimi.</i>		
I.	<i>Grubix.</i>		

This is in any case consistent with the inflection of the pronoun, and with other dialects, and it would be the norm, if the nominative plural in the neuter would be pronounced not with *-e* but with *-a*.

The Poles write the feminine accusative *gruba*, which corresponds to *grubju*. Furthermore, the grammarian notes, and the written record proves, that masculine adjectives [91] were once written in the nominative singular with *-y*, which, because it corresponds completely to the letter *-i* in speech, more recent and more rational writers write everywhere as *-i*. Nevertheless, the grammarian still says that the adjective *letni, letnia, letnie* [‘summer’] is still written *letny*. I firmly believe, however, that this useless orthographic exception will shortly cease to exist, or rather that it has already ceased to exist, since no reason for this exception can be identified other than that authors write it that way. Yet unless it is also grounded in some peculiar pronunciation, we are but blind imitators of antiquity, not true and rational cultivators of the language.

⁵⁹Adamowicz (1796b: 24).

§. 11.

The grammarian of the Bohemian dialect distinguishes three adjectival inflections, namely in addition to the nominal and the pronominal, he establishes a third inflection, now often still named as such, in which for all three genders in the nominative singular the adjectives end in *-i*. Its form is as follows:⁶⁰

Singular.		Plural.	
	<i>masc. neut.</i>	<i>fem.</i>	for all three genders
N.	<i>Bozi</i> [‘divine’],	<i>Bozi.</i>	N. <i>Bozi.</i>
G.	<i>Boziho,</i>	<i>Bozi.</i>	G. <i>Bozix.</i>
D.	<i>Bozimu,</i>	<i>Bozi.</i>	D. <i>Bozim.</i>
A.	<i>Bozi,</i>	<i>Bozi.</i>	A. <i>Bozi.</i>
L.	<i>Bozim,</i>	<i>Bozi.</i>	L. <i>Bozix.</i>
I.	<i>Bozim,</i>	<i>Bozi.</i>	I. <i>Bozimi.</i>

[92] This method of inflecting is peculiar to the Bohemian dialect alone. It is nothing more than the regular way of inflecting, but with the following observation: in some cases the final ending is swallowed while speaking by the Bohemians, and hence it can be called an abbreviated way of inflecting, such as, for instance, *bozi dar* [‘divine gift’] is not swallowed in the masculine, but in the feminine it is *bozi vula* [‘divine will’] instead of *bozia volia*, *bozi jmeno* [‘divine name’] instead of *bozio imeno*, and so on for the remaining cases. Experience proves that the Bohemians, too, speak in the same form as the other dialects, since the Bohemian grammarian also establishes the following regular norm of inflecting:⁶¹

⁶⁰Dobrovský (1809: table between 270–271).

⁶¹Dobrovský (1809: table between 270–271).

Singular.			
N.	<i>Pravi</i> [‘correct’],	<i>Prava,</i>	<i>Prave.</i>
G.	<i>Praveho,</i>	<i>Prave,</i>	<i>Praveho.</i>
D.	<i>Pravemu,</i>	<i>Prave,</i>	<i>Pravemu.</i>
A.	<i>Pravi,</i>	<i>Pravau,</i>	<i>Prave.</i>
L.	<i>Pravem,</i>	<i>Prave,</i>	<i>Pravem.</i>
I.	<i>Pravim,</i>	<i>Pravau,</i>	<i>Provim [sic].</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Pravi,</i>	<i>Prave,</i>	<i>Prava.</i>
G.	<i>Pravih,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Pravim,</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Prave (ix),</i>	<i>Prave,</i>	<i>Prava.</i>
L.	<i>Pravix.</i>		
I.	<i>Pravimi.</i>		

This way of inflecting is regular, resting on a basis laid earlier and in harmony with the other dialects. The ending *-o* follows the genius of the language, however the neuter declension with *-e* [93] is also characteristic, hence either *prave* or *pravo* would conform to the genius of the language.

The accusative masculine singular conforms with the nominative, but that should only be understood for inanimate things, since for animate things it is pronounced in conformity with the genitive, as indeed in all dialects.

Furthermore, the feminine genitive, dative, locative is pronounced with an accentuated *-é*, which according to the grammarian is pronounced as *-ej*. Accordingly, it would be more correct to also write it like it is pronounced, since the mentioned cases are written in the other dialects with *-j*, and in that way, subtle discrepancies between writing and pronunciation would vanish, and would be replaced by straightforwardness, accompanied by conformity between dialects. For that reason, one should not write *pravé* in such cases, but *pravej*.

§. 12.

The Pannonian grammarian establishes three paradigms for inflecting adjectives. Because the Bohemians, too, establish three paradigms, one could be forgiven for

believing that the three forms of inflecting adjectives are grounded in the genius of the Slavic language, but nothing is further from the truth, for the Bohemian establishes the nominal, pronominal, and abbreviated forms. The Pannonian grammarian does not even mention these, but his first paradigm is the following:⁶²

Singular.			
	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>n.</i>
N.	<i>Pekni</i> [‘nice, pretty’],	<i>Pekna,</i>	<i>Pekne (-o).</i> [94]
G.	<i>Pekneho,</i>	<i>Peknej,</i>	<i>Pekneho.</i>
D.	<i>Peknemu,</i>	<i>Peknej,</i>	<i>Peknemu.</i>
A.	<i>Pekni (-eho),</i>	<i>Peknu,</i>	<i>Pekne (-o).</i>
L.	<i>Peknem (-om),</i>	<i>Peknej,</i>	<i>Peknem (-om).</i>
I.	<i>Peknim,</i>	<i>Peknej,</i>	<i>Peknim.</i>

Plural.			
N.	<i>Pekni,</i>	<i>Pekne,</i>	<i>Pekne.</i>
G.	<i>Peknix,</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Peknim,</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Pekne (-ix),</i>	<i>Pekne,</i>	<i>Pekne.</i>
L.	<i>Peknix,</i>		
I.	<i>Peknimi.</i>		

This form does not differ from the other dialects in any way. Those adjectives that take the second form are formed from masculine nouns, such as *sinov*, *-a*, *-o* [‘filial, the son’s’], *kozlov*, *-a*, *-o* [‘caprine, the goat’s’] etc. Those that take the third form, furthermore, are formed from feminine nouns, such as *materin* [‘maternal, mother’s’], *sestrin* [‘sororal, the sister’s’], *tetkin* [‘materteral, the aunt’s’], *-a*, *-e*, *-o*, but adjectives of this kind do not differ at all from the previous form shown in terms of inflection. So it is superfluous to establish among the Pannonians three forms of inflecting adjectives, for all adjectives among the Pannonians follow the form discussed above. This is also why the Bohemian calls adjectives of that type, such as *sestrin*, *bratov* [‘fraternal, the brother’s’], *otcov* [‘paternal, the father’s’], *materin* etc. possessive adjectives, and does not attribute to them

⁶²Bernolák (1790: 49).

a particular way of inflecting other than the normal one, as among the Pannonians. The Pannonians, just like the Poles, also pronounce the third person neuter plural nominative pronoun with *-e*, which is also why the adjectives follow this [95] ending, such as *one*, and hence also *pekne* etc. Nevertheless, the authority of the ancient dialect, and current usage in Russian, Bohemian, and other, southern dialects, leads me to posit the singular *-o*, but plural *-a*, and thus the form of inflecting discussed above corresponds exactly with the other dialects.

§. 13.

Having clarified this, it remains to be investigated whether the nominal or pronominal method of inflecting should be adopted. That method of inflection which conforms to the genius of the language and prevails in all Slavic dialects should be adopted. Such, indeed, is the pronominal inflection, for it was common among the ancient Slavs, and now prevails in all living dialects, as the inflection of adjectives has shown. These facts elicit the following universal method of inflection:

Singular.			
	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>n.</i>
N.	<i>Dobri</i> [‘good’],	<i>Dobra,</i>	<i>Dobro (e).</i>
G.	<i>Dobrego,</i>	<i>Dobrej,</i>	<i>Dobrego.</i>
D.	<i>Dobremu,</i>	<i>Dobrej,</i>	<i>Dobremu.</i>
A.	<i>Dobri,</i> or for animates: <i>Dobrego,</i>	<i>Dobru,</i>	<i>Dobro (e).</i>
L.	<i>Dobrem,</i>	<i>Dobrej,</i>	<i>Dobrem (om).</i>
I.	<i>Dobrim,</i>	<i>Dobru,</i>	<i>Dobrim.</i>

[96] Plural.			
	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>n.</i>
N.	<i>Dobri,</i>	<i>Dobre,</i>	<i>Dobra.</i>
G.	<i>Dobrix.</i>	—	—
D.	<i>Dobrim.</i>	—	—
A.	<i>Dobri,</i> or for animates: <i>Dobrix,</i>	<i>Dobre,</i>	<i>Dobra.</i>
L.	<i>Dobrix.</i>		
I.	<i>Dobrimi.</i>		

All adjectives follow this pronominal form without exception. The nominal paradigm seems to have come into Slavic from the Greek text via Bible translation, but recent editors of the Bible have abandoned it, substituting pronominal forms as genuinely Slavic.

Section VI. *On comparison.* [p. 96–103]

§. 1.

Some quality of an object of speech may be compared in relation to one or more objects similar to it, and hence grammarians distinguish between the degrees of comparison. And grammarians do indeed mark out three degrees, but without any foundation. For if one object is compared with another, yet neither of these two shows a greater degree [97] of the same quality, then the grammarian abandons the degrees of comparison. Hence, an adjective expressing the quality of a certain object is incorrectly designated the “positive degree”.⁶³ But if some quality is observed to be greater in one of the two objects, then the expression of this quality can be called “the comparative”; all the more so, if it were compared with several objects as far as that quality is concerned, and if a quality would be observed to be more eminent in a certain object than all the others, the grammarians commonly call this degree “the superlative”. But this is nothing else than a greater existence of the same quality in one among several objects with the quality compared. So, for instance, if I would say: this youngster is more modest than his other schoolmates, or that youngster is the most modest of his schoolmates. These examples show that there is strictly only one degree of comparison, namely with one or more objects. Let us now see how the various Slavic dialects express comparison.

§. 2.

In all Slavic dialects the degree of comparison is expressed in two ways, namely by adding the particle *-ui* or *-ji* to the adjective. The Bible reads thus: *čistjei* [‘cleaner’], *čistui* [‘cleaner’], *čistjejuj* [‘cleanest’]. The final expression, made by combining the two other forms, is sometimes called by grammarians the longer comparative, or sometimes the superlative. Yet the ancient [98] Slavs, if they

⁶³The base form of the adjective is known in Latin as the *gradus positivus*, ‘positive degree’. For example, “tall” is the positive degree, “taller” is the comparative, and “tallest” is the superlative. Herkel seems to be criticizing the term *gradus positivus* without offering an alternative.

attributed to an object a greater excellence in some quality than to others, expressed the idea clearly with words, as follows: *Prečistjei rucie tvoi* [‘your cleanest hands’]. The following, however, are particles denoting eminence: *pre-*, *vse-*, *naj-* as follows: *Premilostivjejuu Bože!* [‘most graceful God!’], *Vsemilostivjejuu* [‘most graceful’], or also by combining the particles, as follows: *Vsepresvietliejuu* [‘most illustrious’]. And this way of expressing a most eminent quality also prevails now in all dialects, but they are inflected as adjectives, since they are indeed adjectives expressing the quality of an object in a greater degree than the others.

§. 3.

The Russians’ expression of comparison agrees with the ancient dialect, as follows: *tonui* [‘thinner’], *mladui* [‘younger’], *starui* [‘older’] from *tonki*, *mladi*, *stari*, or by interjecting the syllable *jei* to the former expression, as follows: *starejuu*, *tončejjuu*; this last expression the grammarians call the superlative. In the meantime, the Russians also form the superlative by prefixing to the former expression: *pre-*, *vse-*, *naj-*, as follows: *najjadovitejuu* [‘most poisonous’], *naive-ličaiui* [‘the greatest’], *vsepokorneiui* [‘most humble’].

§. 4.

The Poles likewise speak like this, yet they change the letter *g* into *s* according to the genius of the dialect, as follows: *grubi*, *grubsi* [‘fatter’], *bogati*, *bogatsi* [‘richer’], *prosti*, *prostiejsi* (*prošćiejszi*) [‘simpler’], *najbogatsi* [‘richest’], *naiglupsi* [‘stupidest’], *najmilsi bratia* [99] (*najmilsi bracia*) *prenajveliebnejsi* [‘dearest most respectable brothers’]. The Bohemians likewise form the comparative like this, namely by adding *ui*, or by a combination of consonants so that the euphony is not harmed: *ejui*, or only *ej* in conformity with the ancient and other dialects, as follows: *hlubui* [‘deeper’], *dalui* [‘further’], *uirui* [‘wider’], *uzui* [‘narrower’], *kratui* [‘shorter’], *tmavejuu* [‘darker’], *libejui* [‘more pleasant’], *černejuu* [‘blacker’], *xitrejuu* [‘cleverer’], *čisteji* [‘cleaner’] *pekneji* [‘nicer’], *sladceji* [‘sweeter’] etc. The latter way of speaking takes place especially in adverbs; if the prefix *naj-* (*nej-* among the Bohemians) is added, it will form the superlative. The Pannonians likewise pronounce the comparative like this, namely through *-ui*, or *-ejui*, so that *tvrđi*, or among the Pannonians who smoothen it *tvardi*, *tverđi* [‘hard’] becomes *tvardui*, *najtvardui*, and *krasni* [‘beautiful’] becomes *krasnejui*, *najkrasnejui* etc.. An alternate form uses *-eji*, thus *perv* [‘early’], *perveji*, *najperveji*, *dal* [‘far’], *daleji*, *najdaleji*; this likewise takes place especially in adverbs.

§. 5.

The Pannonian grammarian, just like other dialect grammarians, also establishes various rules for forming the comparative. He dwelt not so much on the final syllables, the essential syllables of the comparative that appear in all dialects, namely *-ejui* or *-eji*, but on changing consonants in the adjective itself. For instance *drahi* [‘dear’], *dluhi* [‘long’], *suxi* [‘dry’] etc.: the Pannonian teaches that here *h* changes into *k*.⁶⁴ This mutation, however, is grounded neither in etymology nor in universal usage, but instead in various individual misuse, from which the grammarian forges a rule. Nevertheless, misuse can never rest on firm principles; for this reason, [100] the grammars of dialect scholars abound in such passages, with exceptions and exceptions to exceptions. Let us, therefore, examine the abovementioned adjectives to see whether the letter change of *h* into *k* is necessary at all. No, it is not: for if I say *drahi*, *dluhi*, *suxi*, the comparative will be *drahui*, *dluhui*, *suxui*, confirmed by usage. But if I say *dragi*, *dlugi* etc., the comparative will likewise be regular, *dragui*, *dlugui*, or *dragejui* etc., and not *drakui*, *dlukui*, or *drazui* etc., as grammarians burdened by varying usage would instruct. This way of teaching and writing does not suit philology, and overwhelms learners’ abilities, because it is grounded in vicious usage.

The rule, therefore, must stand as long as all dialects do not overthrow it together with its basic principles, as appears to be the case in the following words: *mal* [‘small’], *zl* [‘bad’], *dobr* [‘good’], *velik* [‘big’]. But the Russians also regularly say *malejui*, so the exception for *menui* is gone. For *velik* the Carinthians say *vekui*, *velikejui*, just like *sladkejui* [‘sweeter’], *uirokejui* [‘wider’], *kratkejui* [‘shorter’], *tenkeiui* [‘thinner’] etc. Yet there are some who categorize certain adjectives as irregular which in other dialects are regular. They change, for instance, *dlug* [‘long’] into *dolg*, from which they form the comparative *dalui* or *dalji* [‘longer’], and behold what great confusion results when one departs from a fixed principle, since in other dialects *dalui*, *daleji* means ‘farther’.

§. 6.

Two more adjectives remain to be considered: *zl* = *zli* [‘bad’] [101] and *dobr* = *dober* = *dobri* [‘good’]. In all dialects, they are irregular, but their irregularity, too, is different. We should therefore inquire into the cause of the irregularity and the difference. Here we should remark that as long as the language and the people itself were still in their infancy, distinct ideas that shared some common characteristics were very often expressed by the same word. So much is clear

⁶⁴Bernolák (1790: 55).

both from books and from very ancient languages. Yet those ideas on the quality of objects were the most frequent, which most often applied to the physical condition of man, such as the idea of “good” and the idea of “bad”. Hence, they indicated everything that pleased them with the word for ‘good’, and everything that displeased them with the word for ‘bad’. For instance, we know that ancient peoples, and especially the Slavs, delighted in the color white, and they expressed this idea with the word for ‘good’, equating the white with the beautiful. On the other hand, objects which triggered an unpleasant sensation, such as something bitter, or a burning sensation on the body, they indicated with the generic word for ‘bad’. Thus, *dober* comes from *doba*, which means ‘moment in time’ or ‘form’, which is why some peoples have taken *osdoba* (‘decoration’) to mean ‘beautiful’, others as ‘white’, and hence *dober* = *dobri*. Some attribute the comparative *lepui* to it, others *bolui*. The word *lepui* comes from *lep*, ‘beautiful’, but *bolui*, however, comes from *biel*, *bel*, *bil*, *bol*, ‘white’, which is why in Slavic mythology *Belbog*, the ‘white god’, is the ‘good God’ etc. For this reason, confused expressions should be eliminated. From *dobri* one should say *dobrijeui*; from *lepi*, *-a*, *-o* one should say *lepui*, from *biel*, *bol* one should say *biolui* etc. [102] Similarly, *zl* = *zl* ‘bad’, and what is bitter gives a bad sensation, and what burns gives a bad sensation, hence *gor* = *gorek* = *gorki* ‘bitter’, the comparative of which is *gorui*, *gorji*, *gorkejuui*, *gorjei*, and this word, designating a specific quality, they have also transformed into the generic. So the comparative of *zli* is sometimes *gorui* instead of *zlejuui*. These confused expressions of ideas should be restrained. Otherwise, if I would say *Ten uelovjek jest lepui* [‘this person is *lepui*’] etc., the Illyrian will take it to mean ‘more beautiful’, but the Pole to mean ‘better’. But if I would critically-etymologically say *Ten uelovjek jest dobrejuui*, or *dobreji* [‘this person is better’], everyone would understand the true meaning.

The Carinthians, like the others, form the comparative with *-ui* or *-ji*, such as *hitri* [‘clever’], *hitrejuui*, or *hitreji*; if *naj* (among the Winds *nar*) is prefixed to it, it will be a superlative, as: *najvisokeiui* [‘tallest’], *najuirokeiui* [‘widest’] etc.

The Croatians, Slavonians, Dalmatians prefer to express the comparative with *-ji*; they form the superlative by prefixing *naj-* to it, or the particles *pri-* (*pre-*), *veče-*, such as: *sveti* [‘holy’], *svetji* [‘holier’], *najsvetji* [‘holiest’], *sladki* [‘sweet’], *sladji* [‘sweeter’], *najsladji* [‘sweetest’], *lepi* [‘beautiful’], *lepui* [‘more beautiful’], *najlepui* [‘most beautiful’], or *prelepi*, such as: *prilipia* (*prelepia*) *zena umerla jest* [‘the most beautiful woman is dead’].

§. 7.

The Slavs also express adjectives in diminutive form for tenderness, such as *mali* ['small'], *malinki*, *maleuenci* ['dear little one'] etc. *dobri* ['good'], *dobruuki*;⁶⁵ *tenki* ['thin'], *tenuuki*, *mili* ['dear'] *milunki*, *miluuki* ['darling'], *mladi* ['young'], *mladuuki*, or *mladunki* = *molodi*, *molodenki*, *moloduuki* etc. The Russian sings as follows: [103]

Malešenki solovejko (<i>a</i>)	[Dear little nightingale
Čom ti ne ščebečeš?	Why don't you sing?
Uz rad by ja ščebetati	I would like to sing,
da (<i>b</i>) golosu ne maju.	But I have no voice.
Molodenkij kozačenko!	Dear young cossack,
Čom ti ne zeniš sia?	Why don't you marry?
Uz rad by ja zeniti sia	I would like to marry
da dolu (<i>c</i>) ne maju.	But I have no fortune.
Poterial ja svoju doliu	I lost my fortune
Xodiuvi v dorogu (<i>d</i>) etc.	Walking to distant lands.]

(*a*) *salavik* 'nightingale' (*b*) *da* 'but, because' (*c*) 'inheritance, fortune' (*d*) 'distant, foreign regions'.⁶⁶

Section VII. *On verbs, and their inflection.* [p. 103–153]

§. 1.

Nothing in nature exists without reason, and hence without function, immediately apparent or not. However, that function is fulfilled in time; so time is thus that moment when something's function is carried out, or shown to have already been carried out, or still needs to be carried out. Hence, grammarians divide time into present, past, and future, and the genius of the Slavic language rejects further grammatical divisions of time.

⁶⁵Slavic diminutives generally lack easy English counterparts, which is why we refrain from glossing all diminutives. While the diminutive of *mili* 'dear' has a counterpart in "darling", the diminutive of *dobri* 'good' can only be approximated in English with a phrase such as "dear good one". Slavic *dobruuki* does, however, have a counterpart in German *Guterchen* from *gut* 'good'.

⁶⁶The Russian *дopoзy* (acc.) means 'road, path, way'. Herkel wrongly glosses it as *exterae, peregrinae orae*.

§. 2.

Before we turn to the inflection of verbs, however, it is important to clear up the meaning and genius of the Slavic verbs [104], since the genius of this language differs from that of all other European languages. As some Slavic grammarians have followed the norms of other languages when composing their grammars, they have entangled themselves in inextricable difficulties. In terms of meaning, verbs in the Slavic language are: 1) *original verbs*; 2) *verbs composed by adding a prefix to an original verb*; 3) *frequentative verbs*; 4) *double frequentative verbs*; 5) *factitive verbs*; 6) *instantaneous original verbs*; 7) *instantaneous derivative verbs*. Original verbs are those which denote a simple function of an entity, and without any modification, such as: *orati* ['to plow'], *tkati* ['to weave'], *spati* ['to sleep'], *sjeti* ['to sow'], *znati* ['to know'], *mereti* ['to die'], *duti* ['to blow'], *gniti* ['rot'], *ziti* ['to live'], *piti* ['to drink'], *kriti* ['to cover'], *zati* ['to harvest (a crop)'], *uati* ['to start'] etc. From these the type 2 composites are made, such as: *viorati* ['to plow'], *prtkati* ['to attach'], *nasjeti* ['to sow'], *prespati* ['to spend the night'], *uznati* ['to recognize'], *umereti* ['to die'], *naduti* ['to inflate'], *sgniti* ['to decompose'], *preziti* ['to survive'], *odpiti* ['to sip'], *odkriti* ['to uncover'], *zezati* ['to complete the harvest'], *navati* ['to begin'] etc. 3. Frequentative verbs are formed from original verbs by interjecting the syllable *va*, such as: *oravati* ['to plow'], *tkavati* ['to weave'], *spavati* ['to sleep'], *znavati* ['to know']; *mereti* or *mreti* ['to die'] does not allow a frequentative, because death is unique, *duvati* ['to blow'], *gnivati* ['to rot'], *zivati* = *ziviti* ['to live'], *pijavati* ['to drink frequently'], *krivati* ['to cover'], *zavati* ['to harvest regularly'], *uavati* ['to start'], hence *navavati* ['to begin'] etc. 4. Double frequentative verbs are made by duplicating the syllable *va*, such as: *oravavati* ['to plow regularly'], *tkavavati* ['to weave regularly'], *spavavati* ['to sleep regularly'] etc. Factitives are made with the preposition *po-*, by interjecting the syllable *-ju*, such as: *poorujem* = *pooruju* ['I plow it all'], *popijuju* ['I drink it all up'], because indeed the use of these verbs is restricted only to the present tense. Because of this, they are replaced [105] by frequentatives in the perfect and future. 6. Instantaneous verbs denote the function of an entity that is instantaneous to such an extent that they do not even need any expression of the present, because their function is completed sooner than can be expressed by verbs: for instance, *streliti* ['to shoot'] occurs by a little pressure, *dati* ['to give'], *kupiti* ['to buy'] depends on voluntary assent.⁶⁷ And therefore, these verbs are instantaneous, and indeed original. Type 7 are instantaneous derivative verbs made from original verbs by interjecting the letter *n*. Consider, for instance, the

⁶⁷The Latin expression *nutus voluntatis* comes from the Early Christian Latin author Augustine, who uses it almost forty times throughout his oeuvre.

original verbs *padati* ['to fall'], *mikati* ['to move around'], *dvigati* ['to lift'], *sekati* ['to chop'], *duxati* ['to breathe'], *pukati* ['to burst'] etc.; interjecting the letter *n* into them makes instantaneous verbs such as: *padnuti*, *miknuti*, *dvignuti*, *seknuti*, *duxnuti*, *puknuti* etc. And hence it is good to distinguish *streliti* from *strielati* = *strielavati* ['to shoot'], *dati* from *davati* ['to give'], *kupiti* from *kupivati* ['to buy'], similarly *dixati* from *dixnuti* ['to breathe'] etc., because usage founded in the genius of the language also accurately distinguishes these meanings. Otherwise, the genius of the language will be violated, and solid and simple principles of the language will not be discovered. This is why works by grammarians who do not distinguish these verbs are entangled in extreme difficulties.

§. 3.

The moods by means of which the function of entities is designated are usually these above all, namely: something is either indicated, or commanded, or wished. Hence, the moods of the grammarians emerged: indicative, imperative, optative. But the infinitive ceases to be a mood, [106] because it in no way defines anything, but is itself only a word, since in relation to mood, tense, person, and number it allows itself to be modified. So, if I would say "it is useful to work", or "work is useful", then here "to work" is a word, because it is used for the function of a certain entity, to be designated by variously modifying it, such as *dielati* ['to do'], *pisati* ['to write'], *moliti* ['to pray'] etc.; hence *dielanje* ['doing'], *pisanie* ['(act of) writing'], *molienie* or *modlenie* ['prayer'] etc. are nouns designating a present function, but *delanost* ['artificiality'], *psanost* ['written edition'] etc. are nouns designating a past function. Also, four types of adjectives emerge, namely 1. of the present active function, such as: *pisajuci* ['writing'], *delajuci*, *-a*, *-o* ['doing'] etc., though in some dialects *c* changes into *u*, such as *pisajuui*, *delajuui* etc. The Russian sings as follows:

Oj! зачује стара мати
 Sidiuča u xati = xalupa = xatia.
 [Oh! The old mother hears it,
 Sitting by the hut = summer house = cottage.]

2. There are adjectives of a past active function, ending in *-vsi*, *-a*, *-o*, but the feminine and neuter ending is sometimes neglected, and for every gender only the masculine ending is used, as in the Song of the Russian woman deploring her lover going away:

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Svisnuv kozak na konia	[A Cossack whistling to his horse,
Budi zdrowa moloda etc.	Farewell, young maiden etc.
Vyišla ručki zalomavui	She came out, wringing her hands,
A tiazenko zaplakavui etc.	Crying bitterly etc.
Bielix ručok ne lomaj	Do not wring your white hands,
Černix očok ne uteraj	Do not rub your black eyes
Budi zdrowa, bo ja idu	Farewell, for I am going
Uze za Dunaj. etc. [107]	Now beyond the Danube. etc.] ⁶⁸

Here *zalomavui*, *zaplakavui*, *zaplakavua*, *zaplakavuo* is an adjective formed from the perfect *zaplakav* [‘having wept’] etc. 3. There are adjectives of the present passive, such as *znami*, -a, -o [‘(being) known’], *vedomi*, a, o [‘(being) known’], which will be treated in greater detail below. 4. Adjectives of the preterit passive, such as: *viden* [‘seen’], *učen* [‘learned’], *nosen*, -a, -o [‘worn’], *delan* [‘made’] etc. Grammarians have given these adjectives various names. They are sometimes called participles, sometimes transgressives, sometimes gerunds etc. They are perhaps called participles because they participate with verbs in the expression of tense and with nouns in declension. In the meantime, expressions such as “participle”, “supine”, “gerund” etc., which convey no real meaning at all, should be obliterated. For instance, the gerund is nothing more than an adverb, on which more below.

§. 4.

One grammarian has tried to force Russian into an eightfold division of tense, including the present, indefinite perfect, simple perfect, perfect preterit, pluperfect, indefinite future, simple future, and future perfect. But all Slavic nations have rejected this contradictory fiction by common agreement, because they observed that several verbs are used for one meaning, for example, the verbs *dvigati*, *dvigavati*, *sdvigati*, *dvignuti* [‘to lift’] share one meaning. At any case, the grammarian was not a native Russian, or if he was, he ignored the genius of his mother tongue.⁶⁹

⁶⁸A noted folk song by Semen Klymovskiy, probably taken from Čelakovský (1822: 156). Čelakovský presented the song as “little Russian”. Variants appear in Ivan Pratsch, *Ђхавѣ козакѣ за Дунай* (1806: 75); “Song 91” (1821: 151); “Song 185” (1819: 174).

⁶⁹Herkel probably refers to Johann Heym’s 1794 grammar that actually posits ten tenses for Russian; see Heym (1794: 92–94). Heym was born in Braunschweig and moved to Russia only in his twentieth year; he ultimately became professor and librarian at Moscow University. Herkel probably based his discussion on Kopitar (1808: 303).

[108] But this should not surprise us, as we observe that the art of explaining languages makes hardly any progress, since the more grammarians amass pointless rules, the more they believe they have performed their duty. Likewise the Slavs blindly imitate the Latins in the impetuous fabrication of terms itself. The Latins call the various flections of nouns “cases”, the Slavs *padez*; the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, ablative are called *imenitelni*, *roditelni*, *datelni*, *vinitelni*, *zvatelni* etc. However, these designations are so far from capturing the essence of the matter that they rather produce something ridiculous, for if I would say: “these oxen are my father’s”, *Ti voli so mojego otca*, then here *otca* would be the *roditel* [‘genitor’] of ‘oxen’, or if I say “I love God”, *Ja milujem* or *liubim Boga*, here *Boga* would be the *vinitel* [‘accuser’]. – At any rate, the following designations would better capture the idea of the matter, namely flexional endings: subjective, possessive, receptive, objective, appellative etc.

§. 5.

The illustrious *Dobrovský*, that very famous researcher of the ancient dialect, has established six forms of verb inflections, where his predecessors proposed only two.⁷⁰ Yet, they have illustrated them with more paradigms. Since, however, he observed that not all variations found in the Bible could be captured by means of the six established forms, he declared some of them Polonisms, some Russianisms, some Serbisms, and sometimes he blamed the carelessness of scribes. [109] Nonetheless, he faced difficulties which he attributed to none of these causes, and ultimately acknowledged that he did not entirely understand why things were written as he found them; see Part II, page 562.

§. 6.

Several grammarians of the ancient dialect establish two forms of verbs. They attribute three forms to the Russian dialect. The Poles recognize only one, some Bohemians divide the verbs into six forms. The Pannonian imitates them. Southern grammarians, such as the Serbs, Slavonians, Croatians, Dalmatians, and Winds, prefer to illustrate the verbs with three forms, yet strictly speaking all verbs follow only one form. Now, what wisdom is there in such diverse grammatical opinions? The Pannonian, as has been said, establishes six forms; hence it is important to consider the foundation on top of which those six forms have been built. For this reason, it will be worthwhile to show the original endings of each form of the verb from which the others are derived, so that one can plainly

⁷⁰Dobrovský (1822: 346–347, 384).

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ask whether the established six forms cannot be reduced to one. They are as follows:⁷¹

	Infinitive	Present indicative	Imperative	Perfect	Perfect	Present participle	Passive present participle
1	<i>volati</i> ['to call'],	<i>volam,</i>	<i>volaj,</i>	<i>volal,</i>	<i>volav,</i>	<i>volajuc,</i>	<i>volan.</i>
2	<i>lamati</i> ['to break'],	<i>lamem,</i>	<i>lam,</i>	<i>lamal,</i>	<i>lamav,</i>	<i>lamajuc,</i>	<i>laman.</i>
3	<i>sliuati</i> ['to hear'],	<i>sliuim,</i>	<i>sliu,</i>	<i>sliual,</i>	<i>sliuav,</i>	<i>sliuic,</i>	<i>sliuan.</i>
							[110]
4	<i>sati</i> ['to sow'],	<i>sejem,</i>	<i>sej,</i>	<i>sal,</i>	<i>sav,</i>	<i>sejic,</i>	<i>sat.</i>
5	<i>piti</i> ['to drink'],	<i>pijem,</i>	<i>pi,</i>	<i>pil,</i>	<i>piv,</i>	<i>pijic,</i>	<i>pit.</i>
6	<i>milovati</i> ['to love'],	<i>milujem,</i>	<i>milui,</i>	<i>miloval,</i>	<i>miloval,</i>	<i>milujic,</i>	<i>milovan.</i>

The grammarian *anxiously* specifies with prolix rules which verbs take which forms. For instance, the second form pertains to those verbs which end in *-at* (*-ati*) if preceded by the following syllables: *ak, am, luh, uh, ip, ok*, or the letters *l, r, s, t, z*, but not if preceded by the vowels *e, i*; 2) verbs ending in *-nut* (*-nuti*) in the infinitive; 3) verbs ending in *-et, -st, -zt* (*-cti, -zti*). These verb classifications, prepared with anxious care, do so very little to illuminate learners that they actually confuse them more, for another grammarian of the same dialect will establish other rules etc. Now, these things are not said with the aim of criticizing the author of the Pannonian grammar, to whom immortal thanks are due as the most meritorious scholar of the Pannonian dialect, but are emphasized in order to make apparent the extent to which dialect grammars are defective, because the Slavic languages, taken as a whole, are robbed of firm principles. For in the Slavic language, the living dialects show that there is no more than one form of verb inflections, for the Poles and southern Slavs, strictly speaking, recognize only one form, and the six Pannonian forms can also be reduced to it according to the genius of the language and usage. [111]

§. 7.

The second form differs from the first in the present and the imperative, which in the first form is *volam* ['I call'], *volaj* ['call!'], but in the second form *lamem*

⁷¹Bernolák (1790: 101–138). As Buzássyová notes, Herkel changes both Bernolák's orthography and the names of Bernolák's tenses. Bernolák gives: Indefinitus modus *wolat*, indicativus modus: Praeteritum Perfectum *wolal sem*, Praeteritum Plusquam Perfectum *Bol sem wolat*, Tempus Praesens *wolám*, Tempus futurum *Budem wolat*, Imperativus modus *Wolag*, Gerundivus Modus Praeteritum *wolawsi* (*wolaw*), Gerundivus Modus Praesens *Wolagic, wolagice*, Participialis modus Praeteritum *wolani*, Praesenc *wolagici*, cf. Buzássyová (2009: 216).

['I break'], *lam* ['break!']. In Pannonia itself, the second form *lamam*, *lamaj* is also in use. Since it does not differ absolutely from the first, the second form is superfluous. After all, even if *lamam* from *lamati* were not in use, the second form would still be superfluous, for the terminations of the verbs are the same at the end. For this reason, they receive the same inflectional form.

The third form is *sliuati* ['to hear'], but it is also said with *a* changed to *e* or *i*, such as *sliuiti*, *sliueti*. Hence, if I derive it from *sliuati*, the present tense would be *sliuam* in the fashion of the southern Slavs, but deriving it from *sliuiti* results in *sliuim* etc. One grammarian expounds the infinitive in the primitive form as *sliuati* but the present as *sliuim*; he is indeed correct in as far as he is a dialect grammarian, but not as a critical grammarian of Slavic. The imperative is expounded as *sliu*, instead of *sliuaj* of the southerners, or *sliuej* of the Bohemians, since the typical feature of the imperative of all verbs is *-i*. That is clear from the ancient as much as the living dialects, as the imperative of certain verbs lacking *-i* is only an abbreviated way of speaking, and thus the third form likewise does not at all differ from the previous ones.

The fourth form is *sati* ['to sow'], but in Slavic also *seti* is said, or *sejeti*, or *sjeti*, or *sjejeti*, hence from *sejeti* one should say *sejem*, *sej*, *sel*, *sejev*, [112] (*sev*), *sejen* etc., a regularity proved by usage in other dialects.

The fifth form is *piti* ['to drink'], hence *piem*, or with an interjected *j*, since the ancients pronounced *e* as *je*. For this reason one can also write *pijem*, *pij*, *pil*, *piv*, *pijan* etc. Likewise there is no difference from the previous ones.

The sixth form is *milovati* ['to love'], *milujem*, *miluj*, *miloval* etc. This dialectal form is confused out of two verbs: *miluti*, which is an original verb used by the southern Slavs with the frequentative form *miluvati*, hence *miluti* or *militi*. In the Windic fashion it means 'to love', 'to have pity', hence also among the Pannonians: *Boze! Smiluj sia nad nami* ['God! Have mercy upon us']. Hence *miluti*, *milujem*, but *miluvati*, *miluvam* should be said in the present; hence *mila matka* ['dear mother'], *premileni sin* ['dearest son'] is something else than *milovana matka* ['beloved mother'] etc. From these forms it is clear that *miluti* and *miluvati* are different verbs, and for this reason they also have a different meaning, even if Pannonian usage has confused them.

§. 8.

The grammarian expounds verbal adjectives, denoting a present action, or present participles of some verbs with *-ic*, such as: *sejic* ['sowing'], *pijic* ['drinking'], *milujic* ['loving'], but of other verbs with *-uc*, such as: *volajuc* ['calling'], *lamajuc*

['breaking']. Everyday usage in Pannonia, however, annuls this distinction. Participles shown taking *-ic* may also end with *-uc*, such as: *sejuc, pijuc, milujuc*, and vice versa, but indeed also with *-ac*, [113] giving *sejac, pijac* etc. Vowels change in the Slavic mouth, which is why the most pleasing forms should be adopted, not those which grammarians have been so anxiously establishing. Hence, the six Pannonian forms, reflecting the genius of the Slavic language as revealed in the other living dialects, can be reduced to one, namely:

-
-
1. *Volati, volam, volaj, volal, volav, volajuc, volan.*
 2. *Lamati, lamam, lamaj, lamal, lamav, lamajuc, laman.*
 3. *Sliuati, sliuam, sliuaj, sliual, sliuav, sliuajuc, sliuan.*
 4. *Sejeti, sejem, sej, sejel, sejev, sejuc, sejen.*
 5. *Piti, pijem, pij, pil, piv, pijuc, pijan.*
 6. *Miluti, milujem, miluj, milul, miluv, milijuc, milun, or milen.*
-
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See how six forms reduce to one, though some will say that this reduction feels forced, since the Pannonian does not say *pijan, milun, milen* etc., and use is the foremost grammarian etc. However, the Slavic language is taken here in general. Moreover, the southerners never say it otherwise than *pijani uelovek* ['drunk person'], and among the Pannonians themselves *milenka, milunka* ['sweetheart'] is used, which is a diminutive out of *milena* ['beloved'], but this is formed out of *milen, milena, mileno* ['loved'] etc. For here it is not the usage of one dialect that is taken as the basis, since no individual dialect allows for rational cultivation in the strict sense, because it considers only the usage in that [114] dialect. However, as Horace testifies, usage is the greatest tyrant in language, as it always introduces new rules burdened with exceptions, it mixes squares with circles. This cannot happen in the Slavic language if it is taken in general, if its genius is fully investigated, and if its various dialects are combined. For instance, the Pannonian says *pisati* ['to write'] in the imperative as *piuu*, which is irregular, but other dialects take the regular *pisaj*. The Pannonian confuses *miluti* with *miluvati* and with *miluvavati* as well, since it clearly occurs in schoolbooks that 'I loved' = *miluvaval, milovaval* etc.; that is, the original verb is confused with the double frequentative.

§. 9.

Very many grammarians have rightly established the infinitive as the base form for the other forms, for the undetermined form of the verb lets itself be modified

in relation to tense, person, number etc. For this reason, the other forms of the verb cannot be regarded as the base form, because they have already undergone some modification. Hence, the base form of the verb is the undetermined form of the verb ending in *-ti*, such as: *veriti* ['believe'], *uuiti* ['teach'], *kupiti* ['buy'], *uuiti* ['sew']. Omitting the *-ti* gives the imperative: *veri*, *kupi*, *ui*; and thus it is very easy to form the principal forms of verbs from the infinitive, including the present, perfect, future, and verbal adjectives and nouns as well. The principal forms of the verbs in all dialects [115] end in the following way, namely: the present in *-u* or *-m*; the past tense in *-x*, *-l*, *-v*; the imperative always in *-i*, a letter which can also be written through *j*, for it is much the same whether one writes *stupai* or *stupaj* ['step!']. The first person present is expressed with *-u* or *-m*. The ancient dialect and Russian in particular express the present through *-u*, as in *piu* ['I drink'], *uiiu* ['I sew'], but the other dialects, including Pannonian, Polish, and the southern dialects, use *-m*, as in *piem*, *uiem*. Yet the Poles leave out the letter *m* after *e*, and mark *ę* with a cedilla: *pię*, *uię*, with the exception of *viem* ['I know'], *jem* ['I eat'], and those that take *-am*, such as *biegam* ['I run'], *poviedam* ['I say'], *scekam* ['I bark'] etc. The Bohemians pronounce some verbs with *-u*, others with *-m*, a few entirely with *-i*, such as: *ja piji*, 'I drink' etc. They thus have their own rules burdened with exceptions, which are founded uniquely on the varying usage of dialect. Hence it would be very well-considered to conjugate all verbs with *-u* or with *-m*, to permit free choice between both endings in speaking and writing, because both are founded on the genius of the language. For *-u* is founded on the ancient and the Russian dialect, but *-m* on all dialects, for the Russians, too, pronounce some verbs with *m*, such as: *jam* ['I eat'], *snjem* ['I will eat'], *vjem* ['I know'], *dam* ['I will give'], *imam* ['I have'] etc.⁷²

§. 10.

The expression of the perfect is already in the ancient dialect read in a threefold form, as is clear from the records of the Bible, namely in *-x*, *-l*, *-v*, such as *tvorix*, *uitax*, *uix*, or *tvoriv*, *uitav*, *uiv*, or *tvoril*, *uital*, *uul* [respectively 'I created', 'I read', 'I learned']. [116] Now, if we would consider the living dialects, the perfect with *-x* has almost vanished, but there are traces of it in the southern dialects. For instance, the Slavonian says: *sluuah* ['I listened'], *uuih* ['I learned'] etc. Among the Pannonians, there are traces of it in *byx* ['I would'], expressing, so to speak, an auxiliary optative. Otherwise, in all living dialects, the perfect ends in *-l*, for instance the Russian says *brati* ['to take'], *zvati* ['to call'], *zati* ['to reap'] in the

⁷²This list mainly contains Old Church Slavonic forms, *dam* being the only form that is also Russian.

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perfect as *bral, zval, zal* etc. All dialects follow this way of speaking, founded, as it were, in the genius of the language, so that, indeed, the letter *-l* can be safely and universally established as the typical marker of the past tense. However, the Illyrians confound it in the masculine with *-o*, so instead of *pekal, pekao* ['baked'] etc. But this substitution seems to have emerged from the kinship of sound between *pekav* and *pekao, pisav* and *pisao* ['wrote']. It is indeed clear from the fact that in the other genders the letter *-l* is restored as typical feature of the perfect, such as *snovalo, snovala, snovalo* ['warped; planned'], a way of writing that reflects a great partiality. Hence, the more recent and more cultivated Illyrians should imitate the wholesome example of the most erudite Kopitar, who, even though the Winds pronounce the masculine perfect with *-v*, has argued nonetheless that books should be written with *-l*, to avoid separation from their fellow nationals through a special way of writing. For example, *dal* ['gave'], *spal* ['slept'] instead of *dav, spav*, even though *dav, spav* are also founded on the genius of the Slavic language, since the former forms occur among all Slavic nations. For instance, especially the Russian says when two perfects occur together: *Pristupiv skazal* ['Having come near, he said']⁷³ etc. instead of *pristupil, i skazal* ['he came near and said'].⁷⁴ Polish: *Biegal po liesu vpav v jamu*, instead of: *biegal po liesu i vpal* [117] (*vpadel*) *v jamu* ['he ran through the forest and fell into a pit']. Also in the Bible one reads as follows: *zriv* ['saw'], *voliv* ['chose'] etc. instead of *zril, volil* etc.⁷⁵ And it is called by grammarians the preterit gerund, and it means nothing else than a subject that has performed a certain function, and thus it is indeed a verb, if it retains the value of a verb, for instance if I would say: *Aleksander sebrav vojsko iuel na Turka* ['Alexander, having gathered an army, marched against the Turk']; or if it would be treated as a subject having an adjective-like meaning which had performed a function, thus the Pole: *Krystus Pan wziqwszj chleb lamal* or *Kristus Pan vziavsi xleb lamal* ['The Lord Christ, having taken the bread, broke it']. Here, *vziavsi* is a formal adjective derived from the verb *vziati* ['to take'], which is why one correctly says: *Kristus pan vziav xlieb lamal*, or by agreeing in gender as a formal adjective: *Kristus pan vziavsi xlieb lamal*.

⁷³Mt 8:5 and 28:18 are possible sources for the example *Pristupiv skazal*.

⁷⁴In this passage, Herkel confuses the gerund in *-v*, a petrified form of the active past participle, with the preterit in *-l*, whose final *-l* in some Slavic languages evolved into *-w* or *-v*. These two forms have a completely different origin and function.

⁷⁵The words *zriv* and *voliv*, which according to Herkel's reasoning mean 'saw' and 'chose', actually mean 'having seen' and 'having chosen'.

§. 11.

For the rest, the common and usual perfect ending among all Slavs is the letter *-l*, with or without the auxiliary verb *jesem, jsem* ['I am'], or through abbreviation *sem, som*. Such a way of speaking has flourished also in the ancient dialect. This very fact is shown by the texts of the Bible, as one reads: *uital* ['I read'], *tvoril* ['I made'], or *uital jesm* ['I read'], *tvoril jesm* ['I made']. Indeed, the renowned Dobrovský ascribes to the Russians Biblical texts using the perfect without *jesm*, but elsewhere the very same man acknowledges that original perfects can be found in this way, such as at [2] Corinthians 2:5: *Аиучели кто оскорбил мене, не мене оскорби* ['And if any one have caused grief, he hath not grieved me'] etc. Indeed, we can safely use the perfect ending in *-l*, as [118] all dialects confirm.

Dialect grammarians also discuss the abbreviated perfect, such as the Russian says *strig* ['I sheared'], *liez* ['I climbed'], instead of *strigel, liezel* etc. The Bohemian says: *spad* ['I fell'], *utek* ['I escaped'], *pribeh* ['I came running'], *virost* ['I grew up'], *zamk* ['I locked'] etc. instead of *spadel, utekel, pribehel, virostel, zamkel* etc. But the usage of swallowing in this way is not of such importance that it can claim a rule for itself, since some people of that very same dialect do not swallow, but follow the plain way of speaking. Yet grammarians who have collected similar ways of speaking, or rather swallowing, have done so reasonably. For according to the wise opinion of the famous Kopitar, dialect grammarians represent their dialects, and from their diligent accounts the common council of Slavic philologists should reach a final judgment that is wholesome and conforms to our original language.

§. 12.

The imperative mood, in the ancient dialect, the Russian dialect, and all southern dialects, always ends in *-i*, and certainly sounds rather pleasant: *lamaj* ['break!'], *pisaj* ['write!'], *sliuaj* ['listen!'], which in Pannonian is *lam, piuu, sliuu* etc. It is formed simply by removing *-ti* from the base form. If there is no vowel *-i*, it must be added, but if it is present, then the imperative is expressed as follows: *paliti* ['to burn'], *moliti* ['to pray'], *rastiti* ['to grow'], *zvoniti* ['to ring'], *stupati* ['to step'], *duti* ['to blow'], *pasti* ['to pasture'], *uuti* ['to listen'] etc. will be *pali, moli, rasti, zvoni, stupai, dui, pasi, uui* etc. The Pannonian even [119] says in the imperative: *pal, zvon*, in such a way, however, that he softens the *l* and *n*, letters which are usually not softened except before the vowels *i, e*. So it appears that among the Pannonians this imperative vowel *-i* in the imperative has only been swallowed by their habit of speaking quickly.

§. 13.

Adjectives, as has been said, emerge from verbs in four ways, all of which the grammarians call participles. They are the present participle, the active preterit participle, the present and preterit passive participle, and finally the so-called gerund, which the Pannonian grammarian has confused with the present participle. Other grammarians have denoted these participles with various other names because they have followed the norm of other languages, and in this way they have generated a great confusion. Let me cite the example of how the Russian grammarian explains the meaning of the participles in his German text: namely *vodil*, -a, -o – *geföhrt* [‘led’]; *vodim*, -a, -o – *geföhrt*; *voden*, -a, -o – likewise *geföhrt*.⁷⁶ As far as the first is concerned, it cannot be called a participle, as it is a formal perfect, especially among the Russians, *ja vodil*, ‘I led’, *ti vodil* [‘you led’], *on vodil* [‘he led’], in the feminine *ja vodila* [‘I led’] etc. *Vodim*, -a, -o is the participle of the passive present, and means ‘I who am being led’. This way of speaking has disappeared from the other dialects, yet among the Russians it prevails in elevated style, and this is the original Slavic expression. That is clear from the records of the ancient dialect [120], such as *nesom*, -a, -o = ‘I who am being carried’ etc. For this reason it should likewise be adopted in the other dialects, and esteemed as it were the greatest treasure in the language. The expression *voden*, -a, -o, finally, corresponds to German *geföhrt*, but the earlier expressions do not.

Grammarians generally conflate the gerund with the present participle, yet a few distinguish them, such as the Polish: the gerund *xvalqc*, and present participle *xvalaci*, -a, -o [‘praising’]. The southerners also follow this pattern. For instance, the revered Lanashovich, grammarian of the Slavonians, explains the gerund *sluuajuui* as *zu hören* [‘to be heard’], and says that it is immutable, and that in that respect it differs from *sluuajuui*, -a, -o [‘listening’], the present participle.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the Pole does not explain the gerund *xvalqc* as *zu loben* [‘to be praised’], but as *indem man lobt* [‘(in) praising’]. A great difference in meaning separates *zu hören* and *indem man hört*.

§. 14.

The Pannonian grammarian conflates the gerund with the present participle, as he attributes also a plural to the gerund. However, the gerund is nothing more than a formal adverb of manner, and just as adverbs are incapable of inflection, this is also the case with the verbal adverb. The grammarian says: *volajie* is a

⁷⁶Puchmajer (1820: 242).

⁷⁷Lanosović (1795: 104).

gerund, but in the plural it is *volajice* [‘calling’]; however, this does not maintain the meaning of the adverb intact. For the meaning of the verbal adverb is different from the meaning of the present participle, so if I would say: *sirota plavuuc po liesu bludila* [‘the orphan wandered weeping in the forest’], here *plavuuc* is an adverb; *sirota plavuca po liesu* [121] *bludila* [‘the weeping orphan wandered in the forest’], here it is a present participle. The distinction of the expressions is very clear here, as the first conveys the way in which an orphan child has wandered in the forest, namely weeping, whereas the second expresses the quality of the orphan child, namely a weeping child. Now, the expression of manner, since it occurs in an adverb, remains unchanged for every gender, number, case. So according to the Pannonian *siroti plavuuc v liesu bludili* [‘the orphans wandered weeping in the forest’] should be said as: *siroti plavuuce v liesu bludili*. But then *plavuuce* ceases to be a gerund or adverb but is instead an adjective, since one describes the quality of weeping children etc. One must therefore distinguish a verbal adverb from a present participle, or adjective etc., because the more famous grammarians also distinguish these, as follows:

Russian <i>veduch</i> , adverb,	<i>veduučii</i> , -aja, -e, adjective.
Polish <i>xvaląc</i> , <i>vedąc</i> , adverb,	<i>xvaląci</i> , -a, -o, <i>vedąci</i> , -a, -o, adjective.
Bohemian <i>zenuc</i> , <i>veduc</i> , adverb,	<i>zenuci</i> , -a, -o, <i>veduci</i> , -a, -o, adjective.
Pannonian <i>milujuc</i> , <i>veduc</i> , adverb,	<i>milujuci</i> , -a, -o, <i>viduci</i> , -a, -o, adjective.
Windic <i>igrajoc</i> , <i>vedoc</i> , adverb,	<i>igrajoc</i> , -a, -o, <i>vedoc</i> , -a, -o, adjective.
Illyrian <i>sluuajuui</i> , <i>veduui</i> , adverb,	<i>sluuajuui</i> , -a, -o, <i>veduui</i> , -a, -o, adjective.

§. 15.

We have seen of the perfect that if two perfect forms [122] come together, the former perfect also tends to be expressed with -v, so, for instance, the Russian: *Vladimir sobrav vojsko poiuel v Xerson* [‘Vladimir, having gathered the army, left for Kherson’], instead of *Vladimir sobral voisko, i poiuel v Xerson* [‘Vladimir gathered the army and left for Kherson’]. It is also put before the future tense, namely, to indicate a future activity occurring after another activity has already finished, as the Russian: *Napisav pismo pogovoruju*, namely ‘after I have copied [the letter], I will speak’.⁷⁸ Some Latin grammarians call this the future perfect of the subjunctive, others the future exact, but its true designation is to express the perfect function. If the aforementioned expression were treated as an adjective, it

⁷⁸Herkel glossed as *postquam descripero loquar*.

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would indicate a property of an entity, because it has realized a certain function, such as: *Brata svojego oplakavuu dievicu sem videl*, namely ‘I saw a maiden who mourned her brother’; here *oplakavuu* is a formal adjective, namely: *oplakavui*, -a, -o.

§. 16.

The Slavs also have a present participle of the passive, an adjective designating a certain entity which is brought about under the performance of another entity; this type of adjective was known in the ancient dialect, and to the Russians in the more sublime style. Its typical feature is the letter *m*, as in:

<i>pisati</i> [‘to write’]	will be	<i>pisam</i> , -a, -o, ⁷⁹	or	<i>pisami</i> , -a, -o.
<i>nositi</i> [‘to wear’]	—	<i>nosam</i> , -a, -o,		<i>nosami</i> , -a, -o.
<i>voditi</i> [‘to lead’]	—	<i>vodim</i> , -a, -o,		<i>vodimi</i> , -a, -o.
<i>znati</i> [‘to know’]	—	<i>znam</i> , -a, -o,		<i>znami</i> , -a, -o.
<i>vjedeti</i> [‘to know’] ⁸⁰	—	<i>vjedom</i> , -a, -o,		<i>vjedomi</i> , -a, -o. [123]

Or before *m* with *e* put in front of it, such as *pisaem*, *nosaem*, *vidiem* etc.

§. 17.

But the participle of the passive preterit, or the adjective that indicates that an entity has already been constituted under the function of another entity, and ends in -n, such as *sliuan* [‘heard’], *pisan* [‘written’], *nosen* [‘worn’], *voden* [‘led’], *znan* [‘known’], *viden* [‘seen’], -a, -o etc. It is clear that this participle is a formal adjective from the fact that it also receives the expression of comparison, such as *učen* [‘learned’], *učeneiui* or *učeneji* [‘more learned’] etc. So then the question arises whether just like formal adjectives also the other participles can receive the expression of comparison, or not. I am so far from doing violence to the genius of this language that I would rather try to disclose the original genius of the same language more fully. I do not see any reason why the other verbal adjectives, too, would not permit a comparative form, so long as the thing itself allows comparison, as is used in Pannonia: *znamui*, or *znamejui uelovek*, or ‘more renowned person’; *vedomejue hrjexi* or *vedomejui griexi* [‘more conscious

⁷⁹Herkel does not offer the Russian form here, which has no contraction (*pisaem*).

⁸⁰The verb *znati* implies ‘know, be familiar with’, as with German *kennen*, while *vjedeti* implies ‘know a fact’, as with German *wissen*.

sins’] etc. And it is clear from these examples that the present passive participle, even in usage itself, allows the expression of comparison. But what about active adjectives? On this topic one should seek the opinion of more learned men, but in my humble opinion, I would not deny them the expression of the comparative either, if the nature of the thing itself permits the adjectives to form a comparative, such as: *verici* [‘believing’], *vericejui* or *vericeji* [‘more believing’], *milujici* [‘loving’], *milujicejui* [‘more loving’] [124] etc. And as far as the adjective of the perfect is concerned, one should believe the same; usage itself clearly indicates it, such as *verivui*, *verivejui uelovek*, ‘person who has believed more’. In Pannonia it is as follows: *zivvui*, *byvvui uelovek*, ‘person who has previously lived, or ‘has previously been’. In this usage, “he who has lived earlier” is clearly a comparison etc. In this way, *uctivejui*, *lenivejui*, *horlivejui uelovek* [‘a person who has previously been more respectful, lazy, ardent’] are comparatives derived from *uctiv*, *leniv*, *horliv* etc.

§. 18.

The passive preterit adjective also ends with the letter *-t*, so the letter *-n* cannot be its universal characteristic. One reads in the ancient dialect *jat* [‘taken’], *nauat* [‘begun’], *zat* [‘harvested’], *prokliat* [‘cursed’], for instance: *pojati vojak* [‘a captured soldier’], *zezate zito* [‘harvested rye’], *nauato vino* [‘opened wine’], *pokliato mesto* [‘cursed place’] etc. But all these are expressed in the other dialects even more pleasantly with *-n*, such as: *pojani*, *bijani*, *pijani vojak*, *zezano zito*, *načano vino*, *pokliano mesto*. For dialects vary; they have sometimes adopted one ending, sometimes the other. Some dialects are accustomed to both, such as *vikluvato kurja* or *vikluvano kurja* [‘newly hatched chicken’], *zemleno zito* [‘milled rye’], *podpreti* or *podpreni dom* [‘supported house’], *zezrata* or *zezrana ovca* [‘harvested fruit’], *zapnuta*, *zapnuna uata* [‘buttoned clothing’] etc. Here it would certainly be superfluous to specify as troublesome exceptions that some end in *-t*, but others in *-n*. For in one dialect we have a verb ending in *-t*, but that same verb in another dialect with a certain pleasantness takes an *-n* such as: [125] *umreti uelovek*, elsewhere *umreni uelovek* [‘dead person’], *naduti miex*, elsewhere more pleasantly *naduni miex* [‘inflated bellows’] etc.

§. 19.

Let us now consider the entire form of verb inflections in moods, tenses, persons, and numbers. There are three moods: indicative, imperative, optative; and the infinitive is the primary form for the other moods.

Indicative.

The threefold arrangement of time is expressed by the indicative mood, namely: present, past, and future, since the genius of the Slavic language rejects any further division of time. The Old Church dialect expresses the present in the following form:

Singular: 1st person *nesu* [‘carry, bring’]. 2nd *neseui*. 3rd *neset*. Plural: 1st *nesem*. 2nd *nesete*. 3rd *nesut*. Russian *nesu, neseu, neset, nesem, nesete, nesut*. The dual number is not shown, since no living dialect uses it except for Windic.

Bohemian: *nesu, neseu, nese*, plural *neseme, nesete, nesau*.

The extent of the difference between these three dialects is clear from comparing the inflection. Russian, following the Church dialect, pronounces the first person of the plural with *-m*, but in the most ancient dialect the first person was also pronounced with *-i*. There are still clear traces of this fact in the Bible; for instance, *budemi* [‘we will’], *pozivemi* [‘we live’] can be read in the same [126] Bible, and for this reason the *-m* ending of the first person plural is not universal even among the Russians themselves, since it is also said with *-i*, or with *-o*, such as *nesemi*, or *nesemo*. The Pole says *niesię, niesies, niesie, niesiemi, niesiete* (*niesiećie*), *niesiq*. The Polish dialect counts among those that pronounce the first person singular with *-m*, a letter which they elide before *e* in writing, and they mark that *e* with a French cedilla, and if an *a* precedes it, then they retain the letter *-m*, such as: *xvalam* [‘I praise’], *sekam* [‘I chop’] etc. It otherwise agrees with the Pannonian dialects, except that the Polish dialect is softer, so it puts vowels in between consonants, changes the letter *u* into *s*, *u* into *c*, *h* into *g*, and *t* before *i* into *ć*.

The Pannonian is: *niesem, nieseui, niese, niesieme, niesiete, niesu*, or *nesem, neseui, nese, neseme, nesete, nesu*. All southerners also agree in the singular with the Pannonian dialect, but in the plural they pronounce the first and third person with *-o*, such as: *nesiem, niesies, niesie, niesiemo, niesiete, nesio*. Hence it follows that a double form of the present can be established, grounded in antiquity and the living dialects, namely the northern and the southern.

The first form: *nesu, neseui, neset, nesemi, nesete, nesut*.

The second form: *nesiem, niesieu, niesie, niesiemo, niesiete, nesio*.

In the first form, accordingly, the first plural is pronounced with *-i*, because this ending is grounded in the most ancient dialect, as is clear from the Bible. Also, the Russians speak like that part of the time, and the Poles always. Likewise, pleasant singing requires [127] an ending with a vowel. Finally, if it were pronounced with *-m*, it would get confused with the second form of the first person singular. Hence, everything, of whatever dialectal conjugation the form may

be, can pleasingly follow this form, despite the anxious investigations of some grammarians into whether this or that takes the first, second, third, fourth, fifth or sixth form, since the genius of the Slavic language follows only one unique form of inflecting, in the south: *liubim* ['I love'], *liubiu*, *liubi*, *liubimo*, *liubite*, *liubio*; *volam* ['I call'], *volau*, *vola*, *volamo*, *volate*, *volajo*; *mazem* ['I smear, spread'], *mazeu*, *maze*, *mazemo*, *mazete*, *mazeio* or *-jo*; or in the north *mazu*, *mazeu*, *mazet*, *mazemi*, *mazete*, *mazut* etc.

§. 20.

It has been argued that the second form of the present, namely the southern one, should not be adopted because it is Italian rather than Slavic, since the Italian says: *sentiamo* ['we feel'], *sentite* ['you feel'], *sentino* ['they feel'] etc. I respond: the fact that the southern form agrees entirely with Italian does not mean that the Slavic form has an Italian origin. For Italian is a daughter of the Latin, and when Latin was still flourishing, and very much alive, very numerous Slavic tribes lived in both the eastern and the western empire. Indeed, Slavs lived even in the core parts of the empires themselves, which is also why men descending from the Slavic race ascended to the thrones of both empires, as confirmed by Justinian's mother *Bidlenica*, and his father *Urpravda*. Furthermore, [128] the genuineness of the southerners' conjugations emerges from the fact that the Bohemians pronounce the third person of the plural with *-o*, even though they write it with *-au*; as such, *milujau* ['they love'], *majau* ['they have'] is pronounced *milujo*, *majo*. Finally, the Russians themselves, very remote from the Italians, pronounce the first person most often with *-o*, such as *povidamo* ['we see'], *pisamo* ['we write'], although Russian grammarians do not even discuss it. The Pannonians themselves also talk like that.

§. 21.

We find, as noted above, the active expression of the past tense in the ancient dialect takes *-x*, but also *-l*, with or without the auxiliary *jesm* ['I am'], e.g., *uitax* ['read'], *liubix* ['loved'], or *uital*, *liubil* or *uital*, *liubil jesm*, *jesi*, *jest* ['I, you, he/she/it read, loved']. In very many dialects, the auxiliary verb is abbreviated to *sem*, *si*, *je*, in the plural *jesmi*, *jeste*, *jesut* is abbreviated as *sme*, (*smi*), *ste*, *su*, or *sno*, *ste*, *so*.

The living dialects do not use the *-x* ending except for the Slavonians, yet with *-x* changed into *-h*, such as *liubih*, *uuih* ['loved, read'] instead of *uuih* etc. but they also use the ending in *-l*, but in such a way that, according to their dialectal

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custom, they pronounce the masculine singular *-l* as *-o*, such as *jesam učio, učila, učilo* ['I (m./f./n.) learned'] etc. But because grammarians see different forms of the perfect in other languages, they have also tried to find them in their own Slavic dialects. The perfect, imperfect, and composite perfect draw their origin from this.

The Russian expresses the perfect without an auxiliary verb, e.g. [129]

<i>Ja, ti, on</i> etc.	<i>učil, učila, -o.</i>	<i>mi, vi, oni</i>	<i>učili.</i>	['taught; learned']
	<i>dvigal, -a, -o.</i>	—	—	<i>dvigali.</i> ['moved']
	<i>vodil, a, o</i> etc.	—	—	<i>vodili.</i> ['led']

The Pole expresses it as follows, bound with an auxiliary verb:

	Singular.			Plural.
	<i>m.</i>	<i>f.</i>	<i>n.</i>	
1.	<i>xvalilem</i> ['praised'],	<i>xvalilam,</i>	<i>xvalilom,</i>	<i>xvalilismi.</i>
2.	<i>xvaliles,</i>	<i>xvalilas,</i>	<i>xvalilos,</i>	<i>xvalilisće.</i>
3.	<i>xvalil,</i>	<i>xvalila,</i>	<i>xvalilo,</i>	<i>xvalili.</i>

This is nothing else than *xvalil, -a, -o*, appended with an abbreviated form of the auxiliary *sem*, such as in the first and second persons, *xvalil (-em), xvalila (-m), xvalilo (-m), xvalil (-es)*, where *es* is a contraction from *jesi, xvalili (smi), xvalili (sćie)* uses *stie* instead of *jeste, ste*; the *t* before a vowel is here softened as in other dialects, but the Pole has changed it into *ć*. The Bohemian and the Pannonian follow this way of inflecting, yet they do not conjugate the auxiliary verb in writing, even though they pronounce it in speech as one word, such as *xvalilsem, xvalilasem, xvalilo sem, si, xvalilisme, xvaliliste, xvalili*. The Bohemian additionally pronounces the neuter plural with *-a*, which also happens among the Serbs and Winds, such as *hvalili, -e, -a, smo, ste, so*. The Wind says the following: *domiska gorela so* ['the little houses burned']; the Bohemian says *domiska hořeli* or *hořela (sau)*, the Pannonian *domiska horeli*, the Pole, *domiska goreli (gorzeli)*, the Russian: *domiska goreli*. [130]

§. 22.

All southerners, both the Winds and the other Illyrians, express the perfect with *-l* and the auxiliary verb:

Singular.						
<i>m.</i>	<i>jedel,</i>	<i>vrel,</i>	<i>igrol [sic],</i>	<i>delal,</i>	} <i>sem, si je,</i>	
<i>f.</i>	<i>jedla,</i>	<i>vrela,</i>	<i>igrala,</i>	<i>delala,</i>		} <i>igral sem,</i>
<i>n.</i>	<i>jedlo,</i>	<i>vrelo,</i>	<i>igralo,</i>	<i>delalo,</i>		

Plural.						
<i>m.</i>	<i>jedli,</i>	<i>vreli,</i>	<i>igrali,</i>	<i>delali,</i>	} <i>smo, ste, so, igrali</i>	
<i>f.</i>	<i>jedle,</i>	<i>vrele,</i>	<i>igrale,</i>	<i>delale,</i>		} <i>smo, igrale smo,</i>
<i>n.</i>	<i>jedle (a),</i>	<i>vrela,</i>	<i>igrala,</i>	<i>delala,</i>		
					<i>igrale so, which is</i>	
					<i>likewise feminine.</i>	

Since the typical feature of the perfect is *-l*, it thus follows that the perfect can also be expressed without the auxiliary in the Russian fashion, or with the auxiliary in the fashion of the other dialects, some of which sometimes insert the auxiliary, and other omit it, such as the Pannonian: *Ja videl mojego otca*, or *ja sem videl mojego otca* [‘I saw my father’] etc.

§. 23.

The most famous grammarian of the Serbs explains the expression of time passed in a triple way, namely:⁸¹

The imperfect shown here, and the simple perfect, is nothing more than the remains of the perfect tense of the ancient dialect, and indeed, in the ancient dialect one said both *igral* and *igrax*, the final letter of which, *-x*, is still preserved among the Slavonians as *-h*, *igrah*, a letter which the Serbs have almost entirely banished from common speech. Hence, the abovementioned way of writing of the Serbs cannot serve as the norm, but the composite perfect agrees with the other dialects, which is the simple perfect among the Russians, who say it without the auxiliary *jesm* [‘I am’], as follows: *ja, ti, (on, a, o) igral, -a, -lo* etc. The Serb inflects it in the plural as an adjective, *igrali, -e, -a*, and rightly so. For if one would follow the gender in the singular in all dialects, why would one not also

⁸¹Karadžić (1818: lix).

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<i>Imperfect</i>				
1 st <i>igra</i>	[‘I played’],	2 nd <i>igraue</i> ,	3 rd <i>igraue</i> Plural 1 <i>igrasmo</i> , 2 <i>igraste</i> , 3 <i>igrau</i> . [131]	
<i>Simple perfect</i>				
1 st <i>igra</i> ,	2 nd <i>igra</i> ,	3 rd <i>igra</i>	Plural 1 <i>igrasmo</i> , 2 <i>igraste</i> , 3 <i>igraue</i> .	
<i>Compositive perfect</i>				
Singular.		Plural.		
m.	<i>igrao</i> ,	} <i>sem,</i> <i>si,</i> <i>je</i>	<i>igrali</i> ,	} <i>sno,</i> <i>ste,</i> <i>su</i>
f.	<i>igrala</i> ,		<i>igrale</i> ,	
n.	<i>igralo</i> ,		<i>igrala</i> ,	

follow it in the plural, following the example of the Serbs, Winds, and Bohemians? For this reason, the perfect can be expressed with or without the auxiliary verb, taking gender into account in both numbers at the same time. [132]

§. 24.

In some dialect grammars, discussions about expressing the future are lengthy, but all those discussions agree on the following point: that original, frequentative, or double frequentative verbs are expressed in the future by means of *budem* (*budu*), but the verbs composed out of original ones mark the future with a form of the present that is both original and already formed. For instance, the future of *kopati* [‘to dig’] in the original is *budem kopati* or *budu kopati*, in the frequentative *budu kopavati*, or *budem kopavati*, and in the double frequentative *budu kopavavati* is the future. From this, the momentaneous verb, formed by interjecting *ni*, will be *kopnu*, or *kopnem* [‘I will dig’].

Now verbs that are originally momentaneous, *kupiti* [‘to buy’], *streliti* [‘to shoot’], *dati* [‘to give’] etc. are expressed in the future as *kupim*, *strelim*, *dam*, verbs which should be distinguished from *kupivati*, *strelavati* (abbreviated as *strelati*), *davati*, as they are already frequentatives, and for this reason they are expressed in the future by means of *budu*. For it often happens that in dialectal use such verbs are substituted for each other; a substitution, however, which the genius of the language, taken in the strict sense, cannot allow. So it happens that from the verbs *duti* [‘to blow’], *zuti* [‘to chew’], *kuti* [‘to forge’] grammarians derive not the perfect forms *dul*, *zul*, *kul*, but *duval*, *zuval*, *kuval*, which are actually the perfects of verbs *duvati*, *zuvati*, *kuvati* etc. Let us now see their use in various dialects, for instance: [133]

Russian.⁸²

Matuška! [<i>sic</i>] na dvor gosti jedut. Sudarynja, na dvor gosti jedut. Ditjatko! ne boj sia, ne vidam, Svet miloje moje! ne bojsia ne vidam. Matuška! na krylečko (<i>a</i>) gosti idut Sudarynja! na krylečko gosti idut, Ditjatko! nebojsia etc. Matuška! v novu gornicu (<i>b</i>) idut, Sudarynja! v novu gornicu idut, Ditjatko etc. Matuška, za dubovoj stol sadjat sia, Sudarynja! za dubovoj stol sadjat sia Ditjatko! etc. Matuška! obraz zo stieni snimajut,	[Mommy! Guests are coming to the yard, Madam, guests are coming to the yard. Little child! Fear not, I won't give you away My dear light, fear not, I won't give you away. Mommy! Guests are coming onto the porch, Madam! Guests are coming onto the porch, Little child! Fear not etc. Mommy! They are coming into the new room, Madam! They are coming into the new room, Little child etc. Mommy, they are sitting on the oak table, Madam, they are sitting on the oak table, Little child! etc. Mommy! They are removing a picture from the wall,
Sudarynja! zo steni snimajut, Ditjatko etc. Matuška menja blago slovajut, Sudarynja, menja blago slovajut, Ditjatko! gospod Bog s toboju! Svet miloje moje! gospod Bog stoboju	Madam, from the wall, Little child etc. Matuška, they are wishing me well, Madam, they are wishing me well, Little child! Lord God be with you! My light, my dear, Lord God be with you.]

(a) *sxodki* ['little step; porch']. (b) an upper-floor guestroom.

Little Russian song.⁸³

Sivji konju, sivji konju! Tezko na tie bude, Poidemo razom s vetrom Popasu nebude. Bihaj konju rikal konju Bo sie večerije; ⁸⁴ [134] Oj tam sedit moja mila, Kde z lisa zoriye. (<i>c</i>) Vidzu milu, vidzu lubku, Divit sje v okence, Xoti, (<i>d</i>) jak temno, xoti nevidno.	[Grey horse, grey horse! It will be hard for you, We will go along with the Wind There will be no pasture. Run horse, I said to the horse, For the evening falls, Ah, my love sits there In the forest twilight I see my dear, I see my love, Looking out the window Though it is dark, though she can't be seen,
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⁸²Excerpt from *Zpěw Ruský*, 5., Čelakovský (1825: 90–91).

⁸³Excerpts from *Maloruskijä dumki*, Čelakovský (1825: 112, 114); for modernized Ukrainian versions, see Vlast (1923: 80); *нісня про милу*, Rudnyč'kyj (1958: 85).

⁸⁴Herkel drew this poem from Čelakovský (1825: 114), who actually printed this couplet as *Bihaj konju, bihaj konju / Bo vže večerije*.

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Svitit sje jak sonce.
Stanuv konik, stav sivenkij,
U miloji xaty (e)
Tu ja xocu (f) zavšue ziti.
Tu xocu umerati.

She shines like the sun
The little grey horse arrived,
At my sweetheart's cottage,
I want to live here forever,
Here I want to die.]

(c) *les, lis* 'forest'; *zoriti* 'to dawn', hence 'twilight', *zori*. (d) *xoti*, 'although', frequently used by Pannonians as well. (e) *xati*, 'cottage' (f) *xocu, xouuu*, 'I want'.

*Polish song, Polish tale.*⁸⁵

Juz mgla na morskiej opadla provodzi
Juz zalosć padla v serce vojvownika.
Ze siniego mora, mgla sara nie sxodzi,
Ni zalosć ze serca molodca nieznika.
Nie jest to gwiazda, co bliści na (luce)
Lec jakies sviatlo zvodne latające.
Tam niedaleko byl vojak rozvarti,
Na nim lezi molodec na ruku (ręku) oparti,
Smiertelnu ranu v piersiach odniesionu,
Prićiska xustku skrvavionu,
Pri nim kon stoi dzielne Donu plemie,

Ostrem kopitem mokru zriva zemi
I tak, (jak poviesć niesie) [135]
Cili sam movi, ci movic zdaje sie;
Vstan moj molodcu, vstan moj dobri panie!
Nie daj sie dluzej brocic tvojej ranie,
Xvić sie za grivu moju dlugu.
Usiadz na viernego slugu,
On cie zanie sie v dom tvoj ulubioni.
Do tvej matki, do dzieci, do tvej peknej zoni.

[Already the fog on the sea has cleared,
already sorrow has fallen on the warrior's heart
From the blue sea, the grey fog does not lift
Sorrow persists in the young man's heart.
It is not a star which shines on (the meadow),
But some kind of floating light is flying.
Not far from there was a piece of felt spread out,
On it lies a young fellow leaning on his arm,
The mortal wound he suffered in his breast,
He staunches with a bloody handkerchief,
Next to him stands a horse, the brave race of
the Don, bravely
With his sharp hoof he tears up the wet earth,
And thus (the story continues)
Either he himself speaks, or he seems to speak:
"Stand up, my youth; stand up, my good sir!
Don't let your wound bleed any longer,
Grab onto my long mane,
Sit on your loyal servant,
He will take you to your beloved home,
To your mother, to your children, to your dear
wife."

Na ta slova molodec lzami tvar svu rosi. etc.

At these words the youth's face becomes wet
with tears etc.

⁸⁵Excerpts from XIV, *Molodec, дума z ruskiego*, Niemcewicz (1820a: 201–202); cf. Čelakovský (1822: 150–151). The quote bears both a Latin and a Polish title, in that order, hence the double title in our translation. Herkel transcribed this poem from Čelakovský, who in turn transcribed from Niemcewicz. Niemcewicz's original contains the word *woylok* 'felt'. Čelakovský's version was printed with several Polish letters, including <ą, ć, ę, ń, ó, ś, ź>, but Čelakovský replaced Polish <ź> with Bohemian <ž>, and Polish <ł> with <l>. Čelakovský thus printed Niemcewicz's *woylok* as *woylok*, and in his German translation glossed the word as *seid'ner Teppich*, meaning 'silk rug'. Since Herkel wrote *koniu moj* 'my horse' and *vojne* 'war' where both Niemcewicz and Čelakovský wrote *koniu mój* and *woyne*, it seems Herkel ought to have transcribed Čelakovský's *woylok* as *vojlok*. Herkel's *vojak* 'soldier' thus appears a misprint.

Tak do konia premavia! O koniu moj dobri!
 Nigdi nezmordovani, i ruci i xrobri,
 Cos v sluzbie Cara mego,
 sedl (szel) so mnu na vojnu,
 I tam lotniejsi od vixrov salonix,
 V posrod ognistix gradov vipusconix,
 Juz jes mi niepotrebni, tak kazal los slepi,
 Jdz v dalekie Donu a stepi,
 Poviedz mej mlodej vdovie,
 zem (ze sem) me slubi zmienil,
 Zem (ze sem) sie juz s jinu ozenil,
 Vziol s niyu v posagu kilka piondzi ziemi,
 Ze ostra sabla juz nas polucila,
 A gorejaca strela spac nas polozila.

He speaks to the horse: "Oh my good horse,
 Tireless, swift and brave,
 Who went to war with me
 in the service of my tsar,
 And there, faster than the wild winds,
 Dashing amidst the flaming hailstones,
 I need you no longer, so blind fate has told me,
 Go to the distant Don steppes,
 Tell my young widow,
 That I changed my vows,
 That I have already taken another
 I took a few acres of land from her as a dowry,
 The sharp saber brought us together,
 But a flaming arrow has put us to sleep.]

This Polish text is preserved intact, with the exception of *z* after the letter *r*, so *potrebni* is written instead of *potrzebni*; in some places *q*, *ę* is omitted and written as it is pronounced, so *vziol* instead of *vziql*, *c* instead of *t* is retained everywhere, but the entire text can nonetheless be understood very easily. The Pole says the following: *spac nas polozila* instead of *spati nas polozila*. [136]

Serbian song.⁸⁶

Devojčica voda gazi (g)	[A girl wades through the water
Nogi joj se beljo.	Her legs become white
Za niom ide mlado momče, (h)	A young lad followed her
Grohotom se smije:	He laughs out loud:
Gazi gazi, dievocjuice; [sic]	Hop, hop, little girl,
Da bys moja byla,	That you may be mine,
"Kad by znala, i videla,	"If I knew for sure
Da by tvoja byla:	That I would be yours,
Mlekom by se umivala,	I would wash with milk,
Da by biela byla.	So I would be white,
Ruzom by se utirala.	I would rub myself with a rose,
Da by rumena byla;	So I would be flushed,
Svilom (i) by se opasala,	I would wear silk,
Da by tanka byla.	So I would be slender."]

(g) *gaziti* 'to wade through'. (h) *momeu*, or *junak*, or *molodec* 'youth'. (i) *svil*, more original than in other dialects *hodbab*.

⁸⁶ 317. *Желна обога*, Karadžić (1824: 218); probably via *Il*, Čelakovský (1825: 134).

Another.⁸⁷

Dievojčice, sitna ljubičice!	[Girl, tiny violet!
Liubio by te, ali si malena.	I would love you, but you are so small.
“Liubi me dragij, byti ču i golema.(k)	“Love me, darling, and I will be huge.
Maleno je zrno biserovo (l)	A pearl is small,
Ale se nosi na gospodskom grlu.	But is worn on the necks of lords.
Malena je ptica prepelica.	A quail bird is small,
Al’ umori konia, i Junaka.	But it killed the horse, and the hero.”]

(k) *velika* ‘big’. (l) *biser* ‘gem’.

Let us now see the Bohemian or Pannonian, but with *h* changed into *g* in conformity with the other dialects. [137]

Bohemian dialect.⁸⁸

Kdiz sem išel skerz dubovi les,	[As I went through the oak forest,
Pripadla mnia drimota;	A slumber fell over me,
A za glavu mne do rana	And behind my head by morning
Rozmarina vikvetla. (m)	Rosemary bloomed.
Porezal sem veski pruti	I cut all the stems,
Do gromadi spleteni;	And wove them all together,
Ti sem pustil po vodičke,	I dropped them into the water,
Po vodičke studenej.	Into the cold water.
Ta, ktera ji lovit bude,	She, who will catch it,
Rozmarinu zelenu,	That green rosemary,
Jiste ta ma mila bude	She will surely be my love,
Za vodičku studenu.	By the cold water.
Išli rano k rece panenki, (n)	In the morning the maidens went to the river,
Do vieder nabirali,	Collecting water in their buckets,
A pruti kniem z rozmarinu	And stems of rosemary
K samej lavce plinuli.	Floated down to the river-bank.
Tu mlinarova Liduška	There, the miller’s daughter Lidushka,
Po nix se nagibala,	Leaned forward to gather them,
A neštiasna golubinka	And, unhappy little dove,
Do vodički upadla.	She fell into the water.
Zvoni, zvoni! smutni zvoni!	Ring, Ring! Sad bells,
Co to asi znamena?	What can this mean?

⁸⁷ 272. Не гледај ме што сам малена, Karadžić (1824: 182); probably via Čelakovský (1822: 176). Čelakovský lists this among his “Serbian” songs.

⁸⁸ 8., Čelakovský (1822: 12).

Povjedste mili ptakove, Snad to neni ma mila? "Tvu milu, tve poteszenie Do rakve ti skladajo Ctiri muzi v černem ruxu, Do grobu pokladajo. Ax moj Boze najmilejui! Ti jsi mi vzal mu nevestu! [138] Povjedste mili ptakove K jej grobičku cestu (o) "Za verxem tam v kostoličku, Spivajo v kuru kniezi (p) Pjet krokov za kostoličkem V grobje tva mila lezi. Budu plakat, a se sluzit, Na ten tmavi grob sednu, A pre tobje ma panenka Tiezki gori (q) ponesu. Tiezki ja po nesu gori, Az mne smert visvobodi A z rosmarinu Venecek Na moj prikrov polozi.	Tell me, dear little birds, Is that perhaps my love? "Your love, your pleasure, Is being placed into a coffin, By four men in black robes, Is being buried in a grave." Ah, my most beloved God, You have taken from me my bride! Tell me, dear little birds, The way to her tomb, "Behind the hill there in the little church, Sings a choir of priests, Five steps from the little church Your love lies in a grave. I will weep and worship, On the dark grave I will sit, And for you, my sweetheart Bear heavy sorrow. Heavy is the sorrow I bear, Until death liberates me And lays a wreath of Rosemary On my shroud.]
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(m) *květ*, with others *svit* 'bloom'. (n) *devojka*, 'girl'. (o) *put*, *draga* ['way']. (p) *sviaščenyki* ['clergymen']. (q) *gora*, 'pain; something adverse, bitter'.

§. 25.

These songs show how little the Slavic dialects differ from each other, and they agree entirely in spirit, but let us proceed further. Some grammarians make mention of a periphrastic future, by means of the verbs *хочу*, *imam*, 'I want', 'I have'; but these verbs, when combined with infinitives according to the genius of the Slavic language, have a totally different meaning than when they strictly indicate the future, such as *imam pisati*, *sliuati*, *dielati* means 'I have to write', etc. but *хочу*, hence *ху*, *ху*, *чу*, *тју*, indicates the will to do something, but not strictly [139] the future tense of the verb. Admittedly, one also reads in the manuscripts *ne imate vidjeti*, *usliuati*, *vjerovati*, namely 'you will not see, hear, believe' etc. In fact, this is a forced expression of the future following the Greek text, as confirmed by the fact that it is not in common use in any dialect. The Serbs, however, like the expression of the future by means of *хочу*, *чу*, *тју*, such as *Ja чу napisat* ['I will write'], instead of *napiuu*, *napiuem*, but the context itself teaches that this expression of the future is forced, for how can the will

to write be expressed? Is it not with *чу, xчу* etc., for instance in *Ја xочу tvoje ime (imeno) napisati* [‘I want to write your name’].

The Poles, the Winds, and some Illyrians form the future with the perfect added to the auxiliary verb *budu*. Thus the Pole: *będę xvalil, -a, -lo* [‘I will praise’]; the Illyrian: *budem xvalio (xvalil), -la, -lo* etc.; the Wind: *bom* (contracted out of *budem*) *hvalil*. Additionally, both Poles and the Illyrians, apart for said expression of the future, also form it from the infinitive added to the auxiliary. Thus the Pole: *będę xvalić* [‘I will praise’]; the Illyrian: *budem xvaliti*. Yet, the Wind does not depart from its contracted way of speaking: *bom, bou, bo igral, -a, -o, bomo, bote, bodo igrali, -e* [‘I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they will play’] etc. The formation of the future out of the perfect is also grounded in manuscripts in the ancient dialect, such as: *usnul budet* [‘he will have fallen asleep’], *stvoril budet* [‘he will have created’] etc. And this is called the future exact by the grammarians. It occurs especially in cases where several future tense forms appear in the same sentence, such that the future exact appears only if there is another future following it. The illustrious Relkovich⁸⁹ has approved this usage in his Illyrian grammar as follows: *kado mi budemo imali, damo vam* [‘after we have gotten it, we will give it to you’], [140] *kdi mi budemo zozali zito, budemo vam zati* [‘after we have reaped the grain, we will reap for you’]. Other Slavs use the simple future here, such as: *kdi*, or *gdi zoznemo zito, budemo vam zati* [‘after we have reaped the grain, we will reap for you’]. But the Russians, who are more concise, use instead of this future exact the adjective of the preterit, as follows: *zozavvui zito nauue, budemo vam zati* [‘having reaped our grain, we will reap for you’].

§. 26.

The genius of the Slavic language rejects the expression of the pluperfect; for this reason there is not any mention of it in any grammars of any dialects. Yet some form it from the perfect by adding *byl*, and in Russian *byvalo* for all genders. Thus Polish *xvalilem byl*, Bohemian *byl sem xvalil* [‘I had praised’]. But these expressions seem to have come in from the servile imitation of other languages because they are not grounded in the ancient dialect, and also because they are not confirmed by the usage of the dialects themselves, unless one would slavishly imitate other languages. For a true Pole never uses it; Russian *byvalo*, for similar reasons, is only a grammarians’ fiction and does not reflect the genius of the language. For it is nothing else than *bylo* put in the neuter frequentative, so *byti*, frequentative *byvati*, ‘to frequently be’, whence among the Pannonians it is also taken in the sense of ‘to inhabit’.

⁸⁹Matija Antun Relković, (1732–1798), author of a Slavonic grammar and dictionary (1767).

§. 27.

The optative or subjunctive mood, also [141] called the conditional, is used when something is desired, and especially when two propositions are conjoined by means of particles. However, since in an expression of this kind the Slavs always use the auxiliary verb *jesm* ['I am'], it is important to clarify the meaning of this verb. This verb *jesem*, often contracted to *jsem*, *sem*, *som*, is an existential verb, but not a function verb. It therefore differs from the other verbs which by their very nature indicate some action, as it were, since some entity must exist before it can complete its action. Hence there seem to be as many different existential verbs as there are expressions of time. The present is as follows: *jesem*, *jesi*, *jest*, *jesmo*, *jeste*, *jeso* proceeds from the base form *jesti*, which also signifies 'to apply the means in order that a living being exists', hence Latin *esse* also signifies 'to exist' sometimes, but at other times 'to eat'. But the verb *byti* 'to exist', whence *byx*, *byl* etc., is a verb of continuous existence, whence also the origin of the Slavic term for the Supreme Being: *Byx*, *Büx*, *Box*, *Bux*, *Bog*. Hence the verb *byti* has no etymological link with *jesti*, but the verb *byti* stands by itself, whence the frequentative *byvati*, also in the sense of 'to inhabit', hence *byeda*, or 'the act of living in misery', as well as *byedovati* ['to lament, to moan'] etc. Finally, to indicate future existence there is the verb *budeti*, whence *budu*, *budem* ['I will be'].

The inflection of these three verbs, distinct from each other, is in truth also regular.

Singular.				
Northerners	1 <i>jesem</i> ,	2 <i>jesi</i> ,	3 <i>jest</i> ,	in abbreviated fashion
Southerners	1 <i>jesem</i> ,	2 <i>jesi</i> ,	3 <i>jest</i> ,	<i>sem</i> , <i>si</i> , <i>je</i> [142]
Plural.				
Northerners	<i>jesmi</i> ,	<i>jeste</i> ,	<i>jesut</i> .	
Southerners	<i>jesmo</i> ,	<i>jeste</i> ,	<i>jeso</i> .	<i>sмо</i> , <i>ste</i> , <i>so</i> .

The inflection of the verb *byti* is likewise regular, and since it expresses only the sense of the preterit, by this very fact it cannot be used as a present. For this reason, the perfect ends just like in other verbs by deletion of *-ti*, and adding *-l*, as follows: Singular *byti*, *byl*, *byla*, *bylo*. Plural *byli*, *byle*, *byla*, with or without an auxiliary verb, *Ja jsem byl* ['I have been'].

Finally, the inflection of the verb *budeti* likewise stays regular:

Singular.	
Northerners	<i>budu, budeu, budet.</i>
Southerners	<i>budem, budeu, bude.</i>
Plural.	
Northerners	<i>budemi, budete, budut.</i>
Southerners	<i>budemo, budete, budo.</i>

§. 28.

No imperative can be formed from *jesti* and *byti*, since the imperative does not contain in itself the idea of a future function, but the imperative of *budeti* is *budi* ‘be’, and the Church dialect confirms that this is the genuine form of the imperative, as follows: *Boze Gospodin! budi milost tvoja na nas nynje, i vevjeki. Uuuedri, blagoslavi nji, i prosviti liue svoje na nji, i omiluj* [‘Lord God! Thy mercy be on us now and forever. Take pity, bless us, and let thy face shine upon us, and have mercy’].

These words are found embroidered with a Phrygian needle on the remains of St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary. [143]

The Russian says *bud* but adds at the end a yer *ь*, which indicates that the preceding letter should be softened. The Pannonian also softens the *d*; however, the Pannonian only softens the *d* if the following vowel is an *-e* or *-i*. Since therefore in Pannonian *bud* there is no [final] vowel, it follows that the vowel has been swallowed, a vowel which the authority of the ancient dialect advises us to restore, as does that of other southern dialects, and the regularity of the language. One should therefore write: *budi*. The same should be understood for all verbs in the imperative, thus not *ѣѡѡ* [‘come’], *ѣѡѡ* [‘wade’], *ѣѡѡ* [‘twist’] in the fashion of the Pannonians, but instead *poidi, brodi, kruti*; for *pot* is immediately derived from *ѣѡѡ* by eliding the vowel *-i* before and after *d*, as it comes from *ideti*, and the preposition *po*, whence *poidem, or poidu, poidi*, but not *pot*. The perfect indeed is *poidel*, as it is analogous to Windic *naidel* from *naideti* [‘to find’]. However, *poiuel* as well as *naiuel* and the like have their root in the infinitive *poiuti, naiuti*. For in the dialect around Cassovia [Slovak: Košice; Hungarian: Kassa; German: Kaschau] they say *iuti* instead of *jiti*, which is abbreviated and

distorted from *ideti*, whence the present is nowhere *iuem* but *idem*, among the Poles *idzem*.

§. 29.

Some dialects add the particle *nex* to the third person of the imperative: *niex* among the Poles, *neka* among the Serbs, *naj* among the Winds. This particle emerged from the abbreviated imperative *nexaj* from *nexati* ['to let'], *lassen* in German. But the particle *nex* does not have a place in the imperative in the strict sense, for this particle is used neither in [144] the ancient dialect, nor in Russian nor in Bohemian. *Nex* is therefore a periphrasis, but not the expression of the imperative in the strict sense, so *nex on bude*, instead of *nexaj on bude*, 'let him be', or 'that he may be', *lasse ihn seyen* among the Germans. Such is also *da, da Bog*, similarly among the ancient Germans *wollte Gott* ['God willing'], among the Poles, the Bohemians, and Pannonians *abyx*; here the letter *d* is certainly left out, namely: *da byx*, but this is abbreviated from *da Box*, or *Bog, Byx* etc.

§. 30.

The expression of the optative mood is always combined with the auxiliary verb *byti*, so Russian *Ja, ti, on, ona, ono by byl, -a -o*; in the plural *mi, vi, oni* etc. *by byli* etc. The word *by* remains invariable everywhere, but the annexed preterit *byl* declines like an adjective. Polish affixes to *by* also a contraction of *sem*, as follows: *Ja bym byl, ti bys byl*. Bohemian has *Ja byx byl, ti bys byl, on by byl* etc.; in the plural: *byxom, byste, by bili, -e, -a*. Illyrian: *bih, bi, bi, bismo, biste, biua* with *byl, -a, -o* added to it. Here all dialects agree in essence, as the root is everywhere the same, namely: *byx*, or *bily* or *bi*, only dialectal variation occurs. The ancient dialect has: *byx, by, by, byxom, byste, byua*. In my humble opinion, I would judge that the Polish-Bohemian form should be adopted, grounded in the ancient dialect, and mixed in with the southerners' sweetness, as follows: *byx (-m), bys, by, bysmo (-i), byste, byso (-ut)*, [145] which, if *byl, -a, -o* is added to it, will be the present of the optative:

<i>Ja,</i>	—	—	<i>byx (-m)</i>	<i>byl, -a, -o</i>	<i>mi</i>	—	—	<i>bysmo (-i),</i>	<i>byli, -e, -a</i>
<i>ti,</i>	—	—	<i>bys</i>		<i>vi</i>	—	—	<i>byste</i>	
<i>on,</i>	<i>ona,</i>	<i>-o,</i>	<i>by</i>		<i>oni,</i>	<i>one,</i>	<i>ona</i>	<i>by (byso)</i>	

In the plural, the adjectival perfect *byli* is not altered in the Church dialect, Russian or Polish, but the Winds differentiate between the masculine *byli*, femi-

nine and neuter *byle*; the Bohemians differentiate masculine *byli* from feminine *byly* and neuter *byla*. There are nonetheless dialects in which they say the masculine as *byli*, the feminine as *byle*, the neuter as *byla*, and *reasonably so*; for if in the singular it is declined as a formal adjective, why would it not also be declined in the plural? The rational grammar of the language certainly urges that as well, and the southern dialects, specifically Serbian, confirm it. The grammarians sometimes call this expression of the optative imperfect, sometimes perfect, misled as they are by the norm of other languages. Yet this is nonetheless the true and genuine present expression of the optative, for the Slav does not pronounce anywhere a desire in the present tense in any way other than the abovementioned expression, namely by adding *by* etc. Thus 'I would like to write': *Ja byx pisal*; 'I would like to be': *Ja byx byl*, *-a*, *-o* etc. If *byl* is moreover added to it, it will be an indication of a past desire: in this way, *byl byx igrat*, *-a*, *-o* ['I would have liked to play'] etc. *pisal* ['... write'], *mislel* ['... think'], *molil* ['... pray'] etc. It is the true perfect of the optative, but not a pluperfect. For grammarians who call that expression of the optative "pluperfect", abandon the perfect, but how can you lack a perfect but have a pluperfect? Etc. [146]

§. 31.

The optative lacks a future in Slavic grammars because the present already expresses the idea of the future, for future, not present things are wished for, but the Latins' so-called conditional future, or preceding future is expressed among the Slavs either by a simple future or by the verbal adjective of the preterit or by the so-called future exact, for instance *Postquam prandero, scribam* ['After I will have had breakfast, I will write'], in Slavic: *Gdi odobjedujem, na piuuu pismo*, or *odobjedavui napiuuu pismo*, likewise *Kdi napiuuu pismo, odidem*, or *napisavui pismo odidem*, or *Gdi napisal budem pismo, odidu* etc. From this the expressions of the optative will now be very easily brought out.

Present.					
Singular.			Plural.		
<i>Ja</i>	<i>byx</i>	<i>uvil, -a, -o</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>bismo (i)</i>	
<i>ti</i>	<i>bys</i>		<i>Vi</i>	<i>byste</i>	<i>uvili or uvilil, -e, -a.</i>
<i>on -a, -o</i>	<i>by,</i>		<i>oni, -e, -a</i>	<i>by (bysut, byso)</i>	
The perfect is made by adding <i>byl, -a, -o</i> :					
Singular.			[Plural.]		
<i>Ja</i>	<i>byl, -a, -o</i>	<i>byx</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>bysmo (i)</i>	
<i>ti</i>		<i>bys</i>	<i>Vi</i>	<i>byste</i>	<i>uvili or uvilil, -e, -a.</i>
<i>on, -a, -o</i>	<i>byl, -a, -o</i>	<i>by</i>	<i>oni -e, -a</i>	<i>by (byso, bysut)</i>	

§. 32.

Every verb is inflected according to the aforementioned principles, but I am not unaware that some [147] dialect grammarians will condemn these principles, but they alone will reach such a judgment of condemnation, since what one dialect approves, the other condemns, and vice versa. Nor indeed can reference grammarians sustain any other opinion. However, it remains an unshakable truth that in accordance with the genius of the Slavic language there is only one single form of verb inflection. Let us see how six forms of Russian can be reduced to a single form, a reduction which we will see confirmed by the usage in various other dialects.

The verbs of six forms reduced to one. The infinitive.

Imati ['to have'], *ljeti* ['to pour'], *pliuti* ['to spit'], *terpieti* ['to suffer'], *dojiti* ['to milk'], *zelati* ['to wish'], *tkati* ['to weave'] etc. Casting the *-ti* off from this and putting *-u* or *-m* will result in the present: *imam, liejem, pliujem, terpjem, dojim, -iuu, -i, dojimo, dojite, doju*, or in northern fashion: *doju, -iuu, -i, dojimi, dojite, dojut* etc. Now putting *-l* instead of *-ti* will give the perfect: *imal, liel, pliul, terpjel, dojil, zelal* etc., with or without the auxiliary, as follows: *ja dojil* or *ja sem dojil* ['I milked'] etc.

The nature of the future has been explained rather abundantly. Since the aforementioned are basic verbs, adding *budu* or *budem* will give the future.

The imperative is formed by casting off *-ti* and putting *-i*, or *-j*; hence I will either write *imaj, lieji, pliuj* or *imai, liei, pliui, terpej, tkaj*.

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The present of the optative will be made from adding to the perfect *imal* the auxiliary *byx* as follows: *ja byx imal, dožil, terpiel, zelal* etc.; if one would again add *byl, -a, -o* to that, it will become the perfect of the optative, as follows: *Ja byx byl terpiel* [‘I would have suffered’]. [148]

Then the adjectives are derived by changing the present form of the infinitive from *-iti* into *-ici, -uci, -aci*; some dialects pronounce the *c* as *ч*. Thus, *imajici, terpjejici, dožici, or dožaci, zelajaci, or zelujuci, tkajuci* etc., or *tkajuči, zelajuči, sluuajuči* etc.

The adjective of the active perfect, with the *-ti* removed, and replaced with *-v*, thus: *imav, liev, pliuв, terpieв, doživ, zelav, tkav*.

The present participle of the passive puts *-m* instead of *-ti*: *imam, -a, -o, liem, -a, -o, pilum, -a, dojim, -a, -o, zelam, -o, -a* etc.

The participle of the passive preterit puts *-n* instead of *-ti*: *iman, liejen, pliuв, terpjes, dojin, or dojen, zelan, tkan, pisan, čitan* etc.

The adverb is formed as a present participle of the active, only with the final *-i* removed, as follows: *imajuc, tkajuc, pliujuс, dojuс, or dojac, sedac, smiejac* etc.

Various verbal substantives, in turn, but especially those ending in *-nie*, which denote the present function, so to speak, and those ending in *-nost*, which denote the preterit function, emerge as follows: *imanie, lienie, pliuвie, terpjesie, dojenie, zelanie, tkanie, učenie* etc. But these and similar matters belong to the rational compilation of a dictionary.

Perhaps someone will, I think, reprove me for deriving an improper word like *imanie*, but if we read and investigate other dialects, we will see that it is in use and means ‘to have something’, or more precisely ‘the having of something’, even if for Pannonians *imanie* might [149] seem a mere fiction. The same should be understood about the other words, and for that reason one should examine the genius of the language by comparing dialects etc.

§. 33.

In addition to the various regular conjugation forms, dialect grammarians also list irregular verbs, though very often verbs that are irregular in one dialect are regular in another, and vice versa. For this reason, the goal and logic of language itself recommends adopting the regular form. In the ancient dialect, the following verbs are reported as irregular: *Jam (jem, jedem)* [‘I eat’], *snjem* [‘I will eat’], *vjem* [‘I know’], *dam* [‘I will give’], *idu (idem)* [‘I go’], *reku* [‘I say’], *imu* [‘I have’], *pnu* [‘I stretch’], *znu* [‘I harvest’], *načnu* [‘I start’], *xouчу* [‘I want’], *čtu* [‘I read’], *vizdu* [‘I see’], *vladu* [‘I rule’], *iuču* [‘I seek’].⁹⁰ More do not occur, but both these

⁹⁰Dobrovský (1822: 537–543).

and others are variously read in various monuments of sacred antiquity, nor indeed do the monuments themselves agree. Hence, it is also difficult to judge whether this or that expression is more genuine than others, as various people wrote in various ways as they spoke. One reads as follows in the Venetian Psalter *srebra svojego ne dašt v lixvu*, 'he did not give his silver for interest'; see how *dast* expresses the perfect; it is elsewhere read as *dade*, and even as *dal*, as in Psalm 48: *Dal jesi veselje v serci mojem* 'you have given gladness in my heart'.⁹¹ The imperative is read as *dazd*, *dadi*, *daj* etc., just as the most erudite Dobrovski expounds in his grammar of the ancient dialect. Let us now look at the use of the aforementioned verbs [150] in living dialects: *Jam*, *jem*, *jedem*, from the base form *jedeti*, *jesti*, *jeti*, *jiti*, if the base form were *jedeti*, it would be: *jedem*, *jedel*, *jedev*, *jeden*, *jedenje*; if from *jeti*, it would be *jem*, *jel* etc. For this is also the usage in Pannonia; *snjem*, however, is entirely regular in the dialects. *Vjiem* is abbreviated from *vjedem*, from the base form *vjedeti*, whence one says in the preterit *vjedel*, *vjedenie* etc. *Dati*, however, follows *znuti*, *rekati*, *ideti*, *pnuti*, *znuti*,⁹² *načnuti*, *videte*, *iskati*, *vladati*, *xouveti*, *xceti*, *utiti*, *ctiti*: it would not occur to anyone to count them among the irregular verbs, since if we regard all dialects as one language, they all follow one previously established form, shown here:

<i>xcem</i> ['I want']	(u)	<i>xcel</i> ,	<i>xcev</i> ,	<i>xcen</i> ,	<i>xcenie</i>
<i>vidim</i> ['I see']	(u)	<i>videl</i> ,	<i>videv</i> ,	<i>viden</i> ,	<i>videnje</i>
<i>utim</i> ['I read']	(u)	<i>util</i> ,	<i>utiv</i> ,	<i>uten</i> ,	<i>utenie</i>

Imu, together with the composites *poimu*, *naimu*, *zaimu*, is regular: *pomu*, *poimal*, *poimav*, *poimanie*, *poiman*, *poimaj* etc.; *reku*, from *rekati*, *rekal*, *rekav*, *rekaj*, *rekanie*, but from the base form *reueti*: *reuem*, *reuel*, *reuen*, *reuenie* etc. Thus if we consider the Slavic language through all its dialects as one language, then every irregularity dissipates like clouds at dawn. However, if we consider the dialects individually, they will be more or less overwhelmed with exceptions, and experience teaches us that every day new ones arise. For every dialect has its particularities, or so-called provincialisms either to greater or lesser extent.

For instance, some Russians are used to changing *d* into *z*, *ti* into *u*, [151] *z* into *z*, *s* into *u*, for instance from the base forms:

⁹¹In the King James Version, this is Psalm 4:7.

⁹²*Sic*, this example occurs twice in Herkel's original text.

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<i>budjiti</i> ['to waken']	they form	<i>buzu,</i>	<i>buzen,</i>	<i>buzenie</i>
<i>krutiti</i> ['to twist']	—	<i>kručū,</i>	<i>kručēn,</i>	<i>kručenie</i>
<i>grozjiti</i> ['to threaten']	—	<i>grozju,</i>	<i>grozjen,</i>	<i>grozjenje</i>
<i>rosjiti</i> ['to dew']	—	<i>rouū,</i>	<i>rouien,</i>	<i>rouienie</i>
<i>prustiti</i> ['to let, to allow']	—	<i>puūūū,</i>	<i>puūūēn,</i>	<i>puūūenie</i>
<i>mysliti</i> ['to think']	—	<i>myūliū,</i>	<i>myūliēn,</i>	<i>myūlienie</i>

The Pole counts the following as irregular verbs: *iestem* 'I am', *jem* 'I eat', *viem* 'I know', *smiem* 'I dare', *idzem* 'I go', *mam* 'I have', *dajem* 'I give', *vidzę* 'I see', *mogę* 'I can'; but in other dialects these verbs are regular, for instance: *iestem* from the base form *jesti* 'to be', in the present the Poles improperly retain the letter *t*, which as the infinitive ending is not retained in any other dialect. Hence it follows that *jesem* etc. is more correct, and by adopting it every irregularity of this verb ceases to exist. *Jem* is abbreviated out of *jedem* from the base form *jedeti*, *jedel* etc. In *jem* the root letter *d* is elided, a fact made clear from the frequentative *jedavam*, but abbreviated to *jedam*, among the Poles *jadam*. *Viem* has been cleared up above; moreover, *smiem* and *mam* are regular, namely: *smiem*, *smiel*, *smiev*, *smiej*, *smien*, *smienie*; *mam*, *mal*, *mav*, *maj*, *man*, *manie*.

However, all dialect speakers pronounce *ideti* in the perfect as *iuel*, where its etymology disappears entirely with the letter *d*, but the Poles retain the letter *d* also in the perfect, namely *sedlem*. This variation has indeed arisen from the fact that different people derive them in different ways from various base forms, namely: *ideti*, *jiti*, *jisti*, *isti*, *iuti*, as in upper [152] Pannonia near Galicia one says *iuti*, from which the regular perfect formation *iuel* is derived. Hence it is clear that usage alone does not dictate how languages work, but also rational rules. Let, however, no one judge me for explaining that the perfect *idel* derives from *idem*, since among the Winds *naidel*, from *naideti*, is in use where the Pannonian says *naiuel* etc. As the frequentative of the verb *idzem* the Poles use *xodzę* or *xodim*, but *xodim* is not its frequentative, but the frequentative of *idem* is *idievam*, *idievavam*, that of *xodim* is *xodivam*, *xodivavam*, as usage confirms. *Dajem* and *vidzę*, however, are regular in the other dialects. *Mogę* (*mogu*, *mozem*): the grammarian says that in the other dialects this verb lacks the expression of the imperative and the infinitive, but he does not give a reason why. In the meantime, the verb *mogu* expresses ability, and hence has no imperative, since it does not depend on willpower, but on ability. In imitation of other verbs, however, what forbids us from saying *mogej*, *mozej*? According to the Polish grammarian, moreover, one sometimes hears the imperative *modz*; and whence the letter *d*?

From the following: the root of this verb is *mouu* in the ancient dialect, in the others *moc*, hence the base form *mocti*, *moceti*, whose imperative is *moci* or *moc*. Polish *modz* is analogous in terms of sound, but not in orthography. For among the Slavs *c* changes easily into *z*, hence *mozeti* instead of *moceti*, *mocti*, but *z*, in turn, substitutes for *g*, hence *mogu*, *mogel*. Furthermore, among the Pannonians and Bohemians *g* is changed into *h*, hence *mohel* instead of *mogel*, [153] which is why three base forms with the same meaning emerge, namely: *moceti* [‘to be able to’], whence *onemoceti* [‘to fall ill’]; *mozeti*, whence *pomozeti* [‘to help’], and *mogeti*, which are to a great extent analogous to German *mögen* [‘to be able to’]. And from these base forms we will derive regularly formed expressions, namely:

<i>moce</i>	(u)	<i>mocel</i> ,	<i>mocen</i> ,	<i>mocenie</i> ,
<i>moze</i>	(u)	<i>mozel</i> ,	<i>mozen</i> ,	<i>mozenie</i> ,
<i>moge</i>	(u)	<i>mogel</i> ,	<i>mogen</i> ,	<i>mogenie</i> etc.

The same picture emerges with the verbs *goniti*, *honiti* [both meaning ‘to chase’], *zoniti*, *zenuti* [both meaning ‘to marry’]. In particular, the letters *z*, *g*, *h* are used interchangeably in the various dialects. Hence, from *zoniti* *zonim* or *zoniem*, *zonil* etc.; from *goniti*, then, *gonim* (*honim*), *gonil*, *gonen*, *gonenie* etc. From this verb *zena*, *zona* [‘woman, wife’] seems to draw its origin, since it was customary in the most ancient times among certain tribes to drive marriable virgins out to a certain place and wed them to the most promising males. This custom was native among the Slavic tribes, as shown by examples from recent times in Carpathian Pannonia. Also, in Croatia, among the populace, there are still women who are treated by their men almost as slaves. This is to say, men do not even eat with women, but their wives stand behind them while they are sitting at the table, and eat only if their husbands give them something.

On the passive expression of verbs. [p. 153–157]

§. 1.

Some dialect grammarians illustrate the passive expression of verbs by means of extensive paradigms; [154] but first it is important to consider whether the Slavs have their own and truly genuine expression of the passive voice, or indeed supplement it only through periphrasis. In the entire Slavic language, only two genuine passive expressions are found. Firstly, there is the present participle of the passive, which is observed in the Bible composed in the ancient dialect. The Russians also use the same in loftier style, but in the other living dialects few traces

of it appear, except for Pannonian phrases such as *znami uelovek* ‘renowned person’, *vedome hrjexi*, more correctly *vjedomi griexi* [‘conscious sins’], *vjedome vini* [‘well-known wines’]; *vjedomi*, -a, -o, is derived from the verb *vjedem* ‘I know’, the abbreviated form of which is *vjem*; *znami*, -a, -o, however, comes from *znati* ‘to know’, hence the participle of the preterit *znan*, -a, -o; *vjeden*, -a, -o.

§. 2.

Since therefore usage itself confirms the existence of a passive present adjective, it should clearly be considered a treasure of the language, as it were, characterized by -m, where the preterit takes -n. Dialect grammarians use the participle of the preterit alone to express various meanings of the passive by adding the auxiliary of the present, preterit, or future, such as the present: *ja sem liuben* [‘I am being loved’], *ja byl liuben* [‘I am being loved’], *ja budem liuben* [‘I am being loved’]. But the Russians accurately distinguish the present from the preterit, as follows: *ja liubim jesm* [‘I am loved’], or *liubaem jesm* [‘I have been loved’], or *liubomi*, -a, -o *jesm* [‘I am loved’].

Numerous grammarians argue that the object expression [155] of the reflexive *sia*, *sa*, *se* added to the verb is a passive expression, such as *liubiti sia* [‘love oneself’], *militi sia* [‘adore oneself’], *dvigati sia* [‘move oneself’] etc. on the grounds that, for instance, *ja sa menujem*, or *zoviem* etc. corresponds to the Latin *ego nominor* [‘I am called’] etc., but it also corresponds to the active expression: *ego me nomino* [‘I call myself’] etc. Hence, only this follows: if the subject coincides with the object in the same person, such as: *Ja sia*; *ti sia* etc.; *mi vi*; *oni*, *one*, *ona sia* (abbreviated out of *sebia*), it fulfills roles that in other languages are expressed both by the active and the passive, but it does not follow that this would be the genuine passive way of speaking.

Many grammarians, especially ancient ones, connect that reflexive *sebja* = *sia* with the verb, and hence a reflexive verb has emerged with them, such as: *lubitisia* [‘to be loved’], *odreuatisia* [‘to disown’] etc. Thus Russian has *ja i moj prijatel odreuemsia* [‘I and my friend will disown each other’], instead of *odreuem sia*. However, there are no reflexive verbs in the Slavic language, because they have no characteristic marker; for *sia* is not a verbal marker but a pronoun in the so-called accusative case, a pronoun which always occurs in said case as long as the subject coincides with the object in terms of person, or as long as the nominative and the accusative are in the same person. Consider *Ja liubim mojego otca* [‘I love my father’], here *liubim* is not reflexive.⁹³ But if I would say *moja sestra liubitsia*

⁹³Herkel confuses the Russian first person singular *ja ljublju* with the first person plural *my ljubim*.

['my sister is loved'], or similarly *dnem trudimsia a nouju pokoimsia* ['we work during the day and rest at night'], instead of *dnem trudime*, or *trudimi*, or *trudimo sia*, *a nouju pokoimo sia*. For this reason, the words should not be [156] written together *sviatitisia* ['to sanctify'], *xvalitisia* ['to boast'], *osobitisia* ['to separate oneself, to stand apart'], *gorbitisia* ['to hunch; to slouch'], *silitisia* ['to struggle'], *brauitsa* ['to get married'] instead of *osobiti*, *gorbiti*, *siliti*, *brauiti* etc. *sia*. For these verbs do not always occur with *sia*; and even if they did, the reflexive *sia* would still be a different word from the verb.

§. 3.

We therefore have for the present and the passive perfect genuine passive expressions; for the future we lack a genuine expression. Nonetheless, in the usage of all Slavic nations the participle is employed by adding the auxiliary *budu* or *budem* to it. And in this way, the full expression of the passive emerges from the present participle and the preterit passive by adding the auxiliaries *jesem*, *byl*, *budem*, as follows:

The present of the indicative.

Znam, -a, -o, *jesem*, *jesi*, *jest*, plural *znami*, -e, -a *jesmo*, *jeste*, *jeso* ['I, you, he/she/it am/is/are being known; we, you, they are being known'] etc. Thus the Russian: *dvigaem*, -a, -o etc. *jesem*, *jesi*, *jest* ['I, you, he/she/it am/is/are being moved'] etc. The Pole uses that participle of the preterit as follows: *xvaloni*, -a, -o *jestem* etc., but the Polish grammarian himself spontaneously confesses that that expression does not correspond to the present but to the perfect, as *ja jesem xvaloni* refers to the past, namely: 'I have been praised' etc.⁹⁴

The perfect *znan*, *xvalen*, *učen*, *vidjen*, -a -o *jesem*, *jesi*, *jest* ['I have, you have, he/she/it has been known, praised, taught, seen'], or also by adding *byl*, as follows: *ja jesem vidien byl* ['I have been seen', masculine], *ja jesem vidiena byla* ['I have been seen', feminine], *ona vidiena byla* ['she has been seen'] etc. [157]

The future: *budu* (m), -u, -e, *znani*, -a, -o, *budemo*, *budete*, *budo znani*, -e, -a ['I, you, he/she/it will be known; we, you, they will be known'] etc.

Optative: *byl*, -a, -o, *byx*, *bys*, *byl znan*, or -i, -a, -o ['were I, you, he/she/it to know'] etc.

⁹⁴Herkel here somewhat misrepresents Bandtkie, who forms the Polish passive "through the auxiliary *bydź* and its derivative *bywać*, with the passive preterit participle, [...] e.g. *jestem prześladowany*, a, e 'I am persecuted'". See section 265–267 in Bandtkie (1824), quotation from (1824: 269), see (1824: 269–271).

The perfect is made by adding again *byl* to the present, as follows: *Byl byx znán byl, byla byx znána byla, bylo by znáno bylo* [‘he/she/it would have been known’] etc. And this is the easy formation of all passive verbs, which by their very nature do not allow any other form of passive expression.

Section VIII. *On the indeclinable parts of speech.*

[p. 157–164]

§. 1.

We have dealt with the declinable parts of speech, since the preposition, the adverb, the interjection, and the conjunction are not inflected, and these matters are reserved for a universal dictionary. With regard to their rules, for instance, the prepositions will not be discussed, because Slavs everywhere agree on this point. In so far as certain adverbs are capable of forming a comparative, they follow the rules governing the comparative.

§. 2.

Regarding syntax, since the Slavic language is original, we learn from experience that its syntax, too, is everywhere original and the same in the dialects. We may mention examples of its syntax drawn from [158] various dialects. Consider a Lord’s Prayer in the ancient dialect, from a 1483 Glagolitic missal:

Otue nau, ize jesi na nebiesiex, svati se ima tvoje, priidi carstvo tvoje, budi vola tvoja, jako na nebesi, i na zemli. Xlieb nau vsedanni, daj nam dnes, i odpusti nam dlgi nauue, jakoze i mi odpущаем dlznikom nauim, i ne vevedi nas v napast, izbavi nas od neprijazni.

It is also read differently in Matthew 6:9:

Otue nau, ize jesi na nebiesiex, da svatisia imja tvoje, da priidet carstvi tvoje, da budiet volia tvoja, jako na nebesi, na zemli, xlieb nau nasuuunii dazd nam dnes, i ostavi nam dolgi nauija, jako i mi ostavlajem dolznikom nauim, i ne vevedi nas v napast, no i zbavi nas od lukavago. Jako tvoje jest Carstvije, i sila, i Slava vo vjeki Amin.

Popular usage, furthermore, demonstrates that the Lord’s Prayer is also read in another way. Let us look at a brief analysis of the former forms: *ize*, ‘who, which’,

is composed out of *i* or *ji* and *ze*. *Ji* is the root pronoun of the masculine third person, and *ze* is a particle which in some dialects, such as the Pannonian, is used as the conjunction 'that'. This particle also appears as the postposition of other little words, such as: *jakoze i mi odpuuuamo* etc. Instead of *ize* one reads in missals also *ki* in the fashion of the southerners, abbreviated out of *keri*; *carstvie* is also read as *carsvo* from *car* or 'emperor'. Similarly, the two Books of Kings are called [159] *Carskie knigi*. *Jako* is also read as *jakoze* as well as *kako*. *Vsedanni* appears also as *vsagdanni*, likewise with the *g* changed into *k*: *vsakdanni*, or even *vsakdauni*. *Dnes*, also *danas*, *dans*; *otpuuuaem*, *odpusuaemo*, *otpuuucham*. *Vevedi*, *vavedi*. The word *past* 'temptation' is used among the Carpathian Pannonians in the meaning of 'ambush, traps which are prepared on account of an ambush'. *Neprijazen* in old books is read to mean 'devil'. This word is likewise used among the aforementioned Pannonians to mean 'bad man' in phrases like *nepriaznik*, *Boha priaznik*, *Boha prijaznica* etc. Similar clarifications of words belong to the dictionary, since there are some words which in one dialect have one meaning, but in another have some other somewhat related meaning. In this way, for instance, *kniaz* for some means 'prince', for others 'priest'. This double use is very straightforward, as the Slavs are related to the Oriental Indians both by language and by mythology. Indeed, earlier among the Indians, just as among other peoples as well, the Civil Prince was in charge of sacred matters, too, whom the Slavs called *kniaz*, to which there is an analogous form *kagan*, corrupted from the Greek, in place of *kazar*. *Kazar* derives from *kazati*, and it is this form which has been transmitted to posterity, but *kazati* means 'to show something, to command', whence the substantive *kniaz* 'civil commander', and sometimes 'a spiritual commander', namely if he was also in charge of sacred matters. Some derive it from *konati* ['to do; to end']. To this day, the Bohemians, Poles, and Pannonians call a priest *kniaz*, and indeed the Bohemians presently call the Prince *Knize*, which in Slavic strictly means 'young prince' when compared to similar [160] constructions, such as: *golub*, *golubje* ['pigeon, squab']; *gus*, *gusje* ['goose, gosling']; *zreb*, *zrebje* ['stallion, foal'], alternatively *golubja*, *zrebja*, *gusja*, hence also *kniaz*, *knize*, or *kniza* means 'young offspring of a prince'. However, a 'priest' is authentically called a *pop* by other Slavs, from the very ancient *popa*, *papa* 'father', but by others *sviauchenik*, or 'consecrated priest'. But since *kniazi* or 'commanders' have and have had many occupations, so in the old times they needed handbooks to record what needed to be recorded, and hence *kniza* emerged, or also with *z* transformed in numerous dialects into *g* or into *h*, hence the derivation of *kniga*, *kniha*, and not, as the *Tripartite of Languages* notes,⁹⁵ from German *knicken* ['to snap'].

⁹⁵Klaproth & von Merian (1820).

§. 3.

Let us look at the original Russian text for the syntax: *Anibal, Amilcarov sin, strax Italii, prisjazni neprijatel Rimlanam umoril sebja jadam* [‘Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, terror of Italy, sworn enemy of the Romans, killed himself with poison’] etc. Everyone among the Slavs will easily understand this text, as it is expressed in genuine Slavic fashion, and *Anibal*, for instance, is the subject, of which the description is: *Amilkarov sin, strax Italii, prisjazni neprijatel Rimlanam*. The predicate is *umoril*; the object is *sebja*, the instrumental *jadom*. Furthermore there are examples of the possessive ending, the so-called genitive: *Tvorec neba, i zemli* [‘creator of heaven and earth’], *spasitel mira* [‘savior of the world’], *otec naroda* [‘father of the nation’], *liubitel nauk* [‘lover of science’], *dvizenje svietel nebeskix* [‘movement of heavenly bodies’], *stado koz* [‘herd of goats’], *gorst soli* [‘handful of salt’], *četvertnik krup or ovs*a [‘quarter of groats’ or ‘oats’], *voz sjiena, drov* [‘cart of hay, firewood’], *bouka* [161] *piva* [‘barrel of beer’], *lozka masla* [‘spoon of butter’], *tysjaca duuu* [‘a thousand souls’] etc.

Examples of the receptive ending, or the dative: *Boze! or Bog! milostiv bud* (*budi*) *mnie grjeunomu* [‘God have mercy on my soul’], *podoben otcu* [‘similar to the father’], *raven jemu lietam* [‘equal to him in age’] etc.

Of the instrumental: *vysok rostom* [‘tall in stature’], *bogat milostiu* [‘with the grace of God’], *velik imenem i dielom* [‘great in name and deeds’], *dik npravom* [‘saved by nature’], *slab zdorovjem* [‘weak in health’].

Of the prepositional: *skvoz ruku* [‘through the hand’]. *Iti mimo xrama, dvora* [‘Go past the church, court’], *mimo goroda* [‘past the city’]. *U tebj*a, *u sebja byti* [‘To be at your place, at home’], *u nog* [‘at the feet’], *u dverej* [‘at the door’]. *Volosi unego ljezut* (*liezo*) [‘He is losing his hair’]. *Do biela svieta spati* [‘To sleep until the light of day’]. *Kriuat izo vsego gorla* [‘To shout at the top of your lungs’; literally ‘to shout out of the whole throat’]. *Vozderzavati sia od vina* [‘To abstain from wine’], *Bez golovi, bez tebj*a [‘Lost without you’; literally ‘headless without you’]. *Iti podle kogo* [‘To walk beside somebody’]. *Radi Boga, or pre Boga* [‘For God’s sake’]. *Protio rjeki, na protio togo* [‘Opposite the river, opposite that’]. *Pri dvorje* [‘At court’]. *Ko mnie, k sebje* [‘To me, to oneself’], *on okolo tridcati liet* [‘he is about 30 years old’]. *Udariti o kamen* [‘To hit a stone’], *o Bogu o smerti govoriti* [‘To talk about God, about death’]. *Jexat v Rigu, v Moskvu, v Pragu* [‘To drive to Riga, to Moscow, to Prague’], *jexat na rynek* [‘to go to market’]. *Na um priti* [‘To come to mind’]. *Sukno na kaftan kupiti* [‘To buy cloth for a caftan’]. *Zaplatit za Brata* [‘To pay for one’s brother’]. *Pod derevom lezit* [‘To lie under a tree’], *pred dom viti, or viideti* [‘to come out in front of the house’]. *Po gorlo, po ueju ve vodje*

['Up to the throat, up to the neck in water']. These and other examples agree exactly with other dialects, as far as case rules are concerned.

§. 4.

The Polish dialect would be understood very easily, if it could be represented with a common way of writing, namely if the composite letters would be removed, such as *cz*, *sz*, *dz*, *rz*, and if instead of accentuated *ć* the original *t* would be put, as follows: *Idem do domu (idzem)* ['I'm going home']. [162] *Co tu mas? Nic niemam* ['What have you got there? I don't have anything']. *Zona sluxala, dietie spalo, moz (mqs?) vidial* ['The wife listened, the child slept, the husband saw']. *Se-diac usnul* ['He fell asleep sitting']. *Moji sinove! Budte poslusni Bogu, i otcu vasemu. Bytie nase na Svietie jest krotkie, zitie ludske bylo pred tim nie tak krotkie, jak teraz. Xvaliti ucinki xvalebne jest vec xvalebna* ['My sons! Obey God and your father. Our life on earth is short, in the past, human life was not so short. Praising deeds worthy of praise is a praiseworthy thing']. *Xvalivsi pilnost musjem byti pilnim* ['Having praised diligence, I have to be diligent']. *Ten pan ukrivdil vsistkix podanix svojix* ['That master wronged all of his servants']. *Kup sobie konia* ['Buy yourself a horse']. *Slovik spieva vdiecnie v ogradi* ['The nightingale sings beautifully in the garden']. *Slovo bozie bede tervalo na vieki* ['The word of God will last forever']. *Pravdivi krestianie so blagoslaveni, xvala vlasnix ust smerdi* ['True Christians are blessed, praise from one's own mouth stinks']. *Ma wiele sciestia, ale malo rozumu* ['He has much luck, but little understanding']. *Dna tretiego Marca* ['On the third of March']. *Ten sie nie boji, co zlego nie broji* ['He is not afraid of anything that does no harm']. *Nie bylo nikogo v izbie* ['There was nobody in the room']. *Bogobojni krestianin xvali pana Boga sviego* ['The God-fearing Christian praises his Lord God']. *Kristus pan urodil sie okolo roku (godu) ceteri tisiacnego po stvorenju svieta* ['Christ the Lord was born around the year four thousand after the creation of the world'] etc. Compared with other dialects, the Polish dialect changes *u* into *c*, *ś* into *s*, *z* into *z*, *t* into *ć* before *e* or *i*, *r* into *rz* especially before vowels, and *d* before *e*, *i* into *dz*, which is *c*. The sound *dz* is only known to the Poles and some Pannonians. If this would be written by the Poles with rounded *ǰ*, then the Polish orthography with its composite *dz* could be supplanted, and it would become very easy to read for other Slavs. Thus *podielam* ['I divide'], *udzielam* ['I give'], *ǰietie* ['child'] instead of *podzielam*, *udzielam*, *dźietie* (*dziećie*). *Niedela* ['Sunday'] instead of *niedziela*. Yet the change of *ś* into *s*, *z* into *z*, *u* into *c* could remain, since they are cognate sounds, such as *zena*, or *zona* ['wife'], *celo*, or *czelo* ['forehead'], *Cloviek*, or *Človiek* ['human being, person'], *uata* or *sata* ['robe'] etc. We hope that this way of writing, or something similar to it, [163]

3 Elements of a universal Slavic language

will be adopted by the Poles as far as possible; and indeed, that the first light of the union of the Slavic dialects would shine forth from the Poles. Such a union would be the most efficient and indeed the sole means for advancing the Slavic language and people, the most extensive in the world, to the highest summit of culture.

Sample of the Pannonian dialect in the Universal Style

Jisti vladar juz na smertnej loze zivot svoj konajuci pred skonanim svojim svolal sinov svojix, a jim mnoge razdilne nauki daval, medzi jinimi verejnimi naukami tato byla najglavneiua: dal kazdemu po prutu do ruki, a kazal, da by jedenkazdi svoj prut zlomil, cto laxko jeden kazdi udielal: po tim skasal vsi prouti sebrati, a do vjedna sviazati, a dal kazdemu, da by zviazek lamal; ale zaden zlomiti ne mogel; na to mudri vladar, a peulivi otec ova zlata Slova mluvil: Premili sinove! Jednotu, a svojnost milujte; neb jeli jednotu budete medzi sebu imati, nepritelji vaui vas neovladajo, po tej nauke blagoslaviv jim na vjeki usnul.

[‘A certain ruler was already on his deathbed, as his life reached its end, and before his final passing he called his sons, and gave them various teachings, and among these public teachings one was the most important: he placed a stick in each of their hands and said that they should snap the stick, which each of them did easily. After that he said to gather all sticks together in a bundle, and gave everybody a chance to break the whole, but nobody could snap them; then the wise leader and caring father said these golden words: “Dear sons! Love unity and individuality,⁹⁶ but if you remain united amongst yourselves, your enemies will not dominate you”, and after this teaching he blessed them and fell into eternal sleep’.]

II

Za starego vieku byla jedna kralica, koja mala tri prelepije dievice: milicu, krasicu a mudricu; vse tri byly bogate, okrem bogatstva milica byla pokorna, krasica uctiva, a mudrica umena. One matku, a matka je ljubila [164], i naučavala, medzi sebu takto govorile: mile sestri: mi poidemo za muzi na tri strani: jedna k sjeveru, druga ku vixodu, tretia ku poldniu, nezabudnimo jedna na drugu, neb smo z jednej kervi, z jednej matieri. Ove rieci sluuuc stara kralica, jejix matuuuka od radosti om-ladnula, vidane sve ceri casto nautiovala, a vse liudstvo spjevanim svim rastomilim obveselavala.

⁹⁶Herkel probably intended *svornost* ‘concord’ instead of *svojnost* ‘individuality’.

[‘In the olden days there was a queen who had three magnificent maidens: one kind, one beautiful, and one wise; all three were rich, apart from their wealth, the kind one was demure, the beautiful one was polite, and the wise one was clever. They loved their mother, their mother loved them, and taught them, and they spoke to each other like this: “Dear sisters, we are going to get married on three sides: one to the north, the second to the east, the third to the south, let us not forget each other, as we are of one blood, of one mother”. Hearing these words, the old queen, their mother, was rejuvenated with joy, she often visited her wedded daughters, and with her lovely singing delighted all the people’.]

<i>Russian alphabet, and Latin.</i>											
Aa,	Бб,	Ц,	Ч,	Д,	Ее,	Ф,	Г,	Х,	І,	И,	Ы,
a,	b,	c,	č,	d,	e,	f,	g,	h(=ch),	i,	j,	ü(y),
К,	Л,	М,	Н,	О,	П,	Р,	С,	Ш,	Щ,	Т,	У,
k,	l,	m,	n,	o,	p,	r,	s,	š,	šč,	t,	u,
В,	З,	Ж,	Я,	Ѡ,	Ѣ,	Ю,					
v,	z,	z,	ja,	tj,	je,	ju.					

The following works concerning Slavic literature are being edited: firstly, *Osmanida*, a Slavic epos by Gundulič in Ragusa in 1826;⁹⁷ secondly, *Časopis museumski*, in Prague 1827;⁹⁸ thirdly, the *Ljetopis serbski* in Buda.⁹⁹

The benevolent reader will easily correct any mistakes.

⁹⁷Gundulić (1826); also printed in Italian, Gundulić (1827). See Zlatar (1995).

⁹⁸The *Časopis Společnosti Wlastenského Museum w Čechách* began publishing in 1827. The journal has published regularly since then, under the titles *Časopis Českého musea* (1831–1854), *Časopis Musea království Českého* (1857–1922), *Časopis Národního musea* (1923–1941, 1945–1976), *Časopis Národního muzea v Praze* (1977–1992), and *Časopis Národního muzea* (1992–present). See Špét (1977: 121–164); Zlatar (1995: 5–26).

⁹⁹The *Ljetopis Matice Srpske* began publishing in 1824. The journal has published continuously since then, under the titles *Novij serbskij letopis* (1837–1855), *Srbskij letopis* (1855–1865), *Srbski letopis* (1865–1867), *Srpski letopis*, 1867–1987), and *Letopis Matice srpske*, (1987–present). See Kimball (1969: 348–370).

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Elementa universalis linguae Slavicae

In 1826, as nationalism first began percolating through the Habsburg lands, Jan Herkel published a Latin-language Slavic grammar. Herkel, a lawyer and amateur linguist, came from the northern counties the Kingdom of Hungary which now form the Slovak Republic. Though he was inspired by a romantic love of his native language, Herkel imagined a single “Slavic language”, divided into various “dialects”. He proposed a single grammar for the whole Slavic world, attempting to encompass and yet restrain the diversity of orthography, morphology, phonology, and so forth found across Slavic varieties. Herkel was also the coiner of the term “Pan-Slavism”, which he used to describe his efforts. This book provides the first English translation of Herkel’s noteworthy grammar, with short notes. The book also contains a preface and explanatory essays by co-translators Raf Van Rooy and Alexander Maxwell. The preface introduces the topic of the book. Maxwell then gives a biography of Herkel, discusses linguistic nationalism in Slavic northern Hungary, and the legacy of Pan-Slavism. Van Rooy explores Herkel’s key notion of the “genius” of the Slavic language as the legacy of early modern linguistic thought.