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A Frequency Dictionary
of the poetic cliches
of Slavic Epic Songs
*(Ukrainian, Russian, Serbian, Croatian,
Bulgarian, and Slovenian)*

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Назарій Назаров

Частотний словник
поетичних кліше
слов'янських епічних пісень
*(українських, російських, сербських, хорватських,
болгарських та словенських)*

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Introduction

In the present study, a new approach to historical-comparative studies of Indo-European poetics is suggested. It combines traditional etymological methods with a corpus approach. Thus, to reconstruct the core thesaurus of Common Slavic epic poetic clichés, five independent corpora of Slavic epics were studied (Russian *byliny*, Ukrainian *dumy*, Bulgarian, Serbian and Croatian, as well as Slovenian heroic songs). Each of the traditions has a certain range of core formulas which share the common clausula (line's ending). The clausula words are the most important part of folklore vocabulary as they tend to be the most stable. Their stability over time is enforced by the recurrent metric patterns of the singing that accumulate at the line's end. Previously, it has been proved that clausula words constitute the core of formulaic expressions inside one tradition (B. Lord), eventually, Levinton showed that such comparison may be made between several cognate traditions, like Serbian, Croatian and Eastern Slavic. Nevertheless, the overall comparison of several epic traditions of the Slavs has not yet been accomplished. The present article tends to offer such comparison which can have important outcomes for the study of Common Slavic and, moreover, common Indo-European poetics. Quantitative analysis has shown that each of separate Slavic traditions has a lot of common core formulas. This set of formulaic nests (about 40) can be regarded as a core of Common Slavic epic tradition, preserved in daughter-traditions. The list comprises not only kinship terms, body parts, and natural elements, but cultural artefacts and terms as well (such as *gordъ, *slovo, *vino, *dvorъ, *vorto). Further etymological comparison with formulas of other Indo-European traditions would show the range of innovations and retentions in Common Slavic poetical thesaurus.

Since in folk poetics, lines' clausules play a primary role in organizing the text, acting as "nests" of formulas and syntactic organizers of lines, we proposed

to focus on the reconstruction of the class of words that could be used in the string clause in the Common Slavic, and probably the common Indo-European period. In this way, we can come to the reconstruction of the core of the thesaurus of formulas. Elsewhere we have given a list of common Slavic clause words. The task of the present publication is to trace the development of the discovered formulas against the common Indo-European background. For this purpose, the following texts were annotated according to the same principle (with double slash // the boundaries of lines were marked): “Iliad” and “Odyssey”, “Rig Veda”, Latvian mythological songs. Then these texts were processed with a free software tool AntConc. As a result, for each tradition, its own classes of clause words were found, which were compared with the Proto-Slavic ones.

The next stage involves comparing the main formulaic phrases found in the clauses of different Slavic traditions with etymologically related or semantically equivalent words of the ancient Greek, Latvian, and Vedic traditions, which also have a high frequency in the clauses.

The presence of etymologically related words in different traditions in the clause provides valuable material for a comparative and historical study of poetic syntax, and more broadly - syntactic distribution and compatibility of proto-language units, since most syntactic patterns were lexically related, that is, they could only be filled with certain classes of vocabulary (Stepanov 6). Therefore, the comparison of clauses is a kind of databank for finding out the distribution of certain words in a sentence, namely at the beginning and at the end, in two poetically most significant positions.

Slavic clauses *gordъ, *konъ, *mati, *slovo, *govoriti, *moldъ, *golva, *godъ, *polje, *vino, *lěto, *gospodъ, *morje, *dvorъ, and *zemja were analysed

Chapter 1. Common Slavic Poetic Thesaurus: Clausulae-Words Based Approach

Since A. Kuhn found etymologically related expressions in Homer and the Indian epics in 1853, a separate branch of study has evolved, which deals with the reconstruction of common Indo-European poetic language finding etymologically related linguistic means in different daughter-traditions (of metrical, lexical, morpho-syntactic nature). The monographs by R. Schmitt, M. Durante, K. Watkins, and M. West, as well as the works of G. Nagy and V.M. Toporov, have become the reference works in the field of comparison of separate Indo-European traditions (mainly ancient Greek, Latin, and ancient Indian) and reconstruction of probable Indo-European cliché expressions

Traditional methods relied on the study of etymologically related formulas without any considerable digital aid: processing the texts in different languages was time-consuming. The study's success depended primarily on how well the researcher remembered the different employments of the cognate phrases. Word indexes and concordances for individual texts were also helpful.

However, it is high time that finding related formulas should be automated (at least, to a certain extent). One of the possible options for automating comparative-historical studies of Indo-European poetics is proposed in the current study. The result of corpus processing should be a list of key formulas of Slavic traditions, which should be further compared with the results of corpus processing of other Indo-European traditions.

We in no way believe that a quantitative approach can reveal all the most ancient features of the Common-Slavic epic thesaurus. Some features may have faded over time in all traditions, and their share in the total number has decreased. However, this leaves space for further examination of Slavic epics and folklore's text corpora in general.

In the meantime, we will focus our efforts on identifying the most persistent and most frequent elements that are preserved in most Slavic epics. In this case, it is worth referring to the tendency (or “law”) discovered much earlier (Levitsky): the most frequent words usually turn out to be the most ancient. Probably, the same tendency can be found in the structure of the poetic thesaurus: the most frequent poetic clichés of different daughter traditions, provided that they are genetically related, can shed light on the state of their maternal ancestral tradition. We will check this assumption in the course of further research.

Subject and object of study. Text sources and research software

We have annotated several corpora of Slavic epic songs. The annotation was not complicated - all line boundaries were marked with // (double slash). Thus, using the AntConc [AntConc] program, it was possible to find the necessary data regarding the lexical filling of the lines' starting or ending positions. The texts from the following collections were annotated in full:

Russian Byliny (BY), the total amount of lines - 19820 []

Ukrainian dumas (DU), the total amount of lines - 3720 []

Bulgarian epic songs (BU), the total amount of lines 12420 []

Serbian and Croatian heroic songs (SE), the total amount of lines 18984

[]

Slovenian epic songs (SL), the total amount of lines 4225 []

Class of clausula words. Interfaces between metrics, vocabulary, and syntax in folklore text. Before we formulate hypotheses and process the data, it is necessary to provide information about the year's folklore metric.

1) The metric regularity in the line began to propagate from the end of the line, i.e., from the clausula (Kvitka, Kolessa, Elatov, G, Nagy, Meillet, West, Fantuzzi, Watkins).

2) An epic line corresponds to a complete syntactic phrase and a complete phrase of a song melody (Kolessa, Nikiforov).

3) Words that are consistently used in a particular position of the line, and above all in the strong position (at the end of a line, i.e., clausula), are formulas and constitute a poetic thesaurus that forms the core of epic poetics (Lord) and may be common to several closely related traditions, like Slavic ones (Levinton).

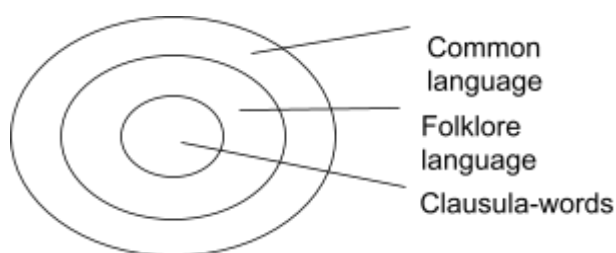
It follows from this that statistically, it is possible to determine the class of words that will occur most often in clausulas rather than in other line positions. These words can be considered the syntactic and formulaic core of the Common Slavic folk poetics.

The model. The language of elementary set theory () is suitable for describing the hierarchical structure of folklore text.

Let analyze the following scheme: A___B___C___Z

Let the entire range of language types used in the traditional society be a set of ZA. Folklore language is a set of ZB. Let the language means (lexical and others) used mainly in the clausulas are CZ. Elements CZ go through the most number of "filters", that is, selection parameters, respectively, are the least numerous of all groups: $CZ \in BZ \in AZ \in AZ$, which can be graphically depicted as follows.

Table 1.



The strong parametrization of folklore text-creation makes the art of oral performance of the singer-improviser the programmed implementation of the thesaurus code. The core CZ set can be regarded as an archived thesaurus that stores metric, grammatical, syntactic, and lexical patterns that are replicated in the rest of the string. Thus, the word metrically required at the end of the string determines the appearance of specific lexical and syntactic patterns appearing on the left side of the string.

In general, the entire line can be represented as a sequence of segments

A____B____C____Z

in which the segments | AZ |, | BZ |, and | CZ | are realizations of units belonging to the sets {AZ}; {BZ}; {CZ}, where

AB = AZ - BZ (general language without folklore subsets),

BC = BZ - CZ (general folklore language without clause words subsets),

CZ = AZ - AC (common language without subset AC)

The degree of parametrization of each set can be represented in the following table, where M - metric parameters, L - lexical, S - syntactic.

Table 2.

	M	L	S
CZ	+	+	+
BC	-	+	+
AB	-	-	+

The class of clause words CZ is small and closed, so it plays the role of constant in relation to which variables are determined, i.e., the beginning and the middle of a poetic line. One can think of a string as a chain of functional dependencies of these subsets, defined by the following:

$CZ \rightarrow BC \rightarrow AB$

Thus, each line of the folklore epic is a kind of poetic equation

$$AB = f(BC) = g(CZ).$$

The values of $\Delta g(CZ) / f(BC)$ and $\Delta f(BC) / AB$ are stable for the poetics of a certain folklore and are common for traditional poetics.

In other terms,

$$AB = a \times f(BC) = b \times g(CZ),$$

where a and b are the coefficients of the degrees of freedom of the composition of the string. Constructing the string itself while writing or improvising is a dynamic process.

Let us illustrate the functioning of the proposed model. We will take the three most frequent clausulas of Byliny epics and illustrate their correlation with the rest of the line. This example will show how the clausula organizes the entire string, limiting the freedom of choice of language elements that precede it. The closer the position is to the clausula, the fewer degrees of freedom it will have. The absolute frequency of the word form in the Byliny corpus is indicated in brackets.

Table 3. Formulaic nest with clausule *слово*

A	B	C	Z
Общий вид: и / де / тут + говорил + Sub. (около 45 разных субъектов)	друго (1), едино (3), одно (1), таково (268), такое (1), ёму (1)		слово (276)
> 45 types	6 types		1 type

Table 4. Formulaic nest with clause *град*

A	B	C	Z
глагол движения + прилагательное	Ерусалим (8), Галич (5), Киёв (132), Кряков (2), Суздаль (1), Углич (1), Чернигов (5), Царь-тот- (2)		град (157)
> 50 types	8 types		1 types

Table 5. Formulaic nest with clause *коня*

A	B	C	Z
переходной глагол + предлог	бела (2), добра (146), 0 (3), свой- (3), твоего (1), три (1)		коня (157)
> 50 types	6 types		1 type

So, we may consider the class of clause words to be sufficiently conservative and especially significant to focus our further attention on it. After all, having found the main clause words of all Slavic traditions, we thereby have a fairly complete (although not exhaustive) list of Common Slavic formulaic nests.

Research procedure. At the initial stage, frequency lists of clausula words were compiled for each subcorpora (they are available online). Subsequently, the lists of most frequent clausulas of all subcorpora were compared with each other. If a semantically independent word belonged to the first 2% of all possible clausulas' types of its tradition, we assigned it the first clausula rank. It is the independent words with such a rank that we compared.

For each clausula type thus detected, the relative weight was calculated among the total number of types of clausulas of the corresponding subcorpus, in other words, the index of the clause of a word form, which we calculated as k / n , where k is the number of reiterations of the clausula. For each word, these weights were summed up. Thus, the most frequent clauses in the most significant number of corpora (= poetic traditions) received the highest "score." Therefore, it was possible to find about 40 etymological series. We listed them in the order of descending frequency, starting with the most frequent in all five corpora (see Table 6).

Table 6				
DU	BY	BU	SE	SL
словами	слово			slovo
цареграда	град	града	града	grad
кіньми	коня	коня	конаку	konjiča
молодці	молодец	младици	младенци	
поле	поле	планина	планине	pole
голова	голову	глава	главу	glavo
земл-	землю	земя	земль-	
мати	матушка	майка	мајка	mati
дворі	двор	дворье	дворе	dvor-
літа	лет	лето		lét
молодий	млад	млада	млада	mlad
син-	сын	син-	син-	sin
великого	великую		великога	preveliko
біл-	белые		беле	bel-
ніг	ноги	нога	ноге	nog-
	вина	вино	вино	vinc-
морі	морѐ	море	море ?	morje
руки	руки	ръце	руку	roko
	голосом	глас-	гласа	glas
прибуває	был			bilo

немає	нет	немат	нема	nemata
	глубокие			globok-
жоно	жона	жена	оженио	ženiti
добре	доброго	добро		dobro
	раз	образи	образу	
год-	годов	години	година	
	золота	златарче	злата	zlat-
говор-	говор-	говори	говорио	govori
господарями		господине	господару	gospá
лежить	лежат		лежи	leži
стояти	стоит		постојало	stoji
переночувала	ночи	нощ-	ноћи	noč
	широкому	широко	широко	šüroko
	любим-			lūbleni
	дорого			draga
день	день		дана	
	-сват-	сватови	сватове	svaty
	воротами	врата	врата	vrat-
сокол-	сокол-	сокол-	сокола	

In the previous table, the absolute frequencies were not given, as they have little to show. In the following table, we have placed the ranks of words according to their total share in each tradition. For convenience, we present them in descending order of the sum of specific weights and present only the Proto-Slavic form (according to [ESUM]):

Table 7.

	English meaning	DU	BY	BU	SE	SL	SUM
*gordъ	settlement	0.05%	2.33%	0.70%	1.51%	0.97%	5.55
*konjъ	horse	0.05%	2.31%	2.45%	0.07%	0.48%	5.36
*mati	mother	0.57%	1.00%	2.01%	1.02%	0.53%	5.14
*slovo	word	0.33%	4.11%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%	4.49
*govoriti	speak	0.14%	0.16%	0.98%	1.07%	1.93%	4.30
*moldъ	young	0.48%	0.84%	0.28%	0.70%	1.63%	3.93
*golva	head	0.14%	1.24%	0.61%	1.18%	0.31%	3.48
*godъ	year	0.53%	0.38%	1.53%	0.76%	0.00%	3.20
*polje	field	0.05%	1.49%	0.59%	0.40%	0.40%	2.93
*vino	wine	0.00%	0.69%	0.57%	1.46%	0.13%	2.85
*lěto	summer	1.44%	0.85%	0.04%	0.00%	0.40%	2.73
*moldъ+ <i>сѹфѣкс</i>		0.86%	1.69%	0.04%	0.02%	0.00%	2.62
*ně	not	0.48%	0.56%	0.31%	1.09%	0.18%	2.61
*gospod	master	0.19%	0.00%	0.55%	0.70%	1.05%	2.50

ь							
*morje	sea	0.24%	0.63%	1.09%	0.12%	0.35%	2.44
*dvorъ	courtyard	0.05%	0.99%	0.37%	0.81%	0.22%	2.43
*zemja	ground, soil	0.14%	1.18%	0.79%	0.23%	0.00%	2.34
*rъka	hand	0.14%	0.62%	0.31%	1.00%	0.18%	2.25
*svatъ	match- maker, relative	0.00%	0.35%	0.11%	1.60%	0.18%	2.24
*synъ	son	0.19%	0.81%	0.33%	0.49%	0.35%	2.17
*zolto	gold	0.00%	0.34%	0.24%	0.77%	0.57%	1.92
*dъnъ	day	0.05%	0.19%	0.00%	1.62%	0.00%	1.86
*sokolъ	falcon	0.19%	0.25%	0.42%	0.86%	0.00%	1.72
*stojati	stand	0.19%	0.44%	0.00%	0.05%	0.84%	1.52
*vorto	gate	0.00%	0.07%	0.11%	1.11%	0.13%	1.42
*velъjъ	big	0.05%	0.72%	0.00%	0.60%	0.04%	1.41
*bѣлъ	white	0.10%	0.72%	0.00%	0.14%	0.44%	1.40
*noga	leg	0.05%	0.71%	0.18%	0.28%	0.13%	1.34
*golsъ	voice	0.00%	0.57%	0.09%	0.11%	0.48%	1.25
*glybъ	deep	0.00%	0.54%	0.00%	0.00%	0.70%	1.25
*by-	to be	0.48%	0.57%	0.00%	0.00%	0.13%	1.18
*ležati	lie down	0.05%	0.13%	0.00%	0.04%	0.97%	1.18
*širъ	broad	0.00%	0.10%	0.37%	0.30%	0.40%	1.17
*noktъ	night	0.05%	0.10%	0.09%	0.07%	0.84%	1.14

*žena	woman, wife	0.19%	0.49%	0.09%	0.19%	0.13%	<i>1.09</i>
*dobrъ	good	0.14%	0.49%	0.11%	0.00%	0.26%	<i>1.00</i>
*raziti	to beat	0.00%	0.41%	0.20%	0.18%	0.00%	<i>0.78</i>
*l'ubъ	loved one	0.00%	0.32%	0.00%	0.00%	0.44%	<i>0.76</i>
*dorgъ	dear	0.00%	0.07%	0.00%	0.00%	0.62%	<i>0.69</i>

Systematic organization of the class of clause words

So, if we organize the discovered words not by the number of uses, but by thematic groups, we obtain the following lists:

People: *mati *moldъ *moldъ+cyфикъ *gospodъ *svatъ *synъ *žena

Parts of the body: *golva *rъka *noga *golsъ

Animals: *konjъ *sokolъ

Cultural artifacts: *gordъ *slovo *vino *dvorъ *zolto *vorto

Natural objects: *polje *lěto *morje *zemja *dъnъ *glybъ *noktъ

Characteristics: *godъ *velъjъ *bělъ *dorgъ *širъ *dobrъ

Predicates: *byti *ně *stojati *raziti *l'ubъ *govoriti *ležati

Thus, we have obtained semantic building blocks that serve to construct minimal motives and plots for most of the Slavic peoples' epic songs. They almost fully represent the main motives of Slavic epics. Moreover, each of them is, in fact, the center of a whole nest of formulas, which will be shown in future publications.

The class of clause words turned out to be stable for all analyzed epic traditions of the Slavic peoples, and its composition largely remained without significant changes in the daughter traditions.

The next stage involves comparing the main formula phrases found in the clauses of different Slavic traditions with etymologically related or semantically

equivalent words of Ancient Greek, Latvian, and Vedic traditions, which also have a high frequency in the clauses.

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Chapter 2. Syntactic and combinatorial properties of the formulas

The main tool of modern comparative historical linguistics is reconstruction, the procedures of which have not changed significantly since the 19th century. This study proposes to enrich the reconstruction procedure with the possibilities of the corpus approach. Modern comparative historical linguistics reconstructs not only individual words and word forms, but also small sections of ancient texts. This is possible due to the significant conservatism of traditional folklore.

Thus, if there are combinations of etymologically related words in several related traditions, then most likely they were already in the maternal tradition. Numerous (several hundred) poetic clichés of the common Indo-European tradition have already been reconstructed. As C. Watkins noted in his keystone work ‘How to kill a dragon in Indo-European’: “These formulas are the expression of an underlying semiotic system. They are not remembered and repeated merely because they delight the ear; rather they are signals, in poetic elaboration and as verbal art, of the relations of things: of the traditional conceptualizations, the perception of man and the universe, the values and expectations of the society.” [11] Thus, the study of the thesaurus of general formulas of related traditions is an important tool for the study of not only poetic language, but also prehistory.

Methods. In the preceding chapter, we proposed a corpus approach to the study of the poetics of related Indo-European folklore traditions. Since in folk poetics, lines’ clausules play a primary role in organizing the text, acting as "nests" of formulas and syntactic organizers of lines, we proposed to focus on the reconstruction of the class of words that could be used in the string clausule in the Common Slavic, and probably the common Indo-European period. In this way, we can come to the reconstruction of the core of the thesaurus of formulas. Elsewhere we have given a list of common Slavic clause words [7]. The task of

the present publication is to trace the development of the discovered formulas against the common Indo-European background. For this purpose, the following texts were annotated according to the same principle (with double slash // the boundaries of lines were marked): “Iliad” and “Odyssey”, “Rig Veda”, Latvian mythological songs [8; 9]. Then these texts were processed with a free software tool AntConc [4]. As a result, for each tradition, its own classes of clause words were found, which were compared with the Proto-Slavic ones.

The next stage involves comparing the main formulaic phrases found in the clauses of different Slavic traditions with etymologically related or semantically equivalent words of the ancient Greek, Latvian, and Vedic traditions, which also have a high frequency in the clauses.

The presence of etymologically related words in different traditions in the clause provides valuable material for a comparative and historical study of poetic syntax, and more broadly - syntactic distribution and compatibility of proto-language units, since most syntactic patterns were lexically related, that is, they could only be filled with certain classes of vocabulary [3, p. 6]. Therefore, the comparison of clauses is a kind of databank for finding out the distribution of certain words in a sentence, namely at the beginning and at the end, in two poetically most significant positions.

Each clause is actually a nest of formulas ending or starting with a specific element. It is the clause that organizes the entire poetic line, since its position is fixed by metrics, not just semantics and syntax.

Most of the sentences of the Proto-Indo-European language, like many other languages of unwritten societies, had to be simple [1]. At the earliest stage of its existence, the Indo-European language was probably the language of the active structure “with interspersing of ergative phenomena” [3, p. 11]. It is clear that, with reconstruction as a tool, by comparing the clichés of different traditions and reconstructing the prototype we can access the last stage.

So, the following types of simple sentences can be distinguished [3, p. 11-12]: 1) inactive subject (thing) + inactive verb (“The snow is melting”); 2) active subject (a person or something similar to a person) + active active verb (“person/god is walking”); 3) active subject + active verb + inactive object (Bear lays a stone). The following types are less represented, which, nevertheless, could well be found in poetic texts: 4) active subject + active verb + active object (“Man kills a man”); 5) inactive subject + verb + inactive object (“Snow covers the earth”); 6) Inactive subject + verb + active object (“snow covers the man”).

Emphasizing the dependence of syntactic types on their lexical content, Stepanov cites the following opinion: “In the vast majority of cases, abstract syntactic patterns are not (lexically - N.N.) free” [3, p. 15]. Hence follows “a tendency to prohibit certain types of lexemes in certain syntactic positions” [3, p. 15]. The Proto-Slavic language had to inherit all types of sentences characteristic of Proto-Indo-European.

A.S. Melnichuk [Melnichuk] draws attention to sentence types with one main member, which are not in the above list of Stepanov, namely - 7) a sentence with a principal subject member and 8) a sentence with a -verb form. If syntactic types are not lexically free, thence follows their connection with lexical oppositions [3, p. 19].

The fixed position of formula expressions makes it possible to make observations about the probable distribution of words in some types of sentences at the Proto-Slavic and sometimes at the Proto-Indo-European level.

However, the word order in the Indo-European sentence remains an important issue. For types 7 and 8 it is trivial, while for types 1-6 it is reconstructed from the data of most Indo-European languages as Subject Verb Object (SVO). This was the main, but not the only possible word order. So, the marked order of words VSO is considered probable, which could be

characteristic of emotional speech, and in Celtic languages it has become the norm.

The above discussion is important because it shows that either SVO or VSO word order have no impact on the clause class of the vocabulary. Thus, we reconstruct a class of formulas that was mostly *objects of mythological narratives*. Sporadically, these include other types of syntactical elements (subjects and verbs), but they are less numerous. Also it is important to note that the actors of mythological narratives were often interchanging their roles, whereas objects with which they were operating were defining the essence of a certain mythological motive.

Each entry is structured according to the following principles: English translation of the meaning; Proto-Slavic proto-form and its Indo-European ancestor; clause words of all Slavic traditions, together with the most common combinations; if available - related clauses from Greek, Latvian and Vedic traditions; Indo-European reconstruction. At the same time, the clarification of the fact of the use of a word in the clause position is also a reconstructed fact. Abbreviations: CS - Common Slavic, BY - Russian bylinas, DU - Ukrainian dumas, SL - Slovenian epic folksongs, SE - Serbian and Croatian epic folk songs, BU - bulgarian epic folk songs, GR - Homeric corpus, LV - Latvian mythological songs, VD - RigVeda corpus, RE - reconstruction of Indo-European formula. To avoid misinterpretations, dictionary meanings are given in the original (French, German or Ukrainian). The number in brackets after the word gives an absolute number of its occurrences in the clause position of a line in the corpus. Words in brackets before the word gives alternative combinations occurring in the corpus.

Dictionary

SETTLEMENT

CS *gordь ← IE *ghor-dho-s “обгороджене місце” ← *gher- “оточувати, охоплювати” [2, v. I, p. 571]

BY: (во, стольне, стольный, крашен, красен, славной) Киев (132) град, Ерусалим град;

DU: у город, у Царигород (1);

SL: béli grad (22) Pusti, svitli, skalen grad; stoji béli grad; Turki pridejo pod grad; Je pèršla v béli grad;

SE: (идем/ отида до/од/у) Прилипа/Призрена града (20), саградити града (8) бијела града, камену граду, царева града, - общ 149;

BU: (Белого, Клисура, Солуна, Стамбола) града

GR Cognate Greek [5, p. 1270-1271]: χόρτος enceinte, cour: Il 11 774, 24 640: αἰεὶ στενάχω καὶ κήδεα μυρία πέσσω // αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοισι κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον; πίονα μηρία καὶ βοὸς Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ // αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ· ἔχε δὲ χρύσειον ἄλεισον; ἔνδοθεν αὐλῆς - αυλη (5), total 8.

LV (rožu, šņori, āboļu) dārziņā.

VD 2.041.02c gántāsi sunvató gr̥hám, 3.060.05c dhiyéšitó maghavan dāsúšo gr̥hé.

RE αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ, dāsúšo gr̥hé, царева града, rožu Dārziņā etc. → We may reconstruct: (X)XXX *ghor-dhV:

HORSE

CS ***конь** - Uncertain etymology, maybe connected to Celt. *konko- horse [2, v. II, p. 446]

BY: Добра коня (146), Своего коня (2), Бела коня (2), Три коня (1), напоил коня (1), накормил коня (1);

DU: 0; SL: Bratca konji (5), dva cerna konjica (3) dvanajst konjov (2), vran-konjica;

SE: четръест конака (3);

BU: Моя бърза коня (61), добра коня (8), вран коня - total 112

LV (sirmi, dzelten, i bēri, dēla, dieva, tādi, mēneša, kalti, dieviņa) kumeliņi; (savu, jātu, ābolainu, simts, zemu, pelēku, nūsveidušu, manu, cieti a,rāja) kumeliņu; Kumeliņš.

GR No immediate Greek cognate. Semantic equivalent in Homer: (μῶνυχας, ὠκέας, καλλίτριχας, ἦλασεν, ἐριαύχενας, κρατερῶνυχας) ἵππους.

VD Semantic equivalent in RigVeda: aśvinā (148): 8.035.15d ādityaír yātam aśvinā (8.026.07a 8.008.02a 8.009.14a 8.087.05a 8.008.11b etc.).

RE (XX)XX *ekk^u-V. Some concrete formulas: **VD** ādityaír yātam aśvinā; **LV** Dieva jātu kumeliņu → **IE** *XX iat-V ekk^u-V. Cf. [10, S. 241-242].

MOTHER

CS *mati, gen. *matere ← IE *māter- [ESUM III, 414]

BY: Родна матушка (17), родной матушке (8), моя матушка (9), ко матушке (7), у сударыни у матушки (6), своей матушке (5), старой матушке (4), родитель-матушка (4), родна матушка (3);

DU: отець і мати (5), до матері (2);

SL: Draga mati (7), ena mati (2), luba mati (2);

SE: моја Стара мајка (21), мила мајка (9), остарила мајка (7), послушао мајку (мајке) (6), стару мајку (5), обљубио мајку (3) et al. - total 157;

BU: Стара майка (25), мила майка (24), своята, моята майка - общ 128

GR Cognate μήτηρ (Chantraine 699): (πατήρ καὶ) πότνια μήτηρ; (γείνατο, τέκε, ἤλυθε) μήτηρ (73).

VD mātārah (18).

LV (Saules mātes māres laumes) meita, (velna jodu jūras Gausas) māti, (vēja veļu nāk jūras raugu Mežu laumas dēla) māte, saules meitu.

RE IE (gen. of Subj.) + *māter- // Cf. [10, A 396]

WORD/FAME

CS *slovo, pl. *slovese “те, що сказано ← те, що можна чути”, connected with *slava “слава” [2, v. V, p. 306]

BY: Таково слово (269), единое слово (3), другое слово (1);

DU: Промовляє слово (3);

SL: Vzemem od tebe slovo (1) naj slava Laudona slovi (1);

SE: Босну славну, Босне славне, Светој гори славној, Богу за славу - (8);

BU: 0

GR [5, p. 541]: κλέος bruit qui court, mais plus souvent reputation, renom, gloire: εὐρύκλεια (335), cf. [10, p. 370].

VE śrávaḥ (35).

RE IE kleu- //

TALK

CS *govoriti / *gavoriti ← *gov- / *gav- ← **IE** *gou- / *gōu- “make noise, shout”

BY: Речь говорит, бес говорит, шопотком говорит, хлопоту говорит, разговоры говорит (по 1);

DU: 0;

SL: pravi, govori (8), tak(o) govori (9);

SE: ријеч говори-о/ла (24) тихо говори-ти/о/ла/ше (11) мајци говорио (4), брату говорио (5), сестра/майка/млада/цару/марку/гласом/вила говор- - общ 151;

BU: Говор- (107)

GR cognate Greek [5, p. 182-183]: βοή cri, clameur chez Hom. le cri de guerre βοάω βοήσομαι, εβόησα γόοιο (30) / ἀδινού ἐξῆρχε / πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἡμερον ὤρσε / ὀλοοῖο τεταρπώμεσθα;

VE gavyúh (3), gavaḥ (3)

RE IE *gou- + /monologue, relation of a story/

YOUNG

CS *moldъ ← **IE** *med- / *met- кидати, метати [2, v. III, p. 502]

BY: Добрынюшка Микитич (Никитич) млад (31), Алешенька (Алеша, Олешенька) Попович млад (15), королевич млад (2), ворон младшие (2), Тугарин Змеевич млад (1);

DU: Гетьман(е) молодий (9), пані (шинкарка, шинкарко) молодая (7), дитя молодее (3);

SL: (Marko, jager, ivan, gospod) mlad, sinka mladiga, šribar mlad, pobić mlad, žene mlade - 47;

SE: Два Якшиһа млада (13), дите младо (5) два целата млада (10) Гојковица млада (5) чедо младо (2) - общ 85;

BU: млад- (26): Момчулица млада, юнака млада, две ятарви млади, два млада, две младици

GR ἀμαλδυν послаблювати, пом’якшувати, що врешті зводиться до і-є кореня *met* метати (пор. рос. *помет* - новонароджені тварини) (2, v. III, p. 502).

LV (very distant) - (savu, zvaigžņu, pelēku, sudobra, magoņu, zīda) mētelīti.

Also exists in extended form with suffixes:

BY: (Доброй, добрый) молодец (106);

DU: Панове-молодці (12), друзі-молодці (5), добрими молодцями (2), козаки-молодці (1);

SL: 0;

SE: двое младенаца, сведу младенци;

BU: Две младици (2).

RE CS *mold- //

HEAD

CS *golva ← IE *gholu- [2, v. I, p. 551]

BY: (отрубить, отсечь, повеся, отшибить, смахнуть, ставить, потерять, чесать, класть) Буйну голову (58), (кричать) во всю голову (11), (веселится) буйна голова (6);

DU: (Черкені, Самійла, черкені) Голова (3);

SL: na glavi (4), glavo, odseka glavo (2), (sestre, voucja, roso, noces, mertvečko, moja, mlado) glavo - 22;

SE: Одсијече главу (15) (хто кому - од главу Да он Вуку Па он Муси Те му јунак), изгубити главу (9) више главе (5) чедо мушку главу, (тебе, мене) заболела глава (3) - total 130;

BU: Руса глава, третя глава, три главы, // глава ми пресечи, главата да ти отряжа, глава те изми

GR No immediate Greek cognate.

LV Es pārsitu Velnam galvu / Es sacirtu / Es pārciršu / Es sasitu; Savā galviņā / uzlikuse galviņā.

Semantic counterparts in Homeric epics: ὃ δὲ φασγάνῳ αὐχένα θείνας // τῆλ' αὐτῇ πῆληκι κάρη βάλε· μυελὸς αὖτε // σφονδυλίων ἔκπαλθ'...; μέσσον ἔλασσεν, ἀπήραξεν δὲ χαμᾶζε // αὐτῇ σὺν πῆληκι κάρη· ἔτι δ' ὄβριμον ἔγχος // ἦεν ἐν...; Καστιάνειρα δέμας ἔϊκυῖα θεῇσι. // μήκων δ'ὥς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἦ τ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ, // καρπῷ...; ἐπὶ οἷ τετραμμένον ὀξεί δουρί· // ἐκλίνθη δ' ἐτέρωσε κάρη, ἐπὶ δ' ἀσπίς ἐάφθη // καὶ κόρυς...; ὃς δὴ πολλάων πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα...; θωρήξαι σε κέλευσε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς (2).

RE to cut someone's head: Balto-Slavic *ker- + *golv-, which can reflect Indo-European expression based on phonetic tautology *ker- + *kar-.

YEAR / APPROPRIATE

CS *godъ ← *ghedh- / *ghodh- “відповідний, стосовний, добрий” [2, v. I, p. 545]

BY: Три года/годы (25), шесть годов (5), семи годов (4), двадцати годов (3), десяти годов (2), триста годов (1) двенадцати годов (1), восьми годов (1);

DU: пильною годиною (2), півтора года, (полуночна, нещаслива) година;

SL: 0;

SE: (за девет, петнаест, пола, пуне, седам, три, тридесет, четири) годин- - общ 81;

BU: Девет година (36), три година (24), тридесет години (6) - общ 90

GR [6, B. I, S. 5] ἀγαθός. Not attested in Homeric clausules.

LV Trīs gadiņi tautas nāca / rauda - not in clausules.

RE CS *godъ //

PLANE / FLAT

CS *polje ← IE *p(e)lā- плоский, рівний, широкий ← *pel- / *pol- широко відкрите рівне місце, простір [2, v. IV, p. 487]

BY: (во, в, на) чисто поле (152), чистом поли (57), по чисту полю (48), из (со) чиста поля (35);

DU: Чистого поля (2);

SL: V Ravno pole (8), v ravnem pol(j)i (2), stoji mi stoji pole (7), šüroko polé (1);

SE: (у лов) у планину (25), на планине (10) зеленом планином (5), шари планини (2) - общ 114;

BU: Широко поле, рамно поле (8)

GR [5, p. 359-360]: επιολής a la surface de, superficiellement επιόλαιος superficiele; πέλανος жертвовний пиріг з борошна [2, v. IV, p. 487]. Not attested in Homeric clausules.

RE CS: adj + *polje //

WINE

CS *vino ← Germ. win ← Lat. vinum [2, v. I, p. 377]

BY: (чару, допьяна) зелена вина (42);

DU: 0;

SL: (pre)sladko vince (2), sladkega romenega vinca (2);

SE: пи- руйно вино (14) пити вино (12) купу вин- (11) црвенику вино (7) чашу вин- (2) - общ 192;

BU: Благо вино (4), две бочви вино, две здравици вино, руйно вино, чаша вино, червено вино, ладно вино, пийет вино - общ 27.

GR [5, p. 785]: oĩvov (32)

RE CS *vino // ← ? IE

SUMMER.

CS *lěto найтепліша пора року, рік ← **IE** *lē- ослабнути, відпустити *or* *lěto- теплий час, літо, день [2, v. III, p. 270]

BY: двенадцать лет (22), тринадцать лет (9) пятнадцать лет (4);

DU: (мног-) літа (14);

SL: Sedem lét (3), tréh lét (2) pérve léta, (2), devet let (2), céle léta (2), petnajst lét (1), dugo lét (1) **SE**: пролет (?);

BU: Всичкото лето (2), пролет (3)

GR: No immediate Greek cognate.

LV Distantly connected: *Lēni lēni* Dieviņš brauca, Dieviņam *lēni* zirgi.

RE CS *lět- X //

MASTER / HOST.

CS *gospodь ← IE *ghosti-pot-s ← *ghostis + *pot(i)s [2, v. I, p. 575]

BY: На господа (3);

DU: (стали над нашими домами, мужицьким добром) господарями (4),
Господи (2);

SL: Mlada gospa (13), žlahtna gospa (10), mladi/žlahtni gospod (10);

SE: Царе господине (16) драги господару (16) двору господскоме (11)
јерина госпођа (7) - общ 172;

BU: Мое господине, господаре, господ (57)

GR [5, p. 931]: πόσις époux, vieux terme i.-e. qui désigne l'époux en tant
que maître de la maison. Ποσσὶν (4), Cf. [10, A 142, A 396].

LV Līdz pašām debesīm.

VE pátiḥ (45)

RE *pot(i)s //

SEA

CS *morje ← IE *mori море, болото [2, v. III, p. 513]

BY: сине (синё) морё (море) (56);

DU: на чорному морі (морю) (8), з чорного моря (2);

SL: sivo morje (9), sivem morji (3);

SE: преко мора (6) сиње море (2);

BU: Църно(то) море (38), стреде море, слано море, преко море 59 - total.

GR No cognate in Greek [5, p. 420].

LV Змістовий відповідник: Jūriņa.

RE CS *morje //

COURTYARD

CS *dvorъ ← **IE** *dh_uor- простір, замкнений воротами, загорода [2, v. II, p. 18]

BY: Широкий (широкой, широк) двор (47);

DU: У штоминім дворі (1);

SL: na cesarski dvor, bratca dvor, ino dvore, do lubinega dvora, kraj dvora;

SE: Бијелу/у / господске/цареве двору/е - total 113;

BU: Дворье, двори, дворове - общ 34 - широки дворье, рамни/равни дворье

GR [5, p. 446-447]: θύρα porte, battant de porte. Homeric clausules: Θύραζε (27).

LV Pie Dieviņa namdurīm, Pie Dieviņa nama duru; dūrā

RE Indo-European XX *dh_uor- //

SOIL

CS *zemja ← IE *ghdem- / *ghdom- земля [2, v. II, p. 259]

BY: (во, о, на) сыру землю (64), (во, до) сырой земли (34), сыра земля (12);

DU: 0; **SL:** 0; **SE:** на земљи, (Како паде змија) на земљицу - 19:

BU: Влашката земя, Немечка земя, горна земя, долна земя, по земи, сурова земя (2) църна земя (3)

GR χθών, χαμαί, χαμηλός [2, v. II, p. 259]. Homeric clausule: χαμᾶζε (26), cf. [10, par. 480, 483, 484, 485, A1377, A1378].

LV (šai, devu, tai, jūriņu, auseklītis) zemē.

RE XX ghdem- / *ghdom- //

Conclusions. It was found that a significant number of Common Slavic formulas are of Indo-European origin, that is, their etymological ancestors or semantic equivalents were used in clauses already in the Proto-Indo-European era. Other words began to be used in clauses not earlier than the Proto-Slavic era, being a Slavic innovation against the Indo-European background. In the further publications, we are about to analyze the rest of the list of Common Slavic clause formulas.

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Анотація українською

У дослідженні запропоновано новий підхід до історико-порівняльних досліджень індоєвропейської поезики. Він поєднує традиційні етимологічні методи з корпусним підходом. Для реконструкції основного тезаурусу спільнослов'янських епічних поетичних кліше було розглянуто п'ять незалежних корпусів слов'янських епосів (російських билин, українських дум, болгарських, сербських та хорватських, а також словенських героїчних пісень). Кожна з традицій має певний набір основних формул, що мають спільну клаузулу (закінчення рядка). Слова в клаузулах є найважливішою частиною фольклорного словникового запасу, оскільки вони, як правило, є найбільш стійкими. Їх стабільність у часі посилюється повторюваними метричними схемами співу, які зосереджуються в кінці рядка. Раніше було доведено, що слова-клаузули складають серцевину формульних виразів однієї традиції (Б. Лорд), і врешті-решт Левінтон показав, що таке порівняння може бути здійснено між кількома спорідненими традиціями, такими як сербська, хорватська та східнослов'янські. Тим не менш, суцільне фронтальне порівняння кількох епічних традицій слов'ян за цими параметрами ще не було здійснено. Ця стаття пропонує таке порівняння, яке може мати важливі результати для вивчення загальнослов'янської і навіть спільноіндоєвропейської поезики. Кількісний аналіз показав, що кожна з окремих слов'янських традицій має багато спільних основних формул. Цей набір формульних гнізд (близько 40) можна розглядати як ядро загальнослов'янської епічної традиції, що зберігається в дочірніх традиціях. Список включає не лише терміни спорідненості, частини тіла та природні об'єкти, а також культурні предмети та теми (наприклад, *gordъ, *slovo, *vino, *dvorъ, *vorto). Подальше етимологічне порівняння з формулами інших індоєвропейських

традицій має показати міру інновацій та архаїзмів у праслов'янському поетичному тезаурусі.

Ми запропонували корпусний підхід до вивчення поетики суміжних індоєвропейських фольклорних традицій. Оскільки в народній поезії клаузули рядків відіграють головну роль в організації тексту, виконуючи роль "гнізда" формул та синтаксичних організаторів рядків, ми запропонували зосередитись на реконструкції класу слів, які зосереджувались у клаузулі у загальнослов'янській, і, мабуть, спільноіндоєвропейській період. Таким чином, ми можемо прийти до реконструкції ядра тезаурусу формул. В іншому місці ми навели перелік загальнослов'янських слів-речень. Завдання цієї публікації - простежити розвиток виявлених формул на загальноєвропейському тлі. Для цього за тим самим принципом (з подвійною косою рисою // позначено межі рядків) були анотовані наступні тексти: "Іліада" та "Одісея", "Ріг Веда", латиські міфологічні пісні. Потім ці тексти були оброблені за допомогою безкоштовного програмного засобу AntConc. В результаті для кожної традиції були знайдені власні класи клаузульних слів, які порівнювались з праслов'янськими. Наступний етап передбачав порівняння основних формульних фраз, що зустрічаються в реченнях різних слов'янських традицій, з етимологічно пов'язаними або семантично еквівалентними словами давньогрецьких, латвійських та ведичних традицій, які також мають високу частоту в клаузулах. Наявність етимологічно споріднених слів у різних традиціях у клаузулі дає цінний матеріал для порівняльного та історичного вивчення поетичного синтаксису, а ширше - синтаксичного розподілу та сполучуваності промовних одиниць, оскільки більшість типів речень були лексично зв'язані, тобто їх можна було заповнити лише певними класами лексики. Тому порівняння речень є підставою для з'ясування розподілу певних слів у реченні, а саме на початку та в кінці, тобто поетично найбільш значущих позиціях. Проаналізовано слов'янські

клаузули * gordъ, * konъ, * mati, * slovo, * govoriti, * moldъ, * golva, * godъ,
* polje, * vino, * lěto, * gospodъ, * morje, * dvorъ та * zemja.