

Phonetic Peculiarities in Ukrainian Patronymic Surnames of the Fourteenth-Seventeenth Centuries¹

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UKRAINIAN ANTHROPNOMY comprises an exceptionally valuable material for the study of the history of the Ukrainian language. Like toponymy, hydronymy and ethnonymy, it widely reflects a living popular language of various historical periods, and in particular it reflects diverse layers of vocabulary in all the richness of its phonetic, morphological, semantic and accentological variants.

The present article is an attempt to outline the most peculiar phonetic features noted in Ukrainian patronymic surnames of the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries.

The material for this study has been taken from the following sources:

- AJZR, VII, I *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii, izdavaemyj Komissieju dlja razbora drevnix aktov, sostojaščej pri kievskom, podol'skom i volynskom general-gubernatore*, Pt. VII, Vol. I (Kiev, 1886). [Description of the nine castles of 1552].
- AKŽMU *Aktova knyha Žytomyrs'koho mis'koho urjadu kincja XVI st.* (1582–1588 rr.), ed. M. K. Bojčuk (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1965).
- R “Reestra vsego vojska zaporožskogo posle Zborovskogo dogovora s korolem pol'skim Janom Kazimirom” (drawn up October 16, 1649), ed. O. M. Bodjanskij, in *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevncstoj rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete*, Vols. II & III (Moscow, 1874). [Register of the 16 Cossack Regiments].
- Rozov V. Rozov, *Ukrajins'ki hramoty*, I (Kiev, 1928).
- UH *Ukrajins'ki hramoty XV st.*, ed. V. M. Rusaniv'skyj (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1965).
- ŽUR *Žerela do istoriji Ukrajiny-Rusy*, I–III, ed. M. Hrušev'skyj (L'viv, 1895–1900). [Description of the 22 *starostva* in Western Ukraine in 1564–65].

According to data examined, the pronunciation of etymological *ě* as the sound [i] is highly characteristic. This is well evidenced in the frequency of cases where the etymological *ě* is graphically designated with an *i* (и), and where *i*, whatever its origin (from etymological *e* and *o* in

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newly-closed syllables or from *i* in foreign borrowings), is designated with an *ě*, e.g.: *olhirdovič*², 1386 (Rozov, p. 33)²; *olhěrdovi(ě)*,³ Molodečno, 1388 (*ibid.*, p. 43); *kirděvič*, L, 1445 (*ibid.*, p. 151); *kirděvič*, L, 1366 (*ibid.*, p. 14); *kirkidij*, L, 1434 (*ibid.*, p. 128); *lisovič*, Oster, 1458 (UH, p. 40); *lěsy* (common word, instr. pl. of *lěs* "forest"), L, 1452 (*ibid.*, p. 38); *Zinkovič*, KanC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 104); *Zinčenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (R, p. 17) : *Zěňčenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 8); *Ma(t)fi(e)vivič*, 1583 (AKŽMU, p. 52) : *mat'fějevič*, P, 1366 (Rozov, p. 12); *Bilocerkovčenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (R, p. 7) : *Bělocerkovčenko*, PeR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 218); *Kornienja*, KanR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 57) : *Korněenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 1); *Pivnenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 8) : *Pěvnenko*, UmR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 147); *Matienko* : *Matčenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, pp. 6, 11).

There are also instances where the character *ѣ* (*ě*) is used to denote an [e] sound which originates from old *e*, *e*, *ь* or *'a*. In spelling this *ѣ* occurs in interchange with the letters *e*, *я* (*е*), *a*, e.g.: *thomy vereščaka* (gen. sg.), S, 1443 (UH, p. 96); *tomi věreščaka* (gen. sg.), S, 1443 (*ibid.*, p. 98); *il'i večkoviča* (gen. sg.): *il'i věčkoviču* (dat. sg.): *il'i vačkovi(ě)* (dat. sg.), V, 1407 (*ibid.*, p. 35); *Ja(n) Večkovič*, K, 1584 (AKŽMU, p. 98); *Ja(n) Ve(n)ckovič* Vo(i)tkovski(i), K, 1584 (*ibid.*, p. 88); *nestěku* (dat. sg.), 1422 (UH, p. 77); *nestěkoviči* (nom. pl.), S, 1443 (*ibid.*, p. 96); *nestěkoviči*, S, 1443 (*ibid.*, p. 98); *boris* xoměkovič, Kolomyja, 1398 (Rozov, p. 57); *xoměk*, Vil'xovec, 1445 (UH, p. 37); *xoměkovi* (dat. sg.), L, 1452 (*ibid.*, p. 38); *vasi(l)ja xre(b)toviča* (gen. sg.), L, 1490 (*ibid.*, p. 49); *vasil'ja xre(b)toviča* (acc. sg.), *vasile(i) xre(b)tovi(ě)*, V, 1499 (*ibid.*, p. 63); *da(n)ču(l) kněžni(ě)*, 1456 (*ibid.*, p. 107).

A rather common feature is the confusion of the etymological *y* and *i* and the pronunciation, in their place, of the front-central sound [y], which is characteristic for literary Ukrainian as well as for the majority of dialects. This is apparent in the frequent substitution of the character *ы* (*y*) for *и* (*i*) and vice versa, e.g.: *ivanovyč*, P, 1366 (Rozov, p. 12) : *ivanovič*, Lv, 1368 (*ibid.*, p. 16); *lojevyč*, *kuzmyč*, P, 1366 (*ibid.*, p. 12) : *lojevi(ě)*, *kuzmi(ě)*, Lv, 1370 (*ibid.*, p. 18); *ky(n)deviča* (gen. sg.), Bajčany, 1454 (UH, p. 103); *ki(n)de*, S, 1460 (*ibid.*, p. 113); *starišyčev* (gen. pl.), L, 1452 (*ibid.*, p. 38); *Neměryč* : *Neměrič*, 1531 (AJZR, VII, I, 70); *Sytnikovič*, VC, 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 606); *Sitničenko*, ČR, 1649 (R, p. 44); *Čyženko*, KanR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 61); *Čiženko*, ČR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 42); *Lotyšenko*, ČR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 46); *Lotišenko*, ČR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 45); *Borysenko*, ČR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 55); *Borisenja*, UmR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 154); *Špylenko*, KalnR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 181); *Špiľenko*, BCR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 114); *Žylenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 21); *Žilenko*, BCR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 127).

² Each surname in this article is followed by a location, if available, the date, reference to source, and reference to page in the source.

³ Letters in parentheses represent the supralinear symbols in the original text.

Analogical confusion of *y* and *i* is found also in surnames rendered in Polish script, e.g.: *Baranowycz*, LC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 175): *Hankowicz*, ZS, 1564–65 (ŽUR, II, 216); *Olyzarowyczu* (dat. sg.), *Bohowytonowyczu*, *Hrymayłowyczu*: *Olyzarowiczu*, *Bohowitynowiczu*, *Hrymayłowiczu*, Hrodno, 1495 (UH, pp. 56–57).

There are, however, sporadic instances in which the etymological *y* and *i* appear to remain distinct. This is evidenced in the use of the letters *h* and *i* for the traditional letter *и* (*i*), e.g.: *hlěb* "su(*d*)ěč", Lv, 1421 (UH, p. 65); *petra poniča* (gen. sg.), S, 1462 (*ibid.*, p. 116): *petr* "poni(ě)", S, 1460 (*ibid.*, p. 113).

The liquid *l* of old combinations of *ɹl* and *ɹl* between consonants is changed to [ɹ]. This change, caused by certain phonetic regularity, is attested by the use of the letter *в* (*v*) for *л* (*l*), e.g.: *Pedor* "Vovčinko, Snitko Vovčkov" pasynok", Laško Vovčkov" syn", Vovčok" Ljaškov" syn", VC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 607); *Dovženko*, ČyhR, 1649 (R, p. 1); *Kovbaščenko*, KalnR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 187); *Movčanenko*, ČR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 32); *Tovstenko*, ČR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 42).

It should be noted that vernacular features are documented more often in surnames than in common words. Thus, the change of the above mentioned *l* to [ɹ], for instance, or that of old *ě* to [i], while abundantly illustrated by surnames, often is not shown in appellatives, e.g.: *polna* (acc. sg. f. of *polnyj* "full"), Čracow, 1388 (Rozov, p. 41); *molčenie* "silence," Lv, 1421 (*ibid.*, p. 94); *dolho* "long, a long time," L, 1388 (*ibid.*, p. 37); *polna, vdolž* "lengthwise," VC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 600); *stol* "bami (instr. pl. of *stolb* "post, pole, pillar"), *tol* "sto "thickly," KC, 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 106); *tolsto*, VC, 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 599); *z lěsy* (instr. pl.), L, 1452 (UH, p. 38). From this it is possible to conclude that surnames were less influenced by the official language of that time, and therefore are more reliable in a study of the historical dialectology of the Ukrainian language.

The Greek sounds *Φ* [ph] and *Θ* [th] are usually rendered by the popular sounds [p], [t], [x] and the combination [xv], e.g.: *stepan'ča* (gen. sg. of *Stepányč* < *Stepán*: Gr. Στέφανος), Kazimir, ≈ 1349 (Rozov, p. 3); *xodorič* (< *Xódor*: Gr. Θεόδωρος), Lv, 1368 (*ibid.*, p. 16); *xomékovič* (< *Xomják*, surname, < *Xomá*: Gr. Ομοῦς), Kolomyja, 1398 (*ibid.*, p. 57); *Xomi(ě)*, K, 1584 (AKŽMU, p. 91); *Pilipovič* (< *Pylýp*: Gr. Φίλιππος), ČornC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 590); *Suprunenko* (< *Suprún*: Gr. Σωφρών), VC, 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 605); *Suprunowiczu* (dat. sg.), Berestja, 1490 (UH, p. 48); *Chwedczenye* (< *Xved'kó*, dim. of *Xvédir*: Gr. Θεόδωρος), LvS, 1564–65 (ŽUR, III, 391); *Xvedorenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (R, p. 2); *Pedorenko* (< *Pédir* = *Xvédir*), ČR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 54); *Parxomoviča* (gen. sg., < *Parxím*: Gr. Παρθένιος), Černjaxiv, 1583 (AKŽMU, p. 63); *Tomčenko* (< *Tomkó*, dim. of *Tóma* = *Xomá*), BCR, 1649 (R, p. 113).

The initial sound [a] in surnames from words of foreign origin is often changed to [o], for the designation of which in writing the letters *o* and *ω* are used, e.g.: *olexnovič*' (< *Olexnó*, dim. of *Oleksíj* : Gr. Ἀλέξιος), P, 1359 (Rozov, p. 10); *wleksan(d)rovič*' (< *Oleksánder* : Gr. Ἀλέξανδρος), Kopyl, 1456–1481 (*ibid.*, p. 164); *wndréevi(č)* (< *Ondrīj* = *Andrīj* : Gr. Ἀνδρέας), L, 1452 (UH, p. 38); *Opanasovič*' (< *Opanás* : Gr. Ἀθανάσιος), KanC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 105); *Ωpanasovi(č)*, Tulyn, 1583 (AKŽMU, p. 52); *Ωna(n)či(č)* (< *Onánko*, dim. of *Onánij* = *Anánij* : Gr. Ἀνανίας < Heb. *Hānanīā*), Tulyn, 1583 (*ibid.*, p. 56); *Odamenko* (< *Odám* = *Adám* : Gr. Ἀδάμ < Heb. Ἀδām), ČyhR, 1649 (R, p. 13); *Oleksievič*' (< *Oleksíj*), ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 5); *Oleščenko* (< *Olěško*, dim. of *Oleksíj*), ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 1).

In a few cases the change of unstressed [o] to [u], especially before the syllable with an [u], is recorded, e.g.: *buhdian*'*čiča* (< *Bohdánko*, dim. of *Bohdán* "divinely given"), P, 1390 (Rozov, p. 176); *Bulharowicz* (< *bolhár* "Bulgarian"), HS, 1564–65 (ŽUR, I, 72); *Bulharinenko* (< *bolhárjn* = *bolhár*), KanR, 1649 (R, p. 62); *drahuševič*' (< *Dráhoš* < *Drahozláv*), Syhet, 1404 (UH, pp. 133–134); *Kuhutenko* (< *kóhút* : Pol. *kogut* "cock"), KalnR, 1649 (R, p. 194); *Pultavčenko* (< *poltávec* "an inhabitant of the Poltava region"), ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 26).

A number of examples illustrate the confusion of unstressed [e] and [y], which is characteristic for the majority of the present-day Ukrainian dialects, e.g.: *Artimovič*' (< *Artém* "Artemius"), KC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 113); *Artemenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (R, p. 6); *Siminenko* (< *Semén* "Simon"), VC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 604); *Semenovič*', KanC, 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 105); *Vovčinko* (= *Vóvčenko* < *vovk* "wolf"), VC, 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 607); *Hi(r)manovi(č)* (< *Hérman* "Herman"), Tulyn, 1583 (AKŽMU, p. 51); *herma(n)*, 1422 (UH, p. 77); *Voroninaja* : *Voronenaja* (< *voróna* "crow"), K, 1583 (AKŽMU, pp. 45–46); *Nemeriču* : *Nemiriču* (dat. sg. of *Nemýryč* < *Nemýr* "unfriendly"), K, 1584 (*ibid.*, pp. 73–74); *Tiličenko* (< *telýcja* "heifer"), ČyhR, 1649 (R, p. 8).

There are few instances where initial unstressed vowels are either lost or added, e.g.: *Larienenok*' (< *Larión* < *Ilarión* "Hilarion"), KC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 116); *Wanczuk* (< *Van'kó* < *Iván'ko* | *Iváńko*, dim. of *Iván* "John"), 1564–65 (ŽUR, I, 199); *Kuliniča* (gen. sg., < *Kulýna* = *Kýlýna* < *Akylýna* | *Jakylýna* "Aquilina"), Černjaxiv, 1584 (AKŽMU, p. 112); *Kulinenko*, ČR, 1649 (R, p. 58); *Ximčenko* (< *Xýmka*, dim. of *Xýma* < *Juxýma* "Euphemia"), *Haponenko* (< *Hapón* < *Ahapón* "Agathon"), ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 7); *Horpynenko* (< *Horpýna* < *Ahrypýna* "Agrippina"), ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 14); *Sidorenko*, *Sidorovič*' (< *Sýdir* < *Isýdir* "Isidore"), ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, pp. 1, 18); *Odarčenko* (*Odárka*, popular form of *Dárija* "Daria"), KalnR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 190). This loss or addition of the initial unstressed vowels may be due to a

tendency towards more euphonic distribution of stressed and unstressed syllables.

Occasionally, surnames from Christian names exchange [m] for initial [n], e.g.: *mikuli*(č) (< *Mykúla*, colloquial form of *Mykóla*/*Mykoláj* < *Nykóla*/*Nykoláj* “Nicholas”), Lv, 1478 (UH, p. 68); *Mikolaevaja* Voroninaja Ta(t)jana Ma(n)ko(v)na, K, 1583 (AKŽMU, p. 45); *Mikitič*’ (< *Mykjta* : Gr. Νικίτης), KC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 118); *Mikiczenie*, 1564–65 (ŽUR, III, 51); *Mikitenja*, 1582 (AJZR, VI, I, 114); *Mikitenko*, *Mikitič*’, ČyhR, 1649 (R, pp. 2, 27).

Among other phonetic features attested in surnames, it is necessary to note

a) The distinction of the guttural fricative sound [h] and the velar occlusive [g]. The velar occlusive [g] is found almost exclusively in surnames from foreign words and is rendered in writing either by a combination of the letters *kr* (*kh*), or by *k*, or (in the documents which use Polish script) by the Latin letter *g*, e.g.: *kediminoviča* (gen. sg.), Lavr. monastery, 1350 (Rozov, p. 8); *Bekhič*’, *Idikhne*, 1393 (*ibid.*, p. 48); *olkimontovi*(č), Mereča, 1401 (*ibid.*, p. 64); *khour*’(*he*)ševi(č), Zudečiv, 1421 (*ibid.*, p. 95); *ol’kherdovi*(č), K, 1446 (*ibid.*, p. 154); *ol’khirdovi*(č), L, 1446 (*ibid.*, p. 152); *olkerdovi*(č), L, 1452 (UH, p. 38); na . . . *Kheršonoviču* (loc. sg.), Ž, 1584 (AKŽMU, p. 129); *Khermanenko*, BrR, 1649 (R, p. 173); *Kherusenko*, BCR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 113); *Hrihorij Khrikkhorčenko*, UmR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 133); *Venkhenko*, ČR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 54); *Augustinow*, KamS, 1564–65 (ŽUR, III, 318); *Gundzorowicz*, *Gieliethicz*, Halyč, 1564–65 (ŽUR, I, 63, 86); *Glivicz*, Drohobyč, 1564–65 (*ibid.*, p. 205). The guttural fricative sound [h] is usually represented by the letter *r* and rarely by *x*, and in the texts with the Polish script – by the Latin letter *h* or by a combination of *ch*, e.g.: *horbačevi*(č), L, 1388 (Rozov, p. 38); *xoudiča* (gen. sg.), S, 1438 (UH, p. 92); *jacko xudi*(č), *iva(š)ko xri(n)kovi*(č), S, 1456 (*ibid.*, p. 107); [ja]cko *hudi*(č), *ivaško x(r)i(n)kovi*(č), S, 1471 (*ibid.*, p. 120); *hrinkova* (gen. sg.), S, 1411 (*ibid.*, p. 74); *Vasko i Ivaško Hrinkoviči* Bolobany, Troky, 1498 (*ibid.*, p. 61); *Hrymayłowicz*, *Bohovitynowiczu* (dat. sg.), Vilnius, 1495 (*ibid.*, pp. 52, 53); *Bohdanowicz*, LC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 175); *Hrynewicz*, ŽC, 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 149); *Hankowicz*, Drohobyč, 1564–65 (ŽUR, I, 206); *Oliechowicz*, Terebovlja, 1564–65 (*ibid.*, p. 115).

b) The simplification of consonant groups. The usual patterns of simplification are (1) Two-consonant groups drop the first consonant, e.g.: *Semerenko* (< *sémero* < *sedmero* : OCS *sedmь* “seven”), KorR, 1649 (R, p. 105); and (2) Groups of three or more consonants lose the middle or first consonant, e.g.: *kostětinovi*(č) (< *Kostjantjyn* < *Konstantjyn* : Gr. Κωνσταντῖνος “Constantine”), ≈ 1392 (Rozov, p. 46); *Horčerenko*, VC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 605), and *Hončarenko*, ČyhR, 1649 (R, p. 2) (< *horčár*/*hončár* < *hornčar* : OCS *grъnъčarь* “potter”); *Prazničenko*

(< *práznyk* < *práznyk* : OCS *prazdъnikъ* “holiday”), ČyhR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 8); *Skljarenko* (< *skljjar* < *stkljar/stekljár* “glazier; glass-cutter,” cf. OCS *staklo* “glass”), KanR, 1649 (*ibid.*, p. 71).

c) The change of the etymological *e* to [’u] (io) and *o* to [u] (*y*) in newly-closed syllables, e.g.: *vasil’juv’*, P, 1366 (Rozov, p. 12); *Senkuv’*, MC, 1552 (AJZR, VII, I, 631).

These phonetic features must be considered fundamental to that which can be evidenced in surnames. Many examples connected with assimilation and dissimilation of consonants, hardening of consonants, vowel gradation and consonant gradation, the so-called pleophony (*povnoholos*) etc. could have been added to those above. However, this kind of detailed analysis of all the phonetic phenomena as well as their distribution according to different dialectological groups is not within the scope of this study.

The analyzed phenomena show that in the patronymic surnames of the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries both the sound-changes characteristic of all dialectal groups of the Ukrainian language (change of *ě* to *i*; merging of etymological *y* and *i*; change of *ьl*, *ьl* to *ou*, etc.) and the sound-changes characteristic only of limited areas (confusion of *e* and *y* in unstressed position, occasional change of *o* to *u* in unstressed position, etc.) had taken place. Most of the phonetic features found in surnames, however, were not isolated from the common sound-changes, but rather conformed with the Ukrainian language system as a whole.

Abbreviations Used

| | | | |
|--------|----------------------|------|---------------------|
| acc. | accusative | L | Luc’ke |
| BCR | Bila Cerkva Regiment | LC | Luc’ke Castle |
| BrR | Braclav Regiment | Lv | L’viv |
| ČornC | Čornobyl’ Castle | LvS | L’viv Starosty |
| ČR | Čerkasy Regiment | MC | Mozyr Castle |
| ČyhR | Čyhyryn Regiment | nom. | nominative |
| dat. | dativ | OCS | Old Church Slavic |
| dim. | diminutive | P | Peremyšl’ |
| f. | feminine | PeR | Perejaslav Regiment |
| gen. | genitive | pl. | plural |
| HS | Halyč Starosty | S | Sučava |
| instr. | instrumental | sg. | singular |
| K | Kiev | UmR | Uman’ Regiment |
| KalnR | Kal’nyk Regiment | V | Vil’na |
| KamS | Kam’janec’ Starosty | VC | Vinnycja Castle |
| KanC | Kaniv Castle | ZS | Zamxiv Starosty |
| KanR | Kaniv Regiment | Ž | Žytomyr |
| KC | Kiev Castle | ŽC | Žytomyr Castle |
| KorR | Korsun’ Regiment | | |

Other abbreviations are explained in the text.