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# COMMON ENGLISH LOAN WORDS IN EAST EUROPEAN LANGUAGES



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#### В L A V I S T I C A ПРАЦІ ІНСТИТУТУ СЛОВ'ЯНОЗНАВСТВА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЛЬНОЇ АКАДЕМІЇ НАУК за редакцією Яр. Б. Рудницького Ч. 14

## ВАТСОН КІРКОННЕЛЛ

# СПІЛЬНІ АНГЛІЙСЬКІ ЗАПОЗИЧЕННЯ В СХІДНО-ЕВРОПЕЙСЬКИХ МОВАХ

НАКЛАДОМ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЛЬНОЇ АКАДЕМІЇ НАУК

Вінніпеґ

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The borrowings of one language from another are full of significance as to the influence of one nation or civilization on another. It is proposed, therefore, in the present paper to scrutinize certain words that have passed from English into some languages of Eastern Europe and to speculate as to the character of the verbal infiltration.

The first step has been to dredge through the pages of a comparatively full and recent dictionary, the Ukrainisch-Deutsches Woerterbuch of Zeno Kuzela and Jaroslaw Rudnyc'kyj (Leipzig, 1943) and to list the more obvious words of English provenance. This record has next been cross-checked with dictionaries in Russian, Magyar, Czech, Polish, Croatian, Lithuanian and German, to see whether the loans were peculiar to Ukrainian or formed part of a general English contribution to the languages of Central and Eastern Europe. The dictionaries mainly employed have been V. K. Mueller's Russian-English Dictionary (New York, 1945), the Fest-Biró-Willer Magyar-Angol Szotar (Budapest, 1938), J. Herzer's Boehmischdeutsches Woerterbuch (Prague, 1916), Trzaska, Evert and Michalski's Polish-English Dictionary (London, 1946), F. A. Bogadek's Croatian-English Dictionary (Pittsburgh, 1926), Anthony Lalis's Dictionary of the Lithuanian and English Languages, and the Muret-Sanders Enzyklopaedisches Woerterbuch der englischen und deutschen Sprache (Berlin, 1899). As only the Ukrainian, Polish and Russian dictionaries were of comparable size and modernity, the results obtained are in some cases far from satisfactory.

It needs to be borne in mind, moreover, that English itself is one of the most composite languages in the world, with more than four-fifths of its vocabulary borrowed from foreign sources, especially from Latin, Greek, French, Italian and the Scandinavian tongues. In treating a loanword as English, therefore, we are not concerned with its original etymology (possibly non-English) but with the fact that in its English form it became the vehicle of a idea, practice or object that was communicated by England (plus America) to other countries.

Examined on this basis the dictionary of Kuzela and Rudnyc'kyj, for example, yields about one hundred and fifty loan-words from the English language, most of which are found also in Russian, Polish and German and many of which are found in other East European languages as well. These belong to a limited number of clearly defined categories and will be discussed in terms of those categories.

NOTE: Diacritical signs on quoted words have been omitted due to the lack of such type-faces in the printing office.

#### SPORT

The most striking single group of borrowings has to do with sport, including the terms спорт and спортсмен. English borrowed the first of these from Norman French in the Middle Ages, but the spelling of the Ukrainian спорт and the use of the thoroughly English спортсмен make it clear that it was from England rather than France that the Ukraine took both words. The Russian and Polish words are identical with the Ukrainian, while Czech has *sport*, Croatian *sport* and Lithuanian *sportas*. German has both *Sport* and *Sportsmann*. Lithuanian adapts the latter word as *sportsmenas*, while Croatian simply uses the term *ljubitelj sporta*.

Boxing gives Ukrainian the terms бокс (Russ бокс, Pol. boks, Ger. Boxkampf, cf. Magyar boksol, Cz. boksovati se) and bokcep (Russ. bokcep. Pol. bokser. Ger. Boxer. and Czech boxovnik), while the final "knockout" appears as the Ukrainian нокавт (Russ. нокаут, Ger. Knockout). Organized games are represented by cricket, football, tennis, ping-pong (or table-tennis), hockey and croquet. Here the English loan-words in Ukrainian are крікет (Russ. крикет. Pol. kruket. Croat. kriket. Mag. kriketjatek. Ger. Kricketspiel), футбол (Russ. футбол, Pol. futbol, Ger. calqued as Fussball), теніс and лявн-тенніс (Russ. лаун-теннис, Pol. tennis. Croat tenis. Mag. tenisz. German Tennis and Lawntennis), пінг-понг (Russ. пинг-понг. Ger. Ping-Pong and Tischtennis), гаківка (Russ. хоккей, Ger Hockeyspiel, Mag. hokijatek) and крокет (Russ. крокет, Pol. krokiet, Ger. Krocketspiel, Mag. kroketjatek). English football gives Ukrainian корнер (a "corner-kick"). Other relevant words are чемпіон (Russ. чемпион. Ger. Champion), рекорд (Russ рекорд, Ger. Rekord) and клюб (Russ. клуб, Pol. klub. Ger. Klub. Mag. klub).

Racing has contributed the English words track, trainer, training, start, starter, jockey (a diminutive of Jock or Jack) and Derby (most famous of English horseraces), which appear in Ukrainian as трек, тренер, тренінґ, старт, стартер, джокей and дербі (Russian: трек, тренер, тренировка, старт, стартер, жокей and дерби; Pol. trening, start and dzokiej; Ger: [Rennbahn], Trainer, Training,

Start, Starter, Jockey and Derby. The Czech dictionary turned up only start and starter; Magyar showed trener and zsake: Croatian gave only trag (track): and Lithuanian only zokejas (jockey). The Ukrainian тренінґ and джокей seem to be closer to the English originals than the Russian тренировка and жокей. Words of similar venue are Tattersall (a famous horse market, founded in in London by Richard Tattersall, 1724-95), Tilbury (a kind of two-wheeled cart) and tandem (a harnessing of horses one behind the other, the name arising in early 18th century undergraduate slang as a pun on the Latin word tandem, "at length"), which appear in Ukrainian as татерсел, тилбері and тандем (Russian, only тандем; German, Tattersall equivalent to Reitschule, Tilbury and Tandem).

That most English of beasts, the bulldog, appears in Ukrainian as булдог (Russ., бульдог; Pol., buldog; Czech, buldog; Ger., Bulldogge; Croatian, buldog; and Lithuanian buldogas). The Ukrainian word for a mastiff is британ (i.e. "Briton") found also in Polish as brytan. The simple term dog (Ukr. gor, Pol. dog, Russ. gor, Ger. Dogge) is defined in Russian as a Great Dane rather than as a generic name. Much less ubiquitious than the bulldog is the foxterrier (Ukrainian фокстер'єр, Russian фокстеррьєр, Polish foksterjer, German Foxterrier). Another figure from the world of sport, though of an earlier era, is the falconer (Ukr. фальконер, Russ. фалконер, Ger. Falkner). Here Polish prefers sokolnik (cf. Croat. sokolar. Lith. sakalninkas). Still another term from the world of sport is the card-game bridge (Ukr. бридж, Russ. бридж, Polish brydz, German Bridge), with its related terms шлем, (Russian шлем, Polish szlem, German Schlem. cf. Magyar maccs, i.e. "match") and партнер (Russian партнер, German Partner). Recent Magyar also has trukk, a "trick" and Russian роббер, a "rubber" and вист, "whist". Polish has rober and wist.

When we turn to navigation, we find English contributing *Dreadnought*, brig (an English abbreviation of the French brigantin, itself from the Italian brigantino), cutter, tanker, trawler, possibly yawl (Dutch jol), hammock (Span. hamaca of West Indian origin) and pilot (Old French-Dutch, peil-lood "sounding lead"). These appear in Ukrainian as дредновт (Russ. дредноут, Pol. drednot, Ger. Dreadnought), бриг (Russ. бриг, Cz. brigga, Ger. Brigg, Pol. bryg), кутер ог катер (Russ. катер, Pol. kuter, Ger. Kutter), танкер (Russ. танкер, Ger. Tanker or Tankschiff), тралер (Russ. тральщик), ял (Russ. ялик, Polhowl, Ger. Jolle, Croat. jola), гамак (Russian гамак, Pol. hamak), and пілот (Russ. пилот, Pol. pilot, Cz. pilot, Ger. Pilot, Croat. pilot or krmilar).

#### CLOTHING

The most elementary borrowings in terms of clothing are cloth itself (A.S. clath) and dress (from O.F. dresser). These appear in Ukrainian as кльот and дрес, and were not found in the dictionaries of the other languages. Three types of coat for men — the Raglan, the Ulster and the Spencer — made their way to the Ukraine as раглан (Russ. via Fr. пальто-реглан, Ger. Raglan), ульстер (Ger. Ulster, Croat. ulster), and cnencep (Russ. cnencep, Ger. Spencer, Croat spenser, Lith spanceris). Among materials, plaid (Gael. plaide) and shirting give the Ukrainian плед (Pol. pled) and шертинг. The Magyar pled is defined as "rug". The Scotch Cheviot cloth reappears as Ukrainian шевйот (Russian шевиот, German Cheviot). Modern styles in knitted goods have given sweater and pullover, in Ukrainian светер (Russian свитер, Polish sweter, German Sweater) and пульовер (Russian пуловер, German Pullover). The jumper, an item of dress for young schoolgirls, appears as джемпер (Russ джемпер, Ger. Jumper). The English smoking-jacket gives us the Ukr. CMOKIHI (Russ. смокинг, Ger. Smoking).

#### FOOD AND DRINK

The most widely known English term from the kitchen is beefsteak, found in Ukrainian as біфштик от біфстекс (Russ. бифштекс, Pol. befsztyk, Ger. Beefsteak, Lith. bifstekas). Roast beef also appears as Ukrainian poctбіф, Russ. poctбиф, Pol. rostbif, Ger. Rostbeef. The waffle (from Du. wafel) may have been borrowed through English or direct from the Dutch, but appears in Ukrainian as

вафлі (Russ. вафля, Pol. wafel, Ger. Waffel). Cakes and pudding give the Ukr. кекс (Russ. кекс, Ger. Keks) and пудинг in Ukr. and Russ. (Pol. pudyng. Ger. Pudding). Four widely circulated English drinks are gin (a corruption of "Geneva" brandy), grog (from "Old Grog", a navy nickname for Admiral Vernon, who introduced the rum ration into the English navy about the year 1745 and who always dressed in "grogram" or grosgrain), whiskey (Gael. uisgebeatha, "water of life") and porter (beer). These are found in Ukrainian as джин (Russ. джин, Ger. Gin), rpor (Russ rpor, Ger. Grog, Polish and Croat grog, Lith. grogas), віскі (Russ. виски, Ger. Whiskey, Croat. viska), and Ukrainian портер (Russ. портер, Pol. porter, Ger. Porterbier). A toast that is drunk appears in Ukrainian as a toct (Russ. toct, Ger. Toast, Cz. and Pol. toast. Lith. tostas). Punch (originally Hindi) gives Ukr. and Russian пунш, Pol. poncz, German Punsch, Magyar puncs. English also apparently, is the vegetarian (Ukr. Beretaріянець, Russ. вегетарианец, Pol. wegetarjanin, German Vegetarier, Mag. Vegetarianus).

#### GOVERNMENT

The word parliament, which entered English from Old French, has become the term par excellence for the legislative body under English system. In Ukrainian it appears as парлямент (Russ. парламент, Polish, Magyar, Cz. and Croat. parlament, Ger. Parlament, Lith. Parlamentas). The terms speech, speaker and meeting are likewise carried over and appear as cпiч, спікер (Russ. спикер) and мітинг (Russ. митинг, Ger. Meeting), but are otherwise not current. It is possible that the terms Liberal and Liberalism are also of English provenance. They occur in Ukrainian as ліберал (Russ. либерал, Ger. Liberaler, Pol. liberalny, Cz. liberalni, Croat. liberalac, Lith. liberalas) and лібералізм (Russ. либерализм, Cz. liberalismus, Ger. Liberalismus, Pol. liberalizm, Croat. liberalizam, Lith. liberalizmas).

#### INDUSTRY

England's primacy in the Industrial Revolution has helped to give currency to numerous terms. Perhaps debatable is capital itself, originally borrowed from French and derived from Latin, but probably extended in considerable part by English financial prestige. It appears in Ukrainian as капітал (Russ. капитал, Ger. Kapital, Cz., Pol. and Croat kapital, Lith. kapitalas). Indisputably English are such terms of labour conflict as trade union, boycott (from Capt. Boykott, the first notable victim of this practice in Ireland), lockout, strike, striker and strikebreaker, appearing in Ukrainian as тред-юньйон (Russ. трэдюнион, Ger. Trade-Union), бойкот (Russ. боикот, Mag., Pol. and Croat. bojkot, Ger. Boykott, Lith. boikotuouti), льокавт (Pol. lokaut, Russ. локаут, but cf. Ger. Aussperrung), страйк (Ger. Streik, Mag. sztraik, Cz. strajkovati, Croat. strajk, Pol. strajk, Lith. strykas), страйкер (Ger. Streiker, Croat. strajkas), and страйкбрехер (Russ. штрейкбрехер, Ger. Streichbrecher, Pol. lamistrajk, Mag. sztrajkloro, Croat. strajkolomac). It is evident that the Ukrainian and Russ. forms of strikebreaker were mediated through the German. Widely current since the Middle Ages has been the word sterling, derived from "Easterling", a term for the Baltic German trader of the time. The Ukrainian form is стерлінг (Russ стерлинг, Ger. Sterling, Cz. sterling, Pol. szterling, Lith. sterlingas). Trust, the English term for a cartel, gives the Ukrainian трест, Russ. трест, Pol. trust, Ger. Trust, Mag. troszt, Cz. trust. Croat trust. A safe for valuables appears in Ukrainian and Russian as a сейф (Ger. Safe, Pol. sef). The English cheque gives Ukrainian and Russian чек, Pol. czek, German Scheck. Magvar csekk.

#### SCIENCE AND INVENTION

One of the largest categories of borrowing has to do with science and invention, especially the latter. The names of British scientists have passed into the words watt (from James Watt, the Scottish inventor), farad (from Faraday, the pioneer in electricity), Daltonism or colourblindness (from Dalton, the chemist, who had this defect)

and Darwinism (from the biologist, Charles Darwin). These appear in Ukrainian as a Bat (Russ. Batt, Pol. wat, Ger. Watt, Cz. vat, Croat. vat), фарад (Russ. фарада, Ger. Farad). далтонізм (Russ. дальтонизм. Pol. daltonizm. Ger. Daltonismus), and дарвінізм (Russ. дарвинизм, Pol. darwinizm. Ger. Darwinismus). From the primacy of England and the U.S. in railroading, we find the use of the terms locomotive (Ukr. льокомотив. Russ. локомотив. Pol. lokomotywa, Ger. Lokomotive, Cz. Croat. Lith. lokomotiva), sleeping car (Ukr. сліпінг, but Ger. Schlafwagen, Russ. спальний вагон), coke (Ukr., Russ. кокс, Ger. Koks, Mag. Koksz), bunker (Ukr. and Russ. бункер, Ger. Kohlenbunker), tender (Ukr. and Russ. тендер. Pol. tender. Ger. Tender. Cz. tendr) and tramway (Ukr. and Russ. TDAMBAH. Pol. tramwaj, Ger. Tramway, Cz. tramway, Lith. tramva*jas*). In this context, wagon, though originally borrowed by English from Dutch wagen, was probably borrowed from the English in Ukrainian вагон (Russ. вагон. Pol. wagon, Ger. Waggon or Wagen, Cz. and Croat. vagon, Lith. vagonas). From the mechanized American farm come both tractor (Ukr. TPAKTOP, Russ. TPAKTOP, Pol. traktor, Ger. Tractor) and combine (Ukrainian комбайн, Russian комбайн). English sanitation yields drain (Ukr. дрен, Russ. дрена. Pol. dren. Ger. Drain), drainage (Ukr. and Russ. дренаж, Pol. drenowanie, Ger. Drainage) and watercloset (Ukr. ватеркльозет, Russ. ватерклозет, Pol. waterklozet. Ger. Wasserklosett, Lith. vaterkliozetas). It is interesting to find the English word water used in the Ukrainian **Batep** in the sense of an hydraulic engine. From the automobile and the aeroplane. Ukrainian borrows carburator (Ukrainian and Russ. карбюратор, Pol. karburator), propeller (Ukr. пропелер, Russian пропеллер, German Propeller) and stabilizator (Ukr. стабілізатор, Russ. стабилизатор, Ger. Stabilizator). Miscellaneous borrowings of this type are kodak (Ukr. and Russ. кодак, Pol. kodak, Ger. Kodak), thermos bottle (Ukr., Russ. repmoc. Ger. Thermosflasche), lift (Ukr. ліфт. Russ лифт. Mag. lift. Ger. Lift), and *firework* (Ukr. фаєрверк and фоєрворк, Russ. фейерверк, Ger. Feuerwerk, Pol. fajerwerk, Lith. feierverkas). In the last instance, the German form is apparently a calque from the English, and has induced the Ukrainian

form фоєрверк, side by side with the more direct borrowing фаєрверк. The English *film* (A. S. *fylmen*) gives Ukr. фільм (Russ. фильм, Ger. *Film*, Pol. *film*, Mag. *film*).

#### MUSIC AND DANCE

While many scores of musical terms have been borrowed by Ukrainian from Italian, it is sadly significant to find that the only borrowings from English are *jazz*, *jazz-band*, *foxtrot* and *twostep*, all apparently American in provenance. These appear in Ukrainian as джез (Russ. джаз, Mag. *dzsessz-muzsika*, Ger. *Jazz*), джезбенд (Russ. джазбанд, Ger. *Jazzkapelle*), фокстрот (Russ. фокстрот, Pol. *fokstrot*, Ger. *Foxtrott*) and тустеп (Russ. ту-степ, Ger. *Twostep*).

#### SCOUTING

The Boy Scout movement, inaugurated in England by Baden-Powell as a sequel to the South African War, was destined to have a deep infuence in many countries of Europe as well as in North America. In Ukrainian the words *jamboree*, *scout* and *scoutism* appear as джемборі (Ger. *Jamboree*), скавт (Russ. бойскавт Pol. *skaut*), and скавтизм.

#### SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Among the oldest of English words, going back in origin to Anglo-Saxon times, are lord (once A. S. hlaford, perhaps still earlier "hlaf-weard" or guardian of the loaf), lady (from hlafdige, kneader of the loaf?), and steward (A. S. stigweard, or guardian of the sty). With their humble etymological origins long since forgotten, lord and lady have become almost synonymous with English regard for rank and steward with its attendant care and solicitude. The words have passed into Ukrainian as *JOPA* (Russ. *JOPA*, Ger. Lord, Cz. and Pol. lord, Lith. lordas), *JeA* (Russ. *JeA*), Ger. Lady) and UJTEBAPA (Ger. Steward). Of a later day but at least as old as the 14th century are gentleman and sir, the former an interesting compound of the French gentile (Lat. gentilis) and the native English

man and the latter derived from the French sieur or sire (Lat senior). These have been borrowed by Ukrainian as джентлмен (Russian джентльмен, German Gentleman, Polish dzentelman), and cep (Russian cop, German Sir but Polish panie, Croat. gospodine, Lith. ponas). Rising from English folk-speech and representing a different psychological approach is the term snob, perhaps cognate with the Icelandic snapr, a dunce. A more recent coinage is snobism, the quality of those who have a foolish regard for rank and station for their own sake. Both words have passed into Ukrainian, as сноб (Russian сноб, Pol. snob. German Snob), and снобизм (Russian снобизм). Such terms as flirt (Ukrainian флірт, Russian флирт, Polish flirt and flirtowac. German Flirt) and fashionable (Ukr. and Russ. фешенебелний, Ger. fashionabel) have also travelled far afield. Inseparably associated with the English gentleman in Continental fiction has been his spleen (O.F. esplen Lat. splen Gk.) and this naturally аppears in the Ukrainian as сплін (Russ. сплин, Ger. spleen). Fife o'clock tea is calqued in Ger. as Fuenfuhrtee but Russian has файф о'клок and Ukrainian shortens the phrase to dand.

#### BOOKS

Three word-coinages by English authors that have passed into Ukrainian are Lilliput, Utopia and Euphuism. The first, of course, was the term applied by Jonathan Swift in the first voyage of his Gulliver's Travels to that diminutive country (a satirized England) in which all dimensions except those of the shipwrecked Traveller were reduced to one-twelfth of their normal size. It is alleged to mean "little man". The second is a term, from Greek elements meaning "Nowhere", applied by Sir Thomas More, in a scientific romance by that name, to an ideal country allegedly found by an English explorer in an unfamiliar part of North America. Euphuism, the quality of the well-bred man, is a term from the Elizabethan novel Euphues (Gk. for "the well-bred one") by John Lyly, in which exquisite manners were described in a highly affected style. The Ukrainian forms are ліліпут (russ. лилипут, Pol. liliput, Cz. liliput, Ger. Liliputaner, Lith. liliputas), утопія (Russ. утопия, Ger. Utopie or Utopia, Cz. utopie, Pol, utopja, Mag. utopia, Croat., Lith. utopija), and евфуїзм (Russ. евфуизм, Ger. Euphuismus).

#### PRINTING

From the world of printing come the terms reporter, linotype, the offset process, the pamphlet (Middle English pamflet, origin uncertain but perhaps from Pamphilia, the home of a 1st century author of epitomes) and the journalistic interview. The Ukrainian forms are penoprep (Russ penoprep, Pol. reporter, Ger. Reporter, Mag. riporter), лінотип (Russian линотип, Polish linjotyp, Ger. Linotype, Lith. linotypas), офсет (Russian офсет, German Offsetdruck), памфлет (Russian памфлет, Polish pamflet, Ger. Pamphlet, Cz. and Croat. pamflet, Lith. pamfletas) and інтерв'ю (Russ. интервью, Ger. Interview or Unterredung).

#### WAR

The contribution of English to the vocabulary of war concerns chiefly certain modern inventions, e.g. shrapnel (from its inventor, the British officer, General Henry Shrapnel, 1761-1842), Lewisite (from W. J. Lewis, the inventor) and tank (introduced by the British in World War I). The Ukrainian forms are шрапнель (Russ шрапнель, Ger. Schrapnel, Cz. srapnel, Croat. srapnela, Lith. srapnele), люїзит (Russ люизит, Ger. Lewisit) and танк (Russ. танк, Pol. tank, Mag. tank, Ger. Tank). Sharing the honours with French is the military word dragoon (Fr. dragon). Certainly the French term came first, applied to a 17th century type of firearm and presently to the soldier equipped with it. Clearly also it was from French that the term was borrowed by Czech (dragon), Polish (dragon) and German (Dragoner). It seems equally clear, however, from the spelling that it was from English that the word was borrowed by Ukrainian (драгун), Russian (драгун), Croatian (dragun) and Lithuanian (dragunas).

#### AMUSEMENT

The English word *clown* is perhaps traceable to the Scandinavian element in English folk-speech and as late as the time of Shakespeare's plays tended to mean a rustic, especially one introduced for purposes of comic relief. From this there has been a natural shift to the professional funny man of the modern itinerant circus. It is apparently in this later sense that it has been borrowed in the Ukrainian KABOBH (Russ. KAOYH, Pol. *klown*, Ger. *Clown*). Of kindred interest is the old juggler's term, *hocus-pocus*, coined in imitation of Latin, and borrowed by Ukrainian as FOKYC-HOKYC (Pol. *hokus-pokus*, Ger. *Hokus-Pokus*).

#### AGRICULTURE

Although originally of French origin (*ferme*) the word *farm* and still more its derivative *farmer* are intrinsically English today. It is obviously from the English, moreover, that Ukrainian (by its spelling) has taken  $\phi$ apma (Russ.  $\phi$ epma, Pol. *ferma*, Ger. *Farm*) and  $\phi$ apmep (Russ.  $\phi$ epmep, Pol. *fermer*). The only other agricultural borrowing seems to by *rye-grass* (Ukr. paŭrpac, Russ. paŭrpac, Pol. *rajgras*, Ger. *Raigras*).

#### **MISCELLANEOUS**

There remain several miscellaneous terms that do not lend themselves to classification. One of these is mason in the sense of a Freemason. Although the term for an operative mason is French in origin, symbolic Freemasonry began in London, England, early in the 18th century and the spread of the word in this sense may fairly be claimed for English — although in most European countries the word carries political overtones that date from the French Revolution and are not found in English-speaking countries. The Ukrainian word is MacOH (Russ. MacOH, Pol. mason, Lith. masonas, but Ger. Freimaurer). It is not quite clear why such a word as cliff (A.S. clif) should be borrowed by Ukrainian ( $\kappa ni\phi$ ) but it has perhaps been mediated through the German Kliff. That the English have clung to the foot as a unit of linear measurement while the rest of Europe has embraced the metric system may explain why Ukrainian like Russian, has borrowed the word (фут) in this sense. It is interesting to see the word sketch (Dutch skets - It. skizzo) borrowed by Ukrainian (скеч) and Russian (скетч) in the English form, while German (Skizze), Czech (skizza) Polish (szkic), Croatian (skica), and Lithuanian (skicas) incline more towards the Italian model. The only medical term to be borrowed is shock (Ukr. and Russ mok. Ger. Schock). From the New World comes the word totemism. coined by English from the Massachusetts Indian word totem, a tribal emblem, — in Ukrainian тотемізм (Ger. Totemismus). Also from the New World comes the name Yankee (either a corruption of the term anglais by the Canadian Indians or the Scotch dialect word yankie, meaning an incessant talker), borrowed by Ukrainian as янкі (Russ. янки, Pol. jankes, Ger. Yankee, Lith. janke). Other borrowings are the words lynch (Ukr. лінчувати, Russ. линчевать), bluff (Ukr. блеф, Russ. блеф); bombast (Russ. бомбасть), hooligan (Ukr. хуліґан, Russ. гулиган), and comfort (Russ. and Ukr. комфорт, Pol. komfort, Ger. Komfort).

#### SUMMARY

These words present a significant commentary on the presumed significance of the English-speaking countries to some of the peoples of Eastern Europe.

The English appear as preeminently a nation of sportsmen, addicted to football, boxing, hockey, tennis, croquet, cricket and, above all, horse-racing. They are a nation of beefsteak-eaters and their chief beverages are whiskey, gin and grog. They also drink five o'clock tea. They are highly industrialized, with well-developed trade unions, strikes and strike-breakers. They are abundant in scientific inventions, with new linotype and offset methods in printing, tanks and high explosives in war; they are inventors of railways, motor-cars and aeroplanes, mechanizing agriculture with tractors and combines and improving sanitation with water-closets and drains. They have inaugurated Freemasonry and the Boy Scout movement. They have made minor contributions to men's and women's fashions. They are pioneers in parliamentary government. They have created lords and ladies and the ideal of the gentleman, and they despise the false values of the snob and the flirt. Their contributions to music are trivial and to art nonexistent. Their literature is in the fantastic realms of Utopia and Lilliput.

Obviously these elements of English life that have filtered through to the vocabulary of Eastern Europe are far from representative. There is no hint in them, for example, that England has produced one of the three great poetic literatures af all the time, worthy of standing side by side with Greek and Sanskrit among the highest peaks of human achievement. Its religion and philosophy are silent and its contributions to mathematics and science are mainly limited to practical by-products.

There is no law, however, requiring any language to borrow from any other a range of words that will be adequately representative of its total life and national achievement. Some languages borrow heavily; others coin or calque terms of their own from native material; and all are capricious and unpredictable in their linguistic appropriations. Normally, however, a word, if borrowed, represents a novel idea, practice or object; and a collection of such borrowings has real significance.

Whether Ukrainian e. g. borrowed directly from English or through the mediation of other intervening languages is a matter for speculation. Contact between the two languages has been very slight. Maximum pressure has come from Russian and German. The latter was especially important in the case of those numerous 19th century authors and scholars who studied at the universities of Vienna and Berlin. When we find Ukrainians using the form штевард rather than стевард and люїзит rather than люісит, we may fairly safely detect the influence of German pronunciation. On the contrary, ватеркльозет is closer to English than the German Wasserklosett. In the scores of cases where the Ukrainian and Russian forms are identical, it is hard to know which borrowed first or whether both borrowed independently. The Russian джазбанд is more authentic than the Ukrainian джезбенд, but neither owes anything to the German Jazzkapelle. In the case of джокей. Ukrainian is clearly closer to the English original than is the Russian жокей.

A decade ago, Prof. Roman Smal-Stocky<sup>1</sup> estimated that the following English loan-words had been mediated to Ukrainian through German: Abstinent, agitator, attraction, beefsteak, bluff, bombast, box, boycott, bridge, Briton (as a kind of dog), budget, cake, cartel, champion, cheque, cheviot, clown, club, coke, comfort, croquet, deduction, dog, dreadnought, farm, farmer, fashion, fashionable, film, five o'clock, flirt, gentleman, golf, hooligan, humbug, interview, lift, lynch, obstruction, pamphlet, park, partner, pincher (dog), plaid, porter, propeller, pudding, punch, record, reporter, roastbeef, rubber, rum, slam, slip, smoking (jacket), snob, sportsman, start, strike, strikebreaker, sweater, tennis, toast, tramway, trust, ulster, vegetarian, whisky and whist.

<sup>1)</sup> Die germanisch-deutschen Kultureinfluesse im Spiegel der Ukrainischen Sprache. Leipzig, 1942. Pp. 250-251.

With most of this list there can be general agreement. A French origin, rather than an English one, however, may be urged for abstinent, cartel, attraction, deduction and park (Fr. parc.). The noun фacon, moreover, points to French facon (Ger. Facon) rather than to English fashion. As for pincher, my unabridged Standard English Dictionary does not recognize this word as a term for a dog. Muret-Sanders defines *Pinscher* as "engl. Hundename, English terrier"; but the Standard Dictionary- re-importing the German form *Pinscher*, defines this as a type of German police-dog.

Generally speaking, one may well assume that the Ukrainian borrowings from English are fairly typical of the languages of Eastern Europe and represent an authentic — though imperfect and fragmentary — record of the impact of the English (plus American) tradition on the lives of the nations of that region.

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