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## OLD UKRAINIAN SLOVUTA AND «OLD EUROPEAN» HYDRONYMY

To Vasyl' Nimčuk

The paper offers a new etymology of the Old Ukrainian hydronym *Slovuta* and its derivational congeners *Slovuticъ* and *Slovutičъ* against the background of the non-Slavic equivalent *Dněprъ* and the Greek transcriptions *Δάναπρις* and *Βορυσθένης*. The proposed explication of OU *Slovuta* is undertaken in the context of research on «Old European» hydronymy as first introduced within Krahe's school of thought. The author substantiates the origins of the derivative *Slovuticъ* / *Slovutičъ* in the historical paratactic construction *Dněprъ-Slovuticъ*. A comparison with other paratactic constructions shows that this derivative is a result of the historical substantivization of Slavic nouns used primarily in the attributive function. In place of its commonly accepted participial interpretation, the author treats the form *Slovuta* as an athematic denominative from PU *\*slov-qt-a* continuing an earlier formation with the original meaning 'the one who possesses the quality of *\*slov-*'. The postulated base *\*slov-* is characterized by onomatopoeic syncretism of both the sound of rinsing, washing, flowing (PIE *\*kleuH-*) and its perception (PIE *\*kleu-*), while the termination *-ā* functions as a «noun class marker» designating a natural stream of fresh water. The author also argues that the underlying formation PIE *\*kleuH-/ \*kleu-ont-ā* > *\*kleu(H)-ont-ā* (> PS *slov-ont-ā* > PU *slov-qt-ā* > OU *slov-ut-a*) could have appeared in the early-inflecting «Old European» period in the formation of Indo-European, transitional from the active grammar type to the system of nominative-accusative grammar. The new etymology casts doubt on one of the most popular explanations of the term *slověne* 'Slavs' which allegedly derives from the root of *\*slovo* 'word.' The author concludes that the etymology of the term *slověne* should be chronologically adjusted in compliance with the semantic syncretism of its nominal base *\*slov-*.

Keywords: Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Ukrainian, Old Ukrainian, Ukrainian, Dnieper, Old European hydronymy, onomatopoeic syncretism, denominative formation, paratactic construction

### 1. Introduction.

The hydronym OU *Slovuta* (MoU *Slavuta*, *Slavutyč*)<sup>1</sup> is one of the puzzles not only in research on «Old European» hydronymy but also in the debates about the

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: acc. (accusative), Av (Avestan), B (Belarusian), Bg (Bulgarian), Chuv (Chuvash), Ct (Croatian), CS (Common Slavic), Cz (Czech), dim. (diminutive), dial. (dialectal), E (English), f. (feminine), Gk (Greek), Gr (German), Hi (Hittite), instr. (instrumental), La (Latvian), Lat (Latin), LCS (Late Common Slavic), Li (Lithuanian), m. (masculine), MGr (Middle German), MoGr (Modern German), MoU (Modern Ukrainian),

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origins of the Slavs (e.g., [Nimčuk1986 : 9–10; Schenker 1995 : 6–7]). Half a century ago the river name *Slovuta* was in the focus of numerous studies aimed at elucidating its etymology and relationship with the Iranian-Scythian provenance of the form *Δάναπρις*, recorded as early as the 4th century, and its earlier attested counterpart *Βορυσθένης*, both referring to the Dnieper. Tackled by O. Trubačëv [Trubačëv 1968], V. Nimčuk [Nimčuk 1986], I. Željeznjak [Željeznjak 1987 : 69; Željeznjak, et al. 1985 : 55], V. Lučyk [Lučyk 2014 : 185–186], the etymology of the hydronym *Slovuta* remains obscure and warrants new elucidation. This task becomes even more urgent in the light of recent advancements in the study of «Old European» hydronymy (see [Bichlmeier 2020]) and the competing trend concerned with «Europa Vasconica and Semitica», including Vasconic and Atlantic place and river names in Central Europe which encompasses Europe north of the Alps, to the possible exclusion of the northern-most parts of Scandinavia and some areas of the Atlantic fringe [Vennemann 2003 : 139].

In this paper, I substantiate a new etymology of the river name OU *Slovuta* to be placed in the context of «Old European» hydronymy and against the background of some common theories about the provenance of the term *slověne* ‘Slavs.’ It is also my aim to reconcile, if possible, two opposite approaches to the etymologizing of the hydronym under consideration. The first approach, promoted largely by Slavic researchers, neglects the accomplishments of the school of H. Krahe [Krahe1963, 1964] who first discovered and established the system of «Old European» hydronymy [see Schmid 1983, 1985; Udolph 1979, 1990, 2017]. The second approach, with rare exceptions [see Udolph 1979; Schmid 1993], treats the Slavic material, possibly including OU *Slovuta* (and *Slavuta*, associated today with the word MoU *slava* ‘glory’), as peripheral within «Old European» from Scandinavia to Southern Italy, from the British Islands to the Baltic Sea [Krahe 1964 : 32–33]. In other words, the first approach keeps the hydronym OU *Slovuta* as the cornerstone hydronym for the elucidation of the origins of the term *slověne*, while the second, «Old European» approach finds the hydronym *Slovuta* peripheral by default [see Krahe 1964 : 33]. The above distinction is deeply rooted in the vision of «Old Europe» based on correspondences in the etyma and derivation of the hydronyms [see Hamp 1990]. The problem lies, therefore, in whether it is possible to reconcile these different approaches by offering a new etymology of the river name OU *Slovuta* and potentially other derivatives with the same base *\*slov-*.

Incidentally, the concept of «Old European» is reminiscent of today’s obvious bias in favor of the Western European languages as the most advanced (core) languages of so-called Standard Average European (French, northern Italian dialects, German and Dutch), while the periphery Slavic languages, with rare exceptions (like Polish), characterized by a minimum of default features, appear inferior or «underdeveloped» in terms of the level of their convergence within Europe as a linguistic area [Heine, Kuteva 2006 : 27]. Most of the Slavic languages have been literally pushed over to the backyard of political and linguistic Europe, thus being assigned a peripheral status in practically each of its linguistic areas [Danylenko 2019 : 4].

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MP (Middle Polish), MR (Middle Russian), OCz (Old Czech), OCS (Old Church Slavonic), OESl (Old East Slavic), OHGr (Old High German), OIA (Old Indo-Aryan), OInd (Old Indian), OIr (Old Iranian), Oss (Ossetian), OU (Old Ukrainian), P (Polish), PIE (Proto-Indo-European), pl. (plural), PS (Proto-Slavic), PU (Proto-Ukrainian), R (Russian), Ru (Rumanian), sg. (singular), Skr (Sanskrit), Sl (Slavic), U (Ukrainian), Ve (Vedic).

Here and elsewhere, I make use of the periodization of Ukrainian as substantiated by Shevelov [1979 : 40; 1991 : 15–16] who projected the inception of the accumulation of specifically Ukrainian properties» as far back as in the 6th century or even earlier.

In light of the existing bias in the study of SAE and current research of «Old European» hydronymy, this article offers a new perspective not only on the origins of OU *Slovuta* (and its derivatives *Slovuticъ* and *Slovutičъ*) but also on the historical and typological dimensions of «Old European». In Sects. 2–2.2, I briefly dwell upon the Ancient Greek transcriptions *Βορυσθένης* and *Δάναπρις* in reference to the Dnieper River. I discuss various aspects of the traditional interpretation of the historically attested OU *Slovuticъ* and MR *Slautičъ* in Sects. 3–3.2. A new etymology of the hydronym OU *Slovuta* is outlined in Sects. 4–4.3 in connection with the historical-typological profile of «Old European». Finally, Sect. 5 contains major conclusions which cast a new perspective on the origins of the river name OU *Slovuta* and its importance for furthering our knowledge about Slavic as part of «Old European».

## 2. The non-native hydronyms

In this section, I briefly discuss the so-called non-native hydronyms like *Днѣпръ* copiously attested in the 12th-century Primary Chronicle (PVL–Paradosis : 110, 138, etc.). Being presumably of Iranian-Scythian origin, the river name *Днѣпръ* was recorded by the Ancient Greeks in at least two transcriptions. One should mention, first of all, the form *Βορυσθένης* and the later transcription *Δάναπρις*, the chief river of Scythia, according to the early writers, or, according to the later nomenclature, of Sarmatia Europaea (East-Central Europe), and, next to the Ister (Danube), the largest of the rivers flowing into the Euxine (Black Sea) [see Danylenko 2023]: this river was known to the Greeks from a very early period, probably about the middle of the 7th century B.C. (for a historiographic survey of these two transcriptions, [see Smith 1854 : 420–421]).

In Sects. 2.1–2.2., I provide a critical survey of traditional proposals for the etymology of the above two transcriptions.

### 2.1. *Βορυσθένης*

The etymology of *Βορυσθένης* (for a possible version *Βαρυσθένης*, see [Bilec'kyj 1962 : 54]) is of less significance, although it may shed some light on the interpretation of the hydronym OU *Slovuta*. The common explanation of *Βορυσθένης* is inspired by the alleged influence of the «Scythian» language which, save for very general genealogical and sociolinguistic facts, remains a linguistic *terra incognita* [Isaev 1999]. According to V. Abaev, the first component in *Βορυσθένης* is of Iranian origin *varu-*, also *Av vouru-*, Oss *wæræx*, *urux* 'wide' [Abaev 1949 : 187–188; also Marquart 1903 : 33, fn 2; Vasmer 1971 1 : 161], although highly hypothetically from Chuv *var* 'canyon, valley,' according to O. Pritsak [Pritsak 1954]; one can add here *Βαρούχ*, a river in the country of the Turks (Magyars) and Pechenegs (DAI: 174–175). The second part in «Scythian» *Βορυσθένης* is OIr *stāna-*, Oss *-ston* 'place, spot, state' (ESJS 3 : 162). A. Bilec'kyj noted that one could expect OIr *\*Varustāna* to be borrowed into Greek as *\*Οὐαρυστανος* or *\*Οὐαρυστηνος*, correspondingly also *\*Οὐαρυστανης* or *\*Οὐαρυστήνης* [Bilec'kyj 1962 : 58]; one can mention here *Οὐαρδάνης*, the Kuban River from OIr *Varudānu* 'a wide river' (Ptolemy), cf. Oss *var(æx)-dān* 'a wide river' [Abaev 1949 : 188]. A. Bilec'kyj advanced an interesting hypothesis, according to which the form *Βορυσθένης* meant 'strait' and could have arisen in the Thracian territory [Bilec'kyj 1962 : 60]. The final *-sten-* in *τὰ στενά* 'narrows, straits' and other derivatives like *τὸ στενόν* 'strait' (Hellas) (GEL : 1 638) corresponds allegedly with the Thracian morpheme *-sthen-*.

From among obscure etymologies, not attested even in ESJS, it is worth mentioning A. Kotsevalov's attempt to treat *Βορυσθένης* as one of the patrials (words for inhabitants). In accordance with this scholar's theory, the suffixes *-ίτης*, *-άτης*, *-ήτης*, *-ώτης* (incidentally, none of them is found in the lexeme *Βορυσθένης*) ex-

press the idea of one who lives in a given city or country (the so-called *gentilia*) [Kotsevalov 1959]. Thus, *Βορυσθενεῖαι* purportedly means inhabitants of the territory called *Βορυσθένης* which only later was used to designate the Dnieper River [ibid : 1518–1519].

## 2.2. Δάναπρις

As far as the form *Δάναπρις* is concerned, its origin is commonly linked to OIr *\*dān-* > Oss *don* ‘river’ (see [Abaev 1949 : 162, also 1958 1 : 367; Krahe 1964 : 103; Sobolevskij 1910 : 186–187], and (ESJS 3 : 162)), where the putative change of Oss *o* (< *\*a* < *\*ā*) before *n* is likely to explain its reflex as the back jer in Sl *Dněprъ* [Rozwadowski 1948 : 244–245; Shevelov 1965 : 166]. Following in the footsteps of V. Nimčuk, most of the Ukrainian scholars today argue that the second part of the name *Δάναπρις* is connected with another old river name of the Dnieper — *\*Ibris* / *\*Ipris* [Nimčuk 1986 : 4–5]; one can mention here the hydronym *Ibr* (the left tributary of the Teteriv, a tributary of the Dnieper) going back to IE *\*ǵebʰros* / *\*ǵebʰros* ‘fertilizer’ (< *\*h<sub>3</sub>ǵebʰ-*? — A. D.) as found, although with an outdated reconstruction, in some contemporary works (see [Željeznjak, et al. 1985 : 56; Lučyk 2014 : 185–186], also (ESJS 3 : 162)).

G. Schramm suggested the Thracian («histrodanubische») rather than the Iranian derivative base of the respective names of the Dnieper and Dniester rivers [Schramm 1973]. According to Schramm, the first element *Dně-*, found in the two names, goes back through *\*Donai-* to *\*Dānoyi-*, the Dacian base of Ru *Dunăre(a)*. In other words, the names of the Dniester and Dniesterrivers are derived not from the appellative ‘stream’ but from a hydronym [Schramm 1973 : 60]. The two river names can ultimately be connected with PIE *\*pro-* and *\*sro-* as hypothesized by G. Schramm in the following diagram [ibid. : 61]:

|                  |   |                       |   |                       |
|------------------|---|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| PIE              |   | <i>*Dānoyi-sro</i>    | : | <i>*Dānoyi-pro-</i>   |
|                  | > | <i>*Dānoyi-stra-</i>  | : | > <i>*Dānoyi-pra-</i> |
| Ukrainian-Dacian |   |                       |   |                       |
|                  |   | > <i>*Donai-stra-</i> | : | > <i>*Donai-pra-</i>  |
|                  |   | > <i>Dněstrъ</i>      | : | > <i>Dněprъ</i>       |

G. Schramm treated the root *\*sro-* as a version of the root *\*ser-* ‘to flow’ which reconstructs (with another degree) in *\*Sereto* ‘Sereth.’ According to the author, the connection between *\*Sereto* and *\*Dānoyi-sro* is paralleled in the pair *\*Pureto* ‘Pruth’ and *\*Dānoyi-pro-* ‘Dnieper’ [Schramm 1973 : 61]. Leaving aside *\*Pureto* which is hard to unproblematically explain, the reconstruction of *\*Dānoyi-sro* is at least as convincing as the commonly accepted Iranian hypothesis.

The root PIE *\*ser-* ‘to flow, stream’ seems to be attested in two reliable forms only: G *ὀρός* (< PIE *\*sor-ó-*) and Lat *serum* ‘the watery or serous part of milk, whey’ (< PIE *\*sér-o-*) (DÉll : 619; EDG : 1108). H. Bichlmeier recently reminded that the Old Indian forms with OIA *\*sar-* as in OInd *-sí-sarti* ‘make it run, flow’ (cf. OInd *saráḥ* ‘fluid, fluent,’ *sará* ‘river, stream,’ *sármah* ‘flow’) (Pokorny 2 : 909–910; SED : 1218–1219), which are commonly cited in this context, are connected with other roots: (1) PIE *\*sal-* ‘to get loose, jump’ as found in Ve *pra-sísarti* ‘makes jump forward,’ *saráyante* ‘to run,’ OInd *sarít* ‘river, stream’ and other forms (LIV : 527–528), (2) *\*sal-* ‘salt’ as reconstructed in PIE *\*sal-í-t-* ‘to flow to salt / sea’ or (3) *\*sel-* ‘swamp’ [Bichlmeier 2019 : 6–7]. In other words, the underlying meaning of PIE *\*ser-* can be ‘to be fluid, fluidity’

[ibid. : 7] which tends to be reconstructed in a wide array of such «Old European» hydronyms, cited long ago by H. Krahe, as *Sera* (867) > *Serre*, a tributary of the Oise, *Séran*, also *Sora* (12th c.), attested in England as *Soar* (Leicestershire), *Sor*, a tributary of the Usk, and *Riera de Sara* (close to Barcelona), and other river names [Krahe 1964 : 40–41].

In accordance with the above etymologies, the introduction of the non-native hydronyms date back approximately to the early 4th century B.C. The question arises not as to the existence of a native river name at that time but by how much time this native hydronym could antedate them. In Sects. 4–4.2, I answer this question by offering an etymology of the hydronym OU *Slovuta* in connection with the historical-typological profiling of «Old European».

### 3. *Slovuticъ* vs. *Slovutičъ*

In 1986, V. Nimčuk proposed to treat the hydronym OU *Slovuta* as a participial form, although long before him M. Vasmer ([Vasmer 1924 : 181–182, also 1937], (Vasmer 2 : 662)) proposed the same explanation which was reiterated by O. Trubačev [Trubačev 1968 : 166] and G. Schramm [Schramm 1973 : 108]. V. Nimčuk's etymology has been consequently endorsed by the Ukrainian Slavists (e.g., [Željeznjak 1987 : 69; Karpenko 1973 : 182]) and, independently, by some other scholars inspired by the early works of J. Rozwadowski [Rozwadowski 1921] and M. Budimir [Budimir 1921; Snoj 2009 : 382–383]. In what follows, I provide a brief account of the commonly accepted etymology of OU *Slovuta* which is replete in specious arguments.

To begin with, unlike the non-native designations, OU *Slovuta* seems to have survived in the oral narrative as practiced, presumably, before the time of the Slavic migrations in the 5th to 8th centuries. The provenance of this hydronym will be explained in Sects. 4.0–4.2 against the historical-typological profiling of «Old European». What we can state at this point for certain is that, attested in East Slavic, primarily Ukrainian folk songs and other poetic genres, this hydronym came to be recorded much later, in the historical period. There are, in fact, two early attestations of this form in East Slavic. For the first time, this name comes up as a suffixal derivative in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*, an Old Ukrainian epic, composed approximately in 1188–1200. In her invocation of natural forces, Prince Igor's wife Jaroslavna pleads from the walls of Putivl' (MoU *Putyvl'*): *O Dnepr Slovuticju!* (La Geste : 73). The second attestation of this hydronym goes back to the 17th-century Middle Russian *Tale of Suxanov: ko bystru Nepru Slautičju* 'toward the fast (D)neprъ-Slautičъ' [Malyšev 1956 : 112, 113; Nimčuk 1986 : 5; Tvorogov 1995 : 124].

The afore-mentioned two attestations are remarkable from two points of view which have not been thus far addressed. First, the derivatives of the river name *Slovuta* occur in both instances as an attribute in a paratactic construction whose first element is the parallel hydronym of the same river — OU *D(ъ)neprъ* and MR *Neprъ*. Second, the autochthonous hydronym *Slovuta* comes across as a suffixal derivative (OU *Slovuticъ* and MR *Slautičъ*) that can be conceived of as a diminutive or patronymic.

In Sects. 3.1, I show that the above two derivatives are parts of paratactic constructions whose oral-formulaic nature (in the spirit of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord) allows us to claim their prehistoric origin.

#### 3.1. The paratactic construction: *Дънепръ-Slovuticъ*

Schramm put the expression *Дънепръ-Slovuticъ* in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* in line with such constructions as *rod — plemja ljubimoe* 'family — favorite tribe,' *draka — krovoprolitie* 'fight — bloodshed' and others that are copiously attested, for example, in Russian folklore and vernacular texts extant from the

19th century and earlier [Schramm 1973 : 106–107, also fn 265]: *otec-matuška* ‘father-mother,’ *xolodnaja-golodnaja* (f.sg.) ‘cold-hungry,’ *glupaja-nerazumnaja* (f.sg.) ‘stupid-mindless,’ and the like. What Schramm missed in this case is the explanation of the «attributiveness of noun» in paratactic constructions as observed in the history of (East) Slavic and accordingly reconstructed by Oleksander Potebnja [Potebnja 1899]. It is worth noting that, in addition to his analysis of the attributive use of nouns in the history of East Slavic morphosyntax, Potebnja applied his findings in his Ukrainian translation of rhapsodies 7 and 8 and partly rhapsody 3 (verses 1–275) of Homer’s *Odyssey* (Odyssey), [Danylenko 1999].

In the remainder of this section, I cite some examples from O. Potebnja’s translation which are likely to cast additional light on the derivational prehistory of OU *Slovuticъ*.

Before all else, in his Ukrainian translation O. Potebnja chose to combine «concrete images» in the attributive construction with the postposed use of the genus name with respect to the species (either personal or common) name, e.g., *služkamy divkamy* (Odyssey 7 : 300) — ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν<sup>2</sup>. As a rule, the genus name may be dropped in such constructions. In Potebnja’s translation this type occurs in numerous constructions containing the noun *knjaz* ‘sovereign, ruler’ (βασιλεύς and *āvaž*, correspondingly) in the attributive position: *bilja Alkynoja knjazja* (Odyssey 8 : 469) — παρ’ Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα, *romolysja* <...> *Posejdaonu panu* (Odyssey 3 : 43) — Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι, and the like [Danylenko 1999 : 242].

As O. Potebnja demonstrated, the postposed occurrence of the genus name in such constructions might have developed after its pre-posed use. At any rate, the Ancient Greek data, especially excerpted from Homer’s epic, testify to the fact that similar constructions (e.g., Φαίηκων ἀνδρῶν) were metrically marked, thus demonstrating their secondary formation [Schwyzer 1950 2 : 614]: *U iz spodarem Odyseem rozvažnym* (Odyssey 3 : 163) — ἀμφ’ Ὀδυσῆα ἄνακτα δαΐφρονα, with a postposed use in Homer, *pan Apollon* (ibid. 8 : 334) — ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, with a pre-posed use of the noun in the attributive function as attested in Homer.

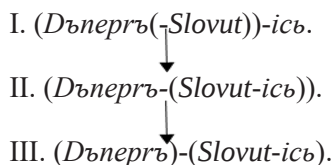
O. Potebnja brushed out a wide picture of the «attributiveness of noun» in the history of East Slavic, not simply in the position of a genus name but also with the qualitative meaning. He distinguished the use of both common and proper names as genus names and classified derivational structures of such nouns [see Miklosich 1926 : 4–5]. Leaving aside different suffixal types of the nouns used in the attributive function (not to be confused with adjective as a word class), deserving of attention are those derivatives that are reminiscent of OU *Slovuticъ* and MR *Sla(v)utičъ*. Among them are the following derivatives in *-ec*’ (m.) and *-ycja* (f.), both proper and common names: *kozak-Zaporožec* ‘a Zaporozhian Cossack,’ *kozak-donec* ‘a Cossack from the Donec’ river basin,’ *kin’-voronec* ‘a black horse,’ *Hryc’-čornobryvec* ‘Hryc’, black eyebrows,’ *syn-odynec* ‘a son — the only one,’ *kozak-molodec* ‘a Cossack — the brave one,’ *dočka-odynycja* ‘a daughter — the only one,’ *dočka-neščasnycja* ‘a daughter — the unhappy one,’ *sestrycja-poradnycja* ‘a sister — the adviser,’ *ruka-desnycja* ‘the right hand,’ *morozec’-marec* ‘the March frost’, and many others [Potebnja 1899 : 132–134, 144–145]. O. Potebnja did not bring up the paratactic construction *Dъnepръ-Slovuticъ*, although he liberally cited similar cases as R *Dunaj-reka* ‘the Danube River,’ U / R *Dunaj-more* ‘a

<sup>2</sup> All Homeric examples are excerpted from the 1908 Homer’s *Odyssey* edited by Thomas William Allen in the series *Oxford Classical Texts*, see (Homer). Examples from the Ukrainian translation of Oleksandr Potebnja (Odyssey) are cited by the respective rhapsody and verse.

wide river' and R *pole-razdol'je* 'an open, wide field,' and others. Incidentally, in the latter case the attributive noun *razdol'e* describes the quality (state) of the first component *pole* 'pole' [ibid. : 163–164].

Following in the footsteps of Potebnja, we argue that the paratactic construction *Dьneprь-Slovuticь* reflects an early developmental stage in the grammaticalization (substantivization) of *Slovuticь* from its attributive function into the substantive one. Also, the postposed attributive component *-Slovuticь* constitutes an integral part of the paratactic construction *Dьneprь-Slovuticь*. In other words, the attributive noun is locked-in with the help of the suffix *-ecь*, whence the noun *-Slovuticь* appears not as a separate lexeme but as the final part of the paratactic unit taken as a whole. It comes as no surprise that the chosen suffix *-icь* is masculine and not feminine like *\*Slovutycja* since it is aligned with the gender of the first component<sup>3</sup>.

The grammaticalization path for the substantivization of the derivative *Slovut-icь* can be presented in the following diagram that reflects changes in the dependency of the constituent parts within the respective paratactic unit (see Scheme 1):



The primary function of the suffix *-icь* at Stage I is substantivizing with regard to the whole, tightly construed, paratactic unit. Stage II reflects the substantivization of the noun *Slovut-icь* within the paratactic unit yet. And only at Stage III the two lexemes tend to become separate within the paratactic unit with loose ties. At this stage, the meaning of the suffix *-icь* in *Slovut-icь* may acquire additional semantic nuances like diminutive in addition to its categorical (substantivizing) function. Exactly at this point of grammaticalization two lexemes of the former «tight» paratactic unit can take different gender markers as in R *Dunaj* (m.) *-reka* (f.) 'the Don River,' U *cukor* (m.) *-holova* (f.) 'a sugar chunk,' that is, 'a chunk of sugar.'

The primary substantivizing function of the suffix *-icь* at both Stage I and Stage II can be compared with the suffix *-ecь* in some East Slavic onomatopoetic particles derived from the respective verbs as in U *smyk-ec* from *smyknyty* 'to pull, tear.' Elsewhere, I proved that level of the substantivizing function of the suffix *-ecь* is different from the one used in «regular» *nomina agentis* of the type U *mr-ec* 'deceased,' *žn-ec* 'reaper,' and so on [Danylenko 2015 : 532].

There constructed grammaticalization path of the river name *Slovut-icь* within a paratactic unit allows me to introduce corrections in the etymology of this name and related suffixal derivatives as discussed below in Sect. 3.2.

<sup>3</sup> V. Nimčuk found it difficult to uncover exactly whether that was in *Slovuticь*, as a matter of fact, the suffix *-ičь* or the suffix *-icь* with the substitution of the dental *c'* for the postdental *č* [Nimčuk 1986 : 7; also Shevelov 1979 : 739]. To be sure, this type of substitution (R *cokan'e* / B *cekanne* / U *cekannja*) is quite possible since, according to V. Nimčuk, *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* contains potentially cases of *cekannja* [Nimčuk 1986 : 7]. It is hard to prove, though, since the phenomenon of affrication (*cekanne* and *dzekanne*) has been dated variously between the 9th and 16th centuries. As P. Wexler, pointed out correctly, the «broad discrepancy in time» arises from disagreement over whether or not to consider the motivation for affrication as external, i.e., as arising from the influence of neighboring West Slavic dialects [Wexler 1977 : 170].

### 3.2. Patronymic or diminutive?

It should be borne in mind that the «second» (attributive) component in paratactic constructions of the type OU *D̆nepr̆-Slovutic̆* and MR *Nepr̆ Slautič̆* is commonly used as an *epitheton ornans*. Long before V. Nimčuk [Nimčuk 1986], G. Schramm cited several examples of similar two-component constructions in Ukrainian songs and folklore texts and sorted them largely into two types of the paratactic naming of the Dnieper River [Schramm 1973 : 106, fn 263]. It is worthwhile discussing these two types before I ascertain any additional semantic feature in the substantivizing meaning of *-ic̆* or *-ič̆* as used in the *epitheton ornans*. Consequently, I try to answer the question as to whether the derivatives in *-ic̆* and *-ič̆* have a secondary diminutive or secondary patronymic meaning, respectively. It is important to note that the question as to whether the process of *cekannja* was decisive behind the emergence of these two parallel suffixes is irrelevant for our discussion.

First of all, in his classification, G. Schramm singled out paratactic constructions whose second component (*epitheton ornans*), often derivationally simplex, does not bear any stylistic connotation as in U *A jak kozaky idut' Dniprom-Slavutoju* 'and as the Cossacks are going along the Dnieper-Slavuta' [Antonovič 1874 : 253]. Second, some paratactic constructions contain, in addition to the second element *Slovuta* / *Slovutic̆* / *Slovutič̆*, another (duplicate) toponym referring to the same river (geographical place). To give an example, it is worth citing the following example taken from a Ukrainian historical *duma* (a lyrico-epic work of folk origin): *Na lyman-riku ispadaly, k Dnipru-Slavuti nyzen'ko uklonjaly* '(the Cossacks) were coming down to the estuary (of the Dnieper) and were bowing low to the Dnieper-Slavuta' [Maksimovič 1849 : 44; Željeznjak 1985 : 55]. In this example, in addition to the paratactic construction *Dnipro-Slavuta*, we come across another, parallel toponym *lyman-rika* in reference to the same estuary of the Dnieper. Save for mere statistics and poetic ornamentation, the second type is, in fact, a variety of the first paratactic one. Since the second type demonstrates nothing linguistically representative, it can be omitted in our discussion of the paratactic construction with the second component morphologically either simplex (*Slovuta*) or complex (*Slovutic̆* / *Slovutič̆*).

Paratactic constructions like U *Dnipro-Slavuta* are attested in the non-standard variety of Middle Ukrainian. We also have in our hands very similar Middle Polish examples. There is an interesting attestation found in the field diaries of Simon (Szymon) Okoloski (1580–1653), a famous Polish-Lithuanian historian and theologian who witnessed in 1637–1638 the suppression by Crown Hetman of the Cossack rebellion driven by Jakiv Ostrjanyn and Dmytro Hunja. Okoloski wrote about the Dnieper the following: *A przeto Dniepr Sławutą, to jest sławny hutą albo kaźnią nazwali* 'and they called the Dnieper *Sławuta*, that is, famous for its ironworks and torture' [Turowski 1858 : 89 (supplement); Schramm 1973 : 106, fn 264].

G. Schramm was quick to treat the above Middle Polish construction as paratactic like *Dnipro-Slovuta* [Schramm 1973 : 106]. However, Okoloski's example is not exactly paratactic. We are dealing here with the so-called second instrumental *Sławutą* in place of the second accusative *Sławutę*, see MP *niechaj was nie zowią mistrzami* (pl. instr.) 'Let them not call you masters' (for similar examples in Slavic languages and dialects, see [Miklosich 1926 : 727–728]). Remarkably, O. Potebnja, who also cited several Slavic and Baltic examples of the second instrumental, deemed it necessary to single out specifically the Polish language which seemed to introduce this case earlier as compared with East Slavic [Potebnja 1898 : 312].

Here we turn to the puzzle of the parallel substantivizing suffixes *-icъ* and *-ičъ* which can historically convey a diminutive and patronymic meaning, respectively. At first sight, this distribution is fully dependent on the use of the suffixes *-icъ* and *-ičъ* as attested in the above-mentioned constructions, OU *D(ъ)neprъ Slovuticъ* in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* and MR *Neprъ Slautičъ* in *The Tale of Suxanov*. However, there is no either reliable evidence or convincing theoretical explanation of the change of *č* into *c* in the suffix *-icъ* > *-ičъ* (see fn 3). The distribution of these suffixes becomes even more problematic if we agree that the author of the Middle Russian record consciously emulated the narrative of *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* and some contemporaneous Ukrainian folk songs.

V. Nimčuk chose the suffix *-icъ* as the underlying one and disregarded numerous and obvious patronymic parallels in R *-ičъ* [Nimčuk 1986 : 5] such as R *Don Ivanovič*, *Dunaj Ivanovič* next to *Dunajuška Ivanovič*, and especially *Don Ivanovič*, all referring to the Don River [Gruzinskij 1909 1 : 71–78], next to *Něpra korolevična* [Gruzinskij 1910 2 : 121; see Schramm 1973 : 107, fn 268; Željcznjak 1985 : 55]. In the latter construction the form *Dъněprъ* appears as the feminine *Něpra* (f.), with the first consonant *d(ъ)* dropped due to «folk euphony». The personified hydronym *Něpra* (f.) occurs in full agreement with the attributive feminine noun showing the qualitative meaning *korolevična* (f.) 'powerful, dominant' and functioning as a «feminine agent».

It would be beneficial at this point to explore a classification of derivational means identified by R. Jakobson as early as 1963 for a variety of patronymics in different codices of the Primary Chronicle and *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*.

First, according to R. Jakobson, the suffix *-ičъ* (<\*-ītjo-) in masculine patronymics could be attached either to the stem or to the possessive derivatives from such a stem [Jakobson 1963 : 300; see Taszycki 1959]. In the 1377 Laurentian codex of the Primary Chronicle, one comes across patronymics in *-ov-ičъ* / *-ev-ičъ* derived from the possessive forms of the respective stems: *Olbg-ov-ičъ*, *Andrě-ev-ičъ*, *David-ov-ičъ*, *Tudъk-ov-ičъ*, *Ivan-ov-ičъ*, and many others; the patronymics attested in the Novgorod Codex (late 13th c.) exemplify results of *cekanne* as postulated for *Ivanovicъ*, *Volosovicъ*, *Lazorevicъ*, and the like [Jakobson 1963: 300]. Second, in two-stem patronymics, the suffix *-ičъ* was added directly to the second stem, whence *Vse-volod-ičъ*, *Svjatъ-slav(l)-ičъ*, *Volodi-mer-ičъ*, *Jaro-slav-ičъ*, and many others which were popular among the local nobility [Jakobson 1963 : 300–301; Taszycki 1959 : 24–25]. The derivative pattern of one-stem patronymics began to historically influence the derivation of two-stem patronymics, whence *Volodi-mer-ov-ičъ* next to *Volodi-mer-ičъ*, *Vse-volod-ov-ičъ* next to *Vse-volod-ičъ*, and the like.

All the above forms are of particular interest from the point of view of absolute chronology. To take the oldest one-stem patronymic *Volodi-mer-ičъ* as an example, we are dealing in this case with a pleophonic form derived from *Voldimerъ* (< \**Voldimirъ*) which appears for the first time in the Ostromir Gospel Lectionary of 1056–1057, compiled in Novgorod: *Volodimira* (gen.) (OG : 295v). In other words, the underlying (oldest) patronymics could appear not later than in the 11th century, although one cannot exclude a pleophonic adjustment of the patronymic \**Voldi-mer-ičъ*, not attested in the Primary Chronicle and other written records dating back to the Old Ukrainian period<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, the name \**Voldimirъ* was borrowed by Lithuanians as a generic term for a ruler in a pre-pleophonic form: Li *waldýmieras*, cf. MGr *Baldimer* in *Georgius Monachus Continuatus* [Danylenko 2022 : 358].

Jakobson also identified another group of (possessive) patronymics which ended in *-in-ičb* (derived from the *-a*-declension), whence patronymics like *Fom-in-ičb* (from *Fom-a*), *Timošk-in-ičb* (from *Timošk-a*), *Mirošk-in-ičb* (from *Mirošk-a*), *Oleks-in-ičb* (from *Oleks-a*), and so on. Some exceptions were provoked by the stressed base names in *-áta* (and *-úta*), e.g., *Miljat-ičb* (from *Milj-áta*), *Smoljat-ičb* (from *Smolj-áta*), *Vyšat-ičb* (from *Vyš-áta*) and others next to *Něžat-in-ičb* (from *Něžát-a*), and the like [Jakobson 1963 : 301].

Yet, there are some deviating forms (or even lacunae) in written records which can reflect chronologically different derivational patterns. G. Schramm who assumed that the author of *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* could have consciously avoided a one-stem form like *\*Slovutovičb*, whose derivation is quite possible in this case [Schramm 1973 : 108]. Suffice it to mention here such unique singular forms of today's hydronyms in *-ovič(b)* as *Poroskovič* (the right tributary of the Voronovka, which is the right tributary of the Desna River in the Russian Federation) and *Rovkovič* (in the basin of the Sož River in the Mahilëu region in Belarus') [Trubačëv 2009 : 177, 186].

At first glance, the derivation of *\*Slovutičb* from a one-stem base may remind of a pattern in the archaic patronymic in the personal name *Stavko Skordetičb*, attested under the year 1069 in the Primary Chronicle in the 1956 edition prepared by D. Lixačëv (PVL–Paradosis 3 : 1920). One can add here *Ivanb Voitišičb*, the Kyiv *voivode*, whose name is recorded under the year 1116 in the Hypatian codex of the Primary Codex (Hyp.1425 : 284). Incidentally, since the river name *Slovuta* ends in *-a*, one would expect a derivative like *\*Slovut-in-ičb* which has not been attested in any (East) Slavic record. The only plausible explanation of this striking lacuna is the possibility that the author of the Old Ukrainian epic resorted to the archaic derivative pattern of *-ičb* with a base in *-út-a*, whence the occurrence of the *\*Slovutičb* irrespective of the morphological complexity of *Slovuta*. What counted in this case, therefore, is the accented *-út(-a)* in the final part of the derivative *\*Slovutičb*.

V. Nimčuk challenged the patronymic interpretation of the hydronym *Slovutičb* explained by F. Buslaev as «a son of certain *Slavuta* or *Slavuty*» [Buslaev 1894 : 101], (see Sr. 3 : col. 421). Instead of viewing this form as a patronymic [Tvorogov 1995 : 124] whose final consonant went through *cekannja* in *Slovuticb*, V. Nimčuk tried to explicate the meaning of *Slovutičb* and *Slovuticb* in a different way. He reminded that the suffix *-ičb* could be used in Old Ukrainian with both the patronymic and diminutive meaning [Nimčuk 1986 : 7]. Not incidentally, in addition to patronymics like *Jaroslavičb*, the suffix *-ičb* could convey a diminutive meaning as observed in *dětičb* 'a child', *koropičb* 'a small carp,' and *sokoličb* next to *sokolьcb* 'a young falcon,' both attested in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*. Some other derivatives are less transparent, e.g., *brataničb* 'filius fratris' (Sr. 1 : cols.166–167), *kotoričb* 'adversary' (ibid. : col. 1301), *nevodičb* 'fisherman' (Sr. 2 : col. 361), and other examples [Vaillant 1974 : 324–325], although V. Nimčuk argued that these forms could have gone through diminutivization. He also maintained that, since such derivatives are rarely attested in the older written records, the diminutive meaning could have arisen from the patronymic reinterpretation of the names of young living beings, e.g., OCS *robičičb* / *rabičičb* 'a son of a female slave' derived, most likely, from OCS *robičb* (< *roba* 'a female slave'), also OCS *robičica* 'a female slave' with a diminutive nuance in its meaning [Nimčuk 1986 : 8; Vaillant 1974 : 344–345], also (Sr. 3 : cols. 125–126).

The form *Slovuticb* first attested in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* is, to be sure, a derivative from OU *Slovuta*. The question arises, however, as to how one can explain the semantic parallelism of the pair *Slovuticb* — *Slovutičb*. In this respect,

can we treat these forms, despite their different suffixes, as the oldest attested hydronyms with a similar meaning? Do these forms represent different stages in the process of substantivization as reconstructed for the suffix *-icъ* (and accordingly the suffix *-ičъ*)? Are they just interchangeable variants as suggested by R. Jakobson, cf. *O Dněpre Slovutičju* in (La Geste : 174)? If the derivative in *-ičъ* has a diminutive meaning arisen from the patronymic one, as claimed by V. Nimčuk, can we argue that *-icъ* with its substantivizing function in *Slovuticъ* represents the oldest stage in the development of this noun?

In Sect. 3.1 we assumed that the suffix *-icъ* in *Slovuticъ* performs the primary substantivizing function in the paratactic construction *Dněprъ-Slovuticъ* which reflects an early developmental stage in the substantivization of this Slavic noun in its attributive function. Some examples from Old Church Slavonic and Old Ukrainian, are likely to prove that, despite some rare instances of *cekannja* in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*, derivatives ending in *-icъ* constitute a separate group of nouns. I adduce here only several examples like OCS *korablicъ* / *korabicъ* 'navigium, navicular, navis, scapha' (SJS 2 : 50; Sr. 1 : col. 283) as compared with OESl *mečicъ* (dim.) 'a small sword' (Sr. 2 : col. 131), an example rejected by A. Vaillant as unreliable [Vaillant 1974 : 541], also OESl *nožicъ* (dim.) 'a small knife' (Sr. 2 : col. 463). Of interest are also OU *pticъ* 'bird' next to OU *ptičъ* 'bird' marked as «collective» by the compilers of *The Dictionary-Reference of The Tale of Igor's Campaign* (Slovo 4 : 218); however, the latter form is also attested as a singular diminutive [SJS 3 : 515]: OCS *p(ъ)tiščъ* 'ptáček; птичка; Vögelchen,' that is, 'a bird chick' (Sr. 2, col. 1757). One also should bear in mind that OCS *ptičъ* is a regular possessive adjective likewise [Vaillant 1974 : 429].

Although rarely attested, Old East Slavic derivatives in *-icъ* can reveal a diminutive meaning which is a result of advanced substantivization of the respective noun. It is hard, nevertheless, to admit any diminutive meaning ascribed to the hydronym *Slovuticъ* in reference to the Dnieper River, known as one of the longest and widest rivers in Europe. Its geographical and topographical description can be paired with that of the Dnieper Rapids, part of the trade route from the Varangians to the Greeks first mentioned in the Primary Chronicle and depicted even earlier, in the 10th century, as treacherous and dangerous places in the Dnieper River by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his *De Administrando Imperio* [Danylenko 2021].

Finally, at a later stage, *Slavutičъ* (already with *a* in place of *o* in the root under the influence of today's word *slava* 'glory') acquired a fully «independent» referential meaning as exemplified in MoU *Slavutyč* 'Dnieper' [Nimčuk 1986 : 10].

#### 4. *Slovuta*: The etymology

In addition to *Slovuta* (*Slavuta*), featured in folklore and late medieval records, one can find a number of related hydronyms such as U *Slavec*,<sup>9</sup> *Slavynka*, *Slavuta* (the Prypjat' basin), *Slavka* (the left tributary of the Latorycja river in Transcarpathia), *Slavec* (the right tributary of the Mixidra / Myxydra river, a left tributary of the Seret; *Mihodra* (SGKP 6 : 391) and others [Nepokupnyj, et al. 1979 : 509; see Rozwadowski 1921]. Among parallel Baltic hydronyms one should name Li *Šlauntà*, *Šlauaŋtas* and other hydronyms derived allegedly from PIE *\*kleuH-* 'to wash, rinse' (LIV : 335–336); [Pokorny 2 : 607; Sławski 1975 : 274]; (Vasmer–Trubačev 3 : 673); [Lučyk 2014 : 185].

Paralleled in Li *Šlauntà*, the Ukrainian hydronym *Slovuta* (*Slavuta*) is commonly connected with OU *slovutъnyj* 'glorious, renowned' as a derivative from the verb OU *slyti* < CS *\*slyti* 'to be renowned, famous, glorified,' ultimately OCS *slovъ*, *sluti* 'to be reputed' [Nimčuk 1986 : 9; Tvorogov 1995 : 124; also Pokorny 2 : 606]; (ESJS 14 : 839).

#### 4.1. The possessive denominative

O. Trubačëv argued that *Slovuta* (*Slavuta*) was derived from «an old participial stem *slovot-* from an antique verbal form meaning ‘to flow’» [Trubačëv 1968 : 166]. The «participial explanation» has become commonplace today (see [Nimčuk 1986 : 9; Schramm 1973 : 108; Željeznjak 1987 : 69; Trubačëv 2003 : 93; Karpenko 2003 : 182], also (Vasmer–Trubačëv 3 : 673)). This theory was first outlined almost a century ago by M. Vasmer, according to whom the underlying participle *\*slovot-*, as reconstructed for Sl *Slovutičь*, could be connected with OES *slovutъnyj* ‘famous, reputed’, *slovutъnyj*, also OCS *prěslovy* ‘preclarus’ (SJS 3 : 481), R *slovutnikъ* ‘a famous person,’ and even the personal name P *Slawęta* [Vasmer 1924 : 181–182]. M. Vasmer maintained that CS *\*slovot-* should be connected with the paradigm OCS *slovъ*, *sluti* ‘to be reputed’ [Vasmer 1924 : 182]. If this is the case, then the respective verb clearly belongs to A. Leskien’s Verb Class IA b1 [Leskien 1955 : 124, 146–147]. Remarkably, and I will touch upon this below, M. Vasmer explained in the same vein OIn (Skr) *vrútak* ‘source, well’ as *\*vbrōtъkъ* to be linked to OCS *vbrō*, *vbrěti* ‘to boil (hot),’ that is, ‘fervere; effervere’ (SJS 1 : 363) and even ‘fervere, bullire’ [Vasmer 1924 : 182; also Miklosich 1862–1865 : 79].

One should recall here M. Budimir’s hypothesis, according to which we have at our disposal two Indo-European roots related to *Slovuta* (*Slavuta*) [Budimir 1921]. Firstly, we are dealing with the PIE *\*k̑leuH-* ‘to wash, rinse, clean’ (LIV : 335–336), cf. Lat *cluere* ‘to purify,’ *clo(u)āca* ‘sewer,’ with the *-d-* extension in Gk *κλύδων* ‘wave,’ OHG *hlūtтар* ‘pure, clear,’ R *slud* ‘floodplain meadow,’ R *naslud* ‘frost, water on the ice’ [Budimir 1921 : 104–105; Rozwadowski 1921 : 131]; (Vasmer 2 : 665; ESJS 14 : 839). Secondly, there are numerous derivatives from PIE *\*k̑leu-* ‘to hear,’ and finally *\*kleus-* ‘to listen’ as a desiderative to *\*k̑leu* [Pokorny 2 : 605–607]; (LEV : 334), as attested in Gk *κλυτός* ‘renowned, glorious,’ Lat *inclutus* / *inclitus* ‘celebrated, renowned, famous, illustrious,’ Sl *slušaјo*, *sluшati* ‘to listen,’ and others [Brugmann 1906 2(1) : 395], (GEL : 963; LD : 924). Remarkably, the two stems —*\*k̑leuH* and *\*k̑leu*— are cited in Pokorny as well as in (LIV : 334–336) under separate entries, a distinction which can hardly be refuted by the recent critique of Pokorny’s reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European [see Bichlmeier 2020 : 46–47]<sup>5</sup>. Although it is less relevant for our comparative-historical inquiry, M. Budimir also distinguished between the above-mentioned bases *\*slov-* and *\*slav-* as reflected in a great number of Slavic toponyms and hydronyms [Budimir 1921]. According to Budimir [ibid. : 109], the stem *\*slov-* can be reconstructed in a variety of Slavic to-

<sup>5</sup> H. Bichlmeier’s critique is rather extensive as in his statement that Pokorny’s dictionary «is completely outdated» [Bichlmeier 2020 : 45 46–47]. The first shortcoming, according to Bichlmeier, is the reconstruction of the phoneme system of Proto-Indo-European by Pokorny and his followers. Voiceless aspirates are no longer regarded as phonemes, they now count as mere allophones of voiceless occlusives in certain environments, mainly after word-initial PIE *\*s-*, e.g., PIE *\*sk->\*sk<sup>h</sup>*. The other point concerns the so-called «laryngeals»: in Pokorny’s times and in «conservative circles of Indo-European studies for decades thereafter» and even in large parts of historical onomastics even today the phoneme system of Proto-Indo-European contained a vocalic sound *schwa* *\* /ə/*. The second shortcoming of J. Pokorny’s, H. Krahe’s, and the other researchers’ reconstructions is their description of the morphology and the semantics of the hydronymic material [Bichlmeier 2020 : 47–48]. Nevertheless, in the proposed here etymology of OU *Slovuta*, I intend to show that Bichlmeier is right to claim that a reconstruction is only complete if a full account of the morphemes involved, the way they look, their separate and combined meaning, and, if possible, the accent of the whole word can be given. What I want also to stress is that no full reconstruction (in addition to what H. Bichlmeier stated) is possible without taking into consideration the historical and typological dimension of the «Old European» language system which the hydronym *Slovuta* seems to belong to (see Sec. 4.1).

ponyms like Sr *Slóvac*, *Slovín* (mountains in Serbia), while the second stem *\*slav-* is found in far more derivatives, e.g., Cr *Slavin* as a river, ford, and village name, Bg *Preslav* (city), *Slavovica* (village) and many others.

I will return to the above distinction below, when dealing with the etymology of the derivative base *\*slov-*. Yet, arguably, the postulated participial (deverbative) form *\*slovŕta* is not compelling from both the comparative-historical and typological points of view — the hypothesis of Vasmer–Trubačëv–Nimčuk is not sustainable at all. These scholars looked at the hydronym *Slovuta* through the prism of the Old Church Slavonic class IA b1 verb *sluti*, *slovŕ*, *sloveši* ‘appellari’ (SJS 4 : 121) which can be associated through the root extension with OCS *slyšati* ‘audire’ [Vondrák 1912 : 280], (SJS 4 : 124). At first blush, the association of the two verbs may look logical, while reflecting to some extent Budimir’s distinction between the two Proto-Indo-European derivative bases, one meaning ‘to wash, rinse’ and the other ‘to be heard.’ However, the major flaw in the hypothesis of Vasmer–Trubačëv–Nimčuk is its ahistorical approach toward *\*slovŕta* which otherwise should have resulted in a different form, i.e., *slovy* (m. sg.) and *slovŕšti* (f. sg.). The latter one would ultimately yield a form like *\*slovuščij* (> *\*slovučij*) which, in fact, is routinely recorded in Church Slavonic records of the Old Ukrainian recension, e.g., *slovŕšte*, *slovuščij* (Sr. 3 : col. 434), [see Bevzenko, et al., 1978 : 261–262]<sup>6</sup>.

In short, the «participial» explanation is not convincing.

First, we should not readily project into prehistoric Indo-European times our findings on phenomena that we can «document in historical periods and sometimes even test in the field of our choice» [Polomé 1990 : 267]. Second, the explanation of the hydronym under consideration as an old participle contradicts the ancient nature of this form as postulated by the very same scholars. If this form is autochthonous and, presumably, belongs to the layer of «Old European» hydronymy, one must assume that the river name *Slovuta* came into existence at least 2,500 to 3,000 years ago [see Bichlmeier 2020 : 44], even before the satemization of the palatovelar *k̑* in anlaut (see Sect. 4.2). This chronology does not contradict the fact that «Old European» hydronymy emerged purportedly from the western Indo-European space, with Baltic and Slavic holding only a minimal part in this ancient system [Krahe 1961 : 4, 1964 : 33]. Even more so, the reconstruction of the morphological and semantic structure of the underlying form *\*slovŕta* should be conducted strictly speaking in «ancient» terms, that is, without projecting into «Old European» the state of modern Slavic languages, including Ukrainian.

By way of illustration, it is worthwhile mentioning the Slavic name of the sixth Dnieper Rapid *Βερούτζη* as recorded in Chapter 9 of Constantine Porphyrogenitus’s treatise *De Administrando Imperio* (942–952). As its Rhosic (Old Scandinavian) counterpart, *Λεάντι*, Sl *Βερούτζη* has been traditionally treated as a present active participle from the verb *vrěti* ‘to boil hot,’ i.e., *vrŕtij* [Thomsen 1877 : 64], whence *vrŕcij* [see Sreznevskij 1859–1860 : 319]. A dissenting opinion was expressed by G. Y. Shevelov who argued that the form *vrŕci(j)* could hardly be labeled participial at all, but rather adjectival [Shevelov 1955 : 516, fn 14].

Elsewhere I proposed to treat OU *vrŕcij* as an archaic denominative without a direct connection to the verb *vrěti* which could have emerged later [Danylenko 2001 : 52–58]. The denominal form *vrŕcij* might have been built to a zero grade of the athematic nominal stem by means of the suffix *\*-ont-*, whence CS *\*vrŕ-ŕt-(i)ŕ* [see Vaillant 1974 : 430–431] with *\*vrŕ-* going to PIE *\*uerH-* ‘to be hot’ connected through «semantic syncretism» with PIE *\*uer-* ‘to run’ (LIV : 684,

<sup>6</sup> For the necessity to distinguish the (Old) Ukrainian recension of Church Slavonic [see Naienko 2022].

689–690), whence ‘to be hot (of water)’ > ‘to be boiling’ > ‘to be whirling, running.’ The antiquity of the term \**vbručij* is well evidenced in Baltic half-thematics of the same root like La *verdu*, *viru(a)*, Liv *érda*: *vr*, *vrti* ‘to boil’ or by statives which closely reflect the Proto-Indo-European perfect [Stang 1966 : 314, 321, 336]. In this respect, of interest is the athematic CS \**gorǫšt-* which morphologically parallels the form \**vbrǫšt-* [Meillet 1924 : 196; Vaillant 1966 : 378], thus triggering historical vacillations attested in *svěštę goręštę* (I.7 : 2) ~ *svěštę gorǫštę* (I.7 : 11) ‘a burning candle’ (acc. sg. f.) (Supr.–S. : 13).

I argue that the meaning of the suffix \*-*ont-* in the denominative *vbručij* reconstructs to the possessive one PIE \*-(*e/o*)*nt-*, in particular in Hittite forms in \*-*ant-* with the individualizing function. Not incidentally, J. Haudry proposed to treat Hi *gimmant* (from *gim-* ‘winter’) as ‘the one who possesses winter’ («génie de l’hiver») [Haudry 1977 : 422]; in line with J. Haudry’s theory, one can cite Ve *bṛh-nt-* ‘powerful,’ which, although historically attested as a regular participle showing ablaut, can be reconstructed as ‘the possessor of \**bṛh* (power)’; cf. MoGr *Rind*, OHGr *hrind* ‘livestock’ from \**kr-ent-*, *kṛ-ent-*, \**kṛ-nt-* ‘the one who has horns,’ Lat *corn*, and the like. All this allowed me to reconstruct the underlying name of the sixth Dnieper Rapid not as a participial form but as an athematic denominative \**uer(H)-ont-* with a meaning characterized by semantic syncretism in ‘(the one) who possesses a vortex (PIE \**uerH*) which is enabled to run, spin (PIE \**uer*)’ [see Danylenko 2001 : 55]. Having analyzed related toponyms and hydronyms, I also concluded that the Old Ukrainian name of the sixth Dnieper Rapid is one of the oldest in the Ukrainian-speaking territories. It is no accident that the stem \**uer(H)-ont-* —with (*H*) indicating the postulated syncretism of PIE \**uerH-* and PIE \**uer-* — is found in other Ukrainian hydronyms and toponyms like the name *Vbručij* used both to refer to a rivulet (MoU *Vručaj*) and a town (MoU *Ovruč*) [Željeznjak 1985 : 39]. Interestingly, in the core «Old European» languages one comes across a variety of derivatives with the same root PIE \**uer(H)-*, involved in ablaut, whose underlying meaning, according to H. Krahe, is ‘water, rain, stream’ [Krahe 1961 : 5]. However, among such derivatives we cannot find any formation with a stem similar to the postulated syncretic form \**uer(H)-ont-* where the root \**uer(H)-* combines the ideas of ‘a boiling water’ and ‘running, flowing,’ cf. such examples as *Varia*, *Vaire* (also *Veyre*) attested in southern France, *Warma* ‘water-course’ in Norway next to such hydronyms as No *Verma*, Li *Virma*, Gr *Wurma*, E *Worm Brook* and numerous *Worm*-derivatives found in the *Dreilandenpunt* region [Krahe 1963 : 6, 55–56].

Given the antiquity of the derivational model of the Old Ukrainian athematic denominative *vbručij* (< PIE \**uer(H)-ont-(i)ĩ*), it is not surprising that there are no parallel stems attested in the core «Old European» languages, as postulated by H. Krahe [Krahe 1964 : 32–33]. If we agree that «Old European» was not necessarily only one single language but might be a cover-term for an archaic layer of several languages, which were just never written down [see Bichlmeier 2020 : 44], then we can argue that the name *vbručij* fits into the system of the so-called «Proto-Slavic River names» as by J. Udolph [Udolph 2014 : 1137–1138]. I hypothesize therefore that the etymology of the hydronym *Slovuta* should be based on a derivational pattern reminiscent of the one reconstructed for *vbručij*.

As in the name of the sixth Dnieper Rapid *vbručij* (< PIE \**uer-ont-(i)ĩ*), I suggest treating the suffix -*qt-* in PU *slov-qt-ā* (PS *slov-ont-ā*) as possessive [see Haudry 1977 : 421–422] for proto-Indo-European substantives taking on the possessive suffix \*-(*e/o*)*nt-*, whence the underlying PIE *kleu(H)-ont-ā*. In accordance with this hypothesis, there are grounds for positing the form OU *Slovuta* (PU \**slov-qt-ā* < PS \**slov-ont-ā*) as a reflex of the athematic denominative ‘the one

who possesses the quality of *\*slov-*. In terms of absolute chronology, this etymologization can reflect approximately the period of the second millennium B.C. as proposed by H. Krahe for the emergence of «Old European» hydronymy [Krahe 1964 : 33]<sup>7</sup>.

In fact, when exploring Krahe's material closer, one notices parallelism between the postulated PS *\*slov-ont-ā* and a great number of «Old European» hydronyms containing the *-nt-* formant. Leaving certain details aside, derivatives with *-nt-* constitute different derivational groups and function either as historical masculines in *-nto-s* or feminines in *-nt-ā*. Yet, as H. Krahe noted, there are more feminines ending in *-antia* or *-entia* as *Alantia* / *Alentia*, *Albantia*, *Amantia*, *Druantia* / *Druentia*, *Karantia*, *Palantia*, *Salantia* and many others in the western European languages [Krahe 1963 : 10–11, 1964 : 64]. Remarkably, a very similar distribution holds true for Slavic feminine hydronyms which seem to exemplify the oldest layer of such names in «Old European», if we accept that they referred originally to the feminine head noun 'river' (f.). Yet P. Arumaa was right to argue that the linguists cannot yet resolve the important question why in Slavic the river names are largely today feminine and partly (historically) masculine, while the names of lakes are neuters [Arumaa 1965–1969 : 20, 25]. The following Ukrainian examples of masculines, feminines, and neuters, which all refer to rivers, are most striking in this respect: *Vorskla* (<*Vъrъskla* f.; 1105) — *Vorskľ* (m.; 1570) — *Vorsklo* (n.; 1688), *Merlja* / *Merla* (f.; 1620, 1852) — *Merľ* (m.; 1183) — *Merlo* (n.), also *Merľjak* (m.) [Nepokupnyj, et al. 1979 : 123, 360].

And now the question arises as to whether the above western Indo-European hydronyms in *-nt-ā* can be directly connected with the derivational pattern in OU *Slovuta*. According to H. Krahe's school of thought, «Old European» hydronymy, shared by several but not all Indo-European languages, is neither Proto-Indo-European nor language specific but represents a Western European layer, comprised of Germanic, Celtic, Italic, Illyric, Baltic, and, to a lesser degree, Slavic [Krahe 1963 : 3–4]. If we concur with H. Krahe's theory, corroborated by J. Udolph's research on Slavic as a member of this group of languages [Udolph 1990, 2014], one can assume that other Indo-European hydronyms in *-nt-ā* may be etymologized in the same vein as OU *Slovuta*, that is, as prehistoric denominatives with the possessive suffix PIE *\*(e/o)nt-* which, as some scholars admit, was used to form «noun derivatives, particularly in Hittite but also in other IE languages» [Szemerényi 1999 : 318].

<sup>7</sup> Of interest, in this respect, is the common Slovene river name *\*Sôčā* whose underlying Slavic form can be reconstructed as Sl *\*Sôčā*, regularly continuing an older *\*Sunčā* (Bezljaj 2 : 204). The etymological connection of the underlying hydronym with the Proto-Indo-European root *\*H<sub>1</sub>ejsh<sub>2</sub>-* 'kräftigen; antreiben' (LIV : 234) has long been established [see Krahe 1964 : 56]. According to L. Repanšek, the original meaning of that root was indeed 'to be/become set in motion' which does not allow for treating the underlying hydronym as the possessive denominal derivative *\*H<sub>1</sub>ojsh<sub>2</sub>-éh<sub>2</sub>-* [Repanšek 2015 : 65]. L. Repanšek argued that there is no positive proof that a hypothetical possessive *\*-nt-*adjective *H<sub>1</sub>ojsh<sub>2</sub>-nt-* would form its feminine in *\*-ih<sub>2</sub>-*. [ibid. : 66]. The case of clearly denominal river names such as *Albantia*, *Aquantia* and the like is ultimately, as L. Repanšek noted, indecisive in this respect: either the ubiquitous sequence *-antia* is interpreted as the reflex of the feminine formation of the *\*-nt-* possessive or as ready-made *toponymical* suffix, mirroring a virtual *\*-ntiH<sub>2</sub>-* [ibid. : 66]. L. Repanšek's cautious stance does not look compelling at all. The meaning of the underlying Proto-Indo-European root 'to be/become set in motion' does not necessarily presuppose a present participle in its agentive meaning. The participial interpretation of the form *\*H<sub>1</sub>ejsh<sub>2</sub>-* seems to be based, to use the author's own words [ibid. : 64], more on our own projection of the naturally assumed possible qualities of a river than on any positive evidence.

Given the common prehistory of «Old European» hydronyms with the *-nt-* stem, it is tempting to assume that they antedate even the most archaic inflection preserved, for instance, in the Old Indic paradigm of *-nt-* participles like *\*b<sup>h</sup>éront-* from *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-* ‘to carry, to bring.’ And to reiterate, it has the form *\*(e/o)nt-* in athematic (both denominative and deverbative) formations: *-nt-* is thus secondary. According to O. J. L. Szemerényi, it would be even possible for *-ont-* to be formed from *\*em-* ‘to take’ with the suffix *-t-* of nouns of agent / action and to have been originally compounded with nouns: *\*b<sup>h</sup>er-om-t-* ‘taking the carrying’; this would agree, as Szemerényi admitted, with the fact that the *-nt-* formation did not originally belong to the verbal sphere [Szemerényi 1999 : 318].

Several final remarks are due here. Save for individual reconstructions in the field of hydronymy (and toponymy), we know nothing about the «Old European» language system in the 2nd millennium B.C. What is obvious is we can hardly posit the existence of a full-fledged inflectional verb system, including the present tense active participle, in «Old European» (see [Bichlmeier 2014]). In fact, although with great reservations about the typology of this language, one can agree with Th. Vennemann, however unusual his stance appears in this case, that the «Old European» language was not a true inflecting system yet [Vennemann 2003 : 155]. It is not then surprising that the identification of the hydronyms with Indo-European roots for the most part has yielded semantically unsatisfying results. As a matter of fact, this language’s suffixes are not specific enough to be identified as «inflectional» (derivational), and the word structure is agglutinative and is thus «*a fortiori* non-Indo-European» [ibid. : 157], or, we can add, «pre-inflectional».

Th. Vennemann’s thesis about the non-Indo-European (Vasconic) roots of «Old European» hydronymy has been actively debated [see Udolph 2013]. Yet one should take into consideration the predominance of feminine hydronyms in «Old European» from the point of view of the agglutinative technique postulated for the prehistoric stage of this language. If we deal in this case with an «early-inflectional» (suffixal-agglutinative) stage in the formation of «Old European», the termination *-ā* in PS *\*slov-ont-ā* (> OU *slov-ut-a*) could serve, in accordance with Th. Vennemann, as the definite marker [Vennemann 2003 : 161]. As the grammatical head of its construction, the termination *-ā* would have its natural place at the very end of the word, first and foremost in the hydronyms and toponyms which are commonly definitized [ibid. : 161].

The treatment of the termination *-ā* as an article is fully conditional without a full reconstruction of «Old European» in the spirit, for instance, of T. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov’s (1984) study of Indo-European and the typological theory of its formation [Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984], including the ergative prehistory of Indo-European as a nominative language of the government type [Klimov 1973; Lehmann 1999; Mel’nikov 2003 : 113–120].

Just to fill in this gap in the first approximation, we offer some general remarks as to the grammatical status of the termination *-ā* in Sect. 4.2.

#### 4.2. Semantics meets typology

As follows from the discussion in Sect. 4.1, the major problem lies in the explanation of each morphological constituent of the underlying derivative PS *\*slov-ont-ā* ‘the one who possesses the quality of *\*slov-*.’ It means that the complete etymology of the hydronym *Slovuta* is impossible without a comprehensible explication of the base *\*slov-*, in addition to the suffix *\*-ont-* and the termination *-ā*.

Let us return for a moment to the two Indo-European stems associated with OU *Slovuta* which are (1) PIE *\*k<sub>1</sub>leuH-* ‘to wash, rinse, clean’ and (2) PIE *\*k<sub>1</sub>ley-* ‘to hear’ (and the desiderative *\*k<sub>1</sub>ley-* ‘to listen’; see Sects. 4–4.1). As proposed, OU *Slovuta* should be treated as a denominative whose suffix *\*-ont-* conveys a

categorical meaning of 'possession (of a particular quality).' Exemplified with the help of the base *\*slov-* (with the anlauting *\*k-* satemized already to Slavic *\*s-*)<sup>8</sup>, this quality can be associated with both the process of rinsing, washing, flowing (PIE *\*kleuH-*) and the process of its perception (PIE *\*kleu-*). The postulated syncretism is quite plausible and even possible since rinsing, washing, flowing (about water) and all other similar activities and processes are prone to produce sounds that are perceived by those who are around. In other words, I venture to posit for the Slavic base *\*slov-* the onomatopoetic meaning which combines the idea of a sound produced by rinsing, washing, flowing and its perception by those staying/living close to a source of this sound (river?), whence PU *\*slov-* < PIE *\*kleu(H)-ont-ā* where *\*kleu(H)* is a representation of onomatopoetic syncretism of 'rinsing' (PIE *\*kleuH-*) and its 'perception' (PIE *\*kleu-*). Such a sound can be metaphorically conceived of as a rumour (cf. OCS and ESl *slutije* 'rumour' in [Vaillant 1974 : 679]; (Sr. 3, col. 434), 'fame' if applied to people, their physiological activities, events, and even locomotion<sup>9</sup>. This is a common association since onomatopoeia represents sound, visual and other phenomena, primarily at the verb-related onomatopoetic formations [Danylenko, 2015].

The postulated onomatopoetic syncretism of *\*slov-*, based on the primary literal onomatopoetic meaning, is indeed compatible with the postulated archaic (suffixal-agglutinative) stage in the development of Proto-Indo-European. Typologically, the «Old European» system was characterized by an inflectional grammar «in the making», which prompts me to reiterate that OU *Slovuta* might reflect an «early-inflectional» (suffixal-agglutinative) nominal formation with the termination *-ā*.

Leaving aside a discussion of the typology of Proto-Indo-European [see Adrados 1992], the «early-inflectional» prehistory of Indo-European, and its Proto-Ukrainian «dialect(s)-in-the making» rests in its transitional stage from the totally «semantic system of active grammar type» to the syntactic system of nominative-accusative grammar [Beaken 1996 : 155; see Klimov 1973, 1979]. Remarkably, while reconstructing Proto-Indo-European as a nominative-accusative language of the government type with the inflectional system, W. P. Lehmann analyzed various innovations, providing, to his mind, strong evidence of the active coding properties of Proto-Indo-European [Lehmann 1999]. Correspondingly, the active stage of the formation of Proto-Indo-European was characterized by very loose (not yet fusional) suffixal-agglutinative nominal formation as postulated by Th. Vennemann [Vennemann 2003 : 157].

Consequently, the termination *-ā* in PU *\*slov-qt-a* (< PS *\*slov-ont-ā* < PIE *\*kleu(H)-ont-ā*) could function not as a definite (vs. indefinite) article, a feature fully integrated in the analytical western Indo-European languages<sup>10</sup>, but as a

<sup>8</sup> Although «no binding proof» exists, this change could happen in the time of close Slavic-Iranian contacts, before the Gothic invasion, i.e., according to G. Y. Shevelov, between the 7th century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D. [Shevelov 1965 : 147].

<sup>9</sup> It is not accidental that the meaning 'rumor' is not attested in the Old Church Slavonic Canon (see SJS 4 : 122). Most of the respective texts belong to a limited number of ecclesiastical genres (hagiographical, (para-) liturgical and other texts) which meet the linguistic, chronological, and cultural criteria of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition going back to the proselytizing missions of Constantine and Methodius.

<sup>10</sup> It should be borne in mind that some Slavic languages and dialects tend to acquire grammatical features similar to the category of article in the analytical western European languages. Some valid observations can be found, for example, in W. Breu for high-contact southern Slavic languages [Breu 2012], and H. Arkušyn for North Ukrainian [Arkušyn 1999]. In the first case, we can speak about language contact while the northern Ukrainian phenomenon may be connected with the changes in the so-called internal determinant of the respective language system [see Danylenko 2018; Trudgill 2011 : 1–14].

noun class marker, as used, for example, in modern Niger-Congo languages with predominantly agglutinative technique [Childs 2003 : 97–115]. In a parallel way, the termination *-ā* could mark a class of terms referring to natural streams of fresh water, but not a water barrage as reflected in the name of the sixth Dnieper Rapid *\*vbr-ont-ī* (< PIE *\*uer-ont-(i)ī*) with another marker (termination) *\*(i)ī* [Danylenko 2001 : 52–58].

#### 4.3. Slověne ‘Slavs’

By accepting the primary literal semantic (onomatopoetic) syncretism of the base *\*slov-*, some popular etymologies of the term *slověne* ‘Slavs’ are open to doubt<sup>11</sup>. I would dwell only on the most famous theory which derives this ethnonym from the term *\*slov-o* ‘word.’ According to this theory, the respective activity would be speaking «the same (Slavic) understandable language» [Jakobson 1959 : 271] or simply «(speaking) in Slavic words» [Andersen 2017 : 32]. Quite in the same vein, H. Lunt argued that the Slavic form *slověne* should be derived from LCS *slovo* ‘word’ [Lunt 1985]. He maintained that the underlying Slavic form was a possessive adjective, thus the possessor in question might be called ‘the one with *slov-es-*,’ that is, ‘fame,’ and that the whole morphological construct LCS *\*sloves-n-j-i* meant ‘Slověn’s people,’ or ‘the people of the Glorious One’ [Lunt 1985 : 190]. This left H. Lunt, as H. Andersen opined, with the problem of explaining the attested suffix LCS *-ěn-*, which remains unresolved [Andersen 2017 : 5]. The latter problem is not taken into consideration today by most of the Slavists [see, e.g., Garzaniti 2019 : 40].

On his part, H. Andersen suggested classifying three major types of Slavic patrials attested in different epochs, from modern to medieval: (1) literal primary formations, with appellative bases as OU *derevljane* ‘the woodlands people,’ (2) literal secondary formations, with toponymic bases, e.g., P *wiśliane* ‘the people along the Vistula,’ finally (3) metaphoric formations, in which the patrilial suffix does not denote inhabitants, nor a place of habitation, e.g., OR *běgljane* ‘fugitives.’ According to H. Andersen, the formation *slověne* is an archaism whose creation antedates the productivity of the complex CS *-j-ěn-* suffix. This means that this suffix dates back to before the 500s. As a metaphorical formation (cf. OR *kličane* ‘battue shouters’ from *kličb* ‘shout’), the term *slověne* may at first have been used about other Slavic speakers or, with a negation, about non-Slavic speakers [Andersen 2017 : 32–33, 38]. In that function, it would have served to capture situations of mutual (un)intelligibility, possibly in such discourse contexts as ‘Those people do not understand a word. Clearly, they are not *slovo* people’ or ‘I do not understand a word. Are those people *slovo* people?’ Incidentally, this designation prompts one to mention the so-called «natural law of opposition» as postulated for the pair «mute German» (LCS *němьci*) vs. «*slovo* people» by Š. Ondruš [Ondruš 1975 : 241; Kronsteiner 1980 : 355]. Š. Ondruš stated that the collective name for the Slavs was *slovi*, meaning those who listen, speak in an articulate manner and use words

<sup>11</sup> We are discussing here only the most popular theories among the Slavists, leaving aside hypotheses proposed by some historians. I can mention, for example, O. Pritsak’s etymology which is aimed at connecting the origin of the Slavic form *slověne* with a Hunno-Turkic *saqla-* ‘to watch over, guard, protect’ as attested, for example, in Kazan-Tatar and Karaim Troki in the derivative noun *saqla-w* ‘to guard, watch, protect’ [Pritsak 1983]; (see Radlov 4 : 252); [Lunt 1985 : 198–199]. According to O. Pritsak, in Proto-Bulgarian an original *\*saqla-ǵu* would develop as *\*saqla-w* and receive suffix stress and lose the first vowel: *\*sqlaw-* could be suffixed to form a collective *sqlaw-in* ‘guards, watch, guarding; trained slaves’ [Pritsak 1983 : 405–406]. The latter meaning explains the Arabic form *ṣaqlab-*, while the former supposedly was the word the Byzantines used in reference to the peoples on their borders: *Σκλαβηνός* (sg.).

as opposed to the *němъci* who cannot speak articulately; dial. R *govorit nemo* '(he) speaks inarticulately' (SRNG 21 : 82; ESJS 9 : 545, 14 : 839).

H. Andersen's reasoning, based on the «natural law of opposition», muddies the etymology of the term CS *slověne* and OU *Slovuta*. This scholar delves into historically recorded patrials in Old Church Slavonic and several others of the earliest attested Slavic languages. However, when dealing with the oldest primary patrials in *-j-ēn-* showing possible mutations (e.g., OCS *etioplěn-*, *etioplěn-*, *etiopljan-* 'Ethiopian' in [Vaillant 1974 : 338]), H. Andersen somewhat mechanistically projects the respective historical derivative *slověne* into the prehistoric state of Common Slavic. When providing an etymological explication of the term *slověne*, one cannot neglect its connection with OU *Slovuta* whose derivation and semantics reflect the prehistoric syncretism of the «early-inflectional» stage of Proto-Indo-European. In other words, the etymology of the term *slověne* should be sought in the postulated semantic (onomatopoetic) syncretism of the underlying form PIE *\*kley(H)-ont-ā* before the satemization of the anlauting *k* and the rise of nasals, rather than in the historically attested patrials in *-j-ēn-*.

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper, I discussed various issues related to the origin of OU *Slovuta* and its derivational congeners *Slovuticъ* and *Slovutičъ* against the background of the non-Slavic equivalent *Ḍ̂nēprъ* and the Greek transcriptions *Δάναπρις* and *Βορυσθένης*.

I connected the formation of the derivative *Slovuticъ* with its use in the historical paratactic construction *Ḍ̂nēprъ-Slovuticъ*. A comparison with other paratactic constructions allowed me to argue that this derivative is a result of the historical substantivization of Slavic noun used primarily in the attributive function. As a part of the paratactic unit, the derivative *Slovuticъ* functioned as its attributive component with the qualitative meaning, whence the use of the substantivizing suffix *-icъ* comparable with the suffix *-ecъ* in some East Slavic onomatopoetic particles like MoU *smyk-ec* 'Pull!'. Only later, with the disintegration of the paratactic unit, the term *Slovuticъ* could acquire additional semantic nuances like diminutive in addition to its categorial (substantivizing) function.

It is not accidental that the other derivative *Slovutičъ* / *Slavutičъ* was attested in East Slavic with both the patronymic and diminutive meanings. A parallel formation to *Slovuticъ*, the derivative MU *Slovutičъ* (without *cekannja*) also reflects the old stage in the process of its substantivization with yet a diffuse meaning of its suffix. Its possible patronymic or diminutive interpretation is a result of its later integration into the derivational system of the (Old) Ukrainian language.

The most important part of my analysis concerns the etymology of the derivative base *\*slov-* (< *\*kley(H)-*) as a case of onomatopoetic syncretism. I tried to show that OU *Slovuta* is not a participial derivative, if put in line with the name of the sixth Dnieper Rapid *vъručij*, but a denominative built to a zero grade of the athematic stem by means of the possessive suffix *\*-ont-* (< PIE *\*(e/o)nt-*; see [Danylenko 2001]). This derivational pattern serves as a model for etymologizing OU *Slovuta* (< PIE *\*kley(H)-ont-ā*) which must be treated as an athematic denominative 'the one who possesses the quality of *\*slov-*.' The emergence of this name goes tentatively back to approximately the second millennium B.C., a period of the development of the so-called «Old European» hydronymy in accordance with the postulates of Krahe's school. I argue that the underlying onomatopoetic formation PIE *\*kley(H)-ont-ā* (< *\*kleyH-* / *\*kley-ont-ā*) could have appeared in the «early-inflecting» (suffixal-agglutinative) system of «Old

European». Additionally, the termination *-ā* is compatible with a «noun class marker» designating a natural stream of fresh water.

What is important for the continuous debate of the origins of the Slavs is the fact that the proposed etymology casts doubt on one of the most popular etymologies of the term *slověne* 'Slavs' which allegedly derives from the root of *\*slovo* 'word'. According to our hypothesis, OU *Slovuta* is an archaic denominative with the semantic (onomatopoetic) syncretism of its base *\*slov-* from PIE *\*kley(H)-*, which combines both the idea of rinsing, washing, flowing (PIE *\*kley(H)-*) and the idea of its perception (PIE *\*kley-*). Thus, the etymology of the term *slověne* should be chronologically adjusted in compliance with the semantic syncretism of its nominal base *\*slov-*, taken together with the possessive suffix *\*-ont* and the termination *-ā*, rather than the historically attested Slavic patrials in *-j-ēn*.

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## ДАВНЬОУКРАЇНСЬКА НАЗВА *СЛОВУТА* І «ДАВНЬОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКА» ГІДРОНІМІЯ

У статті запропоновано нову етимологію давньоукраїнського гідроніма *Словута* і генетично пов'язаних із ним новотворів *Словутиць* / *Словутич* на тлі неслов'янського відповідника *Дънѣпръ* та грецьких транскрипцій *Δάναπρις* і *Βορυσθένης*. Нова етимологія розглядається в контексті дослідження так званої давньоєвропейської гідронімії, започаткованого представниками школи Ганса Крає. Автор убачає походження термінів *Словутиць* / *Словутич* у паратактичній конструкції *Дънѣпръ-Словутиць*. Порівняння зі схожими паратактичними конструкціями дозволило авторові довести, що термін *Словута* є результатом історичної субстантивізації слов'янського іменника, уживаного в атрибутивній функції. Заперечуючи інтерпретацію цього гідроніма як дієприкметника, автор потрактовує форму *Словута* як атематичне деномінативне утворення від протоукраїнської форми *\*slov-ot-a* на місці давнішої зі значенням 'той, який має ознаку *\*slov-*'. Постульованій основі *\*slov-* притаманний ономатопоестичний синкретизм, що ґрунтується на уявленні про полоскання, миття, струміння води (протоіндоєвропейський корінь *\*kleuH-*) та уявленні про сприйняття таких явищ (протоіндоєвропейський корінь *\*kleu-*), тимчасом як прикінцевий елемент *-ā* функціонує як «маркер номінального класу» на позначення природного потоку чистої води. Автор так само стверджує, що вихідна форма прото-іє. *\*kleuH-/ \*kleu-ont-ā* > *\*kleu(H)-ont-ā* (> прото-сл. *\*slov-ont-ā* > прото-укр. *\*slov-ot-ā* > д.-укр. *\*slov-ut-a*) могла постати в «ранньофлективний» період у формуванні індоєвропейської мови, який характеризувався переходом від активної граматики до номінативно-акузативної системи. У світлі запропонованої етимології найпоширеніші пояснення назви *слов'яне*, зокрема теорія походження відповідного кореня від терміна *\*slovo*, вимагають критичного переосмислення. Автор підсумовує, що етимологія назви *словене* потребує хронологічного уточнення з урахуванням семантичного (ономатопоестичного) синкретизму номінальної основи *\*slov-*.

Ключові слова: протоіндоєвропейська мова, протоукраїнська мова, давньоукраїнська мова, українська мова, Дніпро, давньоєвропейська гідронімія, ономатопоестичний синкретизм, деномінативне утворення, паратактична конструкція.