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ЛЕКСИКА ГЕРМАНСКОГО ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЯ В ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯХ БЕЛОРУССКИХ ЛИНГВИСТОВ

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Рассматриваются подходы к изучению лексики германского происхождения в белорусском языкознании. Проводится анализ существующих работ по исследованию этих слов в старобелорусском языке, современном белорусском литературном языке, народных говорах, литературных произведениях. Отмечается, что вопросы функционирования и адаптации заимствованной лексики в белорусском языке представлены также в отдельных работах иностранных лингвистов. Однако лексика немецкого происхождения в фольклорно-диалектных записях XIX – начала XX в. изучена недостаточно.

Ключевые слова: белорусское языкознание; заимствование; германизм; старобелорусский язык; народные говоры; белорусский литературный язык; диалекты.

ЛЕКСІКА ГЕРМАНСКАГА ПАХОДЖАННЯ Ў ДАСЛЕДАВАННЯХ БЕЛАРУСКІХ ЛІНГВІСТАЎ

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Разглядаюцца падыходы да вывучэння лексікі германскага паходжання ў беларускім мовазнаўстве. Проводзіцца аналіз апублікаваных работ па даследаванні гэтых слоў у старабеларускай мове, сучаснай беларускай літаратурнай мове, народных гаворках, літаратурных творах. Адзначаецца, што пытанні функцыянавання і адаптацыі запазычанай лексікі ў беларускай мове прадстаўлены таксама ў асобных працах замежных лінгвістаў. Аднак лексіка нямецкага паходжання ў фальклорна-дыялектных запісах XIX – пачатку XX ст. вывучана недастаткова.

Ключавыя словы: беларускае мовазнаўства; запазычанне; германізм; старабеларуская мова; народныя гаворкі; беларуская літаратурная мова; дыялекты.

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WORDS OF GERMAN ORIGIN IN THE STUDIES OF BELARUSIAN LINGUISTS

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The article considers approaches to studying words of German origin in Belarusian linguistics. An analysis is carried out into the existing works on such vocabulary in the Old Belarusian language, modern Belarusian literary language, vernaculars and literature. It is noted that certain works of foreign linguists also consider the problems of borrowed vocabulary functioning and adaptation in Belarusian language. However, words of German origin in folklore-dialect records of the 19th – early 20th century period are researched insufficiently.

Keywords: Belarusian linguistics; borrowing; Germanism; Old Belarusian language; vernaculars; Belarusian literary language; dialects.

Introduction

The influence of one language on another affects all levels of the language system, but it is most evident in its vocabulary. Modern linguistics focusses on studying the process of lexical borrowing as it is important when clarifying the conditions for the vocabulary development, revealing the historical patterns in its replenishment and improvement, as well as determining the nature and specifics of the interaction between languages in different historical periods.

Loanwords are researched in Belarusian linguistics in a multi-vector way. Some scientific studies are aimed at etymological searches, others at the ways and reasons for borrowing words. Scholars are interested in clarifying the functional and structural differentiation of foreign words, determining the extent to which the national history and culture influence the process of borrowing. The history of the Belarusian language development involves four stages of the borrowed vocabulary growth.

The first stage is Old Belarusian period (14th–16th centuries). It is the time of the active language development, when Belarusian was a state-wide means of communication with the representatives of other nationalities, and served a wide variety of functional spheres from household to science and literature. According to the quantitative indicators, the greatest share in the Belarusian dictionary of that time is occupied by lexical borrowings from Western Slavic and non-Slavic languages (Polish, German, Latin, Czech, etc.) [1, p. 6]. Germanisms in the vocabulary of the Old Belarusian language take second place together with Latinisms, second only to words of Polish origin.

The second stage is 17th–18th centuries. These two centuries are characterised by the decline of the Belarusian language, which gradually ceases to perform the functions of the national means of communication. The further spread of Catholicism and the popularisation of the Polish language and culture fostered the Polonisation of the population and, therefore, the Polonisation and Latinisation of the language. In general, during the 17th–18th centuries borrowing turns from a positive process that helps to enrich the lexical system and remain progressive, to a negative one that oversaturates, «clutters» the language with unmotivated loanwords from the Polish and Latin languages.

The third stage is 19th – early 20th centuries. The borrowing process in the Belarusian language acquires an indirect-mediated (through Russian) character. At this point, the policy of complete Russification of the region contributed to the consolidation of Russian as the dominant language in administration and official use, the main language of printed literature, whereas the only sphere remained for the Belarusian language was oral and colloquial speech at the level of everyday communication. Moreover, the intellectuals, especially at the end of the 19th century, showed a great deal of interest in the distinctive culture of the Belarusian region, and Belarusian national self-consciousness began to emerge. The development of the Belarusian language took place on the basis of vernacular speech, the linguistic traditions and achievements of the Old Belarusian period were almost completely forgotten. The contemporary materials of folklore and dialect records act as a kind of bridge between Old Belarusian and the new (modern) literary language. In the period under review, on the one hand, there were no clear incentives for the active contact of Belarusian with other languages, and on the other hand, the non-normalised Belarusian language was in no way protected from various spontaneous foreign influences [2, p. 38].

The fourth stage is 20th – beginning of the 21st century. The Belarusian language is intensively replenished with loanwords, when English, first of all, its Anglo-American version, gradually takes the first place. This is due to the process of globalisation and the expansion of the functions of English as an international language.

Nowadays, active cross-linguistic contacts as a natural phenomenon in the development of each language meet the needs of the society, contribute to the transformation of the language vocabulary into a more perfect means of communication.

Results and discussion

Earliest attempts at analysing foreign vocabulary in the Belarusian language. Words of foreign origin date back to the earliest written records of the East Slavs, however, the philological understanding of a borrowed word appears only at the beginning of the 16th century and is associated with the publishing and educational activities of F. Skaryna. In his books, he explains and translates foreign words directly in the text or on the margins of the pages (*крата – решетка* (lattice), *тигрисъ – зубрь* (bison), *тимънанъ – бубень* (tambourine)). S. Budny was also attentive to incomprehensible words. Some of them were explained by the author of the «Catechism» on the margins (*напастъ – искушение* (temptation), *чающее – ожидаючи* (waiting)), others were clarified directly in the text: *брака или женитвы* (marriage), *брань или валка* (battle), *елеомъ или масломъ* (oil), etc. [3, p. 147]. The traditions of the etymological-genetic explanation of individual incomprehensible (primarily borrowed) words were continued in the proper philological studies of the Belarusian language, which began in the first quarter of the 19th century and they are connected with the research and description of ethnography, folklore of the inhabitants living in this region [3, p. 148].

It was at this time that the first linguistic work devoted to the Belarusian language, the article «About the Belarusian dialect» by K. Kalaidovich, appeared. In this work the researcher analyses the history of the Belarusian language and examines 11 words of foreign origin in it: *звалтъ* (violence), *капелюшь* (hat), *ковалокъ* (piece), *лихтаръ* (lamp), *муръ* (wall), *скриня* (chest), *фольверокъ* (farmhouse), *шляхъ* (path), etc. [4].

Foreign language units are examined to a certain extent in the «Dictionary of the Belarusian dialect compiled by I. I. Nosovich». Collecting local folklore material, the researcher became one of the first to notice Belarusian national identity, distinctive features of vernacular art, and its predominantly oral character. Thanks to their spoken delivery, folklore works reflected the lively Belarusian creativity, the national specificity of the worldview of Belarusians, their mentality. On the other hand, the vocabulary of Belarusian folklore reveals a number of borrowings from foreign languages, first of all from Polish, and through its mediation from German. I. I. Nosovich notes 17 words as borrowings from the German language (*вандроваць* (travel), *виниоваць* (congratulate), *звалтъ* (violence), *дахъ* (roof), *знэмаць* (take), *лихтарня* (lantern), *обцуги* (clamps), *фаеръ* (fire), etc.), although there is a certain number of words of German origin that were not marked as Germanisms by the researcher [5].

Many aspects of foreign vocabulary in the Belarusian language are considered in the monograph «Belarusians» by E. F. Karski. The researcher singles out three main ways of penetration of borrowings: through Polish, Hebrew and «common Russian, and even common Slavic» [6, p. 178] languages. Thus, among borrowings from the Polish language, 183 Germanisms are recorded, among them are *балька* (beam), *браковаць* (defect), *дротъ* (wire), *кахля* (tile), *маляръ* (painter), *рыштунокъ* (gear), *шинкъ* (pub). Along with that, E. F. Karski notes that these words could enter the Belarusian language directly from German [6, p. 159]. Furthermore, 26 words of German origin that came through the Hebrew language were singled out (*бахуръ* (brother), *кугель* (kugel), *нэмаць* (take), *шахеръ* (rogue), etc.), the researcher believes that this vocabulary is not widely used and affects only the life of the Jewish population of the region [6, p. 174]. He attributes 15 words (*бондаръ* (cooper), *кнутъ* (whip), *куля* (bullet), *сталь* (steel), etc.) to Germanisms that were borrowed through the common Slavic language.

Jewish-German words in East Slavic languages were analysed in the article «Jewish-German words in Russian dialects» by L. Viner [7]. The author notes certain difficulties in determining the ways of borrowing some Germanisms and adds to the Hebrew-German words only those that meet the characteristic phonetic, morphological and semantic criteria. In addition, he allocates the following lexical-semantic groups of Jewish-German words: food (*кугель* (kugel), *фарфоли* (farfel), *цымусъ* (tzimmes)), occupations and inclinations (*балабось* (talkative person), *балагула* (coachman), *бахуръ* (fornicator), *гиморникъ* (capricious person)), holidays and rituals (*гаманъ* (haman), *лихтаръ* (lantern), *талесы* (tallit)), trade (*махиръ* (rogue), *ховрусь* (union), *шахроватъ* (waste money)), insulting and affectionate words (*агундеръ* (sloppy person), *бенѣха* (a child who loves to be held), *шамберъ* (swindler)), words related to poverty, suffering, misfortune (*капцанъ* (ragamuffin), *слимазарникъ* (shagrag)). In total, L. Viner analyses 41 words.

First special linguistic works on loanwords. The first half of the 20th century marked a new stage in the study of loanwords, when the first works devoted specifically to foreign vocabulary were published. For example, A. Chuzhylovich in the article «Philological notes» examines a number of words from Latin, Greek and German, gives parallels of these words in English, Lithuanian, Polish and French languages. The researcher attributes 20 words to Germanisms (*будаваць* (build), *вага* (weight), *дах* (roof), *лёс* (fate), *рыхтаваць* (prepare), *рыцар* (knight), etc.) [8].

The article by M. Shul'man [9] determines the role of the Hebrew language as a mediator in the penetration of German words into the Belarusian language. The researcher divides the words common to Belarusian and Hebrew into three groups. The first group (79 words in total) consists of German and generally foreign words, which the Belarusian language borrowed through Polish and Hebrew, for example, *абіцас* (heel), *варштан* (machine), *накіталт* (sort of), *рэшта* (rest), *цэгла* (brick). The second group (86 words in total) includes words borrowed into Hebrew from Belarusian, Polish and other languages: *ганак* (porch), *лотра* (rogue), *раіць* (advise), *рыштаваньне* (scaffolding), *шлях* (path), etc. The last group (19 words in total) is made up of words that the Belarusian language definitely borrowed from Hebrew: *бахур* (fornicator), *гаман* (haman), *хаўрус* (union), *хэўра* (partnership), *шабаи* (sabbath), etc. At the same time, the researcher examines the problem of the motivation of borrowing, criticises the division of languages into «pure» and «mixed» and analyses some internationalisms.

Questions of foreign language vocabulary and internationalisms are addressed by M. Ja. Baikow [10]. The researcher reflects on the need for extensive translation of foreign terms into the Belarusian language, which, in his opinion, is dictated by the needs of mass education. However, he believes that such translations should correspond to people's language. In addition, the researcher dwells on the aspect of graphic and phonetic adaptation of borrowed vocabulary.

Examining words of German origin in the Belarusian language, V. Vol'ski also analyses possible ways of their penetration. The researcher recognises the mediation of the Polish and Hebrew languages in the borrowing of Germanisms into Belarusian, however, notes that certain words were adopted into the Belarusian language directly from German [11]. The researcher attributes 59 words to Germanisms, including *баваўна* (cotton), *бінда* (lazy person), *войт* (administrative officer), *глянс* (gloss), *жарт* (joke), *кляштар* (monastery), *краты* (bars).

Study of borrowed vocabulary in the Old Belarusian language. The second half of the 20th – the beginning of the 21st century became a period of comprehensive study of borrowed vocabulary in the Belarusian language. This is when publications devoted to the study of foreign words in the Old Belarusian language, their functioning in dialects, and use in literary works appear. There are special studies of separate groups of foreign vocabulary, the phonetic, morphological and semantic adaptation of loanwords to the norms of the Belarusian language, their word-forming potential.

Borrowed vocabulary in the Old Belarusian language is considered in a significant number of works (works by A. M. Bulyka, V. M. Galai, A. I. Zhurawski, I. I. Chartko, etc.).

A. I. Zhurawski believes that «most of the words of German origin were borrowed from the Polish language directly by the Belarusian vernacular language, and from there a certain part of it penetrated into the written language»¹ [12, p. 120]. The researcher bases his observation on the following facts: Germanisms in the Old Belarusian language are found mainly in business documents, the phonetic form of many borrowings indicates their existence in the vernacular language, many Germanisms from the Old Belarusian period are still present in the modern Belarusian language. In addition, the author singles out a number of Germanisms that entered the Old Belarusian language through books and did not have time to take root in the living speech (*гамовати* (calm down), *мордовати* (exhaust), *раховати* (count), *фолкговати* (facilitate), *фрасовати* (crush), *шафовати* (put in the closet), *шацовати* (estimate)). The researcher identifies the following main categories of foreign vocabulary in the Old Belarusian language: Polish, Latin, German, Greek, Church Slavonic, Turkic and Lithuanian words. As far as Germanisms are concerned, A. I. Zhurawski refers them to two main chronological layers: long-standing common Slavic borrowings and later borrowings from the period of the Belarusian nationality. In total, the author singles out more than 200 Germanisms in the Old Belarusian language, among which *бурмистръ* (burgomaster), *вага* (weight), *вахта* (watch), *закъ* (hook), *дахъ* (roof), *едвабъ* (silk), *зункель* (buckle), *киталтъ* (pattern), *рада* (advice), *смакъ* (taste), *цибуля* (onion), *ярмарокъ* (fair). At the same time, he notes that «the peculiarity of Germanisms borrowed by the Belarusian language in the 15th–17th centuries is that they are semantically and phonetically related exclusively to the words of the German language. Borrowings from other Germanic languages are not characteristic of the Belarusian language at this time» [13, p. 53].

A. M. Bulyka draws attention to lexical borrowings in the Old Belarusian language. The researcher provides a comprehensive classification of foreign words in Belarusian language of the 14th–18th centuries, determines the time, ways and methods of their penetration, analyses the phonetic, morphological and semantic adaptation of such words. Of the 3635 units identified by the researcher, a significant group of borrowings in the Old Belarusian period consists of words from Polish, German, Latin and Czech, much fewer words are of Lithuanian and Turkic origin [1, p. 6]. German loanwords are, for example, *биндасъ* (jester), *ботогъ* (whip), *гицель* (scoundrel), *клямка* (latch), *коць* (blanket), *маца* (matzah), *флицъ* (fleece), *штандаръ* (standard).

¹Hereinafter translated by us. – V. P.

I. I. Chartko also studies Germanisms in the Old Belarusian language. The researcher estimates that Germanisms in the Old Belarusian language are quantitatively superior to Lithuanianisms they are in approximately the same amount in terms of quantity with Latinisms, but are inferior to Polonisms². I. I. Chartko singles out three main ways of penetration of German words into the Old Belarusian language: directly from German, through the mediation of Polish and Yiddish. At the same time, he notes that Germanisms entered the Old Belarusian language mainly orally. The researcher considers phonetic, grammatical and semantic adaptation of German words in the Old Belarusian language, develops their lexical-semantic classification. The total number of Germanisms identified by the researcher in the Old Belarusian language is about 270 units, among which are *бунт* (bundle), *вага* (weight), *войт* (administrative officer), *друж* (printing), *крейда* (chalk), *нырка* (kidney), *папера* (paper), *пляц* (place), *фест* (holiday), *шляхта* (nobility). I. I. Chartko describes the ways of borrowing German words into the spoken language of the 19th–20th centuries, notes that «Germanisms in the Old Belarusian language and 19th century dialects have their etymons in Middle High German, in some cases of Middle Low German and New High German» [14, p. 153].

V. M. Galai studies household vocabulary of German origin in the Old Belarusian language. The researcher gives the chronology of the process of borrowing German words into Belarusian and notes that this process reaches its peak in the 16th century. When analysing 320 lexical units of German origin (for example *броварь* (brewery), *брыжжы* (lace), *крахмаль* (starch), *крыга* (ice), *лантух* (big bag), *розынки* (raisin), *цына* (zinc)), both the aspects of their lexical-semantic classification and phonetic-morphological assimilation, as well as the problems of the existence of phonetic and morphological variants, the reasons for the fixations of such forms are clarified. V. M. Galai believes that form variation is not a matter of incomplete adaptation of borrowed words, but a problem of the lack of strict regulations in the Belarusian language of this period³.

Analysis of loanwords in the modern Belarusian language. A number of works by Belarusian linguists are devoted to the study of borrowed vocabulary in the modern Belarusian language. Thus, A. Ja. Bahan'kow develops the chronology of the foreign words penetration into the Belarusian language in the 20th century, he notes that «foreign words borrowed in the 20th century through the Russian language are mainly terminological» [15, p. 270].

I. M. Akulaw draws attention to the fact that the 20th century loanwords are borrowings from German, English and French languages, the author also analyses foreign vocabulary from classical and other Western European languages (Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Irish, etc.). The researcher examines the lexical influence of the German and English languages on Belarusian language in the later period and notes that «words borrowed from German into Belarusian at different times, through Russian or Polish, as well as directly, are mainly terms» (*акрэдытыў* (letter of credit), *анилюс* (anschluss), *бруствер* (breastwork), *гегемон* (hegemony), *кварц* (quartz), *ландшафт* (landscape), *парафин* (paraffin), *рентген* (x-ray)) [16, p. 14].

The process of foreign vocabulary adaptation at different stages of language development is considered in the works of I. I. Bubnovich. Features of Polonisms, Latinisms, Germanisms, Greekisms, Turkisms, Lithuanianisms, Old Slavicisms in the ancient Belarusian literary language, in the language of the 19th – early 20th centuries, as well as their assimilation patterns in the modern Belarusian language are determined. It is shown that at the first stages of penetration, borrowings often retained features that helped to distinguish them from native Belarusian vocabulary. However, in the process of phonetic, morphological and semantic adaptation, these features were gradually lost, leveled off, foreign lexemes acquired a formal appearance close to the native Belarusian vocabulary [17].

A. A. Pryhodzich notes that even the ancient Belarusian documents contain «peculiar norms of graphic and orthographic fixation of foreign vocabulary, taking into account the oral and colloquial features of the local Belarusian speech» [18, p. 77]. At the same time, A. A. Pryhodzich considers words of German origin from the point of view of their manifestation in the «Dictionary of the Belarusian dialect compiled by I. I. Nosovich» (56 words in total, among which *вандраваць* (travel), *гвалт* (violence), *дах* (roof), *жабрак* (beggar), *зэгар* (watch), *кафля* (tile), *кнот* (node), *кухаль* (mug), *кухар* (cook), *ліхтар* (lantern), *некрут* (recruit), *футра* (fur)) and presence in the toponymic system of the Belarusian language (topographic word stems *паташ-* (potash) i *зым-(а)* (glass factory)).

In modern Belarusian linguistics, foreign vocabulary is also studied in terms of its usage in various socio-economic spheres. Thus, loanwords on the pages of Belarusian periodicals of the 1920s and 1930s were analysed in the works of T. M. Sakun. It is noted that words of foreign origin performed intellectual-commu-

²Chartko I. I. [Lexic of German origin in Old Belarusian language] : diss. ... PhD (philology) : 661. Minsk : In-t yazykoznavaniya im. Yakuba Kolasa, 1967 (in Russ.).

³Galai V. M. [Everyday vocabulary of German origin in Old Belarusian language (on the material of written monuments of 15th–17th centuries)] : diss. ... PhD (philology) : 10.02.01. Minsk : Belarus. State Univ., 1977 (in Russ.).

nicative, nominative-interpretative, expressive and stylistic functions in journalistic discourse of that period [19]. In addition, the researcher examines the features of graphic, phonetic-orthographic, morphological and semantic adaptation of foreign words in such texts.

The specificity of the foreign vocabulary functioning in legislative texts of the 1920s is determined by G. I. Kulesh. The researcher notes that «lexical borrowings from Latin, French, German and other languages entered the Old Belarusian legal writing directly or through the Polish language, but their corpus in the legislative texts of the 1920s was largely conditioned by the terminological apparatus of Russian-language legislation» [20, p. 136].

The works of S. Ja. Bogush are devoted to determining the place of lexical borrowings in the administrative language of the 1920s. According to the researcher, the Russian language directly influenced the choice of vocabulary in the noted period, the share of borrowings in the language of administration is quite significant, to a lesser extent, original Belarusian vocabulary is used among stylistically marked units [21].

The work of V. I. Rjecz'ko is addressed to the aspect of differentiation and expansion of the semantics of borrowings during the 19th and early 20th centuries. As a result of the comparative analysis, the researcher singles out four groups of loanwords: lexemes that have not changed their semantic scope, lexemes that have expanded their semantic scope, lexemes with narrowed semantic scope, borrowings, which in the process of functioning in the language more or less significantly changed their semantics [22].

Borrowings (including Germanisms) in dialects became the object of a number of works. Thus, A. A. Stankevich describes Polonisms, Germanisms, Balticisms, Latinisms, Greekisms, Turkisms, Italianisms, Arabisms, Hebraisms, etc. in the Belarusian dialect language on the material of dialect publications and folklore and ethnographic records of the 19th and 20th centuries. The researcher identifies and analyses more than 3000 borrowed words, among them are 523 lexical items of German origin (for example, *гвінт* (screw), *гестка* (yoke), *гонта* (shingle), *зэдаць* (stool), *корт* (cord), *цуглі* (bridle), *шляга* (rammer), *шұла* (pillar), etc.) [23]. As noted by A. A. Stankevich, a relatively small number of Germanisms were borrowed directly from the German language, in most cases the role of intermediary was performed by Polish, Hebrew, Russian and Lithuanian languages. She examines the lexical-semantic categories of borrowed vocabulary, studies the phonetic, morphological and semantic adaptation of foreign words, draws parallels with the Old Belarusian language.

Borrowings in the speech of Brest region are analysed by V. M. Galai [24], Germanisms in the north-western dialect zone are considered by N. U. Bykava [25], words of German origin in the speech of the Zelvan and Grodna districts are singled out by V. A. Zajac [26], German vocabulary in the Viadsk speech and in the dialects of the Mscislaw district is described by U. U. Barysjuk [27; 28], Germanisms in the speech of Grodna region are investigated by S. S. Maslenikava [29].

Common words for Baltic and Slavic languages and borrowings from Baltic languages in the dialects of Belarusian, Ukrainian and Polish languages are considered by A. P. Nepokupnyi [30], the interaction of German and Slavic languages (including Belarusian) is analysed in the works of R. Löttsch [31], V. V. Martynov [32], W. Kaestner [33], A. M. Shenker [34], Z. Ráduly [35], A. Kożynowa [36].

Nevertheless, a systematic, comprehensive study of foreign language vocabulary and its usage in the 19th – early 20th folklore-dialect records has hardly been carried out. Such issues as identifying the place and role of loanwords in the lexical system of Belarusian dialects of that time, determining the main patterns of their assimilation, analysing the forms and degrees of adaptation, the essence and specificity of this process in the national language have not been considered by linguists.

Foreign works on Belarusian vocabulary and loanwords. The Belarusian language is interesting not only to Belarusian, but also to foreign linguists. Among other things, they address the issues of functioning and adaptation of borrowed vocabulary in our language. Questions of Belarusian-Polish lexical interaction are discussed in the works of the Polish linguist E. Smułkowa. The researcher examines the languages of the eastern part of the Białystok Voivodeship and notes that «East Slavic dialects on the territory of eastern Białystok has a fairly large percentage of common vocabulary, which differs from the Polish language of this region» [37, p. 78]. E. Smułkowa also analyses the status of Baltisms in the Belarusian language, both dialectal and literary, their semantic adaptation and word-forming potential.

One of the most significant contributions to the study of Belarusian-German linguistic relations was made by the Austrian linguist H. Bieder. The researcher specifies the status of Germanisms in the Old Belarusian and Old Polish languages where these words «mainly have signs of Middle German, partly also High German and only to a small extent Low German» [38, p. 130]. H. Bieder's works also describe ways of developing the Belarusian vocabulary, including through borrowings, the role of the Polish language in borrowing words of German origin into Belarusian, the lexical structure of Germanisms in the Old Belarusian language and their derivation abilities.

Germanisms that entered the Belarusian literary and vernacular language through the mediation of the Polish language are analysed in the works of German linguists H. Kühne [39], H. W. Schaller [40], G. Hentschel and his colleagues [41].

Old Belarusian borrowed vocabulary is also described in the works of the Ukrainian linguist T. B. Pyts. The researcher analyses the use of German artisan names in the Polish, Belarusian and Ukrainian languages of the 14th–17th centuries, determines their dialectal basis, outlines the period of their penetration and ways of expansion in these three languages⁴.

Conclusions

The beginning of the actual philological research of the Belarusian language dates back to the first quarter of the 19th century and related to the study and description of ethnography and folklore of the inhabitants of the Belarusian region (K. Kalaidovich). The first attempts were made in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries both to systematise the Belarusian language as a whole, and to identify actual borrowings (I. I. Nosovich, E. F. Karski, L. Viner).

The first half of the 20th century is characterised by the increase of interest in researching the Belarusian language, the first works devoted to foreign vocabulary are published (A. Chuzhylovich, M. Shul'man, M. Ja. Baikow, V. Vol'ski).

The second half of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century was the period of a comprehensive study of borrowed vocabulary in the Belarusian language. At that time, A. M. Bulyka, V. M. Galai, A. I. Zhurawski, I. I. Chartko devote their works to the study of foreign words in Old Belarusian, A. Ja. Bahan'kow, I. M. Akulaw, I. I. Bubnovich examine the status of Germanisms in the modern literary language, A. A. Stankevich, V. M. Galai, N. U. Bykava, V. A. Zajac, U. U. Barysjuk, S. S. Maslenikava analyse functioning of borrowings in dialects, T. M. Sakun, G. I. Kulesh study their manifestation in various socio-economic spheres. However, words of German origin in folklore-dialect records of the 19th – early 20th century period are studied insufficiently and could become a topic for further research.

It should also be noted that the aspects of functioning and adaptation of borrowed vocabulary in the Belarusian language are addressed in works of foreign linguists (E. Smułkowa, H. Bieder, H. Kühne, H. W. Schaller, G. Hentschel, J. Tambor, I. Fekete, T. B. Pyts).

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