

Genadz Tsykhun

The National Academy of Sciences, Minsk (Belarus)
Email: henadz.cychun@gmail.com; inlinasbel@tut.by
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7075-3994>

The Etymological Commentary on Word Formation of Abstract Nouns with the Final Formant *-ць*

Komentarz etymologiczny do derywacji rzeczowników abstrakcyjnych na -ць

Этымалагічны каментар да словаўтварэння абстрактных назоўнікаў на -ць

Abstract

The article explores the word formation of abstract nouns with the final formant *-ць* in Belarusian. It also reveals the increased use of this formant in the sphere of concrete nouns. The group analysis of this word formation type allows the overcoming of the 'formal isolation' of a number of words and offer their etymologization. The research considers the origin of some words with the final *-ць* related to the field of natural phenomena (weather, climate, etc.): *гогоць* 'ice on the trees', *гольць* 'sleet with snow', *шаць* 'frost', as well as some abstract nouns: *дohaць* 'consolation', *трэпяць* 'something very white', *сыць* 'whimsicality' etc. The class of the nouns, distinguished on formal grounds, continues the Proto-Slavic word-formation type but also demonstrates some innovative trends. The possibility of the language contacts' influence on the word formation of the nouns with final *-ць* is stated.

Keywords: abstract nouns, language contacts, the Belarusian language, word formation, formant *-ць*, etymology

Abstrakt

Przedmiotem analizy jest słowotwórstwo rzeczowników abstrakcyjnych języka białoruskiego z formantem *-ць*. W toku analizy udowodniono, że rzeczowniki konkretne również często przybierają wymieniony formant słowotwórczy. Analiza zebranych derywatów pozwoliła opisać nie tylko strukturę formalną licznych leksemów, ale także ich cechy etymologiczne. Opisowi poddano pochodzenie zbioru wyrazów z formantem *-ць*, należących do pola semantycznego 'zjawiska przyrody (atmosferyczne, klimatyczne i in.)', np. *гогоць* 'gołoledź na drzewach', *гольць*

‘gołoledź i śnieg’, *шаць* ‘szron’, oraz wybrane rzeczowniki abstrakcyjne, np. *dohać* ‘pocieszenie’, *трэняць* ‘coś bardzo białego’, *сыць* ‘kaprysy’ itd. Ze względu na budowę słowotwórczą analizowana klasa rzeczowników stanowi kontynuację prasłowiańskiego typu słowotwórczego, wykazuje jednak nowe tendencje. Na podstawie przeprowadzonego badania można wnioskować o wpływie kontaktów językowych na proces derywacji rzeczowników z formantem *-ць*.

Słowa kluczowe: rzeczowniki abstrakcyjne, kontakty językowe, język białoruski, słowotwórstwo, formant *-ць*, etymologia

Анатацыя

У артыкуле даследуецца словаўтварэнне абстрактных назоўнікаў з канцовым фармантам *-ць* у беларускай мове. Выяўлена пашыранае ўжыванне назоўнікаў з гэтым фармантам і ў сферы канкрэтных назоўнікаў. Групавы аналіз гэтага тыпу ўтварэнняў дазваляе пераадолець ‘фармальную ізаляванасць’ шэрагу слоў і прапанаваць іх этымалагізацыю. Разглядаецца паходжанне шэрагу слоў на *-ць*, якія адносяцца да сферы прыродных з’яў (атмасферных, кліматычных і інш.): *гогоць* ‘галалёд на дрэвах’, *гольць* ‘галалёдзіца са снегам’, *шаць* ‘іней’, а таксама асобных абстрактных назоўнікаў: *dohać* ‘суцяшэнне’, *трэняць* ‘штосьці вельмі белае’, *сыць* ‘капрызы’ і інш. Клас назоўнікаў, вылучаных па фармальным прызнаку, працягвае праславянскі словаўтваральны тып, але дэманструе таксама інавацыйныя тэндэнцыі. Канстатуецца магчымасць уздзеяння моўных кантактаў на словаўтварэнне назоўнікаў на *-ць*.

Ключавыя словы: абстрактныя назоўнікі, моўныя кантакты, беларуская мова, словаўтварэнне, фармант *-ць*, этымалогія

Abstract nouns have always posed certain problems in their etymology. A Swedish Slavist, Gunnar Jacobson, who was engaged in clarifying the origin of a number of such words, proposed ‘найти формальный подход к словам, которые считались этимологически “безнадежными”¹, which would ‘устранить формальную изоляцию исследуемого слова’² (Jacobson, 1969, p. 32). One of such formal approaches is the consideration of the etymology of abstract nouns within separate groups forming a semantic and word-formation community. The derivational analysis has a special weight in the etymology, which, apparently, can explain the fact that the first volumes of the major work of Franciszek Sławski entitled *Słownik prasłowiański*³ contains an essay about the Slavonic word formation (SP 1, pp. 43–141; 2, pp. 13–60). It determined the nature of the dictionary, which, unfortunately, was not continued.

¹ ‘to find a formal approach to the words that were considered etymologically “hopeless”

² ‘eliminate the formal isolation of the investigated word’

³ ‘Proto-Slavic dictionary’

In the general composition of Belarusian nouns which end in *-ць* and are characterised by an ‘адцягненым’ / ‘detachment’ meaning, nouns with the *-асць* / *-осць* suffix prevail (Scăcko, 1977, p. 127). In the process of language development, these significantly prevailed in quantity over the relatively small the group of nouns belonging to the pre-Slavic state which end in *-ць* and can include newly-formed words like the noun *жарсць* ‘passion’ (from *жар* / heat, see: ЁSBM 3, p. 216), as well as the formations with the *-зь* suffix with broad semantics. The latter formations are etymologically of the greatest interest in the whole group of abstract nouns ending with *-ць*, where this formant can be attached to the extended stem or directly to the root, or it may enter into its composition and form a meaning with a high degree of presence of some feature inherent in this stem or root, cf. for example: ‘Любіць яна пазіраць, як рабая даўгалычая свіння цеста апетуе ... *А сыць тая, сыць!*’ (L. Kaliuha). In some dictionaries, the word *сыць* is explained by means of the word *сытасць* (Stankevič, 1990, p. 1113), which does not fully reflect the specific semantics of the word used, see in another dictionary *сыць* ‘насычэнне, перанасычанасць’ / ‘satiety, fullness’ (Vušacki slovazbor, 2014, p. 159). And the further ‘адцягненасць’ / ‘detachment’ of meaning is fixed on the territory of Navahrudčyna: *сыць* ‘капрызы, самазадаволенасць, эгаізм’ / ‘caprice, complacency, selfishness’: *сыць* узяла! (Крувал’сёвіч, 2016, p. 124). Such a clarification of meaning is present in other similar formations: ‘Тые olei *нахоць!*’ – is explained as ‘вялікі пах’ / ‘a strong smell’ next to the verb *пахоцець* ‘моцна пахнуць’ / ‘strongly smell’ (TS 4, 1985, p. 18); ‘Зобралосо людзей *багаць*’ – when *багацець* means ‘узростаць колькасна і якасна’ / ‘increase quantitatively and qualitatively’ (TS 1, 1982, p. 35). Such parallelism of noun and verb forms may raise the question of the direction of derivation, especially since the corresponding verb is peculiar to the meaning of intensive action, as in *сыцець* ‘рабіцца больш сытым, укормленым’ / ‘to become more full, well-fed’. Compare the expression ‘*Сыць* вам!’ ‘пажаданне, ветлівае вітанне тых, хто ў гэты час есць’ / ‘a wish, a polite greeting to those who are eating at this time’ (Касп’аровіч, 1927, p. 299), where *сыць* can be perceived as both a noun and a verb, which confirms another polite wish: ‘*Сыць*, Божа!’ ‘смачна есці’ / ‘to enjoy a meal’, correlated with the verb *сыціць* ‘насычаць’ / ‘sateiate’ (Stankevič, 1990, p. 1113). A possible homonymy of forms can be seen in the rare *тхнець* ‘духмянасць, водар’ / ‘fragrance, aroma’ (чаромхаў *тхнець* / bird cherry fragrance, Alieś Salaviej) and non-fixed, but potentially existing in the language **тхнець* ‘моцна пахнуць, адурманьваць пахам’ / ‘smell strongly, intoxicate by smell’, correlated with *тхнуць* ‘пахнуць’ / ‘smell’, where the meaning of ‘дыхнуць, павеяць водарам’ / ‘breathe, smell aroma’ still prevails as a one-time act (ЁSBM 14, 2017, p. 279). For a similar *кісляць* ‘кісляціна’ / ‘sour, acidic’ (Vušacki slovazbor, 2016, p. 80), respectively, it will be rather correlated with the normative *кіслэць* ‘станавіцца кіслым або больш кіслым’ / ‘become acidic or more acidic’ (ЁSBM 2, 1980, p. 690) than the potentially possible **кіслець* ‘пракисаць’ / ‘sour’. In some cases, formal changes may indicate the direction of derivation, compare *сверць*, rus. зуд ‘itch’ to *сварцець*, *сварбець* ‘часацца’ / ‘scratch’, rus. зудить / ‘itch’ (Lastoŭski, 1924, p. 216), *труць* ‘атрута’ /

‘poison’ to *труць, труціць* ‘атручваць’ / ‘poison’ (ĖSBM 14, 2017, p. 42). Very indicative is the record by M. Federowski from the Slonim region: *Kab tŷ być ni wièdaŭ* (Federowski, 1935, p. 406) with a noun identical to the verb *быць* / to be.

Thus, there is a separate word-formation and semantic class of abstract nouns ending in *-ць*, which in a generalised form express the concept that in comparable verbs is characterised by the intensity of action or duration of the state, compare in Václav Machek ‘intensivum’ when characterizing some verbs (Machek, p. 175) and ‘глагольный интенсив’ / ‘verbal intensivum’ in A. Trubačev (ĖSSĀ 1, p. 137)⁴. On the formal side, this class of nouns is determined by the stress on the first syllable in the presence of several syllables in the word.

At first sight, this class of abstract nouns is perceived as inherent exclusively in the vernacular. However, the fixation in the old Belarusian texts of the noun *доброть* ‘усё добрае як процілегласць злomu, дабрата, добрая справа’⁵ (GSBM 8, p. 146), as well as the presence of similar nouns in other Slavic languages (Polish, old Polish, Slovak, Czech dialect, see: SP 3, p. 307), calls into question the initial conclusion and calls for the search for traces of similar formations in Proto-Slavic languages. However, for the old Belarusian noun, borrowing is allowed (Stašajtene, 1973, p. 28), and for the old Ukrainian *доброть*, the supposed source is the Polish word *dobroć* (Timčenko 1, 2002–2003, p. 212). A. T. Trubačev considers this noun as a derivative (variant?) from **dobrota* (ĖSSĀ 5, p. 44), and A. Bańkowski regards it as an old Polish innovation of the 14th century, which spread in the neighboring languages (Bańkowski 1, 2000, p. 278). The problem is the origin of one more formation ending in *-ць* – Belarusian *хуць* ‘хаценне, жаданне’, ‘прыхільнасць, ахвота’ / ‘wish, desire’, ‘passion, affection’: *Хуци не маю до ее* (Nasovič, 1983, p. 685, 750), which is not usually given during the restoration in the etymological dictionaries as the Belarusian realization of Proto-Slavic **chotь* or West Slavic **chotь* (Boryś, 2005, p. 58, 71) apparently considering the possible borrowing of the Belarusian word through the Polish language from Czech *chut’* (<**chotěti*), compare F. Skaryna *хоть / хуть* ‘жаданне’ / ‘desire’ (PGS 2, 2013, p. 452) derived *нохаць* ‘памыканне, схільнасць’ / ‘addiction, attraction’ (Lastoŭski, 1924, p. 508).

But there are old Polish formations ending with *-ć* that are not confirmed in the old Belarusian language, such as *święć* / *święć*: *nie chcieli chodzić po tej święci* (15th century; ‘o ogólnym zn. “nazwa miejsca”’, Długosz-Kurczabowa, 2003, p. 491).

Based on the description of the Proto-Slavic suffixation of nouns of Franciszek Sławski, it can be assumed that many Belarusian formations with *-ць* as the final formant can go back to the Proto-Slavic nouns with the **-tь* suffix, the last one is characterised as ‘tworzący w psł. zwykle pierwotne abstrakta od pierwiastków

⁴ Yuri Patsyupa to characterise a number of such verbs uses the concept of ‘continuity of action’ (Pacûpa, 2007, p. 208).

⁵ ‘all good as opposed to evil, kindness, good deed’

werbalnych⁶, although there are other cases: ‘Niewiele jest przykładów na derywaty od pierwiastków niewerbalnych⁷’ (Sławski, 2011, pp. 158–159). As an example of the latter, it is possible to quote Viciebsk *вóлаць* ‘танюткія, кштальту нітак, костачкі ў рыбнай мякаці⁸’ (Vušacki slovazbor, 2016, p. 37), which formally corresponds to the Polish *włóc* ‘асобныя недакошаныя сцябліны, пакінутыя сярод поля⁹’, Lithuanian *váltis* ‘колас аўсу, мяцёлка / ‘ear of oats, raceme’ and goes back to the Proto-Slavic **voltь* (Fasmer, 1964, p. 344), despite the varied semantics commonly associated with *вóлас*. Here, the abstract character of the noun is realised in the concept of ‘collection’, cf. in F. Sławski: ‘Wyjątkowo tylko spotyka się kolektiwa z suf. *-ть*¹⁰’ (Sławski, 2011, p. 158).

In the 14th volume of *Этымалагічны слоўнік беларускай мовы*¹¹ there was a question of the origin of several words from the group of nouns ending in *-ць*, which, in addition to the common final formant, showed significant external similarity and even identity with a large discrepancy in semantics. As for the collected *трэ́наць* ‘адходы пры трапанні лёну’ / ‘shives when scutching flax’ there were no variants of another origin except from *трапаць* ‘scutch’ (ĖSBM 14, p. 189), especially, when the verb *трэ́наць* ‘scutch’, formally identical to the noun, was analyzed on the same page. As it has been shown above, this quite often occurs in the group of nouns ending with *-ць*. However, the nouns *трэ́няць*₁ ‘багна, дрыгва’ / ‘swamp, marsh’ and *трэ́няць*₂ ‘тое, што вельмі белае’ / ‘what is very white’ (irritates the eyes with its whiteness) remained etymologically dim, especially the latter, which is associated with *напакс* with a ‘безнадзейная’ / ‘hopeless’ etymology due to its unusual semantics. Their analysis within the class of abstract nouns ending with *-ць* allowed for a hopefully satisfactory solution on the basis of the ‘intensive’ verb *трапятаць* ‘дрыжаць, трымцець’ / ‘tremble, shiver’ with the further development of the meaning of ‘асяпляць мігценнем святла’ / ‘dazzle by flashing light’ (ĖSBM 14, p. 191), compared with the dialectal *трапаціць* ‘дрыжаць’ / ‘tremble’ (Volkaŭ, 2016, p. 86).

Observations of the relatively transparent cases of the origin of abstract nouns ending with *-ць* give reasons to project them on a wider range of similar formations in order to clarify the etymology of other abstract nouns of this group of ‘цьмяна’ / ‘dim’ nature, in particular, associated with climatic and atmospheric phenomena.

Гóгоць ‘галалёдзіца, абліваха’ / ‘sleet, ice slick’: *гóгоць* – наморожня така, падае на траву, ламіць лес¹² (TS 1, p. 208). For etymology is essential to clarify the meaning – ‘галалёд на дрэвах’ / ‘ice on the trees’, which allows you to associate the word with onomatopoeic *гóгаць* ‘біць адно аб другое, асабліва калі пры гэтым

⁶ ‘creating ordinary primary abstracts of verbal elements in the Proto-Slavic language’

⁷ ‘There are few examples of derivatives from nonverbal elements’

⁸ ‘thin, like threads, bones in fish pulp’

⁹ ‘separate not mowed stalks left in the fields’

¹⁰ ‘There is only a collection with the suf. *-ть*’

¹¹ ‘The Etymological Dictionary of the Belarusian Language’

¹² ‘ice rain, falls on the grass, breaks the forest’

узнікае гул'¹³ (Nasovič, 1983, p. 115). The formal similarity of noun and verb, noted earlier, reinforces the etymology, not to mention the testimony of speakers of Turaŭ speech, who observed this phenomenon in nature (especially a kind of chime of icy branches of a tree). Onomatopoeic basis is present in the archaic saying: 'Благора жарабка дык і на пярэплаце (плоце) шкура *гагоцаць*'¹⁴ (Vušacki slovazbor, 2016, p. 230), which confirms the figurative etymon.

Голць, гольць 'галалёдзіца са снегам' / 'sleet with snow' (Stankevič, 1990, p. 171). The original Belarusian formation with the final formant *-ць*, which in old Russian and other Slavic languages correspond to nouns in a 'поўнагалосная форма' / 'full-sounding, sonorous' form, compare Russian *го́лоть*, Polish *goloć*, Czech *holot* and others, that gives reasons for the reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic **golotь* / **golьtь*, derived from **golь* 'голы' / 'naked' (ÈSSÂ 6, p. 214; SP 8, p. 74). It is possible that the Belarusian dialects preserved the corresponding 'інтэнсіўны' дзеяслоў / 'intensive' verb from the same basis, compare *галькэць* 'гараваць, жыць у беднасці, нястачы' / 'grieve, live in poverty, need' (ŽNS, 2001, p. 129), recorded in the territory (Vušačcyna), where instead of *ц'* there is *к'*. According to Paul Wexler, 'the northeastern Belarusian dialect innovation could form isoglosses with the Novgorod dialect of the Russian language (cf. Russian *в лавке* 'у краме' / 'in the store')' (Vèksler, 2004, p. 193). For the semantics compare Russian dialect *голёча* 'галалёдзіца на дарозе' / 'ice on road' and the Belarusian *галёча* 'голь, беднякі' / 'beggar, the poor'. We can assume that *голць* is a newly-formed word compared to the old Belarusian *голоть*, which by the way has already been offered by T. Gorjačeva during the reconstruction of *гол(о)ць* with a lost *o* for the explanation of the above mentioned *гогоць* with replacement *г → л* (Gorjačeva, 2007, p. 40), but the latter seems doubtful due to the assumption of 'vertical' change of consonants. However, Vladimir Orel connects the Belarusian form with the Russian one, *оголтѣлый* 'дзікі, ашалелы' / 'wild, rabid' (Orel 2, 2007, p. 360), which undoubtedly is based on the 'intensive' verb of the **gьltĕti* type (cf. **obgьltĕti*, ÈSSÂ 27, p. 52). The rare Belarusian word *агальцѣлы* 'звар'яцелы, дурны' / 'mad, stupid' was deduced by Vaclaŭ Lastoŭski from the root *гал-*, to which he attributed and *агальны* 'нахрапны і непрыязны / impudent and unfriendly' (Lastoŭski, 1997, p. 419), as attested in the Bransk region: *агаль* 'о злом, завистливом чловеке' / 'about wrong, envious man' ('Их завуть *агаламы*, злыи люди, *агальцѣлы* люди'; BOS, 2007, p. 14)¹⁵. This may, apparently, refer to the Belarusian word *оголциць* (*агалиць*?) 'наслаць хваробу нагаворам або сурочыць' / 'to send a disease with a hex or jinx', written down by Aleksandr Afanasyev. The connection of these words with *голць*, as well as their etymology remains unclear (Žuravlev, 2005, p. 214), but it is possible, as will be shown below, that the 'magic'

¹³ 'beat one against the other, especially if there is a buzz'

¹⁴ 'At a bad foal and on the fence the skin is buzzing'

¹⁵ Vitebsk *агалам* has the meaning 'together' (Vušacki slovazbor, 2016, p. 17).

semantics of the verb can correlate in a certain way with the specific meaning of the nouns correlated with it.

Шаць ‘іней, шэрань; сырасць у паветры, якая асядае на рэчы і замярзае пушком’ / ‘frost, hoarfrost; dampness in the air, which settles on things and freezes down like a fluff’ (Lastoŭski, 1924, p. 224, 270; Stankevič, 1990, p. 1122). In this meaning, this word occurs mainly in the dialects adjacent to the Baltic language territory (LABNG 2, m. 44), compare *šac* ‘from the Braslaŭ region, which is used as a relevant to the Polish *szadz* ‘іней, шэрань’ / ‘frost, hoarfrost’ (Smułkowa, 2009, p. 733) in an adapted form (‘hissing’ *c* instead of *dź*), which allows for including the noun into the group with the final formant *-ць*¹⁶. The etymology of the word is reflected in the Belarusian *шэрань* (from *шэры* ‘gray’, which goes back to **šarь* / **šerь* ‘шэры, сівы’ / ‘gray, grey’ in the West Slavic **šadь* ‘gray’, see: Boryś, 2005, p. 591). The problem is known in the same territory **шацэць*, compare *шаціць* ‘трызніць’ / ‘rave’: У гаручцы чалавек *шаціць*¹⁷ (BD 3, p. 80), whose connection with *шаць* is confirmed by the recording *šac’ic*, *bluz’nic*, *lažyc’ jak slata* (Smułkowa, 2009, p. 347) where *slata* means ‘mokra pogoda’ / ‘wet weather’ (Smułkowa, 2009, 728)¹⁸. Thus, the structure of ‘abstract noun’ – ‘intensive verb’ is restored. Here the abstract noun *шаць* ‘зброд’ / ‘rabble’ joins: Адна *шаць* кругом, звяліся людзі¹⁹ (Vušacki slovazbor, 2016, p. 183). It is possible that this is a shortened form of the *шаціця* ‘кампанія хуліганаў’ / ‘a company of hooligans’ (Ūrčanka, 1969, p.102), borrowing *шатиця* ‘кампанія людзей непрыстойных паводзін’ / ‘a company of people of indecent behavior’ from the Russian vernacular, formed on the model of the Church Slavonic *братия* from *шататься* ‘бадзяцца’ / ‘wander’ (ESUM 6, p. 388)²⁰, but in the group of Belarusian nouns ending in *-ць*, it received an expressive connotation under the influence of the figurative semantics of the word *шэрань*; compare also: Напала *шаць* на дзерава²¹ (Šatalava, 1975, p. 199).

¹⁶ Incidentally, such cases of ‘stunning’ of the final (etymological) *-дэ*’ are observed in other nouns, indicating the expansion of the use of the formant *-ць* in the Belarusian language, compare *галалэць* ‘the same as ice slick’ (SIPZB 1, p. 408), recorded in the Ashmyany district and in Kraslavshchyna. Taking into account this phenomenon, we can interpret the mysterious *dohać* ‘repentance’: Boh jemu daŭ dohać, ciper czelawiekam staŭ / The Lord repented him, and he became a man (Federowski), recorded near Valkavysk; most probably it goes back to *дагадзіць* ‘console’.

¹⁷ ‘in a fever, a person is raving’

¹⁸ Compare the variant *слоць* ‘слякоть’ / ‘sleet’ in *The Russian – Belarusian Dictionary* (Āruševič, 2018, p. 284).

¹⁹ ‘There are no other people but the rabble around’

²⁰ Oleksa Gorbach deduced the Ukrainian argotic word *шатиця* with Yiddish *šutvis* ‘суполка’ / ‘community’ (Gorbač, 1966, p. 23), compare Yiddish *šufes* ‘accessory, community’ (Astravuh, 2008, p. 728), because of the other vocalism is difficult to prove.

²¹ ‘Frost fell on a tree’

However, it is more likely that the atmospheric phenomenon is related to the close value of 'покрыва (з лісця, снегу)'²² (TSBM 5, p. 359), presented in a similar *шацьце* 'убор, строй, адзенне' / 'attire, suit, clothes': *Багатаму не шкода і шацьця, а беднаму жаль і шмацьця*²³ (Sieržputoŭski). The latter is elevated to the category of *шаты* 'clothing' with unreliable etymology (ESUM 5, p. 288), perhaps of a Proto-Slavic origin (Schuster-Šewc, 3, p. 1408). The homonymous abstract word *шаты* as used in the expression *шаты водзяць* 'пра фізічны стан чалавека, які вызначаецца слабасцю' / 'about the physical state of man, which is determined by weakness' (Volkaŭ, 2016, p. 96), apparently, confirms the latter, attaching a mythological element thereto, unless it is a secondary formation from **šetati* 'wander'.

Summing up the results of the etymological derivation of abstract nouns with the final formant *-ць*, it is necessary to note that this formally selected group of words in the Belarusian language is characterised by a tendency to word-formation and semantic consolidation based on the Slavic derivational inheritance on one hand, and on a distinct expansion of the specified formant on the other, not only in the sphere of the abstract, but also in the sphere of specific vocabulary. Something similar was pointed out by Jan Otrębski in respect of the Lithuanian language, in the case of the nouns with the *-tis*, *-ties* suffix (Otrębski, 1965, p. 241), which may be regarded as a joint feature resulting from geographical factors. According to Otrębski, *nomina actionis* with these suffixes derived from verbs, or, more precisely, from their roots, partially retained their primary semantics, and partially received a specific meaning. It is interesting that most nouns belong to the feminine gender and their first syllable is stressed. This clear typological similarity in the absence of direct sources of borrowings²⁴ indicates, most likely, the relations characteristic of language unions. Interestingly enough, Otrębski notices the archaic character of similar Lithuanian formations ('tworzenie nowych wyrazów za pomocą przyrostka *-ti-* dawno już ustało'²⁵, Otrębski, 1965, p. 241), while the Belarusian dialects exhibit an extension of nouns with the final formant *-ць*. As can be seen from the study, these are used throughout the entire Belarusian language territory, but their greatest concentration is visible in the North-West, including all formations with the *-jь* suffix. However, perhaps there is a subjective factor (in the dictionary of V. Lastoŭski, who originated from Dzisienščyna, 'россыпы ўтварэнняў на *-jь* уражваюць сваёй колькасцю, непарапарцыянальна вялікай у параўнаньні да мовы літаратурнае'²⁶,

²² 'cover (of leaves, snow)'

²³ 'The rich do not feel sorry for clothes, and the poor feel sorry for rags'

²⁴ Among the 'concrete' nouns ending in *-ць* found in the Belarusian dialects, it would be possible to attribute the word *кіпяць* 'the cheapskate, the miser' (Ragaŭcoŭ, 2002, p. 2) or identical *кіпяць* 'the rigid forest grass' (Kryval'tsevich, 2016, p. 68), probably connected with lit. *kipti* 'cling, grab' to potentially possible baltisms, but the exact Baltic matches have not yet been found.

²⁵ 'the formation of new expressions with the help of the suffix *-ti-* has ceased long ago'

²⁶ 'concentration of the formations ending in *-jь* is impressive in their number, disproportionately large in comparison with the language of literature'

Расіўпа, 2007, р. 201), but the other sources regarding the nouns with the final formant *-ць* confirm the spatial 'expansion' of this formant from the Northwest.

Translated into English by Marharyta Svirydava

List of sources

- Áruševič, Apanas. (2018). *Rasejska-belaruski sloŭnik. Arhiŭnaâ spadčyna*. Minsk: Belaruskáâ navuka. [Ярушэвіч, Апанас. (2018). *Расейска-беларускі слоўнік. Архіўная спадчына*. Мінск: Беларуская навукa].
- Astravuh, Aláksandar. (2008). *Ídyš-belaruski sloŭnik: z prykazkami, prymaŭkami, vyslouŭamí, frazètamí, paraŭnan'námí, zučan'námí, vitan'námí, dražnìlkamí-kepìkamí, praklènamí, zagadkamí, skoragavorkamí, kalamburamí, cytataamí z žydoŭskìh pesen', anèkdotaŭ i litaraturnyh tvoraŭ*. Minsk: Medison. [Астравух, Аляксандар. (2008). *Íдыш-беларускі слоўнік: з прыказкамі, прымаўкамі, выслоўямі, фразэмамі, параўнаньнямі, зычаньнямі, вітаньнямі, дражнілкамі-кепікамі, праклёнамі, загадкамі, скорогаворкамі, каламбурамі, цытатамі з жыдоўскіх песень, анекдотаў і літаратурных твораў*. Мінск: Медисон].
- Bañkowski, Andrzej. (2000). *Etymologiczny słownik języka polskiego*. Vol. 1–2. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- BD – *Belaruskáâ dyálektalogiâ: matèryâly i dasledavannì*. (2010 and the next). Issue 1–5. Minsk: Belaruskáâ navuka. [Беларуская дыялекталогія: матэрыялы і даследаванні. (2010 і наст.). Вып. 1–5. Мінск: Беларуская навукa].
- Boryś, Wiesław. (2005). *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- BOS – Golovanevskij, Arkadij (ed.). (2007). *Brânskij oblastnoj slovar'*. Brânsk: Brânskij gosudarstvennyj universitet. [Голованевский, Аркадий (ред.). (2007). *Брянский областной словарь*. Брянск: Брянский государственный университет].
- Długosz-Kurczabowa, Krystyna. (2003). *Nowy słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- ÈSBM – Cyhun, Genadz' (ed., Vol. 1–8 ed. Viktor Martynaŭ). (1978 and the next). *Ètymalogičny sloŭnik belaruskaj movy*. Vol. 1–14. Minsk: Belaruskáâ navuka (Navuka i tèhnika). [Цыхун, Генадзь (рэд., т. 1–8 рэд. Віктар Мартынаў). (1978 і наст.). *Этымалагічны слоўнік беларускай мовы*. Т. 1–14. Мінск: Беларуская навукa (Навукa і тэхнікa)].
- ÈSSÂ – Trubačev, Oleg. (1974 and the next). *Ètymologičeskij slovar' slavânskìh âzykov. Praslavânskij leksičeskij fond*. Issue 1–14. Moskva: Nauka. [Трубачев, Олег. (1974 и след.). *Этимологический словарь славянских языков. Праславянскі лексічэскі фонд*. Вып. 1–14. Москва: Наука].
- ESUM – Meľničuk, Oleksandr (ed.). (1982–2012). *Ètymologičnij slovník ukraïns'koï movi*. Vol. 1–6. Kiïv: Naukova dumka. [Мельничук, Олександр (рэд.). (1982–2012). *Этимологічний словник української мови*. Т. 1–6. Киïв: Наукова думка].

- Fasmer, Maks. (1964–1973). *Ětimologiĉeskij slovar' russkogo āzyka*. Transl. from German and Append. Olega Trubaĉeva. Vol. 1–4. Moskva: Progress. [Фасмер, Макс. (1964–1973). *Этимологический словарь русского языка*. Перев. с нем. и дополн. Олега Трубачева. Т. 1–4. Москва: Прогресс].
- Federowski, Michał. (1897–1981). *Lud białoruski na Rusi Litewskiej. Materiały do etnografii słowiańskiej zgromadzone w latach 1877–1905*. Vol. 1–8. Vol. 4 (1935): *Przysłowia, żarciki, wyrażenia stałe oraz zagadki ludu, mieszczan i zagrodowców z okolic Grodna, Sokółki, Białegostoku, Bielska, Wołkowyska, Stonima, Nowogródka, Stucka, Lidy, Wilejki, Świącian i Oszmiany*. Warszawa: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie.
- GSBM – Bulyka, Alāksandr (ed.). (1982–2017). *Giŝtaryĉny sloŭnik belaruskaj movy*. Issue 1–37. Minsk: Navuka i tĕhnika (Belaruskaā navuka). [Булыка, Аляксандр (рэд.). (1982–2017). *Гістарычны слоўнік беларускай мовы*. Вып. 1–37. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка (Беларуская навука)].
- Kaspāroviĉ, Mikola. (1927). *Vicebski kraĕvy sloŭnik: matar'āly*. Vicebsk: Vydan'ne Vicebskaga Akrugovaga Tavarystva Kraāznaŭstva i vydavectva 'Zarā Zapada'. [Каспяровіч, Мікола. (1927). *Віцебскі краĕвы слоўнік: матар'ялы*. Віцебск: Выданьне Віцебскага Акрывовага Таварыства Краязнаўства і выдавецтва 'Заря Запада'].
- Kryval'cĕviĉ, Raā. (2016). *Blizki svet: hatni sloŭnik-uspamin*. Minsk: Tĕhnologiā. [Крывальцĕвіч, Рая. (2016). *Блізкі свет: хатні слоўнік-успамін*. Мінск: Тэхналогія].
- LABNG – Biryła, Mikalaj; Mackevīĉ, Ūzĕfā (eds.). (1993–1998). *Leksīĉny atlas belaruskih narodnyh gavorak*. T. 2. 1994: *Sel'skaā gaspadarka*. Minsk: Nacyānal'naā akadĕmiā navuk Belarusi. Instytut movaznaŭstva im. Ākuba Kolasa. [Бірыла, Мікалай; Мацкевіч, Юзĕфа (рэд.). (1993–1998). *Лексічны атлас беларускіх народных гаворак*. Т. 2. 1994: *Сельская гаспадарка*. Мінск: Нацыянальная акадĕмія навук Беларусі. Інстытут мовазнаўства ім. Якуба Коласа].
- Lastoŭski, Vaclaŭ. (1924). *Padručny rasijska-kryŭski (belaruskі) sloŭnik*. Koŭna: Drukarnā A. Baĕa. [Ластоўскі, Вацлаў. (1924). *Падручны расійска-кrywскі (беларускі) слоўнік*. Коўна: Друкарня А. Бака].
- Machek, Vāclav. (1968). *Etymologický slovník jazyka ĉeskĕho*. The 2nd edition corrected and added. Praha: Academia, Nakladatelství ĉeskoslovenské akademie vĕd.
- Materiały do słownika białorusko-polskiego, zebrane przez Michała Federowskiego*. Vol. 1. *Słownik języka białoruskiego. Materiały językowe, właściwości mowy*. In: *Archiwum Michała Federowskiego. Zbiory specjalne Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Oddział rękopisów*. No. 444.
- Nasoviĉ, Īvan. (1983). *Sloŭnik belaruskaj movy*. Minsk: Belaruskaā Saveckaā Ēncyklapedyā. [Насовіч, Іван. (1983). *Слоўнік беларускай мовы*. Мінск: Беларуская Савецкая Ēнцыклапедыя].
- Orel, Vladimir. (2007). *Russian Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. 2: *K–O*. Calgary: Octavia.
- Paĉupa, Ūry. (2007). Kryvicki leksykon: sloŭnik-dĕtĕktyŭ. *Arche*, 3, pp. 159–211. [Пацупа, Юры. (2007). Крывіцкі лексыкон: слоўнік-дĕтĕктыŭ. *Arche*, 3, с. 159–211].

- PGS – Bulyka, Alâksandr (ed.). (2013). *Padručny gîstaryčny sloŭnik substancyŭnaj leksiki*. Vol. 1–2. Minsk: Belaruskaâ navuka. [Будыка, Аляксандр Мікалаевіч (рэд.). (2013). *Падручны гістарычны слоўнік субстантыўнай лексікі*. Т. 1–2. Мінск: Беларуская навука].
- Ragaŭcoŭ, Vasil'. (2002. 16 october). *Matčynŭâ slovy: Z leksiki strěšynskaj gavorki. Naša slova*. [Рагаўцоў, Васіль Іванавіч. (2002. 16 кастр.). *Матчыныя словы: 3 лексікі стрэшынскай гаворкі. Наша слова*].
- Šatalava, Lûboŭ. (1975). *Belaruskae dyâlektnae slova*. Minsk: Navuka i tĕhnika. [Шаталава, Любоў. (1975). *Беларускае дыялектнае слова*. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка].
- Schuster-Šewc, Heinz. (1978–1996). *Historisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der oder- und niedersorbischen Sprache*. Bd. 1–5. Bautzen: VEB Domowina-Verlag.
- Seržputoŭski, Alâksandr. *Prykazki i prymaŭki belarusaŭ* (manuscript; Minsk: Īnstitut mastactvaznaŭstva, ĕtnagrafii i fal'kloru imâ K. Krapivy NAN Belarusi). [Сержпутоўскі, Аляксандр. *Прыказкі і прымаўкі беларусаў* (рукапіс; Мінск: Інстытут мастацтвазнаўства, этнаграфіі і фальклору імя К. Крапівы НАН Беларусі)].
- SIPZB – Mackevič, Ūzĕfa (ed.). (1979). *Sloŭnik belaruskih gavorak paŭnočna-zahodnâj Belarusi i âe pagraničča*. Vol. 1. Minsk: Navuka i tĕhnika. [Мацкевіч, Юзэфа (ed.). (1979). *Слоўнік беларускіх гаворак паўночна-заходняй Беларусі і яе пагранічча*. Т. 1. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка].
- Smuĕkowa, Elzbieta (ed.). (2009). *Braslawszczyzna. Pamięć i współczesność*. Vol. 2. *Słownictwo dwujęzycznych mieszkańców rejonu (Słownik brasławski)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- SP – Sławski, Franciszek (ed.). (1974 and the next). *Słownik prasłowiański*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN.
- Stankevič, Ân. (1990). *Belorusko-russkij (Velikolitovsko-russkij) slovar' / Belaruska-rasijski (Vâlikalitoŭska-rasijski) sloŭnik / Byelorussian-russian (Greatlitvan-Russian) Dictionary*. New York: Lew Sapieha Greatlitvan (Byelorussian) Foundation. [Станкевіч, Ян. (1990). *Белорусско-русский (Великолитовско-русский) словарь / Беларуско-расійскі (Вялікалітоўска-расійскі) слоўнік / Byelorussian-russian (Greatlitvan-Russian) Dictionary*. New York: Lew Sapieha Greatlitvan (Byelorussian) Foundation].
- Timčenko, Êvgen (ed.). (2002–2003). *Materiali do slovnika pisemnoï ta knižnoï ukraïns'koï movi XV–XVIII st*. Book 1–2. Kiïv–N'û-Jork: Īnstitut ukraïns'koï movi NAN Ukraïni [Тимченко, Євген (рэд.). (2002–2003). *Матэрыялы да слоўніка пісемноï та кніжнаï українс'коï мови XV–XVIII ст*. Кн. 1–2. Киïв–Нью-Йорк: Інститут українс'коï мови НАН Украïни].
- TS – Kryvicki, Alâksandr (ed.). (1982–1987). *Turaŭski sloŭnik*. Vol. 1–5. Minsk: Navuka i tĕhnika. [Крывіцкі, Аляксандр (рэд.). (1982–1987). *Тураўскі слоўнік*. Т. 1–5. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка].
- TSBM – Atrahovič, Kandrat (Krapiva Kandrat) (ed.). (1977–1984). *Tumačal'ny sloŭnik belaruskaj movy*. Vol. 1–5. Minsk: Belaruskaâ Saveckaâ Ēncyklapedŭâ. [Атраховіч, Кандрат Кандратавіч (Крапіва Кандрат) (рэд.). (1977–1984). *Тлумачальны слоўнік беларускай мовы*. Т. 1–5. Мінск: Беларуская Савецкая Ēнцыклапедыя].

- Ūčanka, Georgij. (1969). *Narodnaâ sinanîmika*. Minsk: Navuka i tĕhnika. [Юрчанка, Георгій. (1969). *Народная сінаніміка*. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка].
- Volkaŭ, Ivan. (2016). *Polackiâ dyâmenty: dyâlektny sloŭnik*. Minsk: Belaruskâ navuka. [Волкаў, Іван. (2016). *Полацкія дыяменты: дыялектны слоўнік*. Мінск: Беларуская навука].
- Višacki slovazbor Rygora Baradulina*. (2014). Minsk: Knigazbor. [*Вишацкі словазбор Рыгора Барадуліна*. (2014). Мінск: Кнігазбор].
- ŽNS – Kuncëvič, Lûboŭ; Âškîn, Ivan (eds.). (2001). *Žyvoe naša slova: dyâlektalagîčny zbornik*. Minsk: Belaruskâ navuka. [Кунцэвіч, Любоў; Яшкін, Іван (рэд.). (2001). *Жывое наша слова: дыялекталагічны зборнік*. Мінск: Беларуская навука].

References

- Âkobson, Gunar. (1969). Celi i metody ětimologizacii slov, vyražauših nekotorye abstraktnye ponâtiâ. In: Žanna Varbot and others (eds.). *Ětimologiâ 1967* (pp. 32–35). Moskva: Nauka. [Якобсон, Гунар. (1969). Цели и методы этимологизации слов, выражающих некоторые абстрактные понятия. В: Жанна Варбот и др. (ред.). *Этимология 1967* (с. 32–35). Москва: Наука].
- Gorâčeva, Tat'âna. (2007). Vostočnoslavânskie ětimologii. In: Žanna Varbot (ed.). *Ětimologiâ 2003–2005* (pp. 37–48). Moskva: Nauka. [Горячева, Татьяна. (2007). Восточнославянские этимологии. В: Жанна Варбот (ред.). *Этимология 2003–2005* (с. 37–48). Москва: Наука].
- Gorbač, Oleksa. (1966). Argo ukraîns'kih školâriv i studentiv. In: *Naukovî zapiski Ukraîns'kogo Vil'nogo Universitetu. 1964–1966. Filosofîčnij Fakul'tet*. Mûnhen: [s.n.]. Part. 8, pp. 3–55. [Горбач, Олекса. (1966). Арго українських школярів і студентів. У: *Наукові записки Українського Вільного Університету. 1964–1966. Філософічний Факультет*. Мюнхен: [s.n.]. Ч. 8, с. 3–55].
- Lastoŭski, Vaclaŭ. (1997). *Ūbranyâ tvory*. Minsk: Belaruskî knigazbor. [Ластоўскі, Вацлаў. (1997). *Выбраныя творы*. Мінск: Беларускі кнігазбор].
- Otrębski, Jan. (1965). *Gramatyka języka litewskiego*. T. 2. *Nauka o budowie wyrazów*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Scâcko, Pavel. (1977). *Belaruskæ narodnæ slovaŭtvarĕnne. Afiks'al'nyâ nazoŭnikî*. Minsk: Navuka i tĕhnika. [Сцяцко, Павел. (1977). *Беларускае народнае словаўтварĕнне. Афіксальныя назоўнікі*. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка].
- Sławski, Franciszek. (2011). *Słowotwórstwo, słownictwo i etymologia słowiańska*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności.
- Stašajtene, Valentina. (1973). *Abstraktnâ leksika: na materiale starobeloruskich pis'mennyh pamâtnikov XV–XVII vekov*. Vil'nûs: Periodika. [Сташайтене, Валентина. (1973). *Абстрактная лексика: на материале старобелорусских письменных памятников XV–XVII веков*. Вильнюс: Периодика].
- Vĕksler, Pol. (2004). *Gistaryčnâ fanalogiâ belaruskæ movy*. Transl. from English A. Litvinoŭskaâ, M. Ramanoŭski. Minsk: Vydavec Ĭ. P. Logvinaŭ. [Вĕкслер, Пол.

- (2004). *Гістарычная фаналогія беларускае мовы*. Перакл. з англ. А. Літвіноўская, М. Раманоўскі. Мінск: Выдавец І. П. Логвінаў].
- Žuravlev, Anatolij. (2005). *Ázyk i mif: lingvističeskij komentarij k trudu A. N. Afanas'eva «Poëtičeskie vozzreniâ slavân na prirodu»*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo 'Indrik'. [Журавлев, Анатолий. (2005). *Язык и миф: лингвистический комментарий к труду А. Н. Афанасьева «Поэтические воззрения славян на природу»*. Москва: Издательство „Индрик”].

Article submission date: 21 January 2019