

Current Trends in Linguistics

1

*Soviet and East European
Linguistics*

MOUTON

CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS

Edited by

THOMAS A. SEBEOK

VOLUME I

Soviet and East European Linguistics

Associate Editors:

PAUL L. GARVIN · HORACE LUNT

EDWARD STANKIEWICZ

Assistant Editor: JOHN R. KRUEGER

Assistant to the Editor: ROSE NASH



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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

A symposium "to develop, and make recommendations concerning, a national program for systematic evaluation, selection, possible abstracting and/or translation, republication, and dissemination of Russian and East European linguistic literature – with special emphasis on research materials in mathematical linguistics and information processing – for use of the American scholarly community" was held under the auspices of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, on December 2–3, 1960, under a grant from the National Science Foundation. This meeting resulted in a number of formal recommendations which were then referred for further discussion and detailed planning to members of a standing committee established by the conference as a whole. Since 1960, this committee has undergone several alterations both in name and in composition, reflecting a series of changes from a regionally circumscribed approach to one less concerned with specific applications than refashioned to explore implications of the problems of information flow – including storage, retrieval, dissemination, in brief, systems design – in the field of general linguistics. The group is now called the Committee on Linguistic Information. International in membership, it currently functions under the auspices of the Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America (Charles A. Ferguson succeeded Thomas A. Sebeok as its Chairman, beginning 1963).

The Committee, at its initial meeting, March 6, 1961, discussed a range of agenda including the following recommendation of the original conferees: "... that a series of annual volumes be commissioned to assess the current state of linguistic activity in all fields and all countries in the area with which we are concerned". The undersigned was selected to serve as over-all Editor of the series, which came to be entitled *Current Trends in Linguistics*, and which will continue to be published under the imprint of Mouton & Co.

It was further agreed that the first volume should be devoted to Soviet and East European linguistics. It is intended that future volumes appear at intervals of approximately two years. The second volume, to be published in 1965, will cover East Asian linguistics; it is already in preparation. The third volume – to be consolidated on the basis of twenty-eight lectures which will be delivered in connection with the 1964 Linguistic Institute, at Indiana University – will feature seven topics in general linguistics, each representing an important recent development in linguistic theory or

practice. The fourth and subsequent volumes will revert to the pattern exemplified in the first two, that is, they will assemble parallel materials concerning current trends in linguistics relating to South and South East Asia, the Middle East and Africa, Central and South America, Oceania, and the like.

The present work was designed in consultation with members of our Committee on Linguistic Information and, of course, the three Associate Editors of Vol. I. The Assistant Editor assumed particular responsibility for technical considerations of style (although it must be emphasized that we did not seek absolute uniformity: on the contrary, we encouraged our contributors to write their respective chapters to suit their individual taste on the one hand, and the requirements of their topic on the other). Several manuscripts in need of restatement in English were also assigned to the Assistant Editor, who accomplished this difficult task much to the benefit of the articles in question.

In addition to her other duties, involving extensive correspondence and proofreading, the Assistant to the Editor compiled the Biographical Notes, Linguistic Index, and the Index of Names.

It was originally intended that a further section be included supplying biographical details concerning Soviet and East European linguists, but it was later decided to incorporate the information we were able to gather in the Roster of Linguists being compiled by the Center for Applied Linguistics. Pertinent inquiries may be addressed there.

Part Two was also to have included a chapter on linguistics in Rumania. Regrettably, the colleague invited to furnish this was forced to withdraw at a juncture when it proved too late for us to secure the collaboration of another specialist.

The project was financed by a grant (G19468) from the National Science Foundation to the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics. This assistance is acknowledged with pleasure. The Editor also wishes to express his gratitude to the twenty-two contributors, his editorial associates, and the staff of Mouton & Co., for their splendid cooperation.

Vienna, July 1, 1963

Thomas A. Sebeok

MASTER LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALH	<i>Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i> Budapest.
AN	Akademija Nauk/Navuk.
AnnIFiES	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut Finlandais d'Études Soviétiques.</i> Helsinki.
AO	<i>Archiv Orientalni.</i> Prague.
AÖH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i> Budapest.
ASEER	<i>The American Slavic and East European Review.</i> New York.
AUC-Ph	<i>Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Filologica.</i> Prague.
BDU	<i>Dasledavanni pa belaruskaj i ruskaj movax.</i> Belaruskij dzjaržawny universitet imja Ul. I. Lenina, kafedry belaruskaj i ruskaj movaw (Minsk, 1958 & 1960).
BOPMP	<i>Bjulleten' ob'edinenija po problemam mašinno perevoda.</i> Moscow.
BPTJ	<i>Biuletyn polskiego towarzystwa językoznawczego.</i> Bulletin de la Société polonaise de Linguistique. Wrocław-Kraków.
BSL	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.</i>
BøEz	<i>Bølgarski ezik.</i> Sofia.
ČČM	<i>Časopis Českého musea.</i> Prague.
ČMF	<i>Časopis pro moderní filologii.</i> Prague.
ČSAV	Československá akademie věd.
DAN	<i>Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR.</i> Moscow-Leningrad.
DB	<i>Dialektolohičnyj bjuleten',</i> AN UkrSR, Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni. Kiev.
DLM	<i>Doslidžennja z literaturoznawstva ta movoznavstva. Zbirnyk. Č. II, Doslidžennja z movoznavstva.</i> Kyjiv's'kyj derzawnyj universytet im. T. Ševčenko. Kiev.
DML	<i>Doslidžennja z movy ta literatury = Naukovi zapysky Instytutu suspil'nyx nauk AN UkrSR, AN UkrSR, L'viv's'kyj filial.</i> Kiev.
DMUM	<i>Doslidžennja i materialy z ukrajins'koji movy, Vols. 1-3 (1959-61).</i> AN UkrSR Instytut suspil'nyx nauk. Kiev.
DokK	<i>Doklady na Konferencii po obrabotke informacii, mašinnomu perevodu i avtomatičeskomu čteniju teksta</i> (Moscow, 1961).
Doslidžennja	<i>Doslidžennja z movoznavstva v Ukrajins'kij RSR za sorok rokiv, AN UkrSR, Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni</i> (Kiev, 1959).
DSIJa	<i>Doklady i soobščeniya Instituta jazykoznanija.</i> AN SSSR. Moscow.
DSIRJa	<i>Doklady i soobščeniya Instituta russkogo jazyka.</i> Moscow-Leningrad.
DSMU	<i>Doklady i soobščeniya Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta.</i>
DSUM	<i>Doslidžennja z syntaksysu ukrajins'koji movy.</i> AN UkrSR, Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni (Kiev, 1958).
DUM	<i>Doslidžennja z ukrajins'koji movy (Zbirnyk statej aspirantiv ta dysertantiv).</i> AN UkrSR, Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni (Kiev, 1958).
EMNyF	<i>Egyetemi Magyar Nyelvészeti Füzetek.</i> Budapest.
ESA	<i>Emakeele seltsi aastaraamat.</i> Tallinn.
ETAT	<i>Eestu NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised, Ühiskonnateaduste seeria/Izvestija AN Estonskoj. SSR, Serija obščestvennyx nauk.</i> Tallinn.
EzLit	<i>Ezik i literatura.</i> Sofia.
FUF	<i>Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen.</i> Helsinki.
FZ	<i>Filolohičnyj zbirnyk.</i> AN UkrSR, Ukrajins'kyj komitet slavistik (Kiev, 1958).

GodSU	<i>Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet.</i> Sofia.
IAN	<i>Izvestija AN SSSR.</i> Moscow-Leningrad.
IJa AN SSSR	Institut jazykoznanija AN SSSR. Moscow.
IJaŠ	<i>Inostrannye jazyki v škole.</i> Moscow.
IJSLP	<i>International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics.</i> The Hague.
IKJa	<i>Iberijsko-kavkazskoe jazykoznanie.</i> Tbilisi.
ISI	Institut slavjanovedenija, AN SSSR. Moscow.
ISN	<i>Naukovi zapysky Instytutu suspil'nyx nauk.</i> AN UkrSR. (Kiev, 1961).
IzvSS	<i>Izvestija na Seminara po slavjanska filologija pri Universiteta v Sofija.</i> Sofia.
IzvAN	<i>Izvestija AN SSSR, Otdelenie literatury i jazyka.</i> Moscow-Leningrad.
IzVBE	<i>Izvestija na Instituta za bŕgarski ezik pri Bŕgarskata akademija na naukite.</i> Sofia.
JaD	<i>Jazyki Dagestana.</i> Maxačkala.
JaSKD	<i>Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana.</i> Moscow-Leningrad.
Jĕz. Ros.	<i>Język rosyjski.</i> Warsaw.
JP	<i>Język polski.</i> Cracow.
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies.</i> Manchester.
KDU	<i>Naukovi zapysky, Kyjivs'kyj derŕavnyj universytet im. T. Ševčenko.</i> Kiev.
KK	<i>Keel ja kirjandus.</i> Tallinn.
KKIU	<i>Keele ja kirjanduse instituudi uurimused.</i> Tallinn.
Konferencja Pomorska	Konferencja pomorska, 1954. <i>Prace językoznawcze</i> , 1956. Warsaw.
KSISl	<i>Kratkie soobščenie AN SSSR, Institut Slavyanovedenia.</i> Moscow.
LB	<i>Leksykohrafičnyj bjuleten',</i> AN UkrSR, Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni. Kiev.
LGU	Leningradskij gosudarstvennyj universitet im. A. Ŗdanova.
LK	<i>Literatūra ir kalba.</i> Vilna.
LKK	<i>Lietuvių kalbotyros klausimai.</i> Vilna.
LL	<i>Language Learning.</i> Ann Arbor, Michigan.
LMAD	<i>Lietuvos TSR Mokslu akademijos Darbai, Serija A.</i> Vilna.
LOIKFN	Leningradskoe obščestvo issledovatelej kul'tury finnougorskix narodnostej.
LPI	<i>Naukovi zapysku.</i> L'vivs'kyj derŕavnyj pedahohičnyj instytut. Lviv.
LPos	<i>Lingua posnaniensis.</i> Poznan.
ŁTN	Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe.
LUZR	<i>Pēteru Stučkas Latvijas Valsts universitātes zinātniskie raksti.</i> Riga.
LZAV	<i>Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis.</i> Riga.
M	<i>Movoznavstvo, Naukovi zapysky,</i> AN UkrSR. Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni. Kiev.
MakPr	<i>Makedonski pregled.</i> Sofia.
MGU	Moskovskij gosudarstvennyj universitet im. Ul. I. Lenina.
MJ	<i>Makedonski Jazik.</i> Skopje.
MKV	<i>XXV Meŕdunarodnyj kongress vostokovedov. Doklady delegacii SSSR.</i> Moscow 1960.
MLJ	<i>Modern Language Journal.</i> Ann Arbor, Michigan.
MMP	<i>Materialy po mašinnomu perevodu.</i> Leningrad.
MMZ	<i>Materyjaly da IV miŕnarodnaha zjezda slavistaw AN BelSSR,</i> Belaruskij kamitėt slavistaw (Minsk, 1958).
MPPL	<i>Mašinnyj perevod i prikladnaja lingvistika.</i> Moscow.
NDVŠ-FN	<i>Naučnye doklady vyšej školy, Filologičeskie nauki.</i>
NIJaLI	Naučno-issledovatel'skij institut jazyka, literatury i istorii.
NIIEŁJa	Naučno-issledovatel'skij institut istorii, ekonomiki, literatury i jazyka.
NIJaLIE	Naučno-issledovatel'skij institut jazyka, literatury, istorii i ekonomiki pri Sovete ministrov...
NĕF	<i>Načal'nyj etap formirovanija russkogo nacional'nogo jazyke.</i> LGU. (Leningrad, 1961).
ODU	<i>Zbirnyk filolohičnogo fakul'tetu, and Praci.</i> Odes'kyj derŕavnyj universytet im. I. Mečnikova. Odessa.
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i> Berlin.

Onom.	<i>Onomastica</i> . Wrocław.
Pam. Lit.	<i>Pamiętnik literacki</i> . Warsaw.
PAN	Polska Akademia Nauk.
PhP	<i>Philologica Pragensia</i> . Prague.
PID	<i>Pytannja istoriji i dialektolohiji sxidnoslovjans'kyx mov</i> = <i>Naukovi zapysky</i> , Vol. 31 (1958). Černivec'kyj deržavnyj universytet. Černivci.
PIM	<i>Pracy Instytutu movaznavstva</i> , AN BelSSR, Instytut movaznavstva imja J. Kolasa. Minsk.
PK	<i>Problemy kibernetiki</i> . Moscow.
PKD	<i>Poltavs'ko-kyjivs'kyj dialekt – osnova ukrajins'koji nacional'noji movy</i> . Zbirnyk. AN UkrSR, Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni (Kiev, 1954).
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i> . New York.
Por. Jęz.	<i>Poradnik Językowy</i> . Warsaw.
Prace Pol.	<i>Prace Polonistyczne</i> . Łódź.
Przeg. zach.	<i>Przegląd zachodni</i> . Poznań.
PSb	<i>Palestinskij Sbornik</i> . Moscow-Leningrad.
PSF	<i>Pytannja slovjans'koji filolohiji</i> . L'vivs'kyj deržavnyj universytet im. I. Franka. Lviv.
PSM	<i>Pytannja slovjans'koho movoznavstva</i> , L'vivs'kyj deržavnyj universytet im. I. Franka (Vols. 1-4 published as VSJa).
PUM	<i>Pytannja ukrajins'koho movoznavstva</i> , L'vivs'kyj deržavnyj universytet im. I. Franka. Lviv.
PV	<i>Problemy vostokovedenija</i> . Moscow (since 1959; previously SovV).
RES	<i>Revue des Études Slaves</i> . Paris.
RJaŠ	<i>Russkij jazyk v škole</i> . Moscow.
Rocz. Orient.	<i>Rocznik orientalistyczny</i> .
Rocz. Sław.	<i>Rocznik slawistyczny</i> . Cracow.
Rozp.	Rozprawy.
RRPI	<i>Rīgas Pedagoģiskā institūta raksti</i> . Riga.
RVLI	<i>Latvijas PSR Zinātņu akadēmijas Valodas un literatūras institūta raksti</i> . Riga.
RWF	<i>Rozprawy wydziału filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności</i> . Cracow.
SANG	<i>Soobščeniya AN Gruzinskoj, SSR</i> . Tbilisi.
SaŠ	<i>Slovo a slovesnost</i> . Prague.
SAU	<i>Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności</i> . Cracow.
SbBAN	<i>Sbornik na Bǎlgarskata akademija na naukite</i> . Sofia.
SEEJ	<i>Slavic and East European Journal</i> . Bloomington, Indiana (Madison, Wisc. since 1961).
SFFB	<i>Sbornik prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university</i> . Brno.
SFPSI	<i>Studia z filologii polskiej i słowiańskiej</i> . Warsaw.
SH	<i>Seredn'onaddniprjans'ki hovory</i> . Zbirnyk statej. AN UkrSR, Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni (Kiev, 1960).
SIJUI	<i>Sprawozdania z posiedzeń naukowych Instytutu języko – znawstwa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego za g. 1952-1953</i> (Cracow, 1953).
SJa	<i>Sovetskoe jazykoznanie</i> . Moscow.
SKJWar.	<i>Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji językowej towarzystwa naukowego warszawskiego</i> . Warsaw.
Słownik Star.	
Słow.	Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich.
SM	<i>Slovjans'ke movoznavstvo</i> , AN UkrSR. Instytut movoznavstva im. O. Potebni. Kiev.
SMBD	<i>Stat'i i materialy po bǎlgarskoj dialektologii</i> . Moscow.
SO	<i>Slavia Occidentalis</i> . Poznań.
SovĖtn	<i>Sovetskaja ėtnografija</i> . Moscow-Leningrad.
SovF	<i>Sovetskoe Finnougrovedenie</i> .
SovV	<i>Sovetskoe vostokovedenie</i> . Moscow.
SPAN	<i>Sprawozdania z prac naukowych wydziału nauk społecznych PAN</i> . Warsaw.
SpBAN	<i>Spisanie na Bǎlgarskata akademija na naukite</i> . Sofia.

SSlav	<i>Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i> Budapest.
StSer	<i>Studia historico-philologica serdicensia.</i> Sofia.
TAI	<i>Trudy Abxazskogo instituta jazyka, literatury i istorii.</i> Suxumi.
TezSML59	<i>Tezisy soveščanija po matematičeskoj lingvistike (15-12 aprlja 1959 goda)</i> (Leningrad, 1959).
TIJa	<i>Trudy Instituta Jazykoznanija, AN SSSR.</i> Moscow.
TIV	<i>Trudy Instituta vostokovedenija, AN SSSR.</i> Moscow-Leningrad.
TRÜ	<i>Tartu riiklik ülikool.</i>
TRÜT	<i>Tartu riikliku ülikooli toimetised.</i>
TTGU	<i>Trudy Tbilisskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta.</i>
UMŠ	<i>Ukrajins'ka mova v školi.</i> Kiev.
UZ	<i>Učenyje zapiski.</i>
UZIC	<i>UZ Instituta istorii, jazyka i literatury im. G. Cadasy.</i> Maxačkala.
UZISI	<i>UZ Instituta slavjanovedenija.</i> Moscow.
UZIV	<i>UZ Instituta vostokovedenija, AN SSSR.</i> Moscow.
UZKI	<i>UZ Kabardino-balkarskogo n.-i. instituta.</i> Načičk.
UZLPedI	<i>UZ Leningradskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni A. I. Gercena.</i> Leningrad.
UZLU	<i>UZ Leningradskogo ordena Lenina gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. A. A. Zdanova.</i> Leningrad.
UZMPedI	<i>UZ Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta.</i> Moscow.
UZMU	<i>UZ Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta.</i> Moscow.
V	<i>Vesci AN BelSSR, Seryja hramadskix navuk.</i> Minsk.
VDI	<i>Vestnik drevnej istorii.</i> Moscow.
VIKJa	<i>Voprosy izučenija iberijsko-kavkazskix jazykov</i> (Moscow 1961).
VJa	<i>Voprosy jazykoznanija.</i> Moscow.
VKR	<i>Voprosy kultury reči.</i> Moscow.
VLU	<i>Vestnik Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta.</i>
VMU	<i>Vestnik Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta.</i>
VRJa	<i>Voprosy russkogo jazykoznanija, L'vovskij gosudarstvennyj universitet im. I. Franko, Kafedra russkogo jazyka i obščego jazykoznanija.</i>
VSJa	<i>Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija, L'vovskij gosudarstvennyj universitet im. I. Franko.</i> Lvov. (Continued as PSM.)
VSKJa	<i>Voprosy struktury kartvel'skix jazykov.</i> Tbilisi.
VSIJa(M)	<i>Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija.</i> Institut slavjanovedenija. Moscow.
VSR	<i>Voprosy statistiki reči</i> (Leningrad 1958).
WSP	<i>Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna.</i>
WSI	<i>Die Welt der Slaven.</i> Wiesbaden.
WTN	<i>Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe.</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</i> Vienna.
XDU	<i>Trudy filolohičnoho fakul'tetu, Vol. 6</i> (1958). Xarkivs'kyj deržavnyj universytet im. M. Hor'koho.
ZIV	<i>Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija AN SSSR.</i> Moscow.
ZNUW	<i>Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.</i>
ZPhon	<i>Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.</i> Berlin.
ZPNK	<i>Zbirnyk prac' naukovoji ševčenkivs'koji konferenciji.</i> AN UkrSR, Instytut literatury im. T. Ševčenka. Kiev.
ZSI	<i>Zeitschrift für Slawistik.</i> Berlin.
ZUJFil	<i>Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Filologia.</i> Cracow.

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PART ONE

SELECTED TOPICS IN SOVIET LINGUISTICS

GENERAL

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PHONEMICS*

MORRIS HALLE

I. INTRODUCTION

Soviet phonology has been dominated by three major schools. They are the Leningrad school, whose theories and practice bear considerable resemblance to American post-Bloomfieldian linguistics; the Moscow school, which in many ways parallels Sapir's approach to phonology; and the school based on the phonological theories of R. I. Avanesov, which are an attempt to bridge the gap that separates the Moscow and Leningrad schools. In spite of its many striking resemblances to Western phonology, the roots of Russian phonology are indigenous rather than imported. In fact, it might even be argued that Western and Russian phonology are two parallel developments of ideas originated by the Polish linguist Jan Baudouin de Courtenay during his long tenure as professor in various Russian universities.¹

In his earlier, Kazań period Baudouin de Courtenay was primarily interested in morphophonemic alternations, which he regarded as the central mechanism of sound change; and morphophonemic alternations have remained the primary concern of the Moscow school, though unlike Baudouin the Moscow school focuses mainly on the synchronic, rather than the diachronic manifestations of these alternations.

While psychological and epistemological problems did not play a particularly important role in Baudouin's early work, they occupy the center of the stage in his later studies. In these studies, he tried to answer the question of the reality of the phoneme by developing the well-known theory of the "psycho-phoneme", which became the cornerstone of the work of Baudouin's student, L. Ščerba, the actual founder of the Leningrad school. For Ščerba and his present-day followers, as for Baudouin in his St. Petersburg period, the phonemes of a language are a small subset of the infinite variety of speech sounds that are emitted in speaking; they are those specific varieties of sound of which speakers and hearers are consciously aware. In

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¹ Cf. R. Jakobson, "Kazańska szkoła polskiej lingwistyki i jej miejsce w światowym rozwoju fonologii", *Bulletin de la Société polonaise de la linguistique* 19.1-34 (1960).

essence, then, this is the theory of the “broad” transcription, and the study of phonetic detail has been one of the primary concerns of the Leningrad school, as it has been the main interest of Daniel Jones in London and of much of post-Bloomfieldian linguistics in the United States.

In an attempt to neutralize the contradictions between the antithetical positions of the Moscow and Leningrad schools, R. I. Avanesov, originally an adherent of the Moscow school, has in recent years outlined a new position on phonology. His views owe a great deal to proposals discussed at length in the early days of the Prague circle. These proposals are combined by Avanesov in an original manner into a coherent theory which contains a number of new and interesting departures. I regard as especially important the fact that in Avanesov’s theory considerations of economy or descriptive simplicity play a significant role in selecting one solution from among possible alternatives.

Since my interest is scientific rather than sociological or historical, I have omitted from consideration phonological doctrines, no matter how well publicized, that lack scientific merit or that have not been developed to a point where a judgment as to their scientific merit can be made. I do not discuss, therefore, such episodes as the Marr school or Stalin’s extraordinary intervention in the discussion on linguistics, in spite of their fateful importance for the social history of linguistics in the Soviet Union.

I have made a conscious effort to present the various positions in the best possible light and to support them with what seemed to me the strongest, most convincing arguments. I see little use in concentrating on unessential flaws or outright errors in the writings of the proponents of the views to be surveyed, for I regard my task as understanding the theories of Soviet phonologists rather than scoring points in a debate. In line with this, I have chosen to base my survey on the most clearly formulated, unexceptionable statements that I could discover in the literature. Quite often this has made me forego quoting the works of the major figures in favor of less widely known scholars. Thus, in discussing the views of the Leningrad school I follow Gvozdev more often than I do Ščerba, while my survey of the Moscow school is almost wholly based on a fairly recent paper by Reformatskij, rather than on the historically more important writings of Jakovlev, Avanesov, and Sidorov.

The order in which the various schools are discussed below is governed by considerations for ease of presentation and in no way reflects the historical or scientific priorities of the schools. The survey begins with the Leningrad school since it approaches the classical problems of phonology in the most straightforward fashion. The views of Avanesov are considered next, for these were advanced specifically in order to show the connections between the concerns of the Leningrad and Moscow schools. The views of the Moscow school are then surveyed in the concluding chapter.

No serious attempt was made to discuss in detail the manner in which Soviet developments are related to analogous developments elsewhere. In spite of the