

TYPOLICAL AND CONTRASTIVE ASPECTS OF TRANSLATION

TYPOLICAL AND CONTRASTIVE ASPECTS OF TRANSLATION

on the material of related and non-related languages
within different functional styles and genres

Edited by Popova Oleksandra

科学
教育
和谐



**TYPOLOGICAL AND CONTRASTIVE
ASPECTS OF TRANSLATION
(ON THE MATERIAL OF RELATED
AND NON-RELATED LANGUAGES
WITHIN DIFFERENT FUNCTIONAL
STYLES AND GENRES)**

Scientific monograph

Edited by Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences,
Professor Popova Oleksandra



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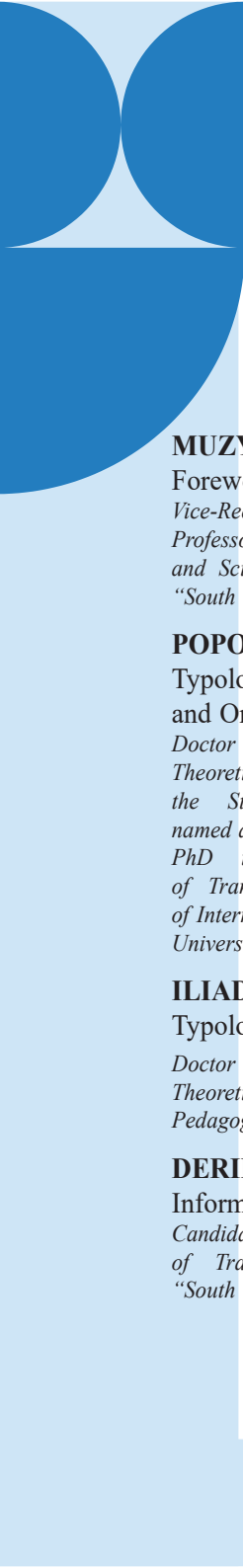
The monograph "Typological and Contrastive Aspects of Translation (on the material of related and non-related languages within different functional styles and genres). The research presents a multi-level analysis of the classification features of modern discourse in the context of the translation paradigm (Slavic, Germanic, Oriental languages) through the determination of linguistic and extralinguistic features of academic discourse within related and non-related languages; the identification of common and distinctive translation means of texts belonging to different genres and styles based on the material of related and non-related languages; the systematization of the obtained data within the language pairs: "related languages", "non-related languages", "a related language ↔ a non-related language". The reader can get acquainted with the authors' ideas regarding the essence of the modern understanding of "discourse" alongside the criteria and indicators of its classification as well as get deep comprehension of the means enabling the actualization of linguistic and extralinguistic constructs of various discourses through the prism of modern translation studies within related and non-related languages (taking into account the specifics of functional styles and genres). The work has both theoretical and practical significance, which lies in the possibility of applying the obtained research results in the profession-oriented training targeted to future philologists-translators, in the field of international academic mobility and cooperation, as well as in the development of academic documentation within the context of Eurasian integration and the holding of educational and cultural events at the state and international levels.

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TYPOLOGY IN SEMANTICS (THE LANGUAGES OF DIFFERENT STRUCTURE)



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Annotation. *The investigation examines some issues of the modern typological and general linguistics. In particular, it is about the long-mooted problem of the universality of the semantic changes (semantic dynamics), focused on finding the system of proofs of the existence of such types of lexical semantics development, which are peculiar to the languages of many and, ideally, all of the famous genetic families. The elaboration of the issue in question is very important not only for the further development of the theory of typological linguistics and general, (comparative-)historical semasiology, but also for the development of the ideas of such a direction of science as the linguistic picture of the world and equally for the practice in the field of translation.*

The author's goal is to describe a number of interesting regularities in the semantic evolution, a part of which is attested in many languages and therefore it tends to universality. It refers to the cases in which the same vector of change in the original lexical semantics and the identical sequence of stages of their semantic evolution are presented. Thus, asserting the universal nature of any semantic shift is possible by taking into account the four main criteria applicable to the typologically similar examples, namely the following: a) the same initial state of semantics for the units being compared (both

etymologically related and unrelated); b) the equal direction of the semantic dynamics; c) the equal sequence of the semantic development stages; d) the equal end result of the semantic evolution.

The coincidence of all the four criteria in each considered case, firstly, indicates the correctness of the comparison of the examples in different languages, secondly, gives grounds for extrapolation and further typological generalization of the available material, and thirdly, allows to describe the dynamics of the word meanings through the models of the evolution of their semantics, i. e. the schemes, the contours and range of which are given by these criteria.

The typological investigation of the lexical semantics as the main technique for verification of the preliminary results implies building the izosemantic series of words, i.e. the series of words exhibiting identical semantic changes or links. In fact, probability of a semantic shift as it is and stating its results in the lexical semantics of the heterogeneous units in the vocabulary of the different languages is conditioned by applying the mentioned technique.

According to the results of the preliminary observations it seems possible to single out some patterns in the evolution of the lexical semantics, verify them via data of several genetic families, and describe them in the form of models of the semantic development.

It is impossible to model the same scheme of the semantic development for a certain part of examples in the languages being compared, however, it is acceptable to determine the common semantic specialization, which affected the system of cognates as the objects of comparison. This applies to the data of the Iranian and Slavonic languages. Most likely here we deal not with the typological similarity, but with the common heritage in the lexical and semantic system of both groups of the related languages. This implies the preservation of certain common innovations developed by Iranian and Slavonic ethnic groups through cultural interaction during the earliest epoch.

Keywords: model of semantic development, typological analog, cognate, prototypical situation, correlation of meanings.

摘要。本研究考察了现代类型学语言学和普通语言学中的若干问题。具体而言，研究涉及语义变化（语义动态）的普遍性这一长期存在争议的问题，重点在于寻找证据体系，以证明某些词汇语义发展类型的存在，而这些类型为许多著名语系的语言所共有，理想情况下则为所有著名语系的语言所

共有。对这一问题的深入探讨，不仅对于类型学语言学理论以及普通和（比较）历史词义学的进一步发展具有重要意义，而且对于世界语言图景这一科学方向的理念发展以及翻译实践同样具有重要价值。

作者的目标在于描述语义演变中的若干有趣规律，其中一部分规律见于许多语言，因此趋向于具有普遍性。这指的是这样一些情况：原有词汇语义中呈现出相同的变化向量，并且其语义演变阶段具有相同的序列。因此，只有在考虑适用于类型学相似例证的四项主要标准的基础上，才有可能确认某一语义转移的普遍性质，即：a) 被比较单位（无论其是否具有词源关联）具有相同的初始语义状态；b) 语义动态具有相同的方向；c) 语义发展阶段具有相同的序列；d) 语义演变具有相同的最终结果。

在所考察的每一个案例中，四项标准的完全重合首先表明，对不同语言中相关例证进行比较是正确的；其次，为对现有材料进行外推和进一步的类型学概括提供了依据；第三，使得通过语义演变模型来描述词义动态成为可能，即通过由这些标准所规定其轮廓与范围的模式来加以描述。

作为验证初步研究结果的主要方法，词汇语义的类型学考察意味着建立等义系列，即具有相同语义变化或语义联系的词语系列。事实上，某一语义转移本身的可证明性，以及在不同语言词汇中异质单位的词汇语义层面上对其结果的确认，都取决于上述方法的运用。

根据初步观察结果，可以从词汇语义的演变中归纳出若干模式，并借助若干语系的材料对其加以验证，同时以语义发展模型的形式对其进行描述。

对于被比较语言中的某一部分例证而言，不可能建立同一种语义发展模式；然而，可以确定一种共同的语义专门化，而这种语义专门化影响了作为比较对象的同源词系统。这适用于伊朗语族和斯拉夫语族的材料。这里很可能涉及的并非类型学相似性，而是这两个相关语言群体在词汇 - 语义系统中的共同遗产。这里所指的是某些共同创新的保存，而这些创新是伊朗人和斯拉夫人在最古老时期的文化接触过程中形成的。

关键词：语义发展模型，类型学对应项，同源词，原型情境，意义关联

0. Introduction

0.1. The topicality of the study. The need to search for manifestations of universality in semantic dynamics, as well as attempts to describe them, is obvious in view of the tendency that has emerged in recent decades to consider the meaning of entire classes of words of entire language groups from the standpoint of historical typology (see: Traugott,

Dasher, 2002; Мікіна, 2009; Мікіна, 2012; Мікіна, 2020; Мікіна, 2022; Iliadi, Derik, 2024 (here the special literature is overviewed) etc.). The development of this problem is very important not only for the further development of the theory of typological linguistics and general, (comparative-)historical semasiology, but also for the development of ideas of such a direction of science as the linguistic picture of the world, and equally for practice in the field of translation.

0.2. The aim of the study. The aim of the proposed study is to identify and describe patterns of lexical semantic development common to languages of different structures belonging to different genetic families. In other words, it aims to identify typologically similar examples of meaning disruptions in language material from several families.

The complexity of studying the dynamics of lexical semantics stems from the difficulty of defining the patterns that govern it. This is objectively true, since, unlike phonetics, morphology, and syntax, semantics is not formally characterized, so the shifts at work within it are elusive and the semantic connections between lexemes ambiguous. However, the difficulty of detecting such patterns is not equal to impossibility, as they can be reliably identified using the typological method. In other words, if a semantic shift or a series of successive changes are observed (with greater than chance probability) in several languages, especially those that are genetically unrelated, then we are dealing not simply with the dynamics of meaning within clearly defined boundaries, but with a semantic phenomenon with a pronounced tendency toward universality (albeit a highly arbitrary one). The introduction of new data into scientific circulation often confirms that this phenomenon is semantic frequency.

0.3. The methodology of the analysis. The scientific problem is the procedure for detecting semantic changes of this kind (their verification as such, their tendency towards universality), as well as their description.

The procedural scheme is based on: a) four basic criteria applicable to typologically similar examples; b) methodological techniques. Thus, the criteria are:

1) the same initial state of semantics for the units being compared (both etymologically related and unrelated);

- 2) the equal direction of the semantic dynamics;
- 3) the equal sequence of the semantic development stages;
- 4) the equal end result of the semantic evolution.

Etymological data (referencing the literature on etymology or etymological analysis proper) and diachronic semasiology are methods for establishing the initial (and subsequent) link in a chain (pair) of semantic changes, while linguistic modeling is a means of constructing a reconstructable history of lexical semantics and describing the directions and stages (phases) of its evolution. The contours and scope of models (schemes) of semantic development are determined by the criteria listed above.

The coincidence of all the four criteria in each considered case, firstly, indicates the correctness of the comparison of the examples in different languages, secondly, gives grounds for extrapolation and further typological generalization of the available material.

The typological investigation of the lexical semantics as the main technique for verification of the preliminary results implies building the *izosemantic series of words* (in Western European linguistic investigations this technique is known as *semantic parallelisms* and *semantic shift models*), i.e. the series of words with the same semantic changes or links. In fact, probability of a semantic shift as it is and stating its results in the lexical semantics of the heterogeneous units in the vocabulary of the different languages is conditioned by applying the mentioned technique.

The order of correlating the sememes of all words included in the analysis is determined by the method of explanatory semantic transformation. This involves presenting (describing) semantics in such a way that the connections between the meanings of a single word and their correlation with the meanings of cognates become clear.

The material of the study. The factual material of the proposed study consists of vocabulary and, in some cases, textual material from several language families: Indo-European, Turkic, Mongolian, Semitic, Dravidian, Tungus-Manchu, and Chukotko-Kamchatkan. The examples of these languages have varying weights in the study's structure, but they

are sufficient to confirm the existence of one or another type of semantic shift within the genetic family under consideration.

Sources of Indo-European language material frequently used in the proposed study are: “Etymological Dictionary of the Slavonic Languages: Proto-Slavonic Lexical Fund”, edited by O. N. Trubachev, A. F. Zhuravlev, and J. J. Varbot (1974–2021. Vol. 1–42), further in the text – EDSL; “Yaghnobi-Russian Dictionary” (by M. S. Andreev, V. A. Livshits, and A. K. Pisarchik. In: Andreev M. S., Peshchereva E. M. The Yaghnobi Texts (1957, pp. 217–391), further in the text – Yaghn.; “Dictionary of Russian Folk Dialects”, edited by F. P. Filin, F. P. Sorokoletov, and S. A. Myznikov (1965–2021. Vol. 1–52), further – DRFD; “Materials for the Dictionary of the Old Russian Language According to Written Monuments” by I. I. Sreznevskii (1890–1912. Vol. I–III), further – Srezn.

Typology in semantic dynamics

1. Common semantic specialization of etymologically identical vocabulary in the languages of the Indo-European family

1.1. Development of legal semantics

1. The development of legal terminological semantics ‘to evidence’ in some verbs (and the derivative nouns – ‘witness’, ‘evidence, testimony’), continuing Iranian **kaś-* : Proto-Slavonic **kaz-*, which go back to the variative PIE etymons **k^uak̑-*, **k^uōk̑-* : **k^ueg̑-* ‘to see; to appear; to show (up)’ (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2011, 4: 323–324) or **keḱ-* : **keḡ-* ‘to show’, ‘make a sign’ (the meaning ‘to speak’ in the “Etymological Dictionary of the Slavonic Languages” is defined as the secondary to ‘to show, make a sign’; EDSL, 1983, 9: 169).

Iranian cognates: Middle Persian (early) *gukāh* {*gwk's*}, (late) *gugāh* ‘witness’ < **ui-kāśa-*, Middle Persian (early) *gukāhīh* {*gwk'syh*} ‘evidence, testimony’, Classical Persian *guwāh* ‘witness’, *guwāhī* ‘evidence, testimony’, Tajik *guvoh* (jurid.) ‘witness’, ‘witness statements’, *guvohī* ‘evidence, witness statements’, and also Parthian *wigāh* {*wyg'h*} ‘witness, evidence, testimony’ (a borrowing from the

early Middle Persian?) (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2011, 4: 326, 330; Durkin-Meisterernst, 2004: 352), Persian *govāhi* ‘witness statement’, *govāhi dādan* ‘to give evidence’ (Voskanian, 1986: 616), Tajik *guvohi dodan* ‘to bear witness’ (FRT, 2007: 213).

Slavonic cognates are represented by: Old Russian показати ‘to prove, to witness’, cf.: “Да о единомъ съгрѣшеніи показати не могли, на другое да не принатъ боудеть”; показание ‘testimony’, comp.: “Людскимъ показаніемъ явленіемъ въ памяти бывающимъ и полагающимъ” (Srezn., 1902, II: 1099), Old Serbian (“Zakon Vinodolski”) “Ошће ако се ки прикаже пред двором притче показанѣ, има помакнути сведоки и оужаати да тако ест” (i. e. “*If anyone comes to the palace (in public places) with a denunciation of the crime that had occurred, then he must present witnesses and prove, that is really so*”), where the verb оужаати has special legal terminological meaning ‘to prove (through witnesses), to witness’, cf. (in the same text) in the similar contexts the form with other prefix, but identical meanings “ако покаже верованим сведоком”, “тер би се могло показати трими добрими мужи” (Jagić, 1880: 41), “тер се море показати едним свидоком”, “показати подобними сведоци” (Jagić, 1880: 46–47), “ако би ки пред двором показал вола поставил сведоке” (Jagić, 1880: 65), “показати по сведоцих” etc. (Jagić, 1880: 35–36: see here more details about legal semantics of the Old Serbian verbs with the root каз-; comp., in particular p. 37–38, 41, 43, 46–47, 65, 71) etc.

Given the relative antiquity of these forms, the emergence of the semantics ‘witness’, ‘testimony’, ‘to bear witness’ can logically be dated to the period of the development of ancient Iranian and Slavonic judicial terminology. Reflexes of this etymon are present only in the Aryan (Iranian, Old Indian), Slavonic, and, to the same extent, Greek languages, of which this meaning is found only in Iranian and Slavonic lexemes. This situation need not be interpreted as a random typological coincidence, as it could equally be a matter of shared ancient heritage, i.e., a product of cultural interaction between some ancient Iranian and Slavonic peoples during the era of their joint development within the same geographical area.

Although specialized literature typically discusses linguistic interaction between Slavs and *Eastern Iranians*, and the cited examples belong to the vocabulary of *Western Iranian languages*, this circumstance nevertheless does not contradict the above-formulated assumption about the preservation of the legacy of cultural contacts in the memories of speakers of both linguistic traditions. However, modern scholarship possesses only fragmentary information about the lexicon of ancient Eastern Iranian dialects. Therefore, it is not always possible to confidently assert the absence of forms with a particular meaning, nor to assert their former existence without sufficient evidence. For example, the Proto-Iranian etymon **kaś-* has Eastern Iranian reflexes, which, in the most ancient period of the history of the Eastern Iranian languages, could theoretically be used with the corresponding terminological (legal) meaning.

2. The development of legal semantics in Iranian and Slavonic reflexes of PIE **ǵheul-/ǵhuel-* ‘crooked’.

Iranian cognates: Ossetic *zylyn*, *zulun* ‘crooked’ and ‘wrong, unjust’, ‘guilty’, *fæzylyn kaenyn* (*iskæj*) ‘find someone guilty’, *zylynzīnad* ‘guiltiness’, linked to *zūl* ‘slanting, sloping’ (Abaev, 2021, IV: 320: the etymological identification with the Proto-Slavonic **zъlъ*, Russian *злой*; see also: Abaev, 2021, I: 211: *ævzær* ‘bad’, ‘evil’, where ‘crooked’ → ‘bad’, ‘evil, angry’), Persian, Pahlavi, Parthian *zūr* ‘false’, ‘lie’, ‘deception’, Avestan *zūrah-* ‘injustice, unfairness’ (Abaev, 2021, IV: 316; Vasmer, 2012: 99).

Slavonic cognates: Old Russian *зѡло*, *зѡ* ‘sin’, (derivatives) *зѡлоба*, *зѡба* ‘vice’, ‘deceit, slyness’, ‘sin’, *зѡлобѣ*, *зѡбѣ* ‘vice’, ‘deceit, slyness’ (Srezn., 1890, I, 1000–1001), where the meaning ‘sin’ can be understood as a kind of religious wrongdoing, offence, then ‘deceit, slyness’ agrees well with ‘lie’ and ‘deception’ in the Iranian cognates. Thus the development of religious and legal semantics in the above mentioned group of lexemes can be presented schematically as follows:

1) ‘crooked’ → ‘wrong, unjust’, ‘unfair’, ‘guilty, guilty person’ (→ ‘guiltiness’, ‘guilt’, ‘sin’);

2) ‘crooked’ → ‘false’, ‘lie’, ‘sly, crafty’ (→ ‘deceit, slyness’, ‘deception’).

Cf. a similar vector of the evolution of the meaning in the reflexes of the Proto-Slavonic **krivъ* ‘crooked’: Bulgarian *крив* ‘crooked’ **and** ‘guilty’, Macedonian *крив* ‘crooked’ **and** ‘false’, ‘guilty person’, Czech *křivý* ‘crooked’ **and** ‘unfair’, ‘unrighteous’, Old Polish *krzywy* ‘crooked’ **and** ‘false’, ‘unfair, unjust’, ‘guilty’, ‘indictée’, Ukrainian (old) *кривый* ‘deceitful, false’, (modern) *кривий* ‘crooked’ **and** ‘false’, ‘unjust, unfair’ (EDSL, 1985, 12: 171–172).

On the semantic development of ‘crooked’ – ‘false’ – ‘unfair, unjust’ – ‘evil’ see: (Abaev, 2021, IV: 320).

3. The development of legal meaning in the derivatives from the verbs or the nouns with the speech semantics.

Iranian material: Dari dial. (Herat) *ozorvâni* ‘marriage proposal’ < *ozor* ‘asking, request’ + suffix *-vân-* (see: “Herat dialect of the Dari language of modern Afghanistan” by Yu. A. Ioannesian, 1999: 51).

Slavonic typological analogues are presented by Serbian, Croatian *npòcudба* ‘marriage proposal, matchmaking’ < *npòcumu* ‘to ask in marriage’ **and** dial. ‘to ask’ (according to “Serbo-Croatian-Russian Dictionary”, compiled by I. I. Tolstoi, 1957: 767), cf. also Russian dial. (Novosibirsk) *запросить невесту* ‘to ask the father for his daughter’s hand’, ‘to pay the bride prices’ (DRFD, 1974, 10: 359).

The vocabulary of other languages also has a typological analogy. In particular, the Latin verb *petere* ‘to ask’, ‘demand, require’, which developed legal semantics ‘to ask in marriage’ as a part of legal formulas (formulaic expressions) “*alqam expetere*”, “*alcis matrimonium petere*”, “*petere sibi filiam alcis*” (the examples are from “Russian-Latin Dictionary” by V. V. Musselius, 1891: 332) attracts attention. However, it should be noted that the very *speech meaning* in the verb is not the original, being only the result of the metaphorical use of the *sememes of physical action* ‘to try to’, ‘to strive to’, ‘to work towards’, ‘to seek’, ‘to harass’ etc. (the word has a rather complex and quite broad spectrum of the meanings; on the etymology of the verb and the reconstruction

of its meaning see: de Vaan, 2008: 463–464). In this case the semantics ‘to ask in marriage’ can be considered as secondary to such meanings as ‘to seek, work towards’, ‘to harass’, cf. Russian *добиваться правды*, *искать правды* in the meaning ‘*требовать правды*’ (‘to demand the truth’), *добиваться руки* [девушки/женщины] ‘get the approval for marriage (hand and heart)’. Accordingly, the development ‘to ask’ → ‘to ask in marriage’ is not self-evident for Latin *petō*, *-ere*.

4. Emergence of the secondary legal semantics (obligation, duty, alliance, agreement) in the verbs with the meaning ‘to tie, bind’ and their derivatives:

(Iranian) Rushani, Khufi *vind* : Rushani *vost*, Khufi *vūst* ‘to tie, bind’, ‘to lock (the door)’, and also in Rushani set expression *šart vēstōw* ‘to enter into an agreement’ (Sokolova, 1959: 272–273), Shughni *vīsč*, inf. *vīstōw*, (in Baju dialect) *vūsč*, *vūšč* ‘to tie, knot, link; bind up’ **and** ‘conclude an agreement’ (< **band-* : **bad-* ‘to bind’) (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2003, 2: 69–70). Cf. also etymologically related Ossetic term *bæddgæjæ*, *bæddgæj* ‘on loan’, ‘for rent’ ~ *bæddyn* | *bæddun* : *bast* ‘to tie’ (Abaev, 2021, I: 243), in which the shift ‘link’ → ‘agreement’ is also present;

(Slavonic) Serbian/Croatian *обавезати* ‘to tie round’ **and** metaphorical ‘to oblige’, Russian *об-вязать* ‘to wrap, entangle or to strengthen something with flexible material (rope, tape, wire), having tied the ends’ > *обязать* ‘to prompt someone to return the favour’, cf. also dial. (Ryazan) *вяза́ться* ‘promise to do something’, 1873, (Irkutsk, Tobolsk) *связка* ‘communication, acquaintance, friendship’ (DRFD, 6: 73; 36: 335) (the sememe ‘*promise*’ = ‘debt’, ‘oath, vow’, ‘*friendship*’ = ‘alliance’, ‘agreement’), the phraseologism *связать договором* (клятвой, обетом), Ukrainian *зобов’язати* ‘to oblige’ ~ *в’язати* ‘to tie’ etc.

The manifestation of this semantic trend is found outside the Iranian and Slavonic vocabulary, cf. Latin *vincīre* ‘to tie round, to wrap around’ **and** ‘to seal with an oath’: *Jovis nomine vincta fides testimoniorum* – the correctness of witness testimonies, sealed with a name of Jupiter

(by oath) (according to “Latin-Russian Dictionary” by I. Kh. Dvoretzky (1976), p. 1080). It is interesting that within the boundaries of the Iranian lexicon afore mentioned semantic innovation is presented only by the vocabulary of the Pamir branch of the Eastern Iranian languages and Ossetic data.

1.2. The development of religious and moral semantics

The example of the similar evolution of meaning in Iranian and Slavonic reflexes of the common Indo-European etymon is identical specialization of Proto-Slavonic **sormъ* : Iranian **fšarma-* ‘shame’ as the terms of religious and moral sphere.

Slavonic cognates: Old Slavonic *срамъ* ‘shame’, ‘dishonour, opprobrium’ and especially ‘timidity, reverence’ (“ИМАМЪ БЛ[А]Г[О]Д[А]ТЪ, КЮЖЕ СЛОУЖИМЪ ОУГОДНО Б[О]ГОВИ СЪ ГОВѢНИЕМЪ И СРАМЪМЪ”) (Slovník jazyka staroslověnského, 1997: 149), Old Russian *соромъ* ‘nakedness, shame’, ‘sin (regarding fornication)’ (Srezn., 1012, III: 466).

Iranian cognates: Ossetic *æfsærm*, *æfsarm* | *æfsarm* ‘shame’, ‘modesty, shyness’, ‘observance of decency’ (Abaev, 2021, I: 482–483), *æфсарм* ‘goodness’ (Iron *ævzadžy æmbaryngænæn zyrdwat*, 2007: 482), Avestan (late) *fšarəma-* ‘shame’, Middle Persian *šarm* ‘the same’, Sogdian (Buddhistic) *šβ’r(m)-* ‘the same’ etc. (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2007, 3: 81–83), Persian *šarmandegi* ‘conscientiousness’ (Voskanian, 1986: 689).

Parallelism is also observed in the semantics of desubstantive verbs (and not only), cf.: Russian (Smolensk, Pskovian, Bryansk) *соромиться* ‘to be ashamed, feel ashamed, be embarrassed’, (Bryansk) *соромливый* ‘shamefaced, modest, shy’ (DRFD, 2006, 40: 31), Ukrainian *соромитися* ‘to be ashamed’, *сором’язливий* ‘shy’ and Classical Persian, Dari *šarmīdan* (inf.), Tajik *šarmīdan* ‘to be ashamed, be embarrassed’, Khwarezmian (') *spr̥m* ‘to be ashamed’, Middle Persian *šarmgēn* ‘ashamed, shy’ etc. (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2007, 3: 82–83).

The related words in the other Indo-European languages demonstrate the different, perhaps, more older meaning, cf.: Anglo-Saxon *hearm*

‘grief, sadness, pain, suffering’, Latvian *sērmelis* ‘horror’, ‘terror’ (Abaev, 2021, I: 482; Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2007, 3: 81).

Further, both lexemes in the Iranian and Slavonic languages develop identical meanings in the substantive derivatives-somatisms, cf.:

(Iranian) Sogdian **šfār*, **šfarm-* (*šβ’r*, *šβ’rm-*) ‘shame’ and **šfārmāk* (*šβ’rm’k*) ‘genitals’ (Abaev, 2021, I: 482);

(Slavonic) Old Russian *соромъ* ‘genitals’ (“А паропкы да дѣвоуки ходятъ нагы до 7 лѣтъ, а соромъ не покрытъ”), *срамище* ‘secret organ of the body’ (“Лѣвою роукою срамища държати”), *срамъ* ‘the same’ (“И наѣаша паници ругатися, кажущє имъ срамы своа”) (Srezn., 1912, III: 467, 476, 477), Russian dial. (Olonets, Kursk, Kaluga, Krasnoyarsk) *сóром* ‘about outer genitals of human’ (DRFD, 2006, 40: 30), Ukr. dial. *соромóк* ‘penis (in minor child)’, cf. also *сорóмиця* ‘pubic bone’ (Етимологічний словник, 2006, 5: 357).

1.3. The model of the semantic development ‘to sweep up’ → ‘to steal’, ‘to thiefe’

Iranian examples: Middle Persian *rōb-* /*lwp*/ ‘rub’, ‘sweep (out)’ and *rōb* /*lwp*/ ‘robbery’, Classical Persian *ruftan* ‘to sweep, broom’ and *robūdan* ‘to steal’, Balochi *rōpag* : *rupt* ‘to sweep, broom’ VS Dari-ye zartoshti *ropvun*, *rofvun*, *-rop-*, *roftvun*, *-ruv-* (to *roftmun*) ‘to steal, kidnap, thiefe, rob’, and also ‘to sweep, sweep out’ < Iranian **raup-*, **rup-*, cf. Avestan **rūp-* ‘to lay waste, empty’ (?) (the example is taken from: “Yezdi (Zoroastrian Dari)” by Molchanova Ye. K. In: “Fundamentals of Iranian Linguistics: The Middle Iranian and New Iranian Languages”, 2008: 266), Yaghnobi *rant-* ‘to sweep (up); to wipe’ and in the secret language – ‘to thiefe’ (Yaghn. сл., 312).

Slavonic analogue is presented by Russian (colloquial, jargony) *нодместú* ‘to sweep up’ and ‘to take someone else’s’, ‘to thiefe’.

1.4. The model of the semantic development ‘to lead to the demise’ → ‘to lose’

Iranian examples are presented by Yaghnobi *pěnýš-*, *pńányš-* ‘to lose’, Sogdian *pn’yš-*, *pnyš-* < **apa-nāsaya-* along side with Sogdian

nyš- ‘to lead to the demise’, ‘to destroy, exterminate’ < *nāsaya- (Yaghn., 305).

Slavonic analogues. The same ratio of the semantics of unprefixated (‘to lead to the demise’) and prefixal (‘to lose’) verbs is attested in Russian, cf. *зубить* ‘to destroy’ **along with** dial. (Kursk, Oryol, Voronezh) *зазубить* ‘to lose something’, 1848 (DRFD, 10: 33), Ukrainian *зазубити* ‘the same’.

1.5. The development of the appeal semantics in the verbs with the meaning ‘to turn, twirl’, ‘to swivel, turn round’

Such semantic derivation is illustrated by use of the verbs with the meaning ‘to turn, twirl, swivel, rotate’ as *verbum dicendi* when addressing to someone, cf.:

(**Iranian**) Rushani, Khufī *garḏēn* : *garḏēnt* ‘to rotate, swivel; knock over; transubstantiate’ – the causative to *gārḏ* : *gāxt* ‘to turn into’ **and** ‘to appeal to’ (cf. Rushani “mīθōgi čūr tar xu řan gāřč” – “one day the husband appealed to his wife”; Sokolova, 1959: 179);

(**Slavonic**) Russian *обращаться* ‘to turn around’ **and** ‘to appeal to’, Ukrainian *звертатися* ‘make a turn to the side’, ‘to turn (around)’ **and** ‘speak when addressing someone, to appeal to somebody’ ~ *вертимуся* ‘to spin’ (Proto-Slavonic *vьrtěti sę ‘to spin’, *ob-vortiti sę ‘to turn round’).

The same shift in the semantics is observed in the languages of the Romance group, where an interesting case is also attested, cf., for example, an Italian verb *rivolgersi* ‘to turn back’ **and** ‘to appeal to’, that is the reflexive form to *rivolgere* ‘to turn again; to spin; to direct; to think about’ (from Latin *volvĕre* ‘to trundle; to twist, to turn’ + prefix of repeated action *re-*; for more information on the development of the meaning ‘to appeal to’ in Romance action verbs after their prefixation via *ad-* and *re-* see: Мікіна, 2012: 165–172). However, though the mentioned lexemes demonstrate the common meaning development ‘to spin, turn’ → ‘to appeal to’ nevertheless, there is a noticeable difference in character of generation and formal expression of a new semantics, namely: if in the Iranian one is developed in the elementary

(root) verb, then in the Slavonic and Romance a new meaning arose in the prefixal verbs. We mean the semantics ‘to appeal to’ in the latter two verbs directly depends on the extension of the word by a special formant (Rus. *об-*, Ukr. *з-*, Ital. *ri-*), which brings a new component in the semantic structure.

1.6. The model of formation of the semantics ‘unattractive, unpretty’ on the base of the nominal composition of the caritive or privative prefix with the deverbal noun likeness, image

Thus, the meaning ‘unattractive, unpretty’, judging by the morphological components of the word, is interpreted as ‘what is not fitting’, ‘unseemly’, ‘who has no decencies’ (as a variant understanding the semantics of the Iranian lexeme) or yet ‘imageless’, ‘who has no semblance’ (for the Iranian and Slavonic examples).

The Iranian material is presented by Rushani, Khufi *bīzīb* ‘unpretty, bad, unsightly’, which is divided into *bī-*, *bi-* (nominal negative prefix) and *zīb* ~ *zīb* ‘to befit, besee’ (in the composition with *zīb* *δēdōw*) (Sokolova, 1959: 143, 146, 300). Thus, semantically it is ‘who has no a *semblance, face, image*’.

The Slavonic analogue is Russian *безобразный* ‘extremely ugly’, ‘ugly, ugly-looking’ along with Old Russian *безобразныи* = (without an image) ‘imageless’ (Srezn., 1890, I: 62), Serbian, Croatian *безобразан* ‘formless, shapeless’ < *облик* ‘form’, ‘appearance, look’.

If Rushani, Khufi prefix *bī-*, *bi-* is structurally and etymologically identical with the Persian preposition *bē/bi*, which was often used also as prefix (the examples see: EDSL, 1975, 2: 9), then we have one more illustration of commonality of the model with PIE dial. **b(h)egh-* in the Iranian and Slavonic languages (both Persian preposition, particle, prefix *bē/bi* < Iranian **baži-*, as well as Slavonic preposition, prefix **bez(ъ)* go back to this prototype; see: EDSL, 1975, 2: 7–9).

The same scheme of formation of the semantics (‘similar’, ‘alike’, ‘what has a semblance of’ → ‘who is devoid of similarity / who has no similarity’ → ‘unattractive, unpretty, ugly’) in the Slavonic languages is implemented by the model with the privative-caritive prefix **ne-*, cf.

Czech *nepodoba* ‘dissimilarity’ **and** ‘ugliness’, ‘hideousness’ < Old Czech *podoba* ‘similarity’, ‘likeness, semblance’, ‘form’ (Malý staročeský slovník, 1978: 208), Old Czech *nepodobný* (about the behavior) ‘unpretty’, ‘ugly, hideous’ < *podobný* ‘similar (to whom, what)’, ‘similar’, ‘same, equal’, ‘convenient’, ‘suitable’, ‘pertinent’, ‘good’ **and** ‘beautiful’, ‘pleasant, enjoyable’, ‘respectable’ (Malý staročeský slovník, 1978: 123, 208).

1.7. The model of formation of the semantics ‘useless’, ‘gewgaw’ on the base of the nominal composition of the caritive prefix with the substantive deal:

(**Iranian**) Farsi-Kabuli *nākār* ‘useless’ – the composition of *kār* ‘deal’ with prefix *nā-* with the meaning the lack of quality (see: “The Language Farsi-Kabuli” by Dorofeeva L. N., 1960: 29), cf. also Tajik dial. *vekor* ‘unnecessary’, literary *bekor* from *bē* (< *abē*) + *kor* ‘deal’ (Rastorgueva, 1964: 48);

(**Slavonic**) Russian dial. (Petersburg, Kaluga (the beginning of XX century) *бездель* ‘something of no value, importance’, ‘a trifle, gewgaw’ (DRFD, 2: 186) < **дель* – the variant form (ї-основа **dělb*) to *дело*.

1.8. Formation of the geographic semantics in the somatic terms

The figurative use of the somatisms as the names of the elements of the landscape resulted in the formation of their geographic meaning, cf.:

‘mouth’, ‘lips’ → ‘gorge’, ‘river mouth’

(**Iranian**) Dari dial. (Herat) *dane* ‘entrance to the gorge’ < *dan/dahan* ‘mouth’ (the example is taken from the work “Herat dialect of the Dari language of modern Afghanistan” by Yu. A. Ioannesian, 1999: 49); Wakhi *ṛaš* ‘mouth’, ‘maw’ **and** ‘river mouth’ (from the Proto-Iranian **gas-tra-* ‘mouth’, ‘teeth’ (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2007, 3: 104);

(**Slavonic**) Russian *ýcmъe*, which derivationally depends on *ýcmá* ‘lips’ (it is about the derivational relationships of the Proto-Slavonic epoch).

Cf. also English *mouth* ‘mouth, lips’ **and** ‘river mouth’, in which we have not *a new word, formed morphologically* like in the Iranian (Dari) and Slavonic examples, but just *a new metaphorical meaning*;

‘neck’ → ‘mountain pass’

(**Iranian**) Dari dial. (Herat) *gardane* ‘mountain pass’ < *gardan* ‘neck’ (“Herat dialect of the Dari language of modern Afghanistan”, by Yu. A. Ioannesian, 1999: 49);

(**Slavonic**) Russian *nepewéek* in the meaning ‘mountain pass’ < *шея* ‘neck’.

Cf. also English *neck* ‘neck’ **and** (geographic) ‘isthmus, neck of land’ but without using a special derivational element for the formation of the new word. So, here we see the same situation, that is also observed in the correlation of the structure of English *mouth*, on the one hand and the Iranian, Slavonic examples, on the other hand (vide supra);

‘horn’ → ‘spur (mountain range, mountain chain)’

Russian *ompóz* ‘relatively short and narrow mountain range (or mountain chain), which branches off the main, the larger mountain massive or the chain and gradually lowers down to its periphery’ = Lithuanian *ātragis* ‘the same’. It is an example of the complete structural and etymological identity, because both lexemes have both the genetically common root *poz-* : *rag-* as well as the prefix *om-* : *āt-*;

‘throat’, ‘neck’ → ‘bank [of the river]’, ‘the mouth of the river’

(**Iranian**) Pashto *γāra*, Waziri *γwōra* ‘neck’, **but also** ‘bank of a river’ (Morgenstierne, 1927: 27);

(**Slavonic**) Russian *zpuša* ‘long hair on the neck and along the spine of some animals’ **and** dial. ‘fast current in the river bend, where a weir is built’, ‘the steep bank of the river’, ‘mountain side, mountain slope’ (Proto-Slavonic **griva* continues PIE **gʷrīuā*, which, judging by the semantics of its reflexes, had the meaning ‘the back of the neck’, ‘back of the head’, see, for example, (EDSL, 1980, 7: 129–130);

(**Baltic**) Latvian *grīva* ‘delta, mouth of the river’, which also goes back to the PIE somatism **gʷrīuā* ‘the back of the neck’ (vide supra) (EDSL, 1980, 7: 130).

1.9. The development of the verbal semantics in action verbs

It is about the cases of using the *verba faciendi* as *verba dicendi*, which is why the verb of physical action acquires the semantics of speaking. The specifics of this secondary verbal meaning depends on what an action is denominated by the verb, cf. below ‘to beckon with the hand’ → ‘to persuade’, ‘to lie, deceive’ and ‘put’, ‘to place on’ → ‘to say’, ‘to utter’. In other words, the character of the semantics of verbal action is determined by the type of the original physical action designated by the verb.

1.10. The model of the semantic development ‘to beckon with the hand, gesture’ → ‘to persuade’

We mean the case of using the *verbum faciendi* as *verbum dicendi*:

(Iranian) Yazghulami *amáwd* : *amaw*- ‘to beckon with the hand’ **and** ‘to soothe, persuade (the baby)’, cf. *amáw* in the combination *amáw keg* ‘to soothe (the baby)’ (Edelman, 1971: 11, 12);

(Slavonic) Bulgarian dial. *мама* ‘to call an animal or make him follow you with food or a gesture’ **and** *мама* ‘to deceive, lie’ (the reflexes of **mamiti*); Russian *манить* ‘to call, by making signs with a hand, a look and so on’ **and** (metaphorically) ‘to entail, seduce, entice’, dial. ‘to deceive, lie’, ‘to say, to report something, tell’, Ukrainian *маніти* ‘to call, to beckon with the gesture or a look’ **and** (metaphorically) (the reflexes of **maniti* (*sę*), which, like also **mamiti*, is finally derived from the root stem **ma-* ~ Lithuanian *móti* ‘to wave, give a sign’) (EDSL, 1990, 17: 189–190, 197, 198). The meaning ‘to deceive, lie’ here may be interpreted as ‘to make insincere promises’, hence it, in essence, is equivalent to the semantics ‘to soothe, persuade (the baby)’ in Yazghulami verb *amáw*.

1.11. The model of the semantic evolution ‘put’, ‘to place on’ → ‘to say’, ‘to utter’

Iranian material: Yazghulami *(a)wád* : *(a)way*- ‘to put, to place on’ (including on fire, to boil up), ‘to embroider, kint (a pattern)’, ‘light a fire, make a fire’, ‘to take off clothes, shoes’ **and** (high style, folkloric) ‘to say, utter’ (see the examples of using the word in these meanings) (Edelman, 1971: 18–19).

Germanic material is presented by the contexts of using English *to put* ‘to lay’, ‘to place’, ‘to put down’, ‘to locate’ **and** ‘to say’, cp. *Simply put: you get paid for talking to people; If I could put a word on it, it is democracy (put a word on ‘to find the word’ = ‘to say’)*.

1.12. The model of the semantic evolution ‘scrape up some flour’ → ‘the last child in the family (last-born, “scraped up” from the leftover flour)’

Here we should point out the common for the Iranian and Slavonic languages nature of the figurative designation of the last child in the family as the last kid, which was “scraped up” from the leftover flour, cf.:

(Iranian) Persian set phrase *tah-taqāri* – the last child of parents, last-born (it was “*scraped up*” from the leftover flour at the bottom of the clay pot; see: “Phraseology of the Modern Persian language” by G. S. Goleva, 2006: 97);

(Slavonic) Russian dial. *поскрёбыш* (Permian, Kostroma, Yaroslavl etc.) ‘the last child in the family’, (Vladimir, Kaluga, Saratov etc.) derivative *поскрёбышек* ‘the leftover flour, scrapings (of the dough, flour and so on)’ **and** (Permian, Ural, Kursk ‘the last child in the family’ (DRFD, 30: 172), where *поскрёбыш* – the derivative from the verb *поскрести, поскребу* ‘to scrape’.

Some other examples of the Persian phraseologisms ideologically close to the Russian see (“Phraseology of the Modern Persian language” by G. S. Goleva, 2006: 68, 124), namely the parallels to the follows set expressions: *на чужом горбу ездить* (in the Persian literally is *carry a load on someone’s back*) and *как сыр в масле катается* (in the Persian literally is *his bread is swimming in butter*).

1.13. The model of the semantic development ‘heart’ → ‘belly’, ‘stomach’

The Iranian and Slavonic languages demonstrate the similarity in the correlation between the meanings ‘belly, stomach’ & ‘heart’ within one word. At the same time the sememe ‘heart’ is the primary, because the following examples are the reflexes of the common Indo-European

name of that organ (PIE **ǵh₂ērd-* (for the Iranian) and **k₂rd-* (for the Slavonic)). So it turns out, the sememe ‘belly’ is the result of transfer of the somatism *heart* on the stomach “by contiguity”:

(**Iranian**) Middle Persian *dyl /dil/* ‘heart’ (Durkin-Meisterernst, 2004: 150), Persian *del* ‘stomach’ **and** (secondarily) ‘heart’ (Voskanian, 1986: 156, 624);

(**Slavonic**) Proto-Slavonic **sьrdьce* ‘heart’ (as a part of the phraseologism) **na tьščę sьrdьce*, Belorussian dial. *нашчосэрца* ‘on an empty stomach’ etc. (EDSL, 1994, 21: 199), i.e. literally is ‘on an empty (scrawny) heart’ = ‘stomach, belly’. Cf. also Russian dial. (Tver) *сэрца* ‘stomach’, 1853 (DRFD, 37: 190) with the secondary meaning from ‘heart’.

Of course, the Russian medical term *желудочек сердца* does not belong here, since one is the late literary calque of Latin *ventriculus cordis*.

1.14. The derivation of the names of the share from the verbs with the meaning ‘to divide’, ‘to cut, slice’

The model of the formation of semantics ‘to cut’, ‘to divide’ → ‘the share’ is regular for the many languages and presented, for example, in the Iranian and Germanic vocabulary.

Iranian material:

Proto-Iranian **par-* ‘to separate’, ‘to divide into parts’ **along with** modern Persian *pāre* ‘piece, snippet’, ‘piece of fabric’, ‘splinter’ **and** ‘the share’; Tajik *porá* ‘piece, snippet’, ‘piece of fabric’ **and** ‘part’, ‘the share’; Kurdish *p‘ār(a)* ‘share, part’, ‘stake, divvy’; Talysh *poa* ‘the share’, ‘piece’ (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2020, 6: 164, 165);

Proto-Iranian **k₂rt-* ‘to cut’, ‘to cut through’ in the prefixed (**fra-*) form was the base for the derivative **fra-k₂rtta-ka-* > **fra-k₂rsta-ka-* > Bactrian *φρογῑττιγο* ‘part’, ‘share’, ‘contribution’ (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2011, 4: 311, 313);

Proto-Iranian **drau-* ‘to divide, split’, ‘to allocate part of’ > **drau-nah-* ‘part, share’, cf. Avestan (Gathas) *draonah-* ‘sacrificial part of, share’, Avestan (late) *draonah-* ‘part, share (obtained by somebody)’ (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2003, 2: 461).

Germanic material: English *shear* ‘to cut’, ‘to slice through, carve up’ (Old English *sceran*, *scieran* ‘to cut, slice through’) – the verb, from which *share* ‘the share’, ‘part’ was historically derived (Klein, 1967, II: 729, 730: with the reference to *shear*).

1.15. The model of semantic development ‘to take’, ‘to grab, catch’ → ‘to understand’

Iranian material is presented by following examples:

Sogdian (Buddhistic, Manichaean) *γrb-*, (Christian) *γrb-* [*γarv-*] or [*γrav-*] ‘to take, catch’ and ‘to understand’ (← “to catch”), ‘to know’ (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2007, 3: 276: to Proto-Iran. **garb-*, **grab-* ‘to grab’, ‘to take’, ‘to hold down’);

Khwarezmian *γβy-* [*γiβya-*] (< **grbaja-*) ‘to regard’, ‘to understand’, ‘to perceive’ ← ‘to catch’, ‘to embrace’ (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2007, 3: 275, 277: to Proto-Iran. **grb-* ‘to catch’, ‘to take’, ‘to hold down’).

Slavonic analogues: Russian *понимать* (the factitive on the base **po-jьmō* – praes. to **po-ęti* ‘to catch’). The meaning ‘capture the essence, sense, reason or motive’ appeared in this verb, perhaps, as a part of word combination **myslь poęti* : **poęti myslь* ‘to catch a thought’, cf. Russian *понять мысль*, Serbian phraseologism *узети мисао у главу* ‘start thinking, think through’ (Оташевић, 2007: 78). This shift is well attested in the phraseology, cf. Russian *он быстро схватывает* = *he understands quickly, he quickly learns* or cf. *уловить мысль*, Old Russian *оуловити мысль*, cf. «оулови мысль юго (Святополка)» (Srezn., 1902, II: 217).

It is also interesting the playing with an idea of an unexpected guess as “the thought, which came” in some languages (Slavonic and Germanic material) or as “an idea, thought that was born” (Baltic, Germanic and Slavonic data). Sf. such examples:

a) Russian *мысль пришла ко мне* = *suddenly guessed, unexpected insight, spontaneous guess* along side with the similar English *a thought came to*;

b) Lithuanian *gimė nauja mintis* (Lith. *gimti* ‘to be born’) = Russian *родилась новая мысль* (Baronas, 1967: 522), English *the thought was born*.

1.16. The formation of the phraseologisms with the meaning ‘to fall silent’ (or rude demand to shut up) on the base of the figurative phrase of the verb to hold and the noun tongue

The prototypical situation, within of which such set expressions arose, may be illustrated by following examples of the different languages:

(**Iranian**) Khwarezmian *γfs-* ‘to fall silent’ (← ‘hold the tongue’), cf. 2th pers., sing. of imperat. *γfs* ‘shut up!’ along with Khwarezmian (‘)*xf-* ‘to take’, ‘to catch’ (< **grfša-*) (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2007: 3: 277);

(**Slavonic**) Russian *придержи язык!* = *shut up!* (along with Ukrainian *принни язика!*, i.e. literally – ‘tie your tongue!’);

(**Germanic**) English *hold your tongue!* (*to hold*);

(**Romance**) Romanian *a-și ține limba (în gură)* ‘bite the tongue’, ‘hold one’s tongue’ (composition: *ține* ‘to hold’, *limba* ‘tongue’ (*în gură* ‘in the mouth’));

Greek *μάζεψε τή γλῶσσα σου!* – *hold your tongue!* (*to μαζεύω* ‘to collect’, (metaphorically) ‘to hold back, ‘to calm, assuage’, *γλῶσσα* ‘tongue’, *σου* ‘your’) – *hold your tongue!*

2. The common models of the semantic development in the languages of several genetic families

2.1. The sources of the semantics ‘sorcery’, ‘witchcraft’, ‘witchery’ in the languages of the world

The models, by means of which we can describe the ways of forming the semantics ‘sorcery’ are the common for the languages of the different genetic families.

2.1.1. ‘To know’ → ‘sorcery’, ‘magic’

The Indo-European languages:

Old Russian *вѣдьство* ‘magic’ < *вѣдати* ‘to know’ (Srezn., 1890, I: 478–480).

The Finno-Ugric languages:

Komi *möđöm* ‘magic’ ~ *möđны* ‘to know, get to know’, ‘to recognize, guess’, *möđ* ‘memory’ < Proto-Permic **tôd-* ‘to know’ (Lytkin, Guliaev, 1970: 283).

2.1.2. Verbum dicendi → ‘witchcraft’, ‘magic’, ‘charms’

This model of the semantic evolution reflects the different types of the verbal actions, applied in the practice of witchcraft, namely: the solemn utterance of the magic formulas (spells, healing spells, pronounced rhythmically), recitation, summoning (spirits), demand, command, plea, hypnotic speech. As an illustration of manifestation of the universality in the semantic evolution this model is the most representative among others, because one is attested in the languages of four genetic families.

The Indo-European languages

German *Bann* ‘charms’ (*Nur er kann den **Bann** brechen* = *Only he himself can break the **charms***), ‘spell, incantation’, ‘curse, conjuring’ (*War Obama in den düsteren **Bann** des Militärs gezogen worden?* = *Perhaps Obama has fallen under the military's **conjuring**?*), ‘charm’ (*Alle, die sie erblicken, erliegen ihrem **Bann*** = *Everyone who ever looked at her fell under her **charm***).

The lexeme *Bann* (m.) ‘charms’ is an archaism, inherited from the Proto-Germanic vocabulary, where its prototype **banna-* (m.), besides the semantics ‘charms’, had the meaning ‘invocation’, ‘order, command’ (cf. Old North *bann* ‘ban’) as *abstractum* to the verb of verbal action **bannan-* ‘to command, rule’, ‘to order’, ‘to summon, conjure’ (and further to PIE stem **bhā-n-*, **b^hénh₂-e-* – the base of praes. to **bhā-* ‘to say solemnly’, cf. Sanskrit *bhānati* ‘to say, speak’) (Kluge, 1989: 59; Orel, 2003: 36; Kroonen, 2013: 52).

Scottish *ubag*, *ubaidh* ‘charms’, ‘charmingness’, Manx *obbee* ‘magic’ < **od-ba-t-* from *ba* ‘to say, speak, talk’ (MacBain, 1911: 384).

Lithuanian *žavaĩ* ‘sorcery’ (Baronas, 1967: 387) – the deverbative *žavėti* ‘to exorcise’, ‘to charm, enchant’, cf. derivative from the prefixal verb *apžavaĩ* m. pl. ‘charms, sorcery, magic’ (Lithuanian *žav-* continues PIE **ǵ^houH-V* < **ǵ^heuH-* ‘to invoke’) (Smoczyński, 2019: 2177).

Proto-Iranian **iātu-* ‘sorcery’, ‘magic’, ‘witchcraft’ (: Avestan late *yātu-* ‘sorcery, magic’) ~ **iā-* ‘to (strongly) request, demand’ (~ Old Indian *yā-* ‘to ask, beg for mercy’) (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2011, 4: 125, 133).

The Dravidian languages

Kui *kelpa* (*kelpi*-) ‘to invoke, petition a deity, repeat incantations’ **and** ‘incantation’, ‘invocation’ ~ *kēpa* (*kēpi*-) ‘sorcery’, ‘witchcraft’ **and** ‘to bewitch, enchant, exert magical powers’ (Burrow, Emeneau, 1984: 182).

The Tungus-Manchu languages

Evenk *anma*- ‘sorcery’, ‘divination’, ‘hypnosis’ ~ Negidal *xanm̄y*- ‘to roar’ (about the shaman during a trance dance) (Tsintsius, 1977, 2: 316). The attribution of the Evenk word to the category of illustrations of the model “Verbum dicendi → ‘charms’, ‘sorcery’” is possible provided that the sememe ‘hypnosis’ = ‘hypnotic speech of the shaman’, which seems to be indirectly confirmed by Negidal verb (vide supra).

The Semitic languages

Semitic ‘*zm*-:

Yem D ‘*āzzam* ‘to practice witchcraft; exorcise spirits; look for something with the help of magical actions’;

Ethioseme Gz ‘*zm*- ‘conjure, cast spells’, Amh *azzāmā* ‘practice sorcery’ (< Arabic). Cf. also modern Arabic ‘*azīm-at-/ta-* ‘*zīm*- ‘to cast spells, healing chants; bewitch’, ‘spell, incantation’, ‘healing charm’ (Belova, 2012: 164–165).

2.1.3. ‘Curative spell’ → ‘sorcery’, ‘divination’

Mongolian *дом* ‘healing charm’ **and** ‘magic’, ‘quackery’, ‘sorcery’, ‘divination’ (Монгол орос дэлгэрэнгүй их толь, 2001, 1: 717: Дом III), *dom* ‘sorcery or ceremony of get rid of diseases or disasters’, genetically linked with Turkic *йом*, which has the meaning ‘fairy tale’, ‘foretelling, prediction’, ‘utterance’, ‘song’ in the Turkish dialects (“Etymological Dictionary of Turkic Languages”, edited by L. S. Levitskaia, 1989, 4: 220–221). The very same Mongolian word finally goes back to **kemehe*- ‘to tell fortunes, predict’, ‘to explain’ > Khalkha *xemē*- ‘to speak, say’, ‘to explain’. In the written monuments this Mongolian verb is attested in the meanings ‘to speak’, ‘to order’, ‘to proclaim the solemn’, ‘to announce’ (Comparative Grammar of Turkic Languages, 2006: 214–215).

2.1.4. ‘Deception, lie’, ‘fiction’ → ‘magic formula’, ‘magic song’

This model illustrates well the understanding the verbal attributes of the sorcery (spells, magical formulas, magic songs) as hypnotic speech, used for the deception, suggestion, seduction of the recipient, cf.: Persian *afsūn* ‘spell’, ‘magical formula’, ‘magic song’ **and** ‘cunning, ploy’, ‘deception, lie’, ‘insidiousness’, ‘harm’, ‘fiction’ (Vullers, 1855: 113) along with Persian *afsāna* ‘saying, utterance’, ‘story’, ‘fairy tale, ‘tradition’, erected to the Old Iranian root **su-* and linked to Middle Persian *awsūd* ‘spoken’ and the derivative *awsūdak* ‘enchanted’ (“Etymological Dictionary of the Kurdish Language” by R. L. Tsabolov, 2001, I: 18).

2.1.5. ‘To send a curse’ → ‘sorcery’

Komi *тшыкӧдӧм* ‘sorcery’ ~ *тшыкӧдны* ‘to spoil, mess up’, obsolete ‘to send a curse’, ‘to lead to the demise’, etymologically related to Mansi *šakātām* ‘put a spell on’, N *sakāti* ‘to deteriorate’, ‘to die’ (Lytkin, Guliaev, 1970: 291).

2.1.6. ‘Spoilage’, ‘harm’ → ‘sorcery’

The meaning ‘sorcery’ in the examples are set out below reflects “highly specialized” magic actions, aimed to put a jinx per the person or a domestic animal.

The Indo-European languages:

Latin *maleficium* ‘damage’, ‘harm’ **and** (plur.) ‘evil spell’, *maleficum* ‘sorcery’, ‘charms’ < *male-facio*, -ere ‘to cause harm’, ‘to do bad’.

The Mongolian Languages:

Mongolian *жамга* ‘spoilage’ **and** ‘sorcery’ (Монгол орос дэлгэрэнгүй их толь, 2001, 1: 293).

The Dravidian languages:

Ma. (Malayalam) *māṭṭam*, *māṭṭu* ‘sorcery’, Tu. (Tulu) *māṭa* ‘sorcery, witchcraft’ **and** ‘wickedness’ (Burrow, Emeneau, 1984: 426).

2.1.7. ‘Spell’, ‘conjuring’ → ‘sorcery’

The Turkic languages:

Uyghur *arvyş* ‘spell’ **and** ‘sorcery’: “*qamay butilarnyñ qylmyş jaratmyş arvyşlaryn qylyč üzä qeşär men*” – «I will cut through with

my sword all the sorcery created by the demons» < Turkic **arva-* ‘to conjure’, ‘to bewitch’, cf. Uyghur *arba-/arva-* ‘to conjure’, Kirgiz *arba-* ‘to persuade’, Western Yugur *arva-* ‘to whisper’, ‘to chant an incantation’ (Comparative Grammar of Turkic Languages, 2006: 614–615).

The Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages:

Itelmen *донало* ‘sorcery’, ‘conjuring’ ~ *донало- n1 доналос* inf. ‘to conjure somebody, take an oath from someone’, cf. *кэмма т’изаскичэн н’эчхэ, т’ланажозэн: ʒ’лалэхч* – *I’m dying, my son, I beg you: go to [...]* (The Complete Itelmen-Russian Dictionary, 2021: 165).

2.1.8. ‘To poison’ → ‘sorcery’, ‘magic’

West Futuna-Aniwa *fegeitua* (alt. *fegetua, fegeatua*) ‘to poison’, ‘to bewitch’, ‘to curse’, ‘to work magic’ ~ *fegaitu* (alt. *fegeitu*) ‘sorcery’, ‘magic’ (Dougherty, 1983: 240).

2.1.9. ‘Brewing magic potions’ → ‘sorcery’

Latin *venēficium* ‘poisoning’, ‘brewing magic potions’ **and** ‘sorcery’, ‘magical brews’.

2.1.10. ‘Brew’, ‘potion’ → ‘charms’, ‘sorcery’

The Indo-European languages:

Latin *venēnum* ‘magic brew, magic potion, elixir’ **and** ‘charms, enchantment’.

The Semitic languages:

Ge’ez *šarāy* ‘incantation, magic, charm, witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, spell, poison, healing, medicine, cure, bandage’ = ‘**poison**, healing, cure, medicine, **medication**, bandage’ **and** ‘**spell**, magic, amulet, sorcery, **witchcraft**, **charms**’. Cf. the semantics of such its etymologic correspondences: **Ar.** *šary* ‘colocynth’ (which has a bitter taste), **Te.** *sara (sry)* ‘cure, treat medically’, *saray* ‘remedy, poison’, **Amh.** *saray* ‘poison, poisonous philter’ (from Geez), *sārāyyä* ‘to poison’ (Leslau, 1987: 536).

2.1.11. Neutralization of “magic” semantics: ‘sorcery’ → ‘deception, lie’, ‘focus, trick’, ‘slyness’, ‘knavery’

The pricess of neutralization of the meanings ‘magic’, ‘sorcery’, ‘witchcraft’ also shows a tendency to universality, as evidenced by the geography of the languages, where this process is attested. In particular, one is presented in the languages of the three genetic families.

The Indo-European languages:

German *Zauberei* ‘sorcery’, ‘magic’ **and** ‘focus’. The semantics ‘sorcery’ here is more ancient; cf. Germanic **taubrá-* m. ‘sorcery’, ‘charms’, to which German *Zauber* goes back through a chain of mediating links of the phonetic evolution (Kluge, 1989: 806), and also Old North *taufr* ‘sorcery’, going back to the same Proto-Germanic prototype (Orel, 2003: 402: **taufuran*). Cf. in the contexts: “Ist keine *Zauberei*, nur ein alter *Trick* von meiner Großmutter” – “This is not *magic*, it is just an old *trick* of my grandmother.” and “Bei der *Zauberei* geht es um Rätsel, Illusion, Hasen aus einem Hut zu ziehen!” – “*Magic* is riddles, illusions and pulling rabbits out of hats!”.

Middle Persian borrowing **awsūn* ‘spell, incantation’ in the Turkic languages (in the literature is defined as Persian **ovsun*), along side with the meaning ‘sorcery’, ‘witchcraft’, ‘magic’, developed the semantics ‘focus’, ‘deception, lie’, cf.: Altaic *obyzyn* ‘focus, turning, transformation’, Tuvan *ovuzin* ‘cunning, slyness, deceit, insidiousness, knavery, insinulative tone’ (Comparative Grammar of Turkic Languages, 2006: 617). However, in the Turkish this Iranian loan word saves only first “magical” series of sememes, cf. *afsun* ‘sorcery’, ‘witchcraft’, ‘magic’, ‘spell’ (see: TRS, 1977: 27).

The Turkic languages:

Proto-Turkic **jelvi* ‘sorcery’ > Old Turkic *jelvi* ‘magic, sorcery’ along with Tuvan *ilbi* ‘sorcery’ **and** ‘focus’ (Comparative Grammar of Turkic Languages, 2006: 616–617);

Turkish *gözbağı* ‘sorcery, magic, witchcraft’ **and** ‘a show (of something) based on deception; trick of the eye via a ploy; focus,

juggling' (TRS, 1977: 357). Maybe, it is a result of playing with the idea of "sorcery for eyes", since we deal with the composite, where the first part is the name of eye, i.e. *göz*;

Turkish *nirenk* 'cunning, deception' **and** 'sorcery, witchcraft' (TRS, 1977: 679). We should notice, that not every name of the sorcery is semantically neutralized. For example, from a wide range of Turkish synonyms, designating the sorcery, magic, witchcraft, charms, this process affected the only afore mentioned units, while other words (*afsun*, *afsunculuk*, *bağı*, *büyük*, *büyücülük*, *fusun*, *sihir*, *sihirbazlık*) are outside its area of activity.

The Mongolian languages:

Mongolian *илбэ* 'sorcery, magic' **and** 'focus' (Монгол орос дэлгэрэнгүй их толь, 2001, 1: 416).

2.2. The model of the semantic evolution 'sorcery' → 'name of a demonic creature'

The Indo-European languages:

Old Indian *yātú-* 'sorcery; magic' **and** 'kind of a demon' (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2011, 4: 133).

The Turkic languages:

Proto-Turkic **jelvi* 'sorcery' > Yakut *ilbis* 'spirit of bloodlust' (Comparative Grammar of Turkic Languages, 2006: 616–617).

2.3. The development of the semantics 'head' in the names of vessels

The metaphorical use of the round vessels, boxes, and buckets names as the somatism *head* in the different languages is universal and presented by many examples. Some of them we have already considered earlier (Iliadi, 2022), therefore the appropriate material is given here in highly simplified form.

The Indo-European languages

The Slavonic languages

Proto-Slavonic **čaša* 'bowl', 'cup', 'goblet' → 'braincase', 'skull' (: Russian *чаша* 'antique vessel for drinking in the shape of a hemisphere')

and dial. *чауа* ‘braincase’, ‘skull’), and also the cases of the morphological derivation, comp. with suffix *-k-* in Polish *czasza* ‘bowl’ > *czasza* ‘skull’;

Proto-Slavonic **čerpъ* ‘clay vessel’, ‘clay potsherd’ → ‘skull’;

Proto-Slavonic **lubъ* (: Polish dial. *lub-* ‘crust’ and ‘vessel in the shape of a deep vat for washing’) > **lub-an’a* ‘skull’ (the derivative with suffix *-an’-*).

The same category of the examples includes the following lexemes too: Russian *котелок* ‘small cauldron’ **and** metaphorically ‘head’ (cf. as a part of set expression *твой котелок ещё варит* = *you have not forgotten how to think yet* or *your head has not forgotten how to think yet*), Ukrainian *макімпа* ‘a wide cone-shaped clay pot for grinding poppy, hemp or flax seeds’ **and** metaphorically ‘human head’; Belorussian *мако́мпа* ‘type of clay pottery (originally for grinding poppy seeds)’ **and** dial. *макаты́ра* ‘head’ (Етимологічний словник, 1989, 3: 365–366).

The Baltic languages

Lithuanian *kiáušas*, *kiaũšas* ‘cup’ VS ‘skull’ (*kiaušas galvos*, that literally is “cup of head”).

Latin *testa* ‘a clay vessel, pot, mug, or jug’ **and** ‘skull’ > French *tête* ‘head’.

The Romance languages

Italian *coppa* ‘cup, bowl’, ‘goblet’, *coppo* ‘jug, pitcher’ VS *coppa* ‘back of the head, nape’ (V. I. Abaev). See: (Iliadi, 2022: 7);

French *carafe* ‘jug, pitcher’, ‘decanter’ **and** metaphorically ‘head’; *carafon* ‘carafe’ **and** ‘head’ etc. (according to V. G. Gak (“To the Problem of General Semantic Laws”), in the French popular language the long series of vessel names is figuratively used for denoting the head).

Indo-Arian

Old Indian *kapāla* ‘cup’, ‘jar’, ‘dish’ → ‘skull’, ‘cranium’;

Old Indian *karpara* ‘cup’, ‘pot’, ‘bowl’ → ‘the skull, cranium’ and also ‘shell of a tortoise’, ‘potsherd’.

Iranian

Yaghnobi *kalla* (dial. *kall*) ‘head, top’, but also Yaghnobi *kālla* ‘pitcher, jug made of burnt clay’ (Rastorgueva, Edelman, 2011: 4: 189);

Persian *jumjuma* ‘wooden cup, cup, bowl’ **and** Tajik ‘skull’ (“Etymological Dictionary of the Kurdish Language” by R. L. Tsabolov, 2010, II: 499).

The Germanic languages

Proto-German **haubiða-/*habuða-* ‘vessel’ and ‘head’ (V. V. Levitskii).

Gothic **hairnei* ‘skull’ ← (hypothetical) **‘vessel’, ‘bowl’* (according to Ph. W. Lehmann, “Shift of meaning from ‘vessel’ to ‘skull, head’ quite common”; Lehmann, 1986: 197). For more details, see: (Iliadi, 2022: 9–10).

The Celtic languages

Irish *clagun* ‘flagon’, ‘lid’ and ‘skull’ (O’Reilly, O’Donovan, 1864: 121).

The Dravidian languages

Ka. *burāḍe*, *buruḍe*, *buruḍi* ‘gourd-bottle’, ‘calabash’, ‘dry gourd’ **and** ‘head’, ‘skull’, Tu. *buruḍè* ‘bottle made of the shell of a coco-nut, gourd, etc.’ **and** ‘skull’, Te. *burra* ‘empty shell of a long gourd’ **and** ‘head’, ‘skull’ (the related forms designate the different types of the vessels made of pumpkin shell or coconut shell) (Burrow, Emeneau, 1984: 383).

Ta. *maṇṭai* ‘mendicant’s begging bowl’, ‘earthen vessel’ **and** ‘head’, ‘skull’, Tu. *maṇḍè* ‘large earthen vessel’ **and** ‘skull’, ‘head’ (Burrow, Emeneau, 1984: 414).

In the Dravidian languages this semantic correlation is very ancient, because it is found for the Proto-Dravidian language condition, cf.: **put-V* ‘gourd shell’, ‘skull’ (Krishnamurti Bhadriraju, 2003: 484, 529).

The Dravidian data given above presents examples of the specific correlation between two meanings of one lexeme, namely – ‘empty shell of a long gourd’, ‘gourd shell’ **and** ‘head’, ‘skull’. A direct analogy for such cases is found in the languages of Indo-European family, where we can observe the following semantic shifts: 1) ‘shell, crust, bast, bark’ → ‘bowl, vessel/box made of shell, crust, bast, bark’ → ‘skull’ or more simple ‘shell, crust, bast, bark’ → ‘skull’; 2) ‘shell’ → ‘hollowed, empty nut’ → ‘vessel made of hollow nut’ (for more details see: Iliadi 2021).

The process of the semantic development ‘head’, ‘skull’ in the lexemes, denominating ‘vessel’, ‘box’, proceeded in two main directions. **The first** implies an extension of the vessel name with the suffix, which brought into the word an added meaning, for example, the semantics ‘similar’, ‘alike’, ‘resembling’, cf. Polish *czasza* ‘bowl’ > *czaszka* ‘skull’, Proto-Slavonic **lubъ* ‘crust’ and ‘vessel’ > **lub-an’a* ‘skull’. By the way, existing descriptions of the suffixal system, for example, of Slavonic languages usually overlook this derivational semantics.

The second possible vector of the forming the semantics is the using the vessels names as the part of the collocations with the somatism *head*, like, for example, in the case of Lithuanian *kiáušas*, *kiaūšas* ‘cup’ and ‘skull’, where the second sememe developed, probably, within the expression *kiáušas galvos* = “cup of head”. This assumption is evidenced by the compound words, formed by the composition of “*head* & name of the vessel” and occupying an intermediate position between the syntactic constructions like Lithuanian *kiáušas galvos*, on the one hand and the names of the vessels with the metaphorical semantics ‘head’, on the other hand. Cf. Ossetic *kæxc* | *kæxcæ* ‘a large shallow wooden bowl, bowlful’ **and** the composite *særgæxc* | *særgæxcæ* ‘skull’ with *sær* ‘head’ as the first part (Abaev, 2021, IV: 227), i.e. literally – ‘bowl of the head’, like in the Lithuanian collocation (vide supra). Thus, the semantic development in such examples can be conditionally represented as a sequence ‘cup, bowl’ → ‘head-cup/bowl’, ‘cup that looks like a head’ → ‘head’.

The outlined above observations the lexical meaning in the languages of several genetic families give sufficient grounds to talk about the existence of the universals in the semantic dynamics. Particularly, the material collected here, in most cases allows to trace down implementation here of a range of the common models of the semantic development, which in itself indicates the common constitutive (structural) elements in the organization of their lexical and semantic systems. The types of semantic shifts, described

here, well illustrate of the law by Hans Sperber, according to him, “If at a certain time a complex of ideas is so strongly charged with feeling that it causes one word to extend its sphere and change its meaning, we may confidently expect that other words belonging to the same emotional complex will also shift their meaning”. They verify and its formulation itself, about which in due course Stephen Ullmann noted: “Stated in these terms, Sperber’s law is no more than a bold generalization which would have to be extensively tested in different languages and periods” (Ullmann, 1963: 190).

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