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ON THE ISSUE OF RENDERING STYLISTIC COLORING OF COCKNEY DIALECT IN TRANSLATION

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SUMMARY

The presented article is aimed at elaborating the problem of specific stylistic coloring achieved by the employment of the Cockney dialect in English literature in the 19th century. The main objective of the paper consists in investigating the stylistic value of the Cockney rhymed dialect as the powerful expressive means in the English literature of realism as well as the possible ways of its rendering in artistic translation. The results of the carried-out research have proved that there exist common strategies and techniques of both employing Cockney in English literature of the given period and reproducing it in literary interpretations. The practical value of the research lies in the fact that the conclusions may be applied in the educational activity, namely in the course of English stylistics.

The urgency of this paper arises from the need for all-sided review of difficulties of translating belles-lettres works in contemporary translation studies. The object of the work is a Cockney dialect viewed in the aspect of its translatability. The subject is the specific stylistic function of Cockney dialect in B. Shaw's play. The immediate tasks of the article have been predetermined by the above-mentioned objective and include respectively: the disclosure of the specifics of Cockney

dialect; the outline of the strategies and tactics of translating Cockney in belleslettres works.

The methodology of this research involved the inductive and deductive methods, the method of contrastive analysis and ethnic methodological conversation analysis. In the course of the research it has been concluded and experimentally and statistically proved that there exist common strategies and tactics of translating Cockney. It has also been postulated that the pragmatic and the expressive potential of Cockney is rendered in translation.

The perspective is seen in reviewing the peculiarities of rendering Cockney in literary interpretations in various Western and Oriental languages.

Key words: stylistic value, the Cockney dialect, strategies and techniques, literary interpretations.

Introduction. Problem-setting and recent papers survey. The purpose of the following research is the systematization and unification of the existing approaches to the study of Cockney dialect and its representation in translation. The theoretical grounding for the ideas supplied was formed on the basis of the fundamental scientific works by W. Matthews (Matthews, 1972), P. Wright (Wright, 1981), G. Vettore (Vettore, 2019). The Oxford English Dictionary's first recorded use of Cockney language is dated 1776.

The **urgency** of the research lies in the attempt to form the methodology of translating social dialects, particularly Cockney, into Russian and Ukrainian. The problem of rendering dialects in fictional works quite often appears in the focus of the research as it's very essential for fictional works. In this aspect Cockney is distinguished by the peculiar social specificity which is due to its sphere of application. The specificity is manifested by the grammatical and phonetic speech errors and the slang rhyming.

The main distinctive features of Cockney dialect are deviations from litetrary norm, namely Standard English received pronunciation, highlighted by the following:

- the omission of [h] (e.g. "not 'alf" instead of "not half";
- the replacement of "is not" or "am not" by "aint";
- the pronuniation of $[\theta]$ as [f] (e.g. "faas'nd" instead of "thousand") and $[\delta]$ for [v] (e.g. "bover" for "bother")
 - ullet the replacement of [av] by [æ:] (e.g. "down"[dæ:n]);
- the employment of the rhyming slang (e.g. "feet" "plates of meat", instead of "head" "loaf of bread");
- the addition of glottal [t] between the vocals and sonants in the unstressed position [botl] instead of [bol];
 - replacement of labial-dental [r] for [v] imitating [w]

In the focus of the research there is Cockney dialect as a specific object of translation in the aspect of its translatability. The subject of the research are the strategies and tactics of rendering Cockney dialect in the literary translations of B. Shaw's play "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts" in Ukrainian and Russian. The play was first translated into Ukrainian in 1940–1950s by the outstanding Ukrainian translator Mykola Pavlov and published in the journal "Vsesvit" in 1999.

The **objective** of this work is to outline the common features and differences in translating dialect Cockney by Ukrainian and Russian translators and also in defining the role of translation strategies and tactics in preserving the author's authenticity.

To obtain the goal the following tasks should be formulated and solved:

- 1) to study the peculiarities of Cockney in the social and cultural aspect in B. Shaw's play "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts";
- 2) to analyze the strategies and tactics of translating Cockney dialect in Russian and Ukrainian literary interpretations of B. Shaw's play "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts".

It is a well-known fact that literature of each nation has a row of literary works with themes and plots, borrowed from the life of other nations and nevertheless marked by specific national uniqueness.

It is possible to solve the problem of national coloring only by realizing the organic entity of the content and form of a literary work, taking into account the national conditionality, nation's life, language and the cultural background knowledge in general.

Another urgent issue is the problem of historical uniqueness and value rendering. The time when the literary work was created is imprinted in artistic images.

The play "Pygmalion" was written in 1912–1913 years. In this play, B. Shaw used the myth about the sculptor Pygmalion who molded a statue of rare beauty. Madly in love with his creation, Pygmalion managed to breathe life into the Galatians by the force of his feelings, and the myth ended with their happy union.

B. Shaw presented his own interpretation of the myth in his play. Higgins, professor of phonetics, who acts as Pygmalion in the Shaw's drama, makes a bet with Colonel Pickering that he will conduct a scientific experiment — in a few months, he will teach Eliza Doolittle, a street flower girl, the British Standard pronunciation.

Higgins's experiment has ended brilliantly. Eliza has revealed extraordinary abilities, intelligence, talent and a sense of inner dignity. Pygmalion-Higgins has introduced Eliza into an aristocratic society where she has actually overshadowed the noble ladies with her exquisite beauty and charm.

The main characters in this play are Professor of English Phonetics Henry Higgins, a specialist in Indian dialects Colonel Pickering and Eliza. Henry Higgins and Pickering are very different in character and appearance. Professor Higgins is a man of fifty, with gray hair and wrinkled face, small in stature. And Colonel Pickering is a sixty-years-old man, tall and fat with the wrinkled face.

Eliza is a girl of a strong character who tries to keep her dignity and fights for her life, avoiding the flaws and bad habits inherent in the environment in which she lives. Higgins was constantly unhappy, angry, and seemingly unhappy at first. At first, he treated Eliza worse than his maid. But there was always Colonel Pickering near him who tried to calm him down.

B. Shaw really showed master hand in portraying Eliza Doolittle due to the implementation of London Cockney dialect into her speech. B. Shaw introduced speech variations aptly employing the Cockney dialect. Cockney is one of the most well-known types of London's dialects, widely spread among the representatives of the lowest social and living standards.

As it is well-known, colloquial speech is opposed to the belles-lettres style according to such criteria as spontanity\preparedness, formality\nonformality, the employment of the extralinguistic factors like gestures, facial expression, kinesics, proxemity and pecliar linguistic features as well.

The language means are distinctly revealed on all levels. On the phonetic level it's not typical phrase stress, emphatic stress, deviations from the accepted literary norms in pauses, tempo, rhythm, alliteration, assonance and graphons; on the lexical level it's slang, dialectal units, metaphors, epithets, phraseological units, emotional and expressive words, interjections); on the grammatical level it's double negation, different grammatical irregularities and deviations from Standard English, emphatic constructions, parentheses, elliptical sentences, addresses, detachment, apokoinu construction.

The examples of such are given below in Table 1.

Grammatical Peculiarities of the Cockney Dialect

Table 1

Table 2

Distinctive features Percentage, % Examples He's been gone twenty minutes. incorrect verb form 18 (Shaw, 1994) I knowed he was a plain-clothes copper. (Shaw, 1994) Well, it aint my fault, missus. (Shaw, colloquial verb form 17 22 He wont get no cab not until half-past double negation eleven, missus, when they come back after dropping their theatre fares. (Shaw, 1994) 24 Do hold your tongue, Clara. (Shaw, emphatic construction 1994) combined form 19 I aint done nothing wrong by speaking to the gentleman. **Ive** a right to sell flowers if I keep off the kerb (Shaw, 1994)

Lexical Peculiarities of the Cockney Dialect

Distinctive features	Percentage, %	Examples
Slang	25	It's aw rawt: e's a gentleman: look
		at his be-oots. She thought you was
		a copper's nark, sir. (Shaw, 1994)
dialectal units	20	Nah then, Freddy: look wh'y'gowin,
		deah. (Shaw, 1994)
colloquial words	35	He aint a tec . He's blooming busy-
		body: that's what he is. I tell you,
		look at his be-ots. (Shaw, 1994)
phraseological units	20	The floor is yours, Mr Doolittle.
_ _		(Shaw, 1994)

One of the main difficulties in translating Cockney into Ukrainian is constituted by the typological difference of phonetic variations in Ukrainian and English as a manifestation of incorrect speech. At the same time the basis of Cockney is rhyming, among other peculiarities of this specific dialect there are phonetic violations, grammatical discrepancies and certain

peculiarities of construction formation patterns. Non-literary or stylistically marked Ukrainian speech has other distinctive features such as incorrect pronunciation, redundancy, certain morphological transformations; grammatical errors are practically absent, as they are not typical for an authentic Ukrainian speaker. The percentage of the above mentioned deviations from regular speech doesn't coincide in English Cockney and Ukrainian informal speech.

Phonetic Peculiarities of the Cockney Dialect

Percentage. %

Distinctive features

Table 3

1 crecinage, 70	Examples
55	Theres menners f' yer! Teoo banches o voylets trod into the mad. (Shaw,
	1994)
30	Ahyee, beyee, ceyee, deyee. A cappete-ee. (Shaw, 1994)
15	Professor Iggins ? (Shaw, 1994)
	55

Material, methods and data. The research was carried out on the basis of the literary interpretations of B. Shaw's play in Russian and Ukrainian. The methodology of the research was formed on the basis of the theory of metaphorical modeling grounded by the key concepts in the theory and practice of translation.

The methods at work are the empirical method, the methods of linguistic and contrastive analysis, of deduction and induction. The research has revealed evident deviations from the authentic literary work for the sake of free breathing in dialogues and amplification of expression.

The deviations have been outlined on all the linguistic levels (phonetic, lexical and grammatical). There are a great many phonetic differences between Cockney and Received Pronunciation Standard English. Some of the most noticeable are include the replacement of the voiceless "th" $[\theta]$ in words like "think", "theatre", "author", with [f], so they would be pronounced $[f\eta k]$, [fisto, [o:fo]. The use of the glottal stops to replace [t] before the consonants and weak vowels: "water" [wo:?o], "cottage" $[kv?id_3]$.

However, lexical deviations from Received Pronunciation Standard English in Cockney are more striking as Cockney is first and foremost a dialect most notable as a sort of coded language, which was born out of ingenious rhyming slang. There are as many as 150 terms that are recognized instantly by any rhyming slang user.

Still the differences in stylistic coloring are the most prominent especially in the first two acts of the play. The contrast between B. Shaw's picturesque and vivid dialectical lexis and its rendering in Ukrainian is especially evident on the lexical level.

The problem with literary interpretation in Russian is similar to Ukrainian. Dialects in Russian are not so wide-spread and diverse as in English. Besides, the territorial and social diversities in Russian dialects are manifested mainly on the lexical level while orthoepic differences are not that numerous. Moreover, the target audience in Ukraine is not aware of the existing dialects while Cockney dialect is very recorgnizable in Great Britain.

The first appearance of Eliza Doolittle is vitally important as by means of the orthographical transcription technique B. Shaw very skillfully portrayed the Eliza Doolittle's character, living standards and origin.

This may be illustrated by the following example: "THE FLOWER GIRL: Nah then, Freddy: look wh' y' gowin, deah". "THE FLOWER GIRL: Theres menners f' yer! Te-oo banches o voylets trod into the mad" (Shaw, 1994). "КВІТАРКА: Ну, ти, Хреді, диви, куди сунеш!" "ЦВЕТОЧНИЦА: Куда прёшь, Фредди! Возьми глаза в руки! А ещо образованный! Все фиалочки в грязь затоптал" (Шоу, 2011).

As we see, there are no colloquial words or word combinations violating the established linguistic norms in Eliza Doolittle's speech, while grammatical errors do occur. E. g: "*Theres menners f' yer; than ran awy athaht pyin*" (Shaw, 1994). But the speech peculiarities which are most remarkable are the phonetic ones. It is understood from the flower girl's first phrase that she is illiterate, originating from the East End. It is most vital for translators to render such social and cultural specificities of the character than to translate the linguistic peculiarities proper.

The translators achieve this effect through the compensatory employment of slang and jargon. A wide use of colloquial words and expressions is made (e.g. "куда прёшь", "смылся"). Illiterate speech, marked both by stylistic and linguistic irregularities is also recurrent e.g. "все фиалочки в грязь затоптал" (grammatically correct spelling — "втоптал"); "возьми глаза в руки" (the combination of the following phraseological units: "возьми себя в руки" and "разуй глаза")

(IIIoy, 2011). The translators introduced a vast majority of low register vulgar words. The name "Freddy" is phonetically corrupted resulting in " $\Phi peddu$ ". The use of "x" or "x6" instead of "f" is a typical case of mispronunciation in Ukrainian.

The multiplication is also typical of Cockney dialect.

E. g.:""THE FLOWER GIRL: Ow, eez ye-ooa san, is e? Wal, fewd dan y' de-ooty bawmz a mather should, eed now bettern to spawl a pore gel's flahrzn than ran awy atbaht pyin. Will ye-oo py me f'them?". "KBITAPKA": O! Так це синок ваш?! Ніщо не скажеш, виховала мамуся! Це ж тре: виваляв мені всі хвіалки в грязі і втік! Навіть не заплатив бідній дівчині! Так шо, ви заплатите?" (Шоу, 2012). "ЦВЕТОЧНИЦА: Аиf, так это ваш сынок? Нечего сказать, хорошо вы его воспитали... Разве это дело? Раскидал у бедной девушки все цветы и смылся,как миленький! Вот вы теперь и гоните монету, мамаша!" (Шоу, 2011).

The translators widely employed syllables swallowing to render the incorrect pronunciation (e.g. "mo" — "moжe").

Some other ways of sounds double duration were presented in the following example:

E. g.: "LIZA: <u>Nah-ow.</u> You got no right to touch me" (Shaw, 1994). "ELI-ZA: Ой, <u>не</u>! Ой, <u>не</u>! А чо ж ви дражнітесь?" "ELIZA: Ну, ну! Вы не имеете права меня трогать!" (Шоу, 2011).

Another way of sounds double duration rendering is repetition (e.g.: "Oŭ не! Ой не!"). This stylistic device contributes to the expressiveness and at the same time demonstrates phonetic irregularities.

The written text only approximately reproduces the phonetic features of the characters' speech. B. Shaw graphically restores the incorrect pronunciation of certain words to render the peculiarities of their idiolect.

This pronunciation was only partially preserved in Russian translation. While Ukrainian allows equivalent substitution of Cockney both acoustically and graphically. Unfortunately, the systematized foundations of graphon-building haven't been elaborated in Ukrainian translation theory so far. Graphon is defined as the deliberate corruption of the word form to render the authentic pronunciation.

B. Shaw widely employed graphons in his play. So a translator's task is to render this specificity in Ukrainian and Russian translations.

Though the phonetic aspect seemed to be the key feature of the main character's image, the translators made use of the compensation strategy by replacing the phono-graphical irregularities by the pejorative and stylistically vulgar vocabulary.

B. Shaw's foreword and afterword were both dedicated to the review of the phonological and graphical peculiarities of Standard English as compared to the existing social dialects.

The translators treated the social dialect Cockney as an inseparable constituent of the translation invariant in all Eliza's remarks. There were even introduced swear words like "дідько", "до біса" тощо.

The most widespread strategies of text adaptation in the translation language are given in Table 4. The means of compensation strategy realization in Ukrainian and Russian translations of B. Shaw's "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts" are illustrated quantitatively in Table 5. Table 6 and Table 6 illustrate respectively the means of explication and domestication strategy realization in Ukrainian and Russian translations of B. Shaw's play "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts".

Table 4
The Strategies of Cockney Dialect Translation in B. Shaw's Play "Pygmalion:
A Romance in Five Acts" (%)

Strategies	Translation I	Translation II
Compensation	29	21
Explication	20	19
Neutralization	15	16
Convergence	7	12
Domestication	19	14
Foreignization	10	18

Table 5
The Means of Compensation Strategy Realization in Ukrainian and Russian translations of B. Shaw's "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts" (%)

Translation Means	Translation I	Translation II
Transposition	22	16
Contextual Replacement	15	15
Transcoding	19	12
Calque Translation	16	20
Author's Occasional Words	18	18
Functional Replacement	10	19

Table 6
The Means of Explication Strategy Realization in Ukrainian and Russian
Translations of B. Shaw's "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts" (%)

Translation Means	Translation I	Translation II
Translator's Commentary	24	23
Descriptive Translation	44	30
Broadening	13	18
Semantic Development	11	12
Antonymous Translation	8	17

Table 7
The Means of Domestication Strategy Realization in Ukrainian and Russian
Translations of B. Shaw's "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts" (%)

The Translation Means	Translation I	Translation II
The Author's Occasional Words	17	16
The Descriptive Translation	13	11
The Transposition	27	31
The Contextual Replacement	15	12
The Calque Translation	23	22
The Functional Replacement	5	8

B. Shaw: "You see this creature with her kerbstone English: the English that will keep her in the gutter to the end of her days. Well, sir, in three months I could pass that girl off as duchess at an ambassador's garden party. I could even get her a place as lady"s maid or shop assistant, which requires better English" (Shaw, 1994).

This citation is Professor Higgins's remark, which is of great interest because it embodies in itself the evaluation of one person (Eliza Doolittle) by the other person (Professor Higgins) on the grounding of the correctness of speech. It was translated into Russian as: "Вы слышали ужасное произношение этой уличной девчонки? Из-за этого произношения она до конца своих дней обречена оставаться на дне общества. Так вот, сэр, дайте мне три месяца сроку, и я сделаю так, что эта девушка с успехом сойдет за герцогиню на любом посольском приеме. Мало того, она сможет поступить куда угодно в качестве горничной или продавщицы, а для этого, как известно, требуется еще большее совершенство речи" (Шоу, 2011).

In the lexical composition of this fragment B. Shaw employed phraseological units "kerbstone English" and "pass that girl off", which are translated in the dictionaries as "уличный английский"; "pass that girl off" — "выдавать за"... (Мюллер, 2006: 526).

The use of phraseological units have contributed to the expressivity and emotionality of the text on the whole. Therefore, the quality of the translation was estimated according to the novelty, up-to-datedness and practical value of the employed linguistic means.

Conclusions and perspectives for the future. The comparative analysis of the translations of B. Shaw's play "Pygmalion: A Romance in Five Acts" with the source text resulted in the conclusion that both translators chose compensation as the leading translation strategy to render the artistic uniqueness of B. Shaw's play.

The translation of low colloquial and dialectal words was performed by means of the colloquial equivalents of English words in Ukrainian and Russian. The same technique was employed to translate expressive and pejorative lexis in Professor Higgins' speech. This educated gentleman made use of such vocabulary for art's sake to create a controversial image.

The analysis of the translations allowed to sum up such results. The translation of the author's motivated deviations should be preserved on all the linguistic levels (phonetic, lexical and grammatical). All this serves to render the unique writer's style and the national and cultural identity.

The translators adhered to the text's stylistics although it was quite a challenge. As a result, there were created literary interpretations of B. Shaw's play through the prism of their own understanding and also contributed to the stylistic vividness and variety.

The most recurrent translation strategies were compensation and explication. The most wide-spread translation operations were transposition, contextual replacement and the author's occasional words.

In B. Shaw's work, phraseological turns are used in the speech of the characters. Thus, phraseological and logical turns become a means of creating a speech characteristic of a character (linguistic personality).

The analysis showed that the phraseological units used by B. Shaw are polysemantic. It was remarked, however, that the translators mainly followed the lexicographical description presented in the dictionaries while

translating English phraseological units. But at the same time, both translators allowed a synonymous substitution which greatly contributed to the emotiveness and expressiveness.

The research has a great perspective and a practical value as its findings may be employed in translation studies and stylistics. The perspective is seen in the cross-cultural approach to the study of Cockney dialect and it's rendering in different languages.

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ПРО ПЕРЕДАЧУ СТИЛІСТИЧНОГО ЗАБАРВЛЕННЯ КОКНІ У ПЕРЕКЛАДІ

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АНОТАШЯ

Статтю присвячено проблемі специфічного забарвлення, що досягається за рахунок застосування діалекту кокні в англійській літературі XIX сторіччя. Мета розвідки у дослідженні стилістичної цінності римованого діалекту кокні як потужного виражального засобу в англійській літературі реалізму, а також у визначенні можливих способів його відтворення у художньому перекладі. У результаті здійсненого дослідження виявлено спільні стратегії та тактики як застосування кокні в англійській літературі визначеного періоду, так і його відображення в літературних інтерпретаціях. Практична цінність одержаних результатів у тому, що висновки може бути використано в практичній освітній діяльності, а саме у викладанні курсу англійської стилістики.

Актуальність статті підтверджується необхідністю у всебічному огляді труднощів перекладу художніх творів у сучасному перекладознавстві. Об'єктом дослідження є діалект кокні в аспекті перекладності. Предметом дослідження є специфічна стилістична функція діалекту кокні в п'єсі Б. Шоу. Безпосередні завдання цієї статті, обумовлені вищезазначеною метою, є такими: розкриття особливостей діалекту кокні; огляд стратегій і тактик перекладу кокні у художніх творах.

Методологія цього дослідження включала індуктивний та дедуктивний методи, а також метод контрастивного аналізу. У процесі дослідження було одержано й експериментально та статистично підтверджено висновки про наявність спільних стратегій і тактик відтворення діалекту кокні у різних мовах. Також було констатовано, що прагматичний та експресивний потенціал діалекту кокні відтворюється у перекладі.

Перспектива у дослідженні особливостей відтворення кокні у літературних інтерпретаціях різними західними та східними мовами.

Ключові слова: стилістична цінність, діалект кокні, стратегії і тактики, літературні інтерпретації.

О ПЕРЕДАЧЕ СТИЛИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ОКРАСКИ КОКНИ В ПЕРЕВОДЕ

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АННОТАЦИЯ

Статья посвящена проблеме специфической стилистической окраски, достигаемой за счет использования диалекта кокни в английской литературе XIX столетия. Цель статьи в изучении стилистической ценности рифмованного диалекта кокни как мощного выразительного средства в английской литературе реализма, а также в определении возможных способов его отображения в художественном переводе. В результате проведенного исследования выявлены общие стратегии и тактики как употребления кокни в английской литературе выделенного периода, так и его воспроизведения в литературных интерпретациях. Практическая ценность полученных результатов в том, что выводы могут быть использованы в практической образовательной деяльности, а именно при преподавании курса английской стилистики.

Актуальность статьи подтверждается необходимостью во всестороннем обзоре трудностей перевода художественных произведений в современном переводоведении. Объектом исследования является диалект кокни в аспекте переводимости. Предметом исследования является спе-

цифическая стилистическая функция диалекта кокни в пьесе Б. Шоу. Непосредственные задачи статьи были обусловлены вышеуказанной целью и включают следующее: раскрытие особенностей диалекта кокни; обзор стратегий и тактик перевода кокни в художественных произведениях.

Методология исследования включала индуктивный и дедуктивный методы, а также метод контрастивного анализа. В ходе исследования были сделаны и экспериментально и статистически подтверждены выводы о наличии общих стратегий и тактик передачи диалекта кокни в других языках. Также было сделано заключение, что прагматический и экспрессивный потенциал диалекта кокни воспроизводится при переводе.

Перспектива в исследовании особенностей передачи кокни в литературных интерпретациях на разных западных и восточных языках.

Ключевые слова: стилистическая ценность, диалект кокни, стратегии и тактики, литературные интерпретации.

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ПОХОДЖЕННЯ ШВЕДІВ (ІСТОРИКО-ЛІНГВІСТИЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ ЕТНОСУ)

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АНОТАШЯ

У статті розглядається проблема походження шведського племені на фоні індоєвропейського етногенезу в порівнянні з племенем руси, які сформувались на базі територіальної та язичницької близькості у відносно єдиний етнос та надмову (койне) на Дону. Дослідження грунтується на міфологічному матеріалі Ynglinga saga та Велесової книги, лексикографічному матеріалі, топонімах зазначених племен, в яких виділяються корені етносів. Останнє знаходить підтвердження у фінських найменнях щодо країни Швеції, яку фіни називають Ruotsi, Ruossi, Ruohti, Ruotti, водь — Rôtsi, естонці — Rôts, з іншого боку, назва країни Швеція має давні форми Swes, Sues, Sweōrice — «Королівство шведів», а також сучасні зі значенням «Швеція»; ісландська Svíþjóð, шведська Sverige. Зародження слов'янського та германського етносів відбувалося в період сумісного проживання цих народів в індоєвропейському праетносі на берегах р. Дон орієнтовно в ІІ тис. до н. е.