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A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
EAST-SLAVIC THROUGH PRIMARY WRITTEN SOURCES

MA-THESIS BY EMILE FRIJNS, 2015

RUSSIAN & EURASIAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN

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Образецъ литерѣ прѣсланныхъ ѿ Амстергама
въ пополненіе первымъ.

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Господь сошел посмотреть на город и башню, которые строили люди, и сказал: – Все люди – один народ и у них один язык; вот они и затеяли такое; теперь не будет для них ничего невозможного. Сойдем же и смешаем им язык, чтобы они перестали понимать друг друга.

И Господь рассеял их оттуда по всему свету, и они перестали строить тот город. Вот почему он был назван Вавилон – ведь Господь смешал там язык всего мира.

- Бытия, 11, 5-9

And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.

So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

- Genesis, 11, 5-9

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0.1. Introduction

For centuries, scholars have wondered where the great diversity between the various languages in the world originated from. As early as the beginning of our era, people wondered why, for example, people in Rome spoke in a different language from the people who lived in Athens or contemporary Germany. Various explanations were made up, including mythological ones, like the story about the Tower of Babel that claimed mankind had attempted to build their way into heaven and doing so forced their god to stop their attempts by creating various tongues, grinding the communication between various peoples to a halt.

As times went by and Renaissance and Enlightenment swooped through Europe scientific thought emerged and was firmly established in society. Still, the question remained: where did all existing languages come from and why were some languages comparable and mutually intelligible while others differed as much as day and night. New theories emerged, though one can often question their scientific nature and credibility. An example of these new theories is the 16th century theory proposed by Goropius, who claimed to have found evidence that Dutch was directly derived from the language that people spoke before the construction of the Tower of Babel.

With the advent of historical-comparative linguistics – a study that originated in the study of ancient texts (philology) – in the late 18th century when linguists such as Sir William Jones introduced the hypothesis that Sanskrit, Latin and Greek might be related due to similarities in grammar and vocabulary¹, linguists were given tools by means of the concept of sound laws to more thoroughly investigate the origins of human language.

It was at this point that linguists started to thoroughly unravel the origins of contemporary and already extinct languages and that multiple theories on the evolution of language appeared. Likewise, a great deal of theories on the origins of the three closely related East-Slavic languages – Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian – appeared. The first ones were formulated by linguists such as Aleksej Šaxmatov in the 19th century and all throughout the 20th century up to this day various theories have been published. The fact that these theories show common ground as well as points in which they greatly vary from one another opens up the possibility of studying these theories, comparing them and then conducting new research in order to prove one theory or disprove the other (or at least make one theory more plausible than the other).

Precisely that is what will be done in the investigation described in this thesis. Firstly, various theories from different time periods (19th century, 20th century and contemporary) will be described. In total, three ‘major’ theories (encompassing the East-Slavic languages as a whole) and two ‘minor’ theories (focusing on Belarusian and Ukrainian respectively) will be featured in this investigation. These theories will then be compared to each other to find common ground and major points of conflict between the theories.

¹ Blench, R., ‘Archaeology and Language: Methods and Issues’, *A Companion to Archaeology*, 14/01/2008, p. 3.

Based upon these common grounds and points of conflict, a series of written sources will be selected. These written sources will share a common nature (either religious or secular) and will be selected so that they cover the entire time period during which – according to the analysed theories – the contemporary East-Slavic languages have existed and developed.

After selecting the texts, they will be analysed. This analysis will be conducted upon different criteria than the ones that were used in order to formulate and defend the already previously published and analysed theories; if the theories, for example, are based solely on phonetics, then here the texts will be analysed from a different viewpoint, for example, syntax or morphology. By doing so, the investigation will take a different angle on the texts and can therefore provide new evidence which can make one or more theories either more or less plausible.

0.2. Historical background

In order to place the texts that will be analysed in the research presented in this thesis, a short overview of relevant historical events will be provided below.

988 – Kievan Rus' adopts Christianity.

1240 – The city of Kiev is sacked during the Tatar invasions. This caused a break-up of internal contacts between the various principalities of Rus' and allowed the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to gradually expand its influence over the western parts of Rus'.

1315 – Gediminas becomes grand duke of Lithuania and starts pushing the Lithuanian border deep into Rus' lands. Upon his death in either 1341 or 1342, Lithuania extends as far as the Dnjepr River and the Pripjat marshes.²

1385 – Union of Krewo. The kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania are under a personal union, i.e. both are ruled by the same sovereign.

1569 – Union of Lublin. Poland and Lithuania form a close alliance, thus creating the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As stated in the treaty, Lithuania is forced to cede the Lithuanian provinces Volhynia and Podlasia to Poland. The state is increasingly Polonised, as Poland holds a majority in the Diet.³

1596 – Union of Brest. An attempt is made to merge the Catholic and Orthodox churches on the territory of the Commonwealth. As a result, Belarusian, which had been the official language of the Lithuanian court up until that point, is replaced by Latin (and later on by Polish) in official documents.

1697 – Belarusian is officially banned from use in all state documents and court proceedings in the Commonwealth.⁴

² Misiunas, R.J., 'Lithuania – History of Lithuania', *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

³ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 'Union of Lublin', *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

⁴ Grenoble, L.A., *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*, (Routledge, London & New York), 2003, p. 888.

1772, 1793 & 1795 – The three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth see the Commonwealth carved up by Prussia, Austria and Russia. The latter annexes all of the lands inhabited by Eastern Slavs.⁵



Figure 1: The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita) in 1619. It is clear that the Commonwealth encompassed most of modern-day Belarus and Ukraine.

0.3. Introductory remarks

This thesis will focus on the East Slavic languages Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian. When referring to ‘the East Slavic languages’ it is these three languages that are referred to. Rusyn, however, though considered an East Slavic language as well, will not be investigated in this thesis, since academic research on this language is still in the phase where linguists are unsure whether or not to classify Rusyn as a separate language or a dialect of either Ukrainian or Slovak. For those who seek more information on the origins of Rusyn I would recommend the work by Pugh which is referenced in the bibliography of this thesis as well, since Pugh has done some extensive research into the Rusyn language.

Furthermore, I would like to point out that in this thesis I will refer to the official language of the republic of Belarus as Belarusian, since to me this sounds more correct as it reflects the Belarusian name for the language: *Беларуская Мова/Belaruskaja Mova* and it is more appealing to the eye.

⁵ Misiunas, R.J., ‘Lithuania – History of Lithuania’, *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

When citing articles in which the respective authors refer to the language as Belorussian or even Byelorussian (which is derived from the Russian name: Белорусский Язык/*Belorusskij Jazyk*), I will of course keep the name intact, though when paraphrasing I will stick to ‘Belarusian’.

To conclude I should point out that all translations of non-English citations are done by me, unless otherwise indicated. Figures and tables are also all done by me, unless otherwise indicated in the bibliography.

0.4. Abbreviations

1pl – 1st Person Plural

3sg – 3rd Person Singular

aux. – Auxiliary

BY – Belarusian

CES – Common East Slavic

CS – Church Slavonic

CSl – Common Slavic

Cz – Czech

D – Dutch

E – English

Inf – Infinitive

n/d – No Data available / Insufficient Data

P – Polish

R – Russian

U – Ukrainian

Chapter 1: Three major and two minor theories

1.1. An overview of theories on the historical development of the East-Slavic languages

It goes without saying that in an investigation aimed at trying to find evidence in favour of one of the many theories on the emergence of the East-Slavic languages or the disproval of any of these theories, it is best to start at the very beginning, namely: by analysing some of the theories that have been developed in the past.

In this section, three major theories will be discussed in the order of their appearance. After a short introduction to Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf's and Nikolaj Karamzin's observations on the history of the Russian language in the 17th and early 19th centuries respectively, the first major theory will be described. This is a theory that was put forward by 19th century academic Aleksej Šaxmatov and was one of the first theories to extensively describe the historical-comparative development of the East-Slavic (or as Šaxmatov himself would call it: Russian) languages.

The second theory to be discussed stems from the Soviet era and was put forward by academic Fedot Filin. As a linguist, Filin had been active since the 1930's, during which he was one of the staunch defenders of Nikolaj Marr's Japhetic Theory.⁶ After this theory was discredited by Stalin himself, it seemed that Filin's academic career was over, but because of the political changes in the 1950's Filin once again saw a chance to climb the academic ladder and install himself as a major linguist.⁷ By then he had left his Marrist views behind him as he walked the path of traditional linguistics. One of the results of this change was his new theory on the origins of the East-Slavic languages, published in his 1972 book 'The origins of the Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian languages'. In this theory, he stresses the importance of local languages and dialects, rather than the socio-political changes that were emphasised in Šaxmatov's theory.

The final major theory that will be discussed in this chapter is a contemporary theory, published in 2007 by the American scholar Stefan Pugh. In his theory, he stresses the importance of certain historical events and their impact on language development. His theory stands out from the previously published theories as he accredits the Polish language for having played a major role in the development of the East-Slavic languages (while the other theories downplay this role) and states that Belarusian and Ukrainian have a common ancestor: Ruthenian.

After these three major theories have been discussed, some attention will be given to theories by Paul Wexler and George (Yuri) Ševel'ov, who are experts on the Belarusian and Ukrainian languages respectively. By discussing their works, the historical development of Belarusian and Ukrainian, both 'little languages' in the other theories, will hopefully be made more clear.

⁶ Alpatov, V.M., *Istorija Odnogo Mifa – Marr i Marrizm*, (Nauka, Moskva), 1991, p. 100-101.

⁷ Alpatov, V.M., p. 195.

1.2. Early theories: Ludolf, Karamzin and Šaxmatov

The question of how the East Slavic languages – and mainly the Russian language in that respect – came into being has been a topic in historical-comparative linguistics for a long time. The similarity between Russian and Church Slavonic has been observed as early as 1696, when the *Grammatica Russica* was published in Oxford. This ‘Russian Grammar’ was written by the German diplomat and language enthusiast Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf as an introduction to the Russian language for foreigners.⁸ Ludolf’s book starts off with an introduction to the language situation in Russia, mentioning the use of Church Slavonic in most written works and Russian for day-to-day communication. This is then followed by an overview on the differences between Russian and Church Slavonic in which Ludolf observes that the two languages show striking similarities and that any ‘oddities’ between the two follow strict rules, such as the changing of the Slavonic ‘a’ after two consonants to a double ‘o’ in Russian (i.e. CS: *glava* and R: *golova*).⁹ The small amount of differences and their regularity led Ludolf to believe that Russian is a dialect of Church Slavonic.¹⁰

The similarity between Russian and Church Slavonic continued to baffle scientists and with the emergence of standardised Russian, the written Russian language became a real competitor of Church Slavonic as scholarly interest in the Russian language grew significantly. As the literary language of Russian became standardised by the beginning of the 19th century due to efforts of Nikolay Karamzin, the accepted notion on the relation between Russian and Church Slavonic was that Russian was an adapted form of the latter.

When a French grammar of the Russian language appeared around the turn of the 19th century, Karamzin himself was struck by the author’s remark that similarities between Russian and Latin meant that Latin had borrowed words from Church Slavonic. In a detailed critical review of the observations done by the French author of the grammar, published in the journal *Věstnik Evropy* in 1803, Karamzin writes:

Сей ученый мужъ не знаетъ, что Руской языкъ есть Славянской, измѣненный временемъ, употребленіемъ и примѣсомъ нѣкоторыхъ чужихъ словъ!

*This learned man does not know that the Russian language is [Church] Slavonic, changed by time, use and the addition of some alien words!*¹¹

By the end of the 19th century, when historical linguistics had made its appearance in the sciences, Karamzin’s notion of Russian being ‘adapted’ Church Slavonic was being investigated more thoroughly and Russian linguists had formulated more extensive theories on the appearance of not only their mother tongue, but of the other East Slavic languages as well. Some of these theories are briefly discussed in Fedot Filin’s 1972 book ‘The origins of the Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian

⁸ Ludolf, H.W., *Grammatica Russica*, (Theatrum Sheldonianum, Oxford), 1696, pp. xiii-xv.

⁹ ‘A Slavonicum duas consonantes sequens mutatur in duo o’ – ‘The Slavonic A, following two consonants, is changed into two O’s’. Ludolf, H.W., *Grammatica Russica*, p. 4.

¹⁰ Ludolf, H.W., p. 4.

¹¹ Karamzin, N.M., ‘O Ruskoj Grammatikě Francuza Modrju’, *Věstnik Evropy*, 1803, 15.

languages'. Filin, however, pays more attention to what he calls the *Trexčlennaja koncepcija* ('Three-membered concept') as formulated by Aleksej Šaxmatov, who is praised by Filin for being the first linguist to create a general picture of the origins and development of the East Slavic languages.¹²

Filin extensively discusses Šaxmatov's 1894 article 'On the question of the origination of the Russian dialects' (*K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkix narečij*), in which Šaxmatov briefly discusses the origins of the various 'Russian dialects'. Strikingly, Šaxmatov seems to be convinced that all East-Slavic languages are Russian in one way or the other (a rather common view at that time), which is reflected in his terminology: Common East-Slavic is called *Obščerusskij* ('Common Russian'), the various Slavic tribes are described as 'Russian' tribes and the various East-Slavic languages are referred to as dialects.¹³

The theory, which Šaxmatov puts forward in his article, can be summarised as follows. During the 9th century, the Russian people had fallen apart into various tribes, which all were more or less similar to one another, but had different cultures. One thing most of them had in common was their language, which was more or less the same and could be divided into two groups: a northern and a southern dialect.¹⁴

This situation changed in the 9th and 10th centuries, when a strong state, based in Kiev, managed to unite all of the Russian tribes, resulting in assimilation of their cultures, religion and languages. Only two regions were not integrated into the Kiev state: the principality of Galicia-Volhynia (in the Carpathians) and the principality of Polotsk, in modern-day Belarus, which included the lands of Vitebsk and Minsk. As a result of this political divide, the Common Russian speech with its two dialects gradually ceased to exist over the course of the 11th and 12th centuries, resulting in three new languages: Eastern Russian, North-western Russian and South-western Russian, with each language corresponding to each state and Eastern Russian being spoken in a much larger area, as the Kiev state stretched from Novgorod to Kiev (see Figure 1).

¹² Filin, F.P., *Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukraïnskogo i belorusskogo jazykov*, (Nauka, Leningrad), 1972, p. 33.

¹³ Šaxmatov, A.A., 'K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkix narečij', *Russkij Filologičeskij Vestnik*, 1894 (34), №3, pp. 1-12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

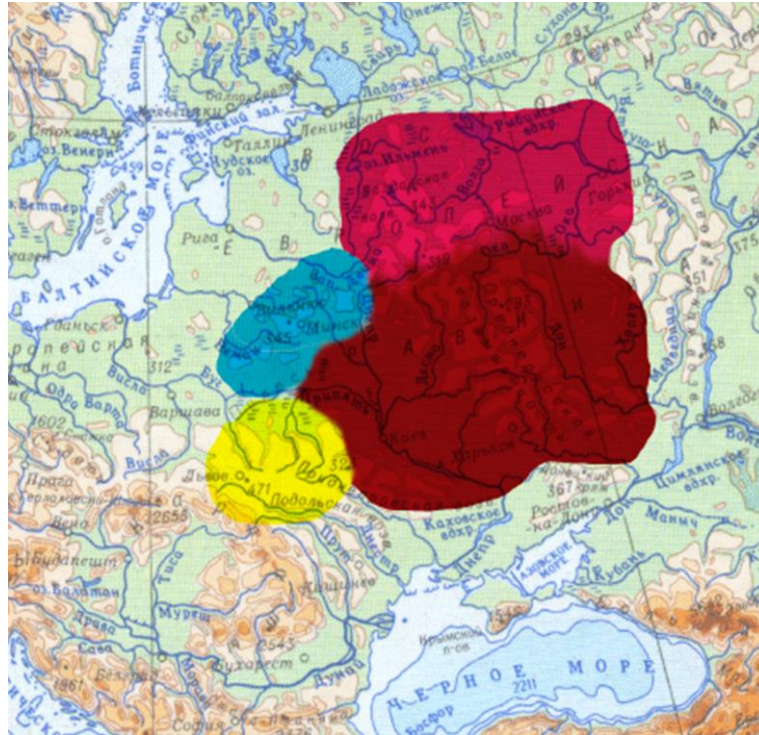


Figure 2: Language situation around the 10th century according to Šaxmatov. Reddish: northern and southern varieties of Eastern Russian; blue: North-western Russian; yellow: South-western Russian.

The Kievan state, however, starts to internally break up at the end of the 12th and beginning of 13th centuries: the balance of power shifts away from Kiev to Vladimir, resulting in internal migration of the South-eastern Russians to the north-east. The invasion of the Tatars speeds up this process, as their attacks cause more and more South-eastern Russians to leave their lands.¹⁵

As a result of the migration of at least a part of the South-eastern Russians, cities like Kiev and Pereyasavl are abandoned by Eastern Russians and consequently re-inhabited by South-western Russians, who are encouraged to do so by the Lithuanian princes as they conquer more and more land in that region. Therefore, the South-western Russians greatly expand their lands, which finally stretch from the Carpathians to the river Don.

The partial displacement of the South-eastern Russians had resounding effects as it not only upset various power balances in the region, but also had an effect on some of the languages. The South-eastern Russians who were not displaced sought to increase centralisation within the East-Russian state, leading to a shift of the capital from Vladimir to Moscow, while those who moved towards the north-east caused East-Russian to gradually become a mixture of North- and South-eastern Russian. A part of the South-eastern Russians were incorporated into Lithuanian lands over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries. As a result of this, they got into more intensive contact with the North-western Russians, who had been incorporated into these lands as well (the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

¹⁵ Šaxmatov, A.A., ‘K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkix narečij’, *Russkij Filologičeskij Vestnik*, 1894 (34), №3, pp. 3-5.

eventually reached as far as Smolensk and Kiev). The resulting *Litovskorusskij Sojuz* ('Lithuanian-Russian union')¹⁶ was made possible only after the incorporation of these Eastern Russians, as Šaxmatov states:

Представляется весьма вѣроятнымъ и даже почти необходимымъ предположить, что населеніе этихъ самыхъ областей и составляло тотъ русскій элементъ, который имѣлъ такое большое значеніе въ Литовскорусскомъ государствѣ, причѣмъ не Полоцкъ и не Витебскъ, а сосѣднія съ ними юговосточныя племена обрусили часть Литвы [...]¹⁷

It seems very likely and almost compulsory to suggest that the population of these lands [i.e. the Eastern Russian lands] composed the Russian element, which had such a big impact in the Lithuanian-Russian state; not Polotsk and Vitebsk, but their neighbouring south-eastern tribes Russified a part of Lithuania [...]

Proof for this statement is found by Šaxmatov in various aspects of the Belarusian language, which, according to his theory, was the result of the influx of South-eastern Russians into the Belarusian lands and therefore only developed into the current language by the 15th century.¹⁸

As shown above, Šaxmatov's theory basically boils down to the summary in table 1.

<i>Contemporary language</i>	<i>Origins</i>
Russian	Mixture of the Southern and Northern varieties of East-Russian; created after South-Eastern Russians migrated north
Ukrainian ¹⁹	South-western Russian
Belarusian	Youngest language (reached final form in 15 th century); result of heavy South-eastern Russian influence on North-western Russian

Table 1: The origins of the East-Slavic languages according to Šaxmatov.

¹⁶ Šaxmatov, A.A., 'K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkix narečij', *Russkij Filologičeskij Vestnik*, 1894 (34), №3, pp. 7.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁹ Called *Malorusskij* 'Little Russian' by Šaxmatov.

1.3. Fedot Filin's theory; 'The origins of the Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian languages'.

As briefly mentioned before, Soviet linguist Fedot Filin also occupied himself with the question on how the East Slavic languages came into existence and published a large work on the subject in 1972. Contrary to Šaxmatov, who emphasised primarily socio-political changes as the explanation for the emergence of three different languages, Filin stresses the importance of local dialects, based on small linguistic changes as the basis for developments that would lead to one language falling apart into multiple new languages. In this regard it should be noted that Filin adopts the notion that dialectal isoglosses can predate the emergence of new languages and are in that way a type of 'superimposed' phenomenon that is noticeable in any language, regardless of the language boundaries. This will be explained later on in this section.

In his theory Filin traces the origins of the East-Slavic languages back to the origins of the Slavic people as a whole, since the contemporary Slavic languages all show some similarities which can only be explained by the Slavs having been one united people with a common Slavic language at some point in history.²⁰ This *Obščeslavjanskij jazyk* ('Common Slavic language'), however, never was a 'monolithic' system which excluded internal divisions by dialects. Filin suggests quite the opposite: because of the fact that the Slavs were made up of various tribes, Common Slavic was but a collection of various, closely related, dialects and dialectal zones.²¹

It was because of migration that the Common Slavic language finally fell apart. The language system, which was already rather unstable, spread over a larger area as the Slavs migrated from their homelands (which Filin supposes to be between the Carpathians and the Dnjepr River), getting 'diluted' in the process as internal bonds between the Slavs gradually made way for language contact with other languages, such as the Germanic languages – including the language of the Goths (first centuries AD) – and finally even languages such as the Finno-Ugric languages (7th-8th centuries AD).²² Even before the creation of Kievan Rus', Slavs had settled all over contemporary European Russia, reaching areas like Čudskoe Ozero (on the border of contemporary Russia and Estonia), and the rivers Volxov, Oka and Volga. At about the same time, the Slavs had migrated in other directions as well, colonising the Balkans in the 6th century and reaching the river Elbe in the 8th-9th century. Despite their enormous spread over the majority of Eastern Europe, however, the Common Slavic language had not fallen apart yet. Its dialectal zones were still intact and merely 'stretched out' over the new Slavic lands. It should be noted, though, that these zones do not correspond to the contemporary language groups within the Slavic language family.²³

It was only gradually that Common Slavic started to fall apart. From the 7th century onwards, local linguistic innovations began taking place in various regions of the Common Slavic area. These innovations gradually caused the language to break up, resulting in the 8th-9th centuries in the

²⁰ Filin, F.P., *Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukraïnskogo i belorusskogo jazykov*, (Nauka, Leningrad), 1972, p. 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

emergence of Common East Slavic. The main reason for the breakup of Common Slavic, according to Filin, is the fact that because of their migrations, various Slavic tribes encountered different climates and cultures, which resulted in similar language shifts happening according to different rules. As an example, Filin mentions the development of the Common Slavic syllables and consonant clusters **tort*, **tj* and the denasalisation of the vowels *ę* and *ǫ*. The remnants of Common Slavic, such as a common basis for phonology, grammar and lexicon, which were still existent in the newer Slavic languages, resulted in certain general language changes happening in all of the Slavic languages even after the collapse of Common Slavic. Filin mentions, for example, the deletion of the ‘reduced vowels’ *ь* and *ѣ*, which happened between the 10th and 13th century.²⁴

Common East Slavic itself experienced various language changes even before the deletion of the reduced vowels. These language changes gradually spread over the area in which Common East Slavic was spoken, but sometimes yielded slightly different results. Filin names a few of these changes, amongst which are the following:

- Over the course of the 11th and 12th centuries a new system of intonation (‘expiratory stress’) emerged in the south-western language area. This new system gradually spread in a north-eastern direction, eventually covering all of the Common East Slavic speaking lands. Until the 13th century the old intonation system was in use in the north-east, where the gradual change led to an opposition between the sounds *o* (open) and *ô* (closed). An intermediate system emerged around Polotsk and Smolensk, where the new system was introduced but this opposition did not occur.
- In the 11th century, again, starting in the south and spreading northwards from there, the sounds *ы* (*y*) and *i* started to merge.
- As attested by written sources, during the 11th and 12th centuries the use of *-ovi* and *-evi* in the masculine dative singular differed between north and south. In the north (Novgorod) the form was rarely used, while around Kiev it was more commonplace. The form disappeared first in the north and its disappearance then spread towards the south, so that the form eventually completely fell into disuse.²⁵

After the emergence of the Kievan Rus’ state and the subsequent formation of various Russian principalities, the amount of dialects of Common East Slavic grew quickly. When the state started to fall apart and in the 13th century the Tatar invasion took place, a chaotic time started in the Common East Slavic language area. New internal power structures emerged while at the same time new colonisation towards the north-east and the subsequent assimilation of non-Slavic people took place. The Tatar invasion created more chaos and allowed the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to annex

²⁴ Filin, F.P., *Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo jazykov*, (Nauka, Leningrad), 1972, pp. 28-29.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 633-634.

vast areas of the East Slavic lands, effectively creating a division within these lands for several centuries. Under these circumstances, the development of dialectisms intensified.²⁶

The isoglosses of these new dialectisms were not defined by the former borders of either the old Slavic tribes or the principalities, but were formed according to isoglosses which even predated Common East Slavic. Therefore, the East-Slavic languages did not form according to those tribes and principalities, but because of the fact that around this time the East Slavic peoples started to unify in certain *territorial'no-ètničeskie massivy* ('ethno-territorial bodies'). How these bodies were formed, is, according to Filin, still unknown, but it is certain that within these bodies new innovations emerged, which would lead to the breakup of Common East Slavic and the slow emergence of the contemporary East-Slavic languages. Proof for the fact that it was about this time that Common East Slavic started to break up is found by Filin in the fact that when the reduced vowels were deleted from East Slavic in the 12-13th centuries, this happened at different times in different areas of East Slavic and also yielded different results.²⁷

From this moment on, the three East-Slavic languages started developing separately. Already over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries, major lexical differences can be observed between written accounts from the north-eastern, western and southern parts of the East Slavic language area and various properties of modern day Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian start to develop. Filin does note, however, that the border between Russian and Ukrainian is better defined than the border between Russian and Belarusian. He explains the latter by stating that between the 14th and 17th centuries, a certain dialect continuum existed between these two languages, which resulted in Belarusian becoming, more or less, an intermediate between Russian and Ukrainian.²⁸

After emerging around the 13-14th centuries, the three East-Slavic languages have been in continuous development up to this day. However, in spite of all later innovations, Filin states that ancient isoglosses continue to be in effect. Filin mentions, for example, the isoglosses regarding the phenomena of *akan'e* (i.e. the reduction of unstressed *o*) and the different pronunciations of the *v* (i.e. either as /v/ or /ũ/). These isoglosses are superimposed upon the modern day languages and transcend both language and state borders.²⁹

²⁶ Filin, F.P., *Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukraïnskogo i belorusskogo jazykov*, (Nauka, Leningrad), 1972, pp. 632-633.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 635.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 635-636.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 636.

1.4. From one to two to three, and possibly four: Stefan Pugh's theory

An interesting and more contemporary theory regarding the origins of the East-Slavic languages is put forward by American scholar Stefan Pugh in his 2007 book 'A New Historical Grammar of the East Slavic Languages'. Basing his work upon his earlier research, as well as work done by other linguists, including Filin, he proposes a new theory that discusses the emergence of the East-Slavic languages on a more global perspective (contrary to Filin, who, according to Pugh, did to some extent look into the history of East-Slavic, but in doing so was 'traditional in its approach – sometimes to the extreme'³⁰). According to Pugh, in order to explain major trends in the development of languages, one has to take into account the historical changes which happened in the area in which the languages were spoken. Small, local changes, however, often cannot be accounted for through historical events or political change and likewise, not all historical events had an impact on language. As an example, Pugh states that the unification of the various East-Slavic tribes under Varangian rule in the 860's did not impact the Slavic language, because no 'Norse-Slavic bilingualism' occurred and the number of loan words from Norse remains very little. At that time, Common East Slavic was a 'loose continuum of dialects with a minimum of variation', that gradually fell apart not because of internal changes, but because of external forces.³¹

Pugh recognises three major external forces that affected Common East Slavic and the languages that emerged because of its breakup, namely:

1. *The Christianisation of Rus' (988)*; the acceptance of Christianity strengthened the ties between the East- and South-Slavic languages and led to the introduction of Church Slavonic (a South-Slavic language) for liturgical purposes. This, however, had little to no impact on Common East Slavic for the next two centuries because of the high rate of illiteracy.
2. *The sack of Kiev during the Tatar invasions (1240)*; the sack of Kiev, the main seat of the orthodox faith for the East-Slavs, caused not only political fragmentation of the East-Slavic lands, but also halted the spread of Church Slavonic in part of these lands. The main seat of the church moved to the north (Vladimir, Suzdal) and took Church Slavonic with it. As a result of this, Church Slavonic and Church Slavonicisms continued their influence on the East-Slavic speech in the north.

In the south, however, Church Slavonic underwent a loss of status, which called a halt to the influence of this language on the local Slavic speech. The East-Slavic of the south therefore got rid of any external influences, more so because no 'Slavic-Tatar bilingualism' has been observed.

3. *The Polish(-Lithuanian) annexation of southern and south-western (= Ruthenian) lands*; as the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth expanded its territory eastwards, it conquered a large

³⁰ Pugh, S., *A New Historical Grammar of the East Slavic Languages - Volume 1: Introduction and Phonology*, (Lincom GmbH, München), 2007, p. 6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

portion of the East-Slavic lands. The conquered lands are called Ruthenia by Pugh, as in these lands the ‘Ruthenian language’ emerged – but this will be discussed later. The unification of the Ruthenian lands under the Polish-Lithuanian banner and their separation from Russia had two major implications:

- a. Bilingualism (Polish-Ruthenian) appeared, causing the Polish language to have major impact on the Ruthenian language.
- b. Polish influences in Russian were reduced to a minimum.³²

These historical events, and mainly the introduction of an uneven use of Church Slavonic in East-Slavic, gradually caused the regional differences to become so evident, that from the 13th century onwards we can safely assume that Common East Slavic no longer existed. The significant change of Common East Slavic can be witnessed in, amongst others, the *Russkaja Pravda*, written in 1282, in which, according to Pugh ‘greater numbers of features of the modern systems are present in one and the same text’, and in that regard especially those features that show the emergence of early Russian.³³ As Pugh suggests, the breakup of Common East Slavic witnessed the emergence of Old Russian and Old Ruthenian.

As for Russian, its development is rather complex, because for centuries the written language of the Russian language area was dominated by Church Slavonic. This meant that local varieties of the Russian speech could not develop in written form and were almost exclusively limited to oral tradition. However, a certain reciprocity between Russian and Church Slavonic can be observed and by the 15th century, Church Slavonic was no longer ‘pure’, as it had become riddled with features from the local vernacular. Besides that, Church Slavonicisms were slowly getting introduced into common Russian as well, as Russians, attempting to give their writings a ‘higher’ style, started to incorporate these Slavonicisms into their own vocabulary – though often incorrectly.³⁴

Attempts to ‘renew’ and ‘purify’ Church Slavonic resulted in this language becoming incomprehensible to the ‘common’ people all over the East-Slavic area. It is because of this incomprehension that the first grammars of Church Slavonic appeared. Most of these grammars, including the famous grammar by Smotryc’kyj, were written in Ruthenia, though, where Church Slavonic was used as a tool to resist the pressure from the Latin language, which was widespread in (catholic) Poland. Smotryc’kyj’s grammar also made its way to Russia, being reprinted in Moscow in 1648 and consequently offering the basis for Lomonosov’s 1755 *Rossijskaja Grammatika* (‘Russian Grammar’), which, according to Pugh, signals the emergence of modern Russian.³⁵

³² Pugh, S., *A New Historical Grammar of the East Slavic Languages - Volume 1: Introduction and Phonology*, (Lincom GmbH, München), 2007, pp. 9-10.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

The other language that emerged after the breakup of Common East Slavic, was (Old-)Ruthenian. With this term Pugh denotes the series of closely related dialects that emerged after the Tatar invasions in the 13th century. Old-Ruthenian was not a uniform language and did not have an official written variety, but can be considered a language unity, because its dialects were so very similar.³⁶ Historical developments throughout the 15th-17th centuries (Pugh does not state precisely which developments) led to the creation of a written variety of the Ruthenian language, which was uniform throughout the region ‘for all intents and purposes’, though on a local level, small phonological differences could be observed. Because of the fact that the Ruthenian lands were annexed by Poland, a bilingual system was in place, which resulted in heavy Polish influences that are still noticeable through the abundance of Polish loan words to this day.³⁷

Though uniform, one can distinguish Belarusian and Ukrainian features in Ruthenian texts from this period, which means that certain authors can be called Belarusian (such as F. Skaryna – early 16th century) or Ukrainian (such as Smotryc’kyj – late 16th/early 17th century). However, if one compares their texts, one finds that – even though their texts are apart from each other not only in space but also in time – a lot of common features in morphology, phonology, lexicon etc. can be observed. It is because of the high amount of common features that one can safely assume that Belarusian and Ukrainian were still subsystems of Ruthenian at this time.³⁸

However, Belarusian and Ukrainian started to slowly develop on their own, which resulted in a breakup of Ruthenian over the course of the 17th-18th centuries. It is from then on that one can speak of ‘modern’ Belarusian and Ukrainian (the first text, printed in ‘modern Ukrainian’ therefore stems from the end of the 18th century).³⁹

Last, but not least, Pugh includes the Rusyn language in his theory. He mentions that this language is still the topic of intensive research and little is known about its past up to this day. The only thing that Pugh is sure about, is that Rusyn has clear ties to the Ruthenian language of the 16th and 17th centuries, but also shares a lot of features with modern day (i.e. 20th century) Ukrainian.⁴⁰

³⁶ Pugh, S., *A New Historical Grammar of the East Slavic Languages - Volume 1: Introduction and Phonology*, (Lincom GmbH, München), 2007, p. 12.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

1.5. Considering Belarusian and Ukrainian: Wexler and Ševel'ov

To round off this section some of the works done by scholars Paul Wexler and George (Yuri) Ševel'ov, who have focused their research on the Belarusian and Ukrainian languages respectively, will be discussed.

Both Wexler and Ševel'ov divert from the theories on the origins of the East Slavic languages mentioned above by stating that the East Slavic languages derived directly from Common Slavic, that is, without passing through a 'Common East Slavic' phase. In one of his articles⁴¹, Wexler writes that this implies that all three East Slavic languages emerged in the 6th-7th centuries and achieved their present form more or less around the 15th century. A second implication of this theory is that it diminishes the role that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania played in the emergence of both Belarusian and Ukrainian: while the theories of Šaxmatov, Filin and Pugh cite the annexation of these areas of Rus' into the grand duchy as a cause for the isolation and subsequent alienation of the languages in these region from Russian, the theory to which Wexler holds on states that Belarusian and Ukrainian had already acquired many of their distinctive features long before their separation from the lands of Rus'.⁴²

The theory to which Wexler refers shows great overlap with Ševel'ov's own theory on the emergence of the (East) Slavic languages, which he describes in great detail in his comprehensive work 'A Prehistory of Slavic'. In this work, he not only proposes an emergence of the East Slavic languages directly from Common Slavic without an 'intermediary' phase, but takes his interpretation of the origins of all Slavic languages one step further by stating that

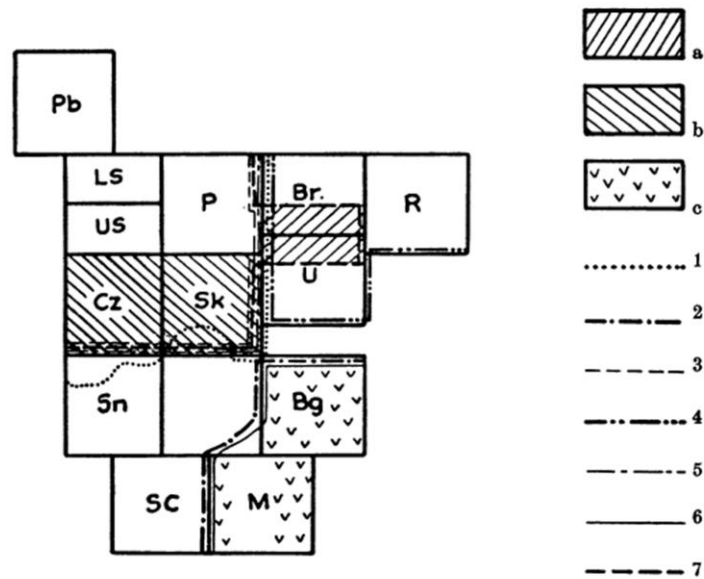
*[...] the facts of the phonological development of Sl[avic] before approximately the tenth century do not justify the traditional tripartition of the Sl[avic] languages into E[ast], W[est] and S[outh] groups.*⁴³

According to him, all Slavic languages derive more or less directly from Common Slavic, which had fallen apart according to dialectical innovations. Already as early as the 6th and 7th centuries, one can observe Common Slavic to start falling apart into several languages, which would eventually evolve into their contemporary counterparts, as Ševel'ov shows in the following diagram:

⁴¹ Wexler, P., 'Diglossia et schizoglossia perpetua – the fate of the Belorussian language', *Sociolinguistica*, 1992, 6, pp. 42-51.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

⁴³ Ševel'ov, G.Y., *A Prehistory of Slavic – The historical Phonology of Common Slavic*, (Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg), 1964, p. 611.



Legend:

- a. Area of *sk* > *sk'* before \acute{e}_2 .
- b. Area of *vajce* 'egg'.
- c. Area of *tj, dj* > *št, žd*.
- 1. Southeastern boundary of unchanged *tl, dl*.
- 2. Northwestern boundary of vacillation *libo* ~ *ljubo*.
- 3. Southeastern boundary of *sk* > *šć* before \acute{e}_2 .
- 4. Southwestern boundary of *semъ* 'seventh'.
- 5. Southeastern boundary of *x* > *š* in the second (and third) palatalization.
- 6. Northwestern boundary of *sk* > *st* before \acute{e}_2 .
- 7. Northwestern boundary of *kv, gv* > *cv, čv* before \acute{e}_2 .

Figure 3: 'Earliest dialectal divisions of CS'

One of the major arguments for his theory that the traditional classification of the Slavic languages into South, West and East is incorrect Ševel'ov finds in the Czech and Slovak languages, which sometimes took sound laws from the languages that border them to the north and sometimes from Slavic languages from the south, creating an intricate web of isoglosses that, in Ševel'ov's opinion, proves that these languages cannot be so easily classified as 'West-Slavic'.⁴⁴

If any classification is needed, Ševel'ov states, it would be more accurate to divide the Slavic languages into 1) the languages of the 'Adro-Baltic area', which represent newer Slavic settlements and their intense language contact with other language groups, resulting in a group of unstable and dynamic languages, and 2) the stable Eastern languages, representing the languages of the Slavs who did very little to no migration, thereby coming into contact only with less advanced civilisations living in thinly populated areas and resulting in stable languages with very little isoglosses. In this scheme, two peripheral areas should be added. These areas mark languages which had their own innovations and which had isolated themselves from other languages and would include the West Baltic and Macedonia/Bulgaria.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ševel'ov, G.Y., *A Prehistory of Slavic – The historical Phonology of Common Slavic*, (Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg), 1964, p. 611.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

If we take Ševel'ov's theory into account, we can fairly accurately place Belarusian on the edge of the 'stable Eastern' languages and the 'Adro-Baltic' languages. However, Belarus' strategic location in between Poland and Russia has caused, as Paul Wexler suggests, the Belarusian language to be in a constant state of diglossia. As a result of that the language is prone to a large amount of innovations, some of which later on managed to pass into the other East Slavic languages as well.⁴⁶ As a result, Standard Belarusian and its dialects share a great deal of isoglosses, be it lexical, morphological or phonological, with dialects of Russian and Ukrainian.⁴⁷

The languages with which Belarusian had to coexist over the course of history changed over time as borders and demographics changed, but one can safely assume that Polish and Russian have had the greatest impact on Belarusian because of the large numbers of speakers of both languages and the extensive time periods during which they either coexisted with Belarusian or bordered it. An interesting result of their influence is that Belarusian dialects sometimes retain both West- and East-Slavic doublets, e.g. BY: *toŭsty* 'fat' – from the CSI **tǔlstǔ* – and *tlusty* 'fat (of food)' from P: *tlusty*.⁴⁸ Other languages with which Belarusian coexisted at some point in history were not necessarily Slavic, as Wexler shows in one of his articles: Belarusian came into contact with languages such as Yiddish, Church Slavonic, Lithuanian and Romany, to name a few.⁴⁹

As a result of the Belarusian language coexisting with a great multitude of other languages, resources on the development of the Belarusian language are abundant. Wexler, for example, uses Yiddish texts (written in Hebrew script) to investigate historical sound laws in Belarusian, which are reflected in proper names. These proper names, of course, had to be transliterated into Hebrew script – quite often phonetically – and therefore offer insight into how certain words were actually pronounced. An example of a discovery by Wexler through this approach is the emergence of the change of [y] > [u] after labials – regardless of stress – in south-western Belarusian dialects (for example *mula* 'soap'; BY: *myla*). Through Hebrew accounts, Wexler discovered mention of a town called *bwkhʔv*; BY: *Byxaŭ*, which therefore well represents the sound change [y] > [u] (the Hebrew 'w' should be read as [u]). The Hebrew source was written in the 16th century, which enabled Wexler to trace the sound change to that time period.⁵⁰

Likewise, Wexler concluded that the emergence of prothetic consonants before stressed [o] in Belarusian (BY: *vózera*; R: *ózero*) dates back to the 15th century⁵¹ and it might have put him in the position where he could propose rather bold statements such as that the feature of *akan'e* was a

⁴⁶ Wexler, P., 'Diglossia et schizoglossia perpetua – the fate of the Belorussian language', *Sociolinguistica*, 1992, 6, pp. 42-51.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴⁸ Wexler, P., 'Explorations in Byelorussian Historical Bilingual Dialectology and Onomastics', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1974, LII, 129, p. 483.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 496.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 497.

Belarusian innovation, which later spread into Central Russian dialects and consequently Standard Russian.⁵²

As for the development of modern day Ukrainian, Ševel'ov has conducted a lot of research into this field. As can be deduced from a 1958 reader on the East Slavic languages which he co-edited, Ševel'ov divides the East Slavic languages into 'Old', 'Middle' and presumably, 'New'. Interestingly enough, the only 'Old' language is 'Old Rus' language', the texts of which are merely divided by region rather than language. This more or less points towards an assumption that Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian were preceded by a common East Slavic language, which contradicts Ševel'ov's own statement on the non-existence of such a language in his 1964 work.⁵³

This contradiction aside, Ševel'ov places the divide between Old Rus' language and Middle Ukrainian around the 14th century.⁵⁴ Probably one of the major arguments for Ševel'ov's choice to have the 14th century mark the beginning of a true Ukrainian speech can be found in the development of one of the distinctive features of Ukrainian: the spirantisation of [g] into [h]. Ševel'ov himself has done extensive research into this sound change, which went through an intermediary phase [g] > [ɣ] > [h] and reflects an isogloss that spans a large part of Europe, from Bavaria to the Oka river.⁵⁵

In the same article, Ševel'ov sets out to try and pinpoint the time period during which the sound law was in effect. He takes into account a great multitude of factors, such as the fact that Christian names also show the reflex [g] > [h], thereby placing the sound law after the Christianisation of Ukraine (otherwise, the Church Slavonic alternative for the Greek γ, namely [g], would be used).⁵⁶

Another method that is employed by Ševel'ov in order to pinpoint the appearance of [h] in Ukrainian is comparable to Wexler's methods: in parts of Ukraine that were annexed by Poland early on (namely Galicia and Transcarpathia), the Roman script was used. While Cyrillic script has no separate letter for [h], the Roman script has and indeed, as Ševel'ov observes, in texts from these regions the letter *h* was employed in places where Cyrillic uses *z*.⁵⁷

Through these and many other observations, Ševel'ov places the sound change [g] > [h] in Ukraine roughly around the twelfth century, but certainly no later than the beginning of the thirteenth century⁵⁸, which makes his placement of the lower limit of 'Middle Ukrainian' in his reader at the fourteenth

⁵² Wexler, P., 'Diglossia et schizoglossia perpetua – the fate of the Belorussian language', p. 45. Wexler states this in his article, but does not offer any in-depth explanation. However, it seems fair to imagine one might observe the spread of *akan'e* in sources that display a phonological transliteration of Belarusian, such as the ones Wexler studied in Wexler, 1974.

⁵³ Ševel'ov, G.Y., Holling, F. (ed.), *A Reader in the History of the Eastern Slavic Languages*, (Columbia University Press, New York), 1958, p. v-viii.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁵⁵ Ševel'ov, G.Y., 'On the Chronology of h and the New g in Ukrainian', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 1977, 1, (2), p. 137. Personally I think this isogloss extends even beyond the Slavic language area, as similar isoglosses can be observed in German and The Netherlands as well (compare the 'hard' and 'soft' g pronunciation in e.g. D: *goed* 'good').

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144-146.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

century fairly understandable: presumably at that point most distinctive features of Ukrainian had been introduced to the language.

To round things off, Ševel'ov has also written into great detail about the emergence of the modern Ukrainian literary language. According to Ševel'ov, modern Ukrainian was kick-started by the publication of Kotljarev'skyj's 1798 work *Enejida* (U: Енеїда).⁵⁹ The publication of this work led to the efforts of creating a standard Ukrainian literary speech. In creating this language, one can observe a competition between various Ukrainian speaking regions, mainly between Galicia and the region around Černihiv and Poltava. Sometimes one would have great influence on the other and sometimes the situation would be the other way around.⁶⁰

When the standardisation efforts started at the end of the 18th century though, Galicia was not a part of the Russian Empire and therefore cut off from Černihiv, the main centre where this effort was taking place. Therefore, the literary language of the 17th-18th century Cossack hetmanate was dominated by the dialects of the Černihiv region. As the hetmanate disappeared, Poltava and Xarkiv emerged as new cultural centres. As a result, the influence of the local dialects of these regions on the literary language grew significantly, while the role of the Černihiv region dwindled (but did not disappear completely).⁶¹

As mentioned before, the influence of Galicia on Ukrainian literary language was almost non-existent and in fact, Galician speech was being influenced by the Eastern-Ukrainian dominated language.⁶² The situation changed in favour of Galicia, though, in 1876 when by decree of the tsar the printing of Ukrainian books in the Russian Empire was prohibited. As a result, the cultural centre and standardisation effort were moved abroad to Galicia, as in the Austro-Hungarian Empire such limitations on the printing of Ukrainian language books were not in place. L'viv started to blossom as centre of the Ukrainian culture and did so until 1905-06, when the printing restrictions in Russia were lifted.⁶³

⁵⁹ Ševel'ov, G.Y., *Die Ukrainische Schriftsprache 1798-1965*, (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden), 1966, p. 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

	<i>Šaxmatov, 1894</i>	<i>Filin, 1972</i>	<i>Pugh, 2007</i>
VIIIth century		Emergence of Common East Slavic	
IXth century	Kievan Rus' unites all East Slavic lands		
Xth century			
XIth century	Common Russian speech falls apart into South-western (Ukrainian), North-Western and Eastern Russian	Various language changes within Common East Slavic	
XIIth century		Formation of 'ethno-territorial bodies'; deletion of reduced vowels; breakup of Common East Slavic	
XIIIth century	Shift of power and Tatar invasion cause South-eastern Russian migration; assimilation South- and north-eastern Russian (resulting in Russian)	Emergence of Russian , Ukrainian and Belarusian as separate languages; start of their separate developments	Common East Slavic falls apart; Old Russian and Old Ruthenian emerge
XIVth century		South-eastern Russian lands incorporated into Lithuania	
XVth century	North-western Russian, influenced by South-eastern Russian becomes Belarusian	Dialect continuum between Belarusian and Russian starts to emerge	Ruthenian emerges, subsystems: <i>Belarusian Ruthenian & Ukrainian Ruthenian</i>
XVIth century			Rusyn emerges?
XVIIth century			Modern
XVIIIth century		Emergence of modern Russian	Belarusian , Ukrainian emerge

Table 2: The three theories in chronological comparison, based on Šaxmatov, 1894; Filin, 1972; Pugh, 2007. Bold letters indicate new languages. In Pugh, 2007, I denoted Old-Russian and Russian as two, more or less separate languages, as Old-Russian – according to Pugh – was pretty devoid of Slavonicisms, which are fairly commonplace in modern Russian.

Chapter 2: Research introduction

2.1. Common grounds in the theories and what it means for the current investigation

Now that five theories that aim to shine a light on the emergence and historical development of the East-Slavic languages have been discussed, we can safely assume that the origins of these languages are still unclear and that the theories are still relying on assumptions – some of which more dubious than the other (such as Wexler’s assumption that Belarusian introduced *akan’e* to Slavic) – and are still open for debate.

However, the different theories do have some common ground amongst at least some of them, as different as the theories themselves may be. Among these common grounds is the assumed time period in which Common East Slavic broke up: if we ignore Ševel’ov’s (and in his tracks, Wexler’s) rather bold assumption that this language never existed, all theories seem to be in agreement and put the break-up of Common East Slavic around the twelfth/thirteenth century. It should be noted that at after this time mark the theories are disagreement again: while Šaxmatov and Filin claim the end of Common East Slavic witnessed the birth of three new languages that later evolved into Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian, Pugh claims just two languages emerged: Ruthenian and Russian.

Another major factor in the theories is the influence of changing geopolitical circumstances and mainly the incorporation – and resulting isolation – of modern-day Belarus and Western Ukraine into the Polish dominated Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The theories agree on the fact that the placement of a state border between these lands and Russia caused a very effective split in the East-Slavic languages: the theories note that the state border halted Russian influence on the speeches of Belarus and Ukraine and isolated them, but not all theories agree that the border also exposed the speeches from these lands to influences from Polish. These influences from Polish were absorbed by Ruthenian in Pugh’s theory and the isolation of this language from Russian allowed it to develop on its own and evolve into two distinct languages. Šaxmatov’s theory also stresses the importance of the Polish expansion, but for different reasons: he gives the Poles credit for allowing the ‘South-eastern Russians’ to come into contact with ‘North-western Russians’, which resulted in the Belarusian language. At the same time, he ignores the idea that Polish might have influenced the local speeches in the lands annexed by them. Pretty much the only theory that downplays the role of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the development of the East-Slavic languages is the theory that is put forward by Filin. He states that the Polish expansion into East-Slavic lands did result in various new ‘dialectisms’, but explains many of the differences between the languages of these lands by emphasizing the role of ancient isoglosses, which, according to him, are ‘superimposed’ upon the various languages.

Another common ground amongst the different theories can be found in the methods employed by their authors in order to supply their theory with factual evidence. All theories described in chapter one focus mostly on phonetic changes – sound laws – in the East-Slavic languages. Based on these sound

laws, they attempt to justify, for example, their theory of the impact of the Polish annexation on Belarusian and Ukrainian.

A final common ground can be found in the written accounts that are used as sources of evidence for various sound changes taking place. All theories are based on written material found in secular texts, such as treaties and law books. Most probably, religious texts are not used for the study of early Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian since these texts were often written in Church Slavonic and only translated into the vernacular languages later on. Therefore, these texts are of little use to the researcher who wishes to uncover developments in the early East-Slavic languages.

2.2. Introduction to the current investigation: an overview of the texts and scoring criteria

To summarise the findings from chapter 2.1, we can state that all theories agree on the fact that the oldest forms of the contemporary East-Slavic languages emerged no later than the 13th century, that the 13th century itself marks the definite end of Common East Slavic, and that the Polish annexation of East-Slavic lands did play some role in the development of Belarusian and Ukrainian – although the theories disagree on the precise nature of the Polish language in this process. All theories are mostly based on developments in the phonetics of the East-Slavic languages and researchers found proof for these changes in secular texts, discarding religious texts in the process.

Based on these observations, it is possible to determine the exact plans for my own investigation. Firstly, it seems evident from the previously mentioned theories that investigate secular texts that were written after the 13th century should be investigated. However, one text from the 13th century, the ‘fragmenting period’, will be included as a point of reference. Also, since this will be a comparative study, one text from each region (Russia, Belarus and Ukraine) should be analysed for each century that is investigated. The resulting overview of texts is therefore as follows in table 3.

Please note that during the research itself, multiple texts were added in order to create a more complete overview into the development of the languages at certain stages. These additional texts were added because some forms, that suited the research criteria (see 2.2.1. and further), had not been found in the original text that was under discussion. These additional texts were of course also added to table 3 as the second mentioned text for each location in a given time period.

	Russia	Ukraine	Belarus
XIIIth century (‘fragmenting period’)	Excerpt from the ‘Smolensk Trade Treaty’ (1229)		
XIVth century	Testament of Prince Dmitrij Ivanovič of Moscow (<1378) _s	- Deed of Peter Radceovskyj (1359) _s - Deed of Februn, governor of Przemyśl (1391)	Document of ceasefire with Polish king, 1352.
XVIth century	Excerpt from ‘Ambassadorial book on the relations of Russia and the Nogai Horde’ (1551).	From ‘Letter of Mahmet Shihzoda, Sultan of Kafa, to Grand Prince Ivan Vasil’evič’ (1502) _s .	- Excerpt from ‘Story of the Renowned Knight Tristan’ (<i>Povest’ o slavnom rycery Tryščane</i>). - From ‘Al-Kitab’ _s .
XVIIIth century	Excerpt from ‘Documents on the construction of the churches of Carevokokšajsk’ (1734)	- Excerpt from the letters of Hetman Ivan Mazepa to M. Kočubej (ca. 1708) _s .	
XIXth century			Excerpt from Vikencij Ravinski’s <i>Ėneida Navyvarat</i> (1820’ _s)

Table 3: An overview of the texts which are to be investigated. The addition of a subscript capital letter *S* to the names of certain texts indicates that these texts were found in Ševel’ov, G.Y., Holling, F. (ed.), *A Reader in the History of the Eastern Slavic Languages*, (Columbia University Press, New York), 1958. Due to a lack of on-line accessible material on the Belarusian language from the 18th century (most probably caused by the 1697 ban on the use of Belarusian in official documents), an early 19th century text will be analysed instead. The ‘Deed of Februn’ was found in Peščak, 1974 (document nr. 53).

As one cannot consider it very productive to try and repeat previous research as reflected in the theories in chapter 1, various different changes in the East-Slavic languages will be investigated. Instead of phonetic changes, the primary focus will be placed on *morphological changes*. By doing so, a different look – one that was discarded by the authors of the previously mentioned theories – will be taken on the development of the East-Slavic languages. In investigating these morphological changes the primary focus will lie on the disputed influence of Polish on the Belarusian and Ukrainian languages by investigating the development of the verb in these languages in comparison to developments in the morphology of the Polish verb. If analogies in the morphological development (conjugation, inflection etc.) between the Polish verb and Belarusian and Ukrainian verbs can be found, this would make the notion that Polish played a major role in the development of Belarusian and Ukrainian more plausible. If no analogies are to be found, of course, this would make that notion less plausible and give more credibility to the theories of Filin and Šaxmatov, who also downplay the influence of the Polish language.

2.2.1. Research on the past tense: past tense ending

A great deal of attention will be paid here to the formation of the past tense of the verb. If we take a look at how the past tense is formed in the contemporary East-Slavic languages and Polish, we find situation 2 as described in table 4 for past tense verbs with a masculine gender subject.

	Polish	Belarusian	Ukrainian	Russian
Situation 1	-/ũ/	-/l/	-/l/	-/l/
Situation 2	-/ũ/	-/ũ/	-/v/	-/l/

Table 4: the past tense for masculine subjects in ESL-languages and Polish.

As can be seen in table 4, situation 2 shows that for masculine gender subjects, Belarusian and Ukrainian tend to form their past tenses in pretty much the same way as Polish does, namely through either -/ũ/ or -/v/. Then supposedly, past tense masculine underwent change under influence from Polish, which would support Pugh's theory that Polish had great influence on Belarusian and Ukrainian, changing the masculine past tense for these languages from a hypothetical situation 1 in table 4 to situation 2. A fact that further supports this theory is that the change to -/ũ ~ v/ did not go 'all the way'. While in Polish -/ũ/ is found in all genders (except for person-masculine person plural), BY -/ũ/ and U -/v/ are only found in the masculine past tense, which might indicate that the introduction of non-/l/ in past tenses is of alien (i.e. Polish) origin.

However, the opposite assumption might be true as well: the hypothetical 'situation 1' might be erroneous just as well, for one can argue along the same lines as indicated above, stating that perhaps the masculine verb ending in -/l/ in Belarusian and Ukrainian were introduced to the language by Russian (so that masculine past tense -/l/ is a Russian innovation). Like the suggestion above, the appearance of -/ũ/ and -/v/ in masculine past tense only can indicate that it was the introduction of -/l/ that did not go 'all the way'. If one assumes the latter to be true, one would chronologically place situation 2 before situation 1, as this would point towards the ultimate result of the spread of R -/l/ across the East-Slavic languages.

In any case, the fact that both the hypothetical process of the spreading of -/ũ ~ v/ from Polish towards the East and the process of the spreading of R -/l/ towards the West was halted halfway through, resulting in an intermediate past tense system in Belarusian and Ukrainian, can be explained by the emergence of standard literary language, which might have emerged at a point in which both languages were still transitioning from one situation to the other.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ I would like to remark that alternation between /l/, /v/ and /ũ/ as in masculine past tense or R: *volk*, U: *vovk* and BY: *voŭk* 'wolf' is not a pure Slavic phenomenon, as Germanic languages display the same alternation. Compare D: *goud* and E: *gold*.

2.2.2. Research on the past tense: auxiliary verbs

Pugh's theory that Polish influenced Belarusian and Ukrainian might be supported by the fact that perhaps the Belarusian and Ukrainian masculine past tense endings are similar to Polish, but this does not account for the fact that the Polish past verb is more complicated. In Polish, past tense verbs include a remnant of the old auxiliary verb 'to be' in all forms, except for the 3rd person. This, however, is not reflected in contemporary Belarusian and Ukrainian, which, just like Russian, merely employ a past tense verb ending in the earlier discussed *-l ~ v ~ ŭ/*. Therefore R: *ja čital*; BY: *ja čytaŭ*; U: *ja čytav* but P: *ja czytałem* ('I was reading') in which *-em* is a rudimentary form of the 1sg of *być* ('to be').

The loss of the auxiliary verb is a process that can be observed in most Slavic languages, but only Russian has completely discarded the verb, as Issatchenko observes. He notes that in Slavic languages, such as Polish, Czech and Russian the CES tenses of aorist and imperfect disappeared since a third tense, the perfect tense, could easily take their place. This tense was formed by means of a past participle ending in *-b* and an inflected present form of 'to be'. Over time, however, the auxiliary verb was mostly retained in some form or the other and only lost in some cases. An example of this can be found in Polish: it was only in the fourteenth century that Polish lost the auxiliary verb in 3rd person – after which it became an emphasis marker – and only later on did this process repeat itself for all persons, so that only in the sixteenth century such usage disappeared and the auxiliary verb was reduced to an inflectional ending for past tense verbs (as displayed above).⁶⁵ However, unlike the other Slavic languages, Russian completely removed the auxiliary verb, causing the past participle to function in much the same way as an adjective (compare R: *ja znal/znala* 'I knew [m/f]' and R: *ja umen/umna* 'I am wise [m/f]').^{66 67}

The elimination of this auxiliary verb in Russian was a process that was already well underway in the 13th century, i.e. at the time Common East Slavic was breaking up. Issatchenko discusses an intermediate stage that helped the removal of the auxiliary verb in this period (see table 5). According to him, in order to denote the person in a past tense before the 13th century, one was to use a corresponding form of 'to be', as can be seen in the table. During the transitional period, it seems, Russians got more used to explicitly naming the subject of the phrase, which then eliminated the necessity of the use of the auxiliary verb altogether.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Dickey, S.M., 'See, Now They Vanish: Third-Person Perfect Auxiliaries in Old and Middle Czech', *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 2013, 21, 1, pp. 78-79.

⁶⁶ Issatchenko, A., 'Tense and Auxiliary Verbs with Special Reference to Slavic Languages', *Language*, Jul.-Sep. 1940, 16, 3, pp. 192.

⁶⁷ It should be noted, though, that some remnants of the auxiliary verb are still present in Russian as impersonal particles. These include *by* (conditional particle), *bude* ('in case') and *bylo* (denotes an interrupted action that was rendered ineffective by another action). The particles have lost their connection to 'to be' and are not inflected, as the following example from Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* shows: Василий Иванович [...], соби́рался было поболтать с ним, но Базаров тотчас его отослал [...] ('Vasilij Ivanovič was about to go and have a chat with him, but Bazarov immediately sent him away'). – Issatchenko, A., pp. 194-196.

⁶⁸ Issatchenko, A., pp. 194.

	< 13th century (CES)	~13th century (transitional)	> 13th century (R)
<i>You (m) gave</i>	<i>dalъ esi</i>	<i>ty dalъ esi</i>	<i>ty dalъ</i>

Table 5: The loss of the auxiliary verb 'to be' in Russian, according to Issatchenko, 1940, p. 194.

2.2.3. Research on present tense verb endings & infinitive

Not only will the investigation focus on the verb ending in the past tense and the development of the auxiliary verb in this tense, but attention will be paid to the present tense and infinitive of the verb as well. To discuss the verbal endings for all persons in the present tense would be rather complicated, as the texts that are to be analysed are mostly deeds, law books and contracts, i.e. documents which rarely employ persons other than 3sg, 1pl and the infinite form of the verb.

The reason for investigating the present tense is made clear in table 6. As shown in the table, the verb endings for the persons given in Belarusian and Ukrainian seem like a big hodgepodge in which some persons share their verb ending with Polish (such as the Ukrainian 1pl ending in *-m-* followed by a vocal *-o*) while for a different person the same language employs a verb ending that is shared with Russian (such as the Ukrainian 3sg which in some verb classes shares the *-t* with Russian).

	Polish	Belarusian	Ukrainian	Russian
3sg	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-ø / -c' (-цъ)</i>	<i>-ø / -t'</i>	<i>-t</i>
1pl	<i>-my</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-mo</i>	<i>-m</i>
Infinitive	<i>-c' (-ć)</i>	<i>-c' (-цъ)</i>	<i>-ty</i>	<i>-t'</i>

Table 6: Declension of the present tense verb in contemporary Polish, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Russian. Note that BY and U 3sg employ both *-ø* and *-t'*, depending on the verb class. Compare U: *maljuje* 'he draws' and U: *kryčyt* 'he screams'. In BY 3sg the /t/ is changed into /c'/ because of *dzekan'e*, a sound change that is also part of the Polish language.

One can start a discussion similar to the one in chapter 2.2.1. with regards to the present tense verb endings as well: are these similarities to Polish the result of Polish influence on Belarusian and Ukrainian (just as the masculine past tense endings in these languages) or are the similarities with Russian East-Slavic (or Russian) innovations that had spread towards Belarusian and Ukrainian, but did not completely 'replace' the original verb endings?

2.2.4. Nominative adjective endings: the influence of contraction and plural gender

Next to the verb, the adjective will be analysed here as well. Just like the present tense verb endings indicated in table 6, the endings of adjectives in the nominative case in Belarusian and Ukrainian seem to be a mix of Russian and Polish endings.

Both Polish and Russian primarily employ the 'long' variety of the Common-Slavic adjective. This form, contrary to the 'short' form, used to denote definite and indefinite forms respectively and was formed by adding the CSI demonstrative 3sg pronoun *-jъ* to the short variety of the adjective (e.g. CSI:

**novъ + jъ > *novъjъ* ‘new’). This distinction has disappeared in both Russian and Polish, which therefore are left with no marker for definiteness at all. However, the short form of the adjective has not disappeared entirely in both languages, as Russian still employs the form in some predicative positions and both languages maintain some short forms in standard expressions.⁶⁹

With regards to the Russian and Polish endings of the nominative case adjective mentioned above, the primary distinction between the languages is that Russian employs a longer form, that still employs an explicit /j/ (as in *-/yj/* and *-/oje/*). As argued by Townsend and Janda Polish lost this /j/, which led to a contraction of the nominative case adjective endings into single vocals (so that, e.g., *-/aja/ > -/a/*).⁷⁰

As with various aspects of the verb, Polish influence on Belarusian and Ukrainian might have caused these languages to also undergo a loss of /j/ in the adjective and subsequent contraction of the nominative endings. Table 7 shows that this might well be the case, as, for example, Belarusian seems to employ primarily Russian endings for its adjectives, while the masculine case uses the Polish ending. Ukrainian, on the other hand, does the exact opposite.

	Polish	Belarusian	Ukrainian	Russian
M	<i>-/y/</i>	<i>-/y/</i>	<i>-/yj/</i>	<i>-/yj/</i>
F	<i>-/a/</i>	<i>-/aja/</i>	<i>-/a/</i>	<i>-/aja/</i>
N	<i>-/e/</i>	<i>-/oje/</i>	<i>-/e/</i>	<i>-/oje/</i>
Pl	Person-M: <i>-/i/</i> Other: <i>-/e/</i>	<i>-/yja/</i>	<i>-/i/</i>	<i>-/yje/</i>

Table 7: Contemporary nominative case endings of the adjective in Polish, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Russian. The adjective endings are shown phonetically, as all of these languages make a distinction between soft and hard declension, resulting in different spellings (compare BY: *новы novy* ‘new’ and *апошні apošni* ‘final’). Besides that, one should bear in mind that stress and *akan’e* might result in different pronunciation (compare BY: *trëci* and *trëcjaje* ‘third M/N’ in which the neutral ending is *-aje* rather than *-oje*).

Furthermore, special attention should be given to the nominative plural of the adjective. As can be seen in table 7, Polish is the only language under consideration that distinguishes gender in plural. In Polish, the person-masculine plural adjective has a separate ending from its non-person-masculine, feminine and neutral plural counterparts (compare P: *głodni turyści* ‘hungry tourists’ and *głodne bobry* ‘hungry beavers’).⁷¹

Contemporary Russian, on the contrary, does not distinguish between genders in plural and therefore employs one and the same ending in nominative plural: *-/yje/* (*-ые* or *-ие*). This, however, was not always the case, as – at least until the 18th century⁷² – a distinction used to be made between genders in nominative plural adjectives in Russian as well. Almost like in Polish, the gender distinction in the

⁶⁹ Townsend, C., Janda, L., *Common and Comparative Slavic: Phonology and Inflection*, (Slavica, Columbus), 1996, pp. 178-181.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁷¹ These examples were kindly taken from <http://blogs.transparent.com/polish/polish-adjectives-part-1/>

⁷² Lomonosov, M.V., ‘Primečanija na predloženie o množestvennom okončenii prilagatel’nix imen’, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij – Tom 7*, (Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva/Leningrad), 1952, pp. 81-87.

nominative plural divided the adjective into masculine (ending in *-yje/*) on the one hand and feminine and neutral (ending in *-yja/*) on the other. The latter form, however, gradually gave way to *-yje/*, which is currently the ending for all nominative plural adjectives.

With Polish, which distinguishes gender in nominative plural adjectives to this day, on the one side and Russian, which abolished this gender distinction, on the other, the question arises how these two languages impacted the same nominative plural in Belarusian and Ukrainian. As can be seen in table 7, these languages, like Russian, do not make a distinction between genders, but nonetheless employ different word endings. Ukrainian forms the nominative plural by means of the Polish contracted form *-i/*, while Belarusian uses an uncontracted form, namely the old Russian feminine/neutral plural *-yja/*. One can wonder how these forms were introduced to Belarusian and Ukrainian. Besides that the question arises: if Ukrainian borrowed the contracted *-i/* from Polish, and Belarusian maintains the old Russian feminine/neutral plural ending, does this imply that these languages had a longer history of plural gender distinction than Russian (which would suggest Polish influence)?

2.3. Conclusion

To summarise what has been written above: various parameters have been selected for elaborate analysis. These parameters were selected on the fact that in Belarusian and/or Ukrainian they show discrepancies with what one can assume to be the alleged ‘true’ East-Slavic forms. Therefore, verbs – in past and present tense – will be analysed here and in doing so, the main focus will be on the way these verbs are formed. That way, hopefully, evidence for possible Polish influence on the Belarusian and Ukrainian languages can be found. If certain innovations, like the masculine past tense ending in *-ŭ ~ v/*, really were introduced by Polish, they should appear in Belarusian and Ukrainian texts only after these lands were annexed by Poland. Besides that, attention will also be paid to the possibility of auxiliary verbs appearing in various texts, as it turns out that while Russian quickly discarded these verbs, Polish maintained them in some form or the other until this day. Therefore, if Polish influence on Belarusian and Ukrainian in the past was as great as some theories suggest, it might be possible that this influence caused the auxiliary verb to remain part of Belarusian and Ukrainian longer than they were in Russian. Also, analysis of the development of the present tense endings might uncover whether or not the hodgepodge of Russian and Polish endings in present tense verbs in Belarusian and Ukrainian was the result of Polish influence on these languages or not. Finally, analysing the development of the nominative adjective endings takes on yet another aspect of the development of Belarusian and Ukrainian. In analysing the adjective endings, it should become clear whether or not the contracted and uncontracted forms of the adjective endings were introduced to these languages by Polish. Furthermore, it might uncover whether or not gender distinction was made in these languages for a possibly longer time than in Russian.

Please note that although the main focus will lie on morphology, some interesting phonetic features, when encountered, will be included here as well as these observations might be too valuable to withhold from the reader.

2.4. Methodology

In order to clearly trace the expansion of either Russian or Polish forms into Belarusian and Ukrainian, it should be made clear how to oppose the Russian forms to their Polish counterparts. In doing so, the following oppositions can be created:

	Russian	Polish
<i>Verb</i>		
Past tense masculine ending	-/l/	-/v ~ ũ/
Present tense ending		
- 3 rd person singular	-C	- \emptyset / -c'
- 1 st person plural	-m \emptyset	-mV
- Infinitive	-t' / -ti	-c'
<i>Adjective</i>	Uncontracted (e.g. -/yj/)	Contracted (e.g. -/y/)

Table 8: Summary of oppositions between Russian and Polish that are investigated in this research. C denotes a random consonant, V denotes a random vocal.

Note that for the infinite form, the Polish form -c' is contrasted to both -t' and -ti, because both of these forms are attested in Russian, while in Polish they only have one counterpart. Compare R: *čítat'* 'to read'; *nesti* 'to carry' and P: *czytać* and *nieść*.

With these oppositions in mind, the past tense masculine verbs, the present tense verbs and the adjectives indicated in table 8 will be marked in each text. The marked verbs and adjectives will be counted and classified according to whether they display the Russian or Polish variety. In doing so, the frequency of each of the two opposing varieties can be expressed (first as a part/whole and subsequently in percentages) for each text. After all texts have been analysed, this technique enables the creation of graphs that indicate whether or not certain trends were present in various languages (such as, for example, a hypothetical decline of the use of the Russian variety in Belarusian 3rd person singular verbs).

Besides that, as discussed before, the use of auxiliary verbs will also be investigated. The investigation technique is pretty much similar to the one discussed above, with the exception of the lack of 'opposition' between Russian and Polish varieties: either the auxiliary verb is present or it is not. Therefore, in order to track the frequency of the use of auxiliary verbs, all past tense verbs that are present in a certain text will be counted, while meanwhile keeping track of any past tense verbs that employ an auxiliary verb. Like the aforementioned procedure, this one too enables the creation of a trend graph.

The only object of analysis which will not be analysed by means of frequency will be the gender distinction in nominative plural adjectives. For this part of the analysis, all nominative plural

adjectives will be grouped and checked to see if different endings are employed and if so, if this correlates to the gender of the corresponding noun. While demonstrative and possessive pronouns will not be included in the investigation of contracted/uncontracted adjective forms, they will be included in the investigation towards possible gender distinction in plural adjectives.

3.1. A text from the fragmenting period: The Smolensk Trade Treaty (1229) – appendix 1

To start off and to determine the base line – the point from which the three East-Slavic languages started to divert – a text from what shall be called the “fragmenting period” will be analysed. During this period, as the theories mentioned in chapter one agree on, Common East Slavic was still in existence, but started to gradually fall apart. For that reason, a text – or rather an excerpt from a text – from the beginning of the century will be analysed. The text, written in 1229, is known under the name *Smolenskaja Torgovaja Pravda* (‘Smolensk Trade Treaty’) and is an extensive document regarding the rights of trade and traders in the lands of the lord of Smolensk and the land of Riga (which at that point was a bishopric in the Teutonic Order). The document was written to provide a legal basis for possible trade conflicts and was signed not only by representatives of Smolensk and Riga, but also by various merchants from the Hansa, including Groningen, Münster and Dortmund.

When counting and analysing the masculine past tense forms, a total of 11 verbs were encountered in the excerpt. Out of these, none displayed an ending in *-v/* or *-ŭ/*, so all masculine past tense verbs ended in *-l/*. Overall, 16 others past tense verbs were counted, making the total number of past tense verbs 27. Out of these 27 verbs, none employed an auxiliary verb.

Just like the past tense verb, the present tense verb did not show any Polish influence either.

Unfortunately, the excerpt from the document did not include any first person plural forms, but it was abundant in third singular and infinite forms.

All in all, 31 third person singular forms were counted in the excerpt from the document. All of these forms fitted the earlier mentioned ‘Russian variety’ –C, as all of these forms ended in a consonant. Interestingly, though, about half of the attested forms (14 out of 31) employed the ending *-te*, while the other 17 forms used *-t’* as an ending. Both forms were used seemingly at random, as in some cases the same verb has been attested with both endings, such as at the beginning of the actual agreements in the document, where it reads:

(...) Аже боудѣтъ свободѣнии члѣкъ оубить · ṡ · гривень серебра · за гольвою ·
Аже боудѣте хольпъ оубить ∴· aṡ · гривна серъбра заплатити ∴· (...)
(...) *If a free man will be killed, [one should pay] 10 pieces of silver for his head.*
If a serf will be killed, 1 piece of silver should be paid.

Both *-te* and *-t’* denote the same person in present tense and indicate one and the same form. One should bear in mind that at the time of writing of this text, the deletion of the reduced vowels ь (which became *e*) and ъ (> *o*) was still taking place, resulting in alternative ways to spell these reduced vowels. These alternative spelling methods can best be observed in the way the 3sg of ‘to want’ (*хоѣтъ*) is written in the text, where one encounters *хоѣтъ* (хочеть), *хоѣте* (хочете) as well as *хѣѣтъ* (хѣчьтъ). Therefore, the 3sg endings in *-te* and *-t’* should be regarded as one and the same.

More consistency in the used verb endings is displayed in this document by the infinitive. A total of 28 infinitives have been counted in the document and most of them employ the same ending: *-ti*, which earlier on had been classified as the Russian variety of the infinitive ending.

However, despite this consistency, two exceptions were found in the selected excerpt from the document. In this part of the document, a dative/infinitive construction can be found in which *Rusin* ‘the Russian’ is placed in the dative case and added to the infinitive *ne zvati* ‘not to call’, thus creating a construction meaning ‘The Russian is not to call’. It is fairly evident that this construction calls for an object as well as an additional infinitive, since the Russian in this sentence is not to call someone in order to have him do something. Therefore the sentence is translated as follows:

Роусиноу не звати · латина на полѣ битъ сѧ · оу роускои земли ·:· А латининоу не звати роусина на полѣ
бито сѧ · оу ризѣ и на готскомь березѣ ·:·
*The Russian is not to call the Latin [i.e. the Teutonic knight] to the battlefield to duel on Russian lands, and the
Latin is not to call the Russian to the battlefield in Riga and on Gotlandic shores.*

As can be seen, the dative/infinitive construction is employed twice: both the Russians and the Teutonic Knights are banned from challenging each other to a duel. As the construction is employed twice, the additional infinitive is also used twice. The additional infinitive is the same in both cases, but spelled in two different ways, which are both different from the other infinitives in this document ending in *-ti*. The additional verb in question is the verb *bit'sja* ‘to fight’, which is first written employing the ending *-ъ* (*bitъsja*) and then employing the ending *-to* (*bitosja*).

Although one might suspect that both forms are writing errors – since all other infinitive verbs in the document employ *-ti* – this is not the case. The verb ‘to fight’ in this case is a supinum, a sort of alternative infinitive that was employed in Church Slavonic as a replacement of the normal infinitive after verbs that indicate motion (because the supinum is a slightly different form than the infinitive, it shall further be left out of the analysis). The supinum ended in *-ъ*, a reduced vowel which, as discussed earlier, can also be read as *-o*. Therefore, like *-te* and *-t'* in 3sg, the supinum endings – although spelled differently – should be read as one and the same ending.

As for the adjective, a total of 10 masculine forms were counted. All of these masculine adjectives were uncontracted and ended in either *-yj* or *-ij*. No feminine or neutral nominative case adjective were found and only two plural nominative adjectives were found, both ending in *-ii* and corresponding to masculine nouns. Three additional plural pronouns were found: one ending in *-i* and two ending in *-o*. These forms were found at the end of the document, where a list of merchants is provided:

регньбодѣ · дѣтартъ · адамъ · то были горожане ·:· на гочкомь березе · мьмьбернь · вредрикъ доумбѣ · ти
были из любка
Regnebode, Detjart, Adam; they were citizens of Gotland – Memebern, Frederic Dumbe; they were from Lübeck.

It is clear that both *to* and *ti* correspond to men, so the difference in ending cannot be explained by a possible gender distinction between the two forms (so the amount of data is insufficient to determine whether or not a gender distinction was made at all). However, if the *amount* of men to which *to* and *ti* refer is counted, a difference appears. While *ti* only refers to two people, *to* refers to three (and further on in the text even four). Therefore the difference in forms might be explained by a certain degree of grouping: while two people are referred to using a plural form, more than two people are referred to as a group, which is reflected in the neutral ending of *to*.⁷³

		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	11/11 (100%)	-ŭ/-v	0%
	3sg	-C	31/31 (100%)	-ø / -c'	0%
	1pl	-mø	n/d	-mV	n/d
	Inf	-t'/-ty	26/26 (100%)	-c'	0%
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	10/10 (100%)	Contracted	0%
	F		n/d		n/d
	N		n/d		n/d
	Pl		2/2 (100%)		0%
	Pl Gender distinction?	n/d			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 0/27 (0%)				

Table 9: Overview of form frequencies in the 13th century 'Smolensk Trade Treaty'.

⁷³ Besides that, one should bear in mind that the dual form, which was eliminated not long before the writing of this text, might have played a role as well.

3.2. Belarusian texts

3.2.1. A ceasefire with Kazimierz, the king of Poland – appendix 2a

The oldest Belarusian document that has been analysed here dates back from 1352 and describes the terms and conditions to a ceasefire between various Belarusian and Polish nobles. On the Polish side the document is signed by king Kazimierz III of Poland (1310-1370) himself as well as other nobles, such as the duke of Mazovia (who, incidentally, was also called Kazimierz).⁷⁴ On the Belarusian side the document was signed by various lords as well, including lord Jurij Narimuntovič (~1326- >1398), who owned the lands of Chełm and Belz⁷⁵, and lord Jurij Kor'jatovič (?-1375), who owned the lands of Podolia⁷⁶. All of these cities and localities are currently located in either Poland or Ukraine, but at the time of the signing of the document these lands were Lithuanian, where Belarusian was the language used in official documents and treaties (see chapter 0.2). Besides a ceasefire, the document also discusses the duration of the peace, the transferral of the city of Kremenets (*Kremjanets* in the document) to the control of lord Narimuntovič and the fact that in case of a Hungarian invasion of the lands of Rus', controlled by Lithuania, Poland will not assist Lithuania:

Аже поидеть оугорьскыйи король на Литву, польскому | королеви помагати. Аже поидеть на Русь, што Литвы слушаеть, королеви не помагати.

If the Hungarian king goes to [read: attacks] Lithuania, it is up to the Polish king to help. If he goes to the lands of Rus', which are subject to Lithuania, the king is not to help.

In the above citation, it looks like the author made a spelling error. Rather than write *помогати / pomagati* 'to help', he wrote *помагати / pomagati*. However, this is not a spelling error, since the contemporary form *pomogat'* is a Russian innovation, while *pomagati* is the old Slavic form (compare to P: *pomagać* and Cz: *pomahát*).

In the document only one instance of the past tense could be found, surprisingly. This one verb was plural, so it provides no information on the formation of the masculine past tense. However, this verb did employ an auxiliary verb:

А на то есмы дали своѣ печати.

And to that we have placed our stamps.

Technically, this results in a frequency of 100% of auxiliary verb use in this document, but since only one past tense in general is attested in this document, there is insufficient data to back up this claim. Besides that, given the place in the text and the formulation of the sentence, the phrase might be a standard formulation that was always employed at that time to finish a sentence. If this is the case, the use of the auxiliary verb in normal spoken Belarusian at that time seems doubtful.

⁷⁴ Unknown author, 'Poland', *Medieval Lands*, 2014.

⁷⁵ Unknown author, 'Knjaz' Jurij Narimuntovič Belz'kyj', *litopys.com.ua*.

⁷⁶ Unknown author, 'Knjaz'ja iz zemel' VKL i Beloj Rusi', *averdysh.narod.ru*.

However, in a similar text, a ceasefire from 1372, more instances of the auxiliary verb are employed, so it seems that the verb actually was still in use, but not very frequent. In a total of 8 past tense verbs, 2 auxiliary constructions were found. This results in a total of three auxiliary constructions that were found in nine past tense verb constructions in the 14th century texts. Besides that, the same text shows two instances of the masculine past tense verb, both ending in *-l/*.⁷⁷

As for present tense endings, all three forms that were investigated (3sg, 1pl and inf) were found in the text. A total of 24 instances of the present tense verb in third person singular were found and all of them showed an ending of the Russian variety, namely: *-t'*. The same consistency was found in the infinitive of the verb: 33 infinitives were counted and all of them employed the Russian *-ti*.

However, slightly less consistency could be found in the first person plural endings of the verb. A total of six of these verbs were encountered in the document. Out of these seven, only five employed the Russian ending *-mø* (spelled as *-мъ*), while two used the Polish ending *-my*. Interestingly enough, out of the verbs which employed the Russian ending, three verbs were *možem*, i.e. conjugations of the verb 'to can'. Out of the two verbs that used the Polish form, one was the verb *esmy*, which is the auxiliary verb that was discussed earlier. It is doubtful whether or not this form should be taken into account as possible proof of the use of Polish forms in 1pl, because this form is the standard inflection of the verb 'to be'. For this reason, it shall be left out of the analysis. As a result of this, only six 1pl verbs will be counted, out of which one employs the Polish ending.

With regards to the adjectives once again some interesting remarks can be made. First of all, it should be noted that no instances of the neutral gender adjective could be found in the text. Six masculine adjectives were found and all of them ended in an uncontracted *-yj*. No feminine adjectives were found, although the word *ruska* 'russian (F)' is found towards the end of the text. As can be seen, this word employs a contracted ending, but since this can be explained by the fact that the word is a substantivized adjective, it will be left out of the equation. However, in the 1372 ceasefire, one 'normal' feminine nominative adjective was found, ending in the uncontracted *-aja*.

One plural adjective was found, corresponding to a masculine noun (*knjazi* 'knights'). Unfortunately, this does provide insufficient evidence for a possible gender distinction in plural adjectives. However, if possessive pronouns are also taken into account, the pronoun in the final sentence of the document (quoted above) can be analysed as well. In this sentence, the construction *svoě pečati* 'our stamps' can be found. Interestingly, the pronoun ends in *-ě*, rather than *-i*. The most logical explanation for this would be that this is because *pečat'* has a different gender than *knjaz'*, which is in fact the case. This would mean that indeed, gender distinction in plural adjectives would be made in Belarusian at this point.

⁷⁷ Unknown author, 'V.k.l. Al'herd z bratam vjalikim knjazem Kejstutam i vjaliki knjaz' smalenski Svjataslaŭ Ivanavič zaključajuc' z vjalikim knjazem maskoŭskim Dzmitriem Ivanavičam I jago bratam knjazem Uladzimiram Andrëevičam peramir'e', *Historyja Belarusi IX-XVIII stagoddzjaŭ. Peršakrynicy*, posted 13/12/2009, original 07/1372.

		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	2/2 (100%)	-ŭ/-v	n/d
	3sg	-C	24/24 (100%)	-ø / -c'	0%
	1pl	-mø	5/6 (83%)	-mV	1/6 (17%)
	Inf	-t' / -ty	100%	-c'	0%
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	6/6 (100%)	Contracted	0%
	F		1/1 (100%)		0%
	N		n/d		n/d
	Pl		1/1 (100%)		0%
	Pl Gender distinction?	Yes (M: -yi; F: -yě)			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 3/9 (33%)				

Table 10: Overview of form frequencies in the 14th century Belarusian texts.

3.2.2. Two Belarusian texts from the 16th century: *Tristan and Al-Kitab* – appendix 2b&2c

In analysis developments in the Belarusian language during the 16th century, a total of two texts will be analysed. The first text is an excerpt from ‘The Story of the Renowned Knight Tristan’, which is a Belarusian translation of a 12th century story that was written in German. In the story, the reader is acquainted with prince Tristan, his heroic deeds and his love affair with princess Isolde.

The second text to be analysed is of a completely different nature. It is an excerpt from the 16th century *Al-Kitab*. *Kitabs* were the name of various books that were written in Belarusian, but employed an adapted Arabic script. The books were used by Tatars that had settled in Belarusian lands and had assimilated, losing their knowledge of the Tatar language in the process. Being unable to understand their native language, their religious texts, amongst which was the Quran, had to be translated to Belarusian, but had to maintain the sacred Arabic script.⁷⁸ As a result a series of books were created that contained texts written in Belarusian that was phonetically transferred to a different script. In other words: the *Al-Kitab* contains a written variant of Belarusian that reflects the way it was actually pronounced.

Analysing both texts, it becomes clear that – at least for the 16th century – written and spoken Belarusian differ quite a lot. When looking at the past tense, for example, a total of 92 past tense verbs were encountered in *Tristan*, out of which 63 were masculine past tense verbs, ending in -l/.

Furthermore, out of the 92 instances of the past tense, 7 were formed using an auxiliary verb.

Contrastingly: 22 past tense verbs were found in the fragment from *Al-Kitab*. Out of these 22 verbs, 16 were masculine and all of these were formed using the Polish variety -ŭ/. Besides that, no single auxiliary verb was used in this text.

Clearly, there is a discrepancy between the data sets obtained from both texts: while *Al-Kitab* shows no auxiliary verb usage and its masculine past tense verbs solely employ the Polish ending, the story about *Tristan* uses some auxiliary verbs and Russian past tense endings. Both issues will be discussed.

⁷⁸ Nes’cjarovič, V.I., ‘Kitaby – unikal’ naja z’java ŭ belaruskaj move’, *Pravapis.org*.

First of all: the auxiliary verb usage. As discussed earlier, according to Issatchenko, Russian lost its auxiliary verb as early as during the 13th century, while Polish used the verbs for a longer time period as an emphasis marker. The latter might explain the reason for the complete lack of auxiliary verbs in Al-Kitab, especially if compared to the actual context of the auxiliary verbs in Tristan:

И потом послал по свое[го сына, и коли он] перед него прышол, погледелъ на него велми серд[ито и рек]: (...)
уморыл еси одног{о} от добры[х рыцэры и наболь]шого прыятеля у моим дому, а мене е[си (...)
загубил].

And then he sent for his son, and when he arrived before him, he looked at him very angrily and spoke: (...) you have killed one of the good knights and best friends of my house, and you have (...) ruined me.

Evidently, the auxiliary verb is used in phrase which is full of emotion (the author even adds the fact that the person speaking is very angry), which fits Issatchenko's assumption perfectly: the auxiliary verb is employed in this example to stress the emotion that is captivated in the sentence and transfer it to the reader. When the other instances in which the auxiliary verb is used in this text are taken into account, the same could be applied to them too: the auxiliary verb is only used in sentences which are quoted from a character in the text, mostly in phrases which express wishes and emotions in general. It is for the same reason that the auxiliary verb is not used in the Al-Kitab. Because this text is not of a literary, but of a religious kind, the auxiliary verb, which is employed as a style figure, is unnecessary. Besides that, it seems fairly plausible that in spoken Belarusian, on which the Al-Kitab is based, the auxiliary verb was not used at all, strengthening the idea that the auxiliary verb was limited to written, literary texts.

As for the discrepancy between the masculine past tense endings: it might be possible that the Al-Kitab is based on a Belarusian dialect which adopted the *-ŭ/* earlier than the dialect Tristan is written in, but this seems implausible. A more interesting possibility that can be suggested is that during the sixteenth century, under the influence of Polish, Belarusian had already adapted *-ŭ/*, or at least was in the process of adapting this verb ending. However, the problem arose that the Cyrillic alphabet did not have a letter to denote this sound: the letter *ŷ* (*/ŭ/*) would not appear in the language until the 1890s⁷⁹ and the letter *в* (*/v/*) did not correspond to the actual pronunciation either. The author therefore probably decided to use the old spelling through *л* (*/l/*), which incidentally might also have been the spelling he had learned (as grammars on Church Slavonic of course also showed the masculine past tense in *л*).

Further proof for the latter assumption might be found in the fact that Al-Kitab shows various innovations which are not represented in the story about Tristan. Al-Kitab shows, for example, the so called *dzekan' e* (дзеканье), which is a phonetic phenomenon that denotes the transformation of */d'/* and */t'/* into */dz'/* and */c'/* and which is present in both Polish and Belarusian. In Al-Kitab we find this phenomenon in the second sentence of the passage, where *adžin* is written, rather than *odin* 'one'.

⁷⁹ Bulyka, 'U neskladovae', *Ėncyklapedyja litaratury i mastactva Belarusi – Tom 4*, (Belaruskaja Saveckaja Ėncyklapedyja, Minsk), 1984, p.377.

An even more striking phenomenon that can be found in the Al-Kitab is *akan'e* (аканье), the sound law that implies a reduction of the unstressed /o/ into /a/ or /ə/. In Al-Kitab this sound change is shown in words such as *prarok* ‘prophet’, *adžin* ‘one’ and *čelevek* ‘man’. A third innovation that is reflected in the fragment from Al-Kitab is the change of the plosive /g/ to the fricative /ɣ/, as can be seen in words such as *s'neh* ‘snow’ and *drūhoje* ‘other’. Based on these observations, we can assume that the processes of *dzekan'e* and *akan'e* and the change from plosive /g/ to fricative /ɣ/ happened at least as early as the 16th century. As for the latter, bear in mind that for Ukrainian, in which a similar sound change took place, the moment of the occurrence of the sound change was in the 12th to early 13th century (according to Ševel'ov).⁸⁰ This would imply that Belarusian adapted the sound change later than Ukrainian, opening up the possibility that it perhaps borrowed this feature from Ukrainian. Because phonetic proof shows that the 16th century was a time in which many innovations were introduced in Belarusian, it will be assumed that the masculine past tense endings in /l/, as shown in Tristan, are incorrect and are merely written that way because the author lacked an appropriate letter to write down the actual pronunciation. Therefore, with regards to the masculine past tense endings, the 16th century will be regarded as a transitional period.

On a side note: it is not true that the story of Tristan does not show any innovations at all. An example of an innovation that is reflected in this text is the appearance of the prothetic consonant, which, according to Wexler, had appeared in the language about a century before.⁸¹ One instance of a prothetic consonant is encountered in the phrase:

И казал его вкинути у вого[нь, и так] он вмер.
And he ordered him to be thrown in the fire and that way he died.

Moving on to the present tense, the story about Tristan and the fragment from Al-Kitab show more consistency. In both texts no instance of 1pl was encountered. In Tristan the third person singular was encountered a total of 13 times. Out of these 13, all verbs employ the Russian variety, though it should be noted that only 2 of the 13 showed the ‘old’ form *-t'* as the others employed *-t*. A total of 29 infinitive verbs was counted, but these too showed a small change compared to older texts: while all verbs used the Russian ending, 2 infinitive verbs no longer employed the old ending of *-ti*, but now employed *-t'*.

In Al-Kitab 14 instances of the third person singular were encountered, but these all displayed different endings. Out of these 14, 4 verbs used the Russian form and ended in *-t*, but this group of verbs is solely made up of the third person singular of ‘to be’, written in the text as *jest*. This group will not be included in the analysis. 10 verbs employed the Polish variety endings: in 6 cases, the verbs employed *-ć* (including one reflexive verb: *sxavajecca* ‘abscond’), which is the old *-t*-ending that had

⁸⁰ Ševel'ov, G.Y., ‘On the Chronology of h and the New g in Ukrainian’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 1977, 1, (2), p. 146.

⁸¹ Wexler, P., ‘Explorations in Byelorussian Historical Bilingual Dialectology and Onomastics’, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1974, LII, 129, p. 497.

undergone the effects of already mentioned *dzekan'e* (which, since it is also apparent in Polish, shall be considered a Polish variety as well). The remaining four verbs displayed the other Polish variety and ended in $-\emptyset$. As for the infinitive: 4 infinitives were counted and all of them showed the Polish ending $-\acute{c}$ (although one form showed a 'transitional ending' in $-\acute{c}i$).

Once again this shows that Belarusian underwent major innovations in the sixteenth century. Old forms, such as $-ti$ for the infinitive and $-t'$ for third person singular were disappearing, giving way to new forms, while others had already switched over to the Polish variety (like $-\acute{c}$ for infinitive).

As for the adjectives, the story of Tristan and Al-Kitab show even more consistency. No real differences were found between the texts as no real morphological differences seemed to be in place. Therefore, the two texts will be combined in the adjective analysis.

A total of 17 masculine nominative adjectives were found in both texts combined. Out of these 17, 8 showed a contracted form. Interestingly enough, all of the contracted adjectives were participles, such as *govorečy* 'speaking' and *xotečy* 'wanting' in Tristan and *pīšuči* 'writing' and *pašoŭši*⁸² 'having returned' in Al-Kitab. The same applied to plural adjectives: a total of 5 forms were counted and out of these, one was contracted. Once again, this contracted form was a participle:

(...) jeni, priŋaŭši, tvari svaje na z'emlu pałazi(li).
They, having perceived them, placed their faces on the earth.

Furthermore, 2 feminine nominative adjectives were found as well as 7 neutral adjectives. All of these showed the Russian uncontracted form.

Because of the fact that only five plural nominative adjectives had been found (all ending in $-ie$) and all of these corresponded to masculine nouns, there is insufficient data to analyse whether or not gender distinction was made.

⁸² Compare to R: пошедший.

Tristan		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	63/63 (100%)	-ŭ/-v	0%
	3sg	-C	13/13 (100%) (-t': 2; -t: 11)	-ø / -c'	0%
	Inf	-t'/-ty	29/29 (100%) (-ti: 27; -t': 2)	-c'	0%
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 7/92 (8%)				
Al-Kıtab		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	0%	-ŭ/-v	16/16 (100%)
	3sg	-C	0%	-ø / -c'	10/10 (100%) (-ć: 6; -ø: 4)
	Inf	-t'/-ty	0%	-c'	4/4 (100%) (-ć: 3; -ći: 1)
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 0/22 (0%)				
Combined data		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	63/79 (80%)	-ŭ/-v	16/79 (20%)
	3sg	-C	13/23 (57%) (-t': 2; -t: 11)	-ø / -c'	10/23 (43%) (-ć: 6; -ø: 4)
	1pl	-mø	n/d	-mV	n/d
	Inf	-t'/-ty	29/33 (88%) (-ti: 27; -t': 2)	-c'	4/33 (12%) (-ć: 3; -ći: 1)
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	9/17 (53%)	Contracted	8/17 (47%)
	F		2/2 (100%)		0%
	N		7/7 (100%)		0%
	Pl		4/5 (80%)		1/5 (20%)
	Pl Gender distinction?	n/d			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 7/113 (6%)				

Table 11: Overview of form frequencies in the 16th century Belarusian texts. In the top half of the table the data with regards to the verb has been split up between the story about Tristan and Al-Kıtab, in order to highlight the differences between the two. In the bottom half of the table, the data from both texts are combined.

3.2.3. Ęneida Navyvarat by Vikencij Ravinski (1820s) – appendix 2d

As mentioned before, the last Belarusian text that will be analysed here was written not in the 18th, but at the beginning of the 19th century. Material from the 18th century could not be found (neither in Ševel'ov's reader, nor on-line) and this might be because of the fact that during the 18th century the use of Belarusian in official correspondence, contracts, deeds and other legal documents was banned in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was only towards the end of the 18th century that Belarusian was freed from this ban when during the three partitions of the Commonwealth the Belarusian speaking lands were incorporated into the Russian empire.

Ęneida Navyvarat 'Aeneid the other way round' was written in the 1820s by Vikencij Ravinski, a hero of the war of 1812 who wrote many satirical works. His version of the Aeneid is a parody on the Ukrainian *Enejida* (U: Енеїда), which was written in 1798 by Kotljarev'skyj. Ravinski's Aeneid is written in the Smolensk dialect of Belarusian⁸³ and shows many features of contemporary phonetics,

⁸³ Unknown author, 'Smolenskij dialekt', *smolnews.ru*, 23/07/2007.

which to some extent were also visible in the 16th century texts (see 3.2.2.) such as *akan'e* and the use of prothetic consonants:

Юнона воблак дтпихнула
Juno moved the clouds aside

In the selected fragment a total of 48 past tense verbs were encountered. Out of these, 22 were masculine, which all employed the Polish variety of the masculine past tense ending and ended in *-v/*. Like in the story of knight Tristan in section 3.2.2., here too it might be the case that the actual pronunciation of the verb ending was */ũ/*. A *v* was written instead, since there was no letter to represent the actual pronunciation. No auxiliary verbs were encountered in the fragment.

In the excerpt very few present tense verbs were counted: no instances of 1pl were found, and only a total of four third person singular verbs and 8 infinitives were encountered. Interestingly enough, these two groups of verbs display a trend which had been started in the 16th century: all 3sg verbs had a Polish ending – a *-t/* which because of *dzekan'e* had been transformed into *-ć* –, while all infinitives employed the Polish variety and ended in *-ć* as well.

As for nominative adjectives, they too were only sparsely encountered in the fragment. Only seven masculine and two feminine nominative adjectives were found, while no neutral or plural adjectives were found in the nominative case (though one neutral gender demonstrative pronoun was found in part VII, ending in *-èje* and thereby suggesting that neutral gender adjectives were uncontracted in Belarusian at the time). The two feminine adjectives were both uncontracted, while out of the seven masculine adjectives, four were contracted. However, like in the 16th century texts, these contracted forms were all participles.

		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	0%	-ũ/-v	22/22 (100%)
	3sg	-C	0%	-ø / -c'	4/4 (100%) (ending in -ć)
	1pl	-mø	n/d	-mV	n/d
	Inf	-t'/-ty	0%	-c'	8/8 (100%)
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	3/7 (43%)	Contracted	4/7 (57%)
	F		2/2 (100%)		0%
	N		(possibly 100%)		n/d
	Pl		n/d		n/d
	Pl Gender distinction?	n/d			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 0/48 (0%)				

Table 12: Overview of form frequencies in the early 19th century *Ėneida* Navyvarat.

3.3. Russian texts

3.3.1. The 14th century testament of Prince Dmitrij Ivanovič of Moscow – appendix 3a

The first Russian text to be analysed here is a text that was found in the reader compiled by Ševel'ov. The text is a short fragment taken from the testament of a certain prince of Moscow, Dmitrij Ivanovič and is dated by Ševel'ov as being written earlier than 1378. The name of the prince, as well as the suggested time period during which the testament was written, suggest that the prince is in fact the legendary Dmitrij Donskoj, the Moscow prince who led and won the first battle with the Golden Horde, the Mongol horde that had made most of the Russian principalities into tributary states. In the text itself, one reads what one expects to find in a testament: Dmitrij declares which of his possessions is passed on to whom after his death.

Although the text is fairly short, most of the parameters that are scrutinised in this investigation can be found in it. Starting with the masculine past tense ending, a total of 10 instances could be found. All of these were formed using the Russian variety ending in *-l/*. Interestingly, but not very surprisingly, no single other past tense gender was found in the text, which can be explained by the fact that the testament is written as if Dmitrij is talking. Out of the total of 10 past tense verbs, 4 verbs employed an auxiliary construction. An explanation for its frequent use can be found in the official character of the text, which therefore perhaps called for more archaic forms. Besides that, the document was written in a time period just after the point during which, according to Issatchenko, the auxiliary verb was abolished in Russian.

As for the present tense, no instances of the first person plural could be found. Only two instances of the third person singular and one infinitive form were encountered in the text. All of these employed the Russian variety: 3sg used *-t'* and the infinitive *-ti* as their respective endings.

Moving on to the adjective, no neutral nominative adjectives were found. A total of two masculine adjectives were found, one feminine adjective and five plural adjectives. All of these adjectives showed the uncontracted Russian ending. As for gender distinction: all plural forms (ending in *-yě*) corresponded to masculine gender nouns, so based on this text alone, there is insufficient data to decide whether or not gender distinction in plural adjectives was made. However, a more extensive version of the same text, found on-line, shows the adjective-noun pair *которые деревни*⁸⁴ / *kotorye derevni* 'which villages' in which the word *derevni* is a plural form of the feminine noun *derevnja*. This would suggest that a gender distinction in plural adjectives was made, with the masculine form being *-yě* (*-ьѣ*) and the feminine forms *-ye* (*-ые*).

⁸⁴ Unknown author, 'Duxovnaja gramota velikogo knjazja Moskovskogo Dmitrija Ivanoviča Donskogo', *portal-slovo.ru*.

		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	10/10 (100%)	-ŭ/-v	0%
	3sg	-C	2/2 (100%) (ending in <i>-t'</i>)	-ø / -c'	0%
	1pl	-mø	n/d	-mV	n/d
	Inf	-t'/-ty	1/1 (100%) (in <i>-ti</i>)	-c'	0%
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	2/2 (100%)	Contracted	0%
	F		1/1 (100%)		0%
	N		n/d		n/d
	Pl		5/5 (100%)		0%
	Pl Gender distinction?	Yes (M: -yě; F: -ye)			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 4/10 (40%)				

Table 13: Overview of form frequencies in the 14th century testament of Dmitrij Ivanovič of Moscow.

3.3.2. From the ambassadorial book on the relations of Russia and the Nogai Horde (1551) – appendix 3b

The second Russian text to be analysed is an entry dated May 3rd, 1551 from the ambassadorial book on the relations of Russia and the Nogai Horde. As the title suggests, the book consists of ambassadorial reports on the international relations between Russia and the Nogai Horde, or affairs in which both of these nations were involved. The Nogai Horde is the name of one of the confederations of Mongol and Turkic tribes, which emerged after the collapse of the Golden Horde. The Nogai Horde was located on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea.

The investigated parameters in the text show a great deal of continuity with the previously analysed 14th century Russian text. However, it is interesting to note that some spelling errors can be found in the text, which shows that in some ways the written Russian language did not completely reflect the spoken language anymore at this point. An example of this phenomenon can be found when the author writes the word *ещо* / *eščo* ‘still’, which should have been written as *еще* / *ešče*. A more interesting development is found in the word that means ‘comrade’ (*товарищ* / *tovarišč*). This word is encountered four times in the fragment, but only once the word is spelled *товарищ* (i.e. without the spelling reflecting the reduction of /o/ into /a/). In the other cases, the word is spelled *таварищ* / *tavarišč*. The same goes for the adjective ‘Nogai’: it should be written as *ногайский* / *nogajskij*, but is encountered in the text as *нагайский* / *nagajskij*. These little errors indicate that the phenomenon of *akan'e* was already well implemented in Russian at that time.

As mentioned before, the text shows a great deal of continuity with regards to the previous text. A total of 43 past tense words were counted, out of 25 were masculine, which all employed the Russian variety ending *-l*. No auxiliary verbs were counted.

In the present tense no first person plural was encountered, while 4 third person singular verbs (in *-t'*) and 5 infinitives (in *-ti*) were encountered.

Before discussing the adjective, an interesting noun, to which some of the adjectives correspond, should be pointed out. This noun is *mirza* (мирза), which is a princely title that was employed in various khanates, including the Nogai Horde. While the word has the feminine gender in Russian, it always denotes a male leader. As a result, the word's declension is the same as regular feminine words, but in adjective-noun pairs or when corresponding to a verb, it is treated as a masculine word, as depicted below:

(...) они пришли в Нагаи к Белек Булат мирзе (...)
 (...) they arrived in Nogai at prince Belek Boelat (...)

А от Белек Булат мирзы идет посол его Карача
 And from prince Belek Boelat comes his envoy Karača

А Исмаиль мирза зимовал у Астрахани
 And prince Ismail spent the winter near Astraxan

mirza is treated as a feminine word in declension

mirza is treated as a masculine word in gender

Therefore, when analysing the correspondence of adjectives to a noun, the word *mirza*, though resembling a feminine noun, should be treated as a masculine noun.

This being said, the adjectives can be analysed. Just like the verb, the adjective in this text shows major continuity with the adjectives in the previous text. Four masculine nominative adjectives were counted and all of them showed an uncontracted ending in either *-ij*, *-oj* or *-ej*. Five plural adjectives were found, all ending in *-ye* or *-ie* and all corresponding to masculine plural nouns. Therefore, there is insufficient information on whether or not gender distinction was made. In the selected fragment, no neutral adjectives were found. However in a different entry in the same book (found in the same on-line source), the adjective-noun pair *knjažnoe slovo* 'the knight's word' is found, indicating that neutral adjectives were uncontracted as well. Finally, feminine nominative adjectives were found neither in the selected fragment, nor in different entries in the book.

		Russian variety	Freq (%)	Polish variety	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	25/25 (100%)	-ŭ/-v	0%
	3sg	-C	4/4 (100%) (ending in -t')	-ø / -c'	0%
	1pl	-mø	n/d	-mV	n/d
	Inf	-t'/-ty	5/5 (100%) (in -ti)	-c'	0%
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	4/4 (100%)	Contracted	0%
	F		n/d		n/d
	N		1/1 (100%)		0%
	Pl		6/6 (100%)		0%
	Pl Gender distinction?	n/d			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 0				

Table 13: Overview of form frequencies in the 16th century ambassadorial book.

3.3.3. Documents on the construction of the churches in Carevokokšajsk (1734) – appendix 3c

The last Russian text that will be analysed here is an excerpt from a series of documents concerning the construction of various churches in the Russian city Carevokokšajsk (nowadays called Joškar-Ola). The selected text contains a request from the local clergy of Carevokokšajsk to the archbishop to send his approval for the construction of a new stone church on the spot where a dilapidated church, apparently called ‘the Carevokokšajsk church of John the Baptist’, used to be. In the second part of the letter the answer of the archbishop is found. He approves the request (he gives the local clergy his *blagoslovennaja gramota* ‘blessing letter’) and mentions various construction guidelines, such as details on where to place various icons, where to place the *carskie dveri* ‘royal doors’ (which are placed in the iconostasis) and so on.

The letter itself contains a small amount of past tense verbs (their number was seven), out of which three masculine past tenses were counted. These three ended in *-l/*. Present tenses were lacking in the text (only one first person singular and some third person plural forms were found), but infinitives were abundant. Interestingly enough, the infinitive ending seems to be in the process of changing into its contemporary Russian ending *-t’* in this text, as two forms of the infinitive were found in the text. Out of the total number of 29 infinitives, more than half of the verbs (20 out of 29) employed the ending *-t’*, while the remaining 9 infinitives used the ending *-ti*. There seems to be no strict rule concerning when to use the old ending *-ti* and when to use the contemporary *-t’*, as in some sentences, both forms are used:

(...) чтоб нам (...) повелети в вышеписанном городе Царевококшажску показанную старую ветхую церковь разобрать (...)
(...) so that we be commanded to destroy the mentioned old dilapidated church in the aforementioned city of Carevokokšajsk (...)

By analogy of the third person plural of the present tense verb in this text, it is however possible to give some indication as to the ending of the third person singular, as often these two forms show the same ending in Russian (compare R: *govorit; govorjat* ‘to speak (3sg and 3pl) in which both forms end in the same consonant). If such an analogy can be drawn, it can be assumed that 3sg in 18th century Russian ended in *-t* as the third person plural forms also end in this consonant.

As for the adjective, all genders in were encountered in nominative case: masculine adjectives were counted six times, feminine once, neutral twice and plural fourteen times. All of these forms were uncontracted and the plural showed two different endings: *-ye* and *-yja*. The latter was encountered most often (10 out of 14 times) and corresponded to the words *obraz* ‘icon’, *oltar’* ‘altar’, *dver’* ‘door’, *strana* ‘side’ and *ikona* ‘icon’. The *-ye*-form corresponded only to words to which *-yja* also corresponded, namely *obraz* and *oltar’*. Interestingly enough, both of these words are masculine nouns, while all other words are feminine. This would lead one to believe that a gender distinction was still in place in Russian at this point – with *-yja* corresponding to feminine gender nouns and *-ye* to masculine –, but it was in a process of dying out. This can be seen in the fact that the author correctly

employs the presumed feminine gender nominative plural ending for feminine nouns, but incorrectly uses this ending for some masculine words as well. This shows that apparently Russians were more inclined to not discern gender in plural anymore, preferring just one plural adjective ending *-yja*.

		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	3/3 (100%)	-ŭ/-v	0%
	3sg	-C	(possibly 100%)	-ø / -c'	n/d
	1pl	-mø	n/d	-mV	n/d
	Inf	-t'/-ty	29/29 (100%) (-ti: 9; -t': 20)	-c'	0%
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	6/6 (100%)	Contracted	0%
	F		1/1 (100%)		0%
	N		2/2 (100%)		0%
	Pl		14/14 (100%)		0%
	Pl Gender distinction?	Yes, but disappearing (M: <i>-ye</i> ; F: <i>-yja</i>)			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 0				

Table 14: Overview of form frequencies in the 18th century documents on the construction of churches.

3.4. Ukrainian texts

3.4.1. Two deeds from the Przemyśl in the 14th century – appendix 4a&4b

The first two texts from the Ukrainian language area were written in the 14th century in the area around the contemporary Polish city of Przemyśl. Both texts are documents regarding the sale and purchase of plots of land and whatever could be found on that land, detailing the seller and the purchaser as well as the terms and conditions of these sales. In the first deed, for example, the buyer is a certain lord Peter Radceovskij, who buys a property from Anna Radivonkovaja which she inherited from her grandfather. The deed states that the property, including the windmill and some farms, will be sold for forty grivnya and will belong to Peter and his sons from that point on.

In the second text, which was written almost half a century later in the same area (some witnesses, such as ‘ходько быбельский’ from the first deed are mentioned in the second one as well!) a similar sale is mentioned. In this case, a local bishop has sold two farmsteads to a certain Jaškov Ispruvskij for the sum of 10 grivnya.

As both texts do not show large discrepancies amongst each other, they will be combined in the analysis. Doing so, a total of 14 past tense verbs were counted, out of which ten were masculine. These ten verbs employed the Russian ending in *-l/* (spelled as *-ль*). Interestingly, four auxiliary constructions were counted, but all of these were found in the second deed. Since this deed was written towards the end of the 14th century, this might indicate that the auxiliary verb was on the return after having been lost for – according to Issatchenko’s observations – almost a century.

Present tense verbs were scarcely encountered in the deeds. A total of four infinitive verbs were found, all employing the Russian variety ending *-ti*. The 3sg and 1pl forms that were found (three times and one time respectively) were forms of the verb ‘to be’ (*єсть / jest’* and *єсмь / jesmy*), and were used in the auxiliary constructions. As mentioned earlier, this does not provide any information on the inflection of ‘regular’ verbs, so they will not be included in the analysis. However, just like in section 3.3.3. the third person plural might give an indication as to how 3sg was formed. In the second deed, one instance of the third person plural is found: *ouzozdrjat’*, which obviously ends in *-t’* and makes it likely to assume that 3sg also employed *-t’*, i.e. the Russian variety ending.

Nominative adjectives were rarely encountered in both documents and because of this, no feminine adjectives could be included in the analysis. Four neutral nominative adjectives were counted and all of them ended in *-oje*, an uncontracted form. Three masculine nominative adjectives were counted as well, but interestingly, only two of them showed uncontracted forms. The other adjective, the participle *prišodši* ‘having arrived’, shows a contracted form. The same applies to the only plural adjective: *isvėdъci*. This adjective, too, is a participle and shows a contracted ending. However, since only one plural adjective was encountered, there is insufficient data to assume that all plural adjectives were contracted. Likewise, there is also insufficient data to gain insight into the possibility of gender distinction in plural adjectives in Ukrainian at this time.

		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	10/10 (100%)	-ǔ/-v	0%
	3sg	-C	(possibly 100%)	-ø / -c'	n/d
	1pl	-mø	n/d	-mV	n/d
	Inf	-t' / -ty	4/4 (100%) (in -ty)	-c'	0%
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	2/3 (66%)	Contracted	1/3 (33%)
	F		n/d		n/d
	N		4/4 (100%)		0%
	Pl		n/d		(1/1)
	Pl Gender distinction?	n/d			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 4/14 (29%)				

Table 15: Overview of form frequencies in the 14th century Ukrainian deeds.

3.4.2. Letter of the sultan of Kafa to Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič (1502) – appendix 4c

The next Ukrainian text to be analysed here is a letter from the sultan of Kafa (a city in the Crimea which is also known as Kefe, Theodosia and under its current Ukrainian name Феодосія). The letter is sent to Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič, also known as Ivan III, of Moscow and provides historical evidence on the relationship between the Slavic lands and Crimea at that time. The letter contains information on trade agreements as well as an attack on traders that was allegedly carried out by 'Tatars of the Azov region' (in the letter: Озовские тарарове / *Ozovskie tatarove*).

When compared to the analysis of the previous Ukrainian texts one finds a lot of consistencies. First of all, in this letter 42 forms of the past tense verb were counted, out of which 23 verbs were masculine past tense. All of these 23 masculine past tense verbs employed the Russian ending in -l/. A total of four auxiliary verb constructions were counted, though it should be noted that the auxiliary verb seemed to employ a different conjugation. Just two different forms of the auxiliary verb were found: есми / *esmi* and есмо / *esmo*. The *esmi*-form corresponded to singular nouns: once to я 'I' and once to Михайло 'Michael', while the *esmo*-form corresponded to plural nouns, such as мы 'we'.

Interestingly enough, the third person singular form *est'* is encountered once in the letter, but not used as an auxiliary verb. This might show that the auxiliary verb in Ukrainian had become more of a superficial construct: Ukrainians did not see the relationship between the auxiliary verb and the verb 'to be' anymore (which is the reason why *est'* is not employed as an auxiliary verb, but *esmi* is) and therefore the auxiliary verb was already becoming obsolete, while only being employed in more or less standard constructions.

As for the present tense verbs: no 1pl forms were found, but a total of 4 instances of the third person singular and 2 infinitive verbs were counted. All of these employed the Russian variety verb ending (3sg: -t, inf: -ty).

The adjective showed consistency with the previous texts as well. Although no neutral nominative adjectives were counted, it is safe to assume all adjectives employed the Russian uncontracted ending, as the 2 masculine, 2 feminine and 7 plural adjectives that were encountered in the text all showed the uncontracted form. The plural adjectives showed four different endings, depending on the stem ending: *-yi/-ii* (*-ыи/-ии*) and *-ye/-ie* (*-ые/-ие*). The most employed form was *-yi/-ii* (4 out of 7 times). Strangely enough, all of these adjectives, regardless of ending, corresponded to masculine gender nouns (except for one instance when a *-yi* adjective corresponded to the neutral gender *děla* ‘business’. Besides that, one noun, namely *kazaki* ‘Cossacks’, was encountered twice with different adjective endings in the corresponding adjective. Just like in the Russian text that was analysed in chapter 3.3.3. this might indicate that gender distinction in nominative plural adjective was becoming obsolete: the different adjective endings still existed, but were used randomly and without coherence.

		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	23/23 (100%)	-ŭ/-v	0%
	3sg	-C	4/4 (100%)	-ø / -cʹ	0%
	1pl	-mø	n/d	-mV	n/d
	Inf	-tʹ/-ty	2/2 (100%) (in <i>-ty</i>)	-cʹ	0%
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	2/2 (100%)	Contracted	0%
	F		2/2 (100%)		0%
	N		n/d		n/d
	Pl		6/6 (100%)		0%
	Pl Gender distinction?	Possibly, but becoming obsolete			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 4/42 (10%)				

Table 16: Overview of form frequencies in the 16th century letter of the sultan of Kafa.

3.4.3. Excerpt from the letters of Mazepa (ca. 1708) – appendix 4d

To end this investigation with a more personal series of texts, the final text to be analysed will be an excerpt from a series of letters of Ukrainian hetman Ivan Mazepa to his loved one. The letters are of a fairly intimate nature and are addressed to either ‘my little heart’, ‘my heartily beloved’ or ‘my beloved heart’. The texts themselves are fairly short but often contain wishes such as ‘promise to hold me dear’ or promises such as ‘as long as I am alive, I will not forget you’. The last letters are grimmer as Mazepa writes in them about his imminent demise and how he longs to see his beloved again, knowing he is unable to.

Even though the texts themselves are fairly short, they contain a lot of information that is valuable for this investigation. The letters contain 14 past tenses, out of which three were masculine. Interestingly enough, these masculine forms all end in the Polish variety ending: *-v/*. It can therefore safely be said that the masculine past tense in Ukrainian had acquired its contemporary form in at least the 18th century. Furthermore, Mazepa employs three auxiliary verb constructions in his letters. All of these

employed the second person singular form of ‘to be’ in combination with a feminine past participle. Therefore it is clear that the auxiliary verb is only used at moments when Mazepa directly addresses his loved one. Furthermore, the auxiliary verb is only encountered in subordinate conditional clauses:

(...) яко южь не поединокротъ слово свое и рученку дала есь, а я взаємне, поки живъ буду, тебе не забуду.
 (...) *that you not once have given your word and hand, and I will likewise, as long as I am alive, not forget you.*

One can therefore likely assume that the auxiliary verb had become a style figure in Ukrainian at this time. The verb is in common use, but only employed to ‘strengthen’ the conditional and emotional character of a subordinate clause.

While the past tense shows its first discrepancies with Russian, the present tense still follows nicely in the Russian footsteps. The third person singular, which was encountered 7 times, employed the Russian variety ending in all encountered verbs. However, it should be noted that roughly half of these verbs showed an ending in *-t* (realised as *-ть*), while the other half employed the contemporary ending *-t’* (*-ть*).

The first person plural was encountered twice and both times employed the Russian ending *-mø* (i.e. without an additional vocal). The infinitive was encountered 20 times and constantly ended in *-ty*. Just like the present tense verbs, the adjectives also showed the Russian uncontracted ending in the two masculine, six feminine, two neutral and five plural endings that were encountered. The plural once again showed different endings: *-iy/-yy* and *-ie* (which most probably is also a pair: *-ie/-ye*, but the latter was not attested in these letters). Like in the previous text, these forms were used randomly and did not suggest a coherent system was in place. All forms corresponded seemingly random to all noun genders, for example: *-ie* corresponded to both the feminine *ručenki* ‘hands’ and the masculine *městca* ‘places’, while the *-iy*-form also corresponded to a masculine construction: *tvoi prokljatjii* ‘those damned [people] of yours’.

Once again, this mix up of forms indicates that although different forms of the nominative plural adjective were in place, gender distinction was not made anymore. The adjective forms are used seemingly at random.

		<i>Russian variety</i>	Freq (%)	<i>Polish variety</i>	Freq (%)
Verb	Past Tense M	-l	0%	-ũ/-v	3/3 (100%)
	3sg	-C	7/7 (100%)	-ø / -c’	0%
	1pl	-mø	2/2 (100%)	-mV	0%
	Inf	-t’/-ty	20/20 (100%) (in <i>-ty</i>)	-c’	0%
Adjective	M	Uncontracted	2/2 (100%)	Contracted	0%
	F		6/6 (100%)		0%
	N		2/2 (100%)		0%
	Pl		5/5 (100%)		0%
	Pl Gender distinction?	Most probably obsolete			
Aux. verb	Frequency (%): 3/14 (21%)				

Table 17: Overview of form frequencies in the 18th century letters of Ivan Mazepa.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

4.1. General developments

Before summarising the developments of the parameters described in chapter 2.2 some of the more general developments that were observed in the texts will be named.

First of all, the phenomenon of *akan'e* in Russian and Belarusian was – surprisingly – noticeable in the analysed texts. In most texts, this phenomenon was reflected in spelling errors, while in *Al-Kitab* it was much more prominent due to the text being a literal transcription of the Belarusian language the way it was spoken. If one assumes that a spelling error is an indication of the existence of *akan'e* in a language since the author apparently does not consider the mistake to be a slip of the pen, one can safely assume – if one merely bases his assumptions on the findings done in this investigation – that *akan'e* was introduced to Belarusian in the 16th century.

That being said, it is interesting to see that in the texts that were selected for this investigation, these kind of *akan'e* related spelling errors make their appearance in Russian in the 16th century as well. Therefore, solely based on the findings from this investigation, it seems that Wexler's claim that *akan'e* was a Belarusian innovation, might not be true, since *akan'e* popped up in both Russian and Belarusian texts of the same time period. However, analysis of more and older texts from both language areas is needed in order to better back up or disprove this claim.

A second interesting observation that was done here considers the sound change of the plosive /g/ into the fricative /ɣ/. As Ševel'ov noted, this sound change took place in Ukrainian as early as the 12th-13th century. Though this sound change is not reflected in any spelling at all, the *Al-Kitab* shows that 16th century Belarusian had also already undergone the change. One might therefore assume that the changing of plosive /g/ into the fricative /ɣ/ was introduced to Belarusian by Ukrainian, since the latter underwent the sound change on an earlier stage.

Finally, it is apparent that Polish sound changes spread into some East-Slavic languages as well. This is most of all reflected in the introduction of *dze kan'e* to Belarusian, as can be seen first in the phonetic text from *Al-Kitab* and later in the standardised spelling of Belarusian in *Èneida Navyvarat*.

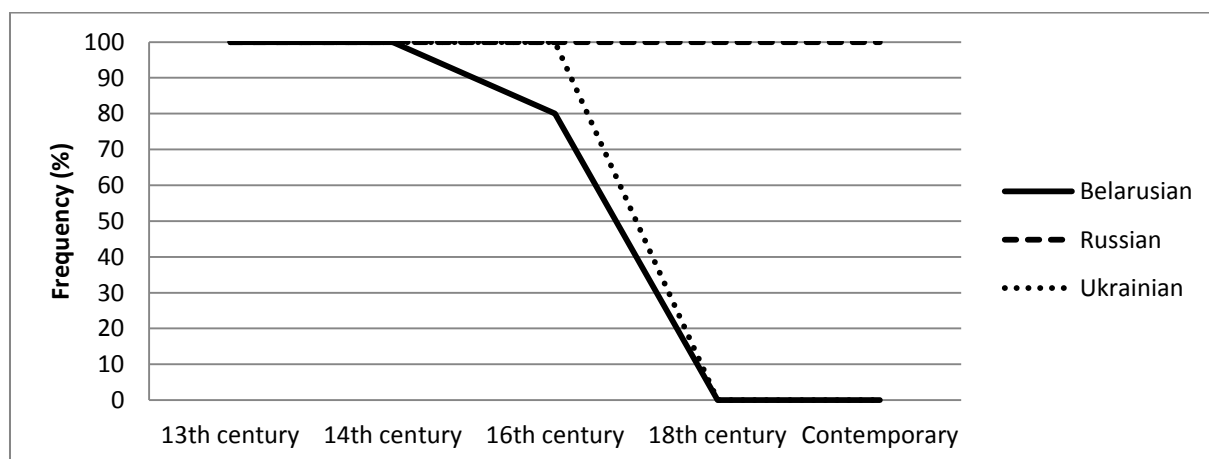
4.2. The development of the masculine past tense

Before actually diving into a trend analysis of the various investigated parameters, it should be pointed out that – as stated before – the 1229 Smolensk Trade Treaty will serve as the 'base line' for all of the investigated languages. Therefore, the data that were obtained from the analysis of this document will be used in the graphs to follow as the 13th century departure point for each language separately.

Besides that, it cannot be stressed enough that in a lot of texts only very few instances of the investigated scoring criteria were found. As a result of this, more texts would need to be investigated in order to more thoroughly back up the trends that are shown in the graphs below (though I personally think these additional texts would not show very different trends than the graphs depicted below).

As can be seen in graph 1 below, the development of the masculine past tense verb in the three investigated language does not show much oddities.

The first thing that becomes clearly visible in the graph is that the ‘true’ ESl masculine past tense ending is the ending in *-l/*, since this form is not only found in the Smolensk Trade Treaty, but was in use in all East-Slavic languages until at least the 14th century. Therefore, in table 4, situation 1 was the starting point for each of the investigated languages and situation 2 is the new situation, in which the Polish form (the ending in either *-v/* or *-ũ/*) has managed to get introduced in Belarusian and Ukrainian verbal declension.



Graph 1: Frequency of masculine past tense in *-l/*

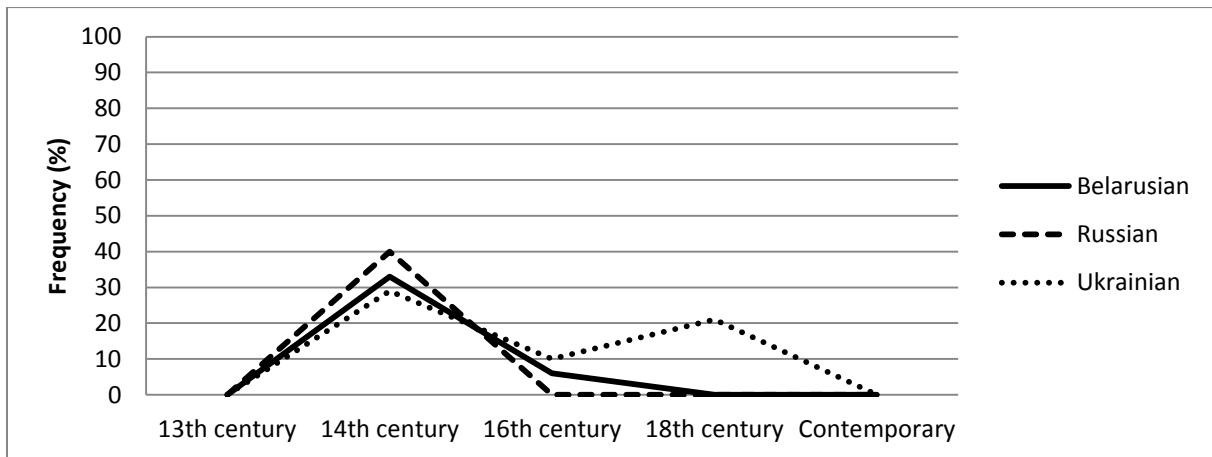
Besides that, it is also apparent that Russian – at least with regard to the masculine past tense ending – has been the most conservative of the East-Slavic languages, as it still uses the *-l/*-ending to this day. As for the introduction of the Polish variety endings, it seems that Belarusian was the first language to adapt this form. Already in the 16th century, the *Al-Kitab* shows that the old *-l/*-ending was replaced by *-ũ/*. The fact that graph 1 shows the 16th century as a transitional period (with the frequency for the masculine past tense ending in *-l/* hovering around 80%) is only because of the second text that was analysed for that century. In that text, the spelling did not completely reflect the pronunciation and showed the masculine past tense ending in *-l/*. This has been extensively discussed before in chapter 3.2.2.

If the 16th century saw the transition of *-l/* to *-ũ/* in Belarusian, it did not do so for Ukrainian. The Ukrainian text that was analysed for the same century showed no change in the masculine past tense ending and the change to the contemporary form *-v/* was only reflected in the 18th century letters from Ivan Mazepa.

The resulting conclusion from these observations is that the ESl ending *-l/* was only maintained in Russian, while over the 16th-18th centuries Belarusian and Ukrainian lost this ending. The first

language to adapt to the Polish variety was Belarusian, while Ukrainian got their -v/-ending only around the 18th century.

4.3. The use of the auxiliary verb



Graph 2: Frequency of auxiliary verb usage

Compared to graph 1, the graph depicting the development of auxiliary verb usage (graph 2) paints a much more interesting picture.

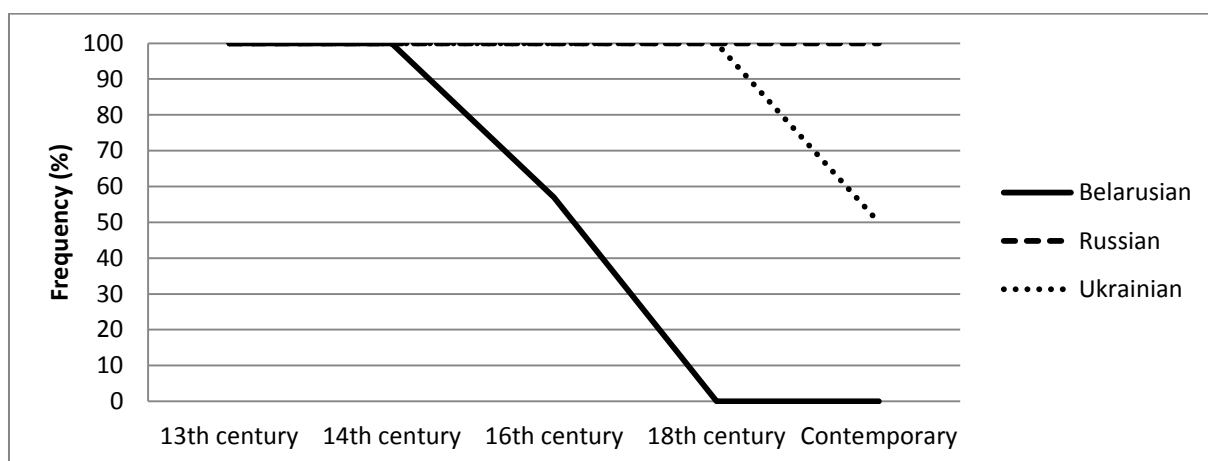
First of all, it seems that Issatchenko, who stated that the auxiliary verb had become obsolete in Russian as early as the 13th century, was unaware that written Russian sources still employ the auxiliary verb after the 13th century. While in the Smolensk Trade Treaty no single auxiliary verb was found, 14th century Russian showed a sudden surge in its usage, peaking at a staggering 40 percent. However, after that, the auxiliary verb seems to have become obsolete once and for all, since no single Russian text employed the verb anymore.

Both Belarusian and Ukrainian show similar trends, although they both employed the auxiliary verb for a longer period of time. Both languages also peaked in their auxiliary verb used during the 14th century, after which the usage of these verbs started to decline. Already in the 16th century, for example, the frequency of the auxiliary verb in Ukrainian was only 10% - compared to 29% in the 14th century. Yet still, it seems Ukrainian was the language that kept employing the auxiliary verb for the longest period of all: in the 18th century letters of Mazepa the verb is encountered multiple times, while in Belarusian the verb had already become obsolete.

It should be noted though, that the auxiliary verb was not necessarily used as a way of constructing a certain past tense (like it did before the 13th century). As already noted on multiple occasions in chapter 3, the auxiliary verb seemed to have been used as a means to express strong emotion or conditionality and was therefore limited to direct speech – like in Tristan – or subordinate clauses – like in the letters of Mazepa.

4.4. Present tense verb endings

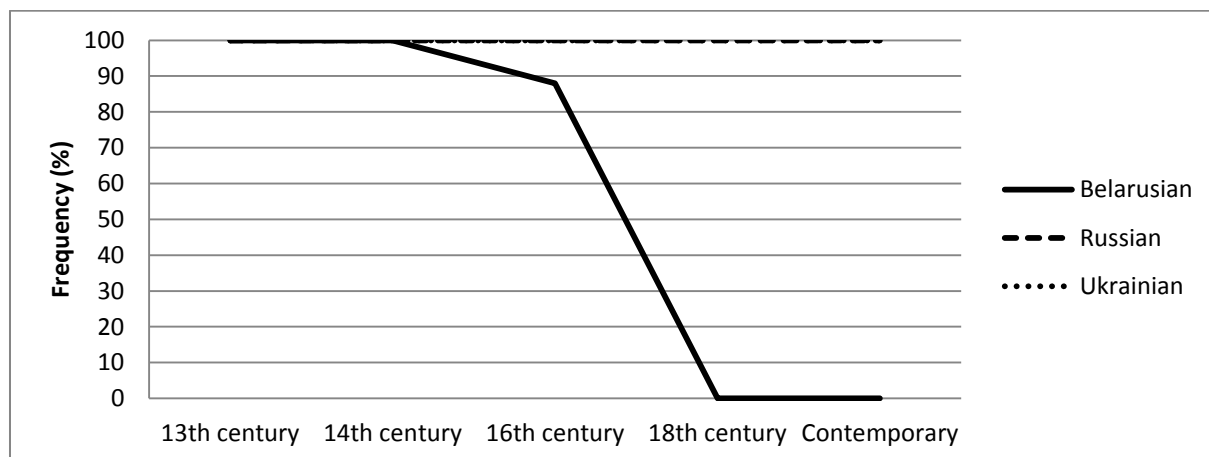
With regards to the analysed verb ending in the present tense (third person singular, first person plural and infinitive), it should be noted that overall an insufficient amount of data on the development of the first person plural was collected from the analysed texts. Most texts lacked this form of the present tense verb, so no clear trend can be observed. The only clear observation that can be made from the sparse data is that Ukrainian, which in the contemporary literary language employs a Polish variety ending (*-mo*) adopted this form after the 18th century, since in the 18th century letters of Ivan Mazepa this form is not present yet. It might be possible that the *-mo*-form in Ukrainian was introduced by one of the Ukrainian dialects to the standard language when it was being created at the end of the 18th/beginning of the 19th century, since – as noted by Ševel’ov – the centre of the standardisation efforts in Ukraine shifted multiple times, resulting in fluctuating influences from the various dialects. As for the other present tense forms that were analysed during this research, a clear picture can be created since all texts contained forms of the third person singular as well as the infinitive verb.



Graph 3: Frequency of Russian variety endings in 3sg. Note that the drop in frequency in Ukrainian after the 18th century does not necessarily result in a 50/50 divide between Russian and Polish variety endings as this value was chosen arbitrarily to show that contemporary Ukrainian employs forms from both Russian and Polish.

In the contemporary East-Slavic languages it is Belarusian that has the most irregular form of the third person singular verb when compared to the other East-Slavic languages, since it has completely switched the ‘traditional’ East-Slavic ending (in *-t*) for $-\emptyset$, or changed the *-t* to *-c*’ (under influence of the sound change of *dzekan’e*, which also occurred in Polish). Therefore it comes as no surprise that in graph 3 Belarusian has completely gone from 100% Russian variety endings to 0%. Like in the masculine past tense forms, it is evident that the transition to the Polish form took place roughly around the 16th century and by the 18th century the transition was complete. Interestingly enough, though, even in the 18th century texts the $-\emptyset$ -form was not found at all as only instances of 3sg in *-c*’ were encountered. Like the Ukrainian *-mo*-form for 1pl, the reason for this might be that the $-\emptyset$ -form was limited to dialects for a long time and was only later introduced to the Belarusian standard language.

As for Ukrainian, which in its contemporary grammar also employs two endings in third person singular verbs (one Russian variety: $-t'$ and one Polish variety: $-\phi$) it seems that the decline in the use of the Russian variety is fairly recent. In none of the analysed texts a Polish variety ending could be found, so the adaptation of the $-\phi$ -form by Ukrainian must have taken place somewhere around the 19th century.



Graph 4: Frequency of Russian variety endings in infinitive verbs.

Graph 3 is almost completely reproduced when plotting the trends in the development of the infinitive verb endings – as can be seen in graph 4. In the contemporary East-Slavic languages, Belarusian is the odd one out when it comes to infinitive verb endings, as it is the only language to employ the Polish variety ending in $-c'$. Both Russian and Ukrainian employ the Russian variety endings in either $-t'$ or $-ti$ (though it should be noted Ukrainian only employs the latter).

These observations are clearly visible in graph 4: Ukrainian and Russian stick together at a frequency of 100% with regard to Russian variety verb ending usage in the infinitive verb. Belarusian changes its infinitive verb ending to the Polish variety and – just like in previous graphs – this transition takes place roughly around the 16th century.

4.5. Nominative adjective and gender distinction

Unfortunately, it was almost impossible to find nominative adjectives for all genders as well as plural in every text, but even though most texts lacked one or two adjective genders, the remaining adjectives allow for a fairly decent analysis of the development of the adjective.

When investigating the nominative adjective, the distinction was made between the uncontracted Russian form and the contracted Polish form as both Belarusian and Ukrainian employ the contracted form in one or more adjective genders (Belarusian uses the contracted form only in masculine nominatives adjectives and Ukrainian uses the contracted form in all genders, except for masculine). Interestingly enough, even though contracted forms are abundant in modern day Ukrainian, only two instances of a contracted adjective were found in the Ukrainian texts. These two adjectives were only

found in the oldest analysed texts (the deeds from the 14th century), while in the more recent texts, these forms had disappeared. Like various other forms, such as the *-mo-*form for 1pl in Ukrainian, it might be possible that the contracted adjective was also only introduced to standardised Ukrainian by dialects no sooner than the 19th century.

As for Belarusian, this language also showed nothing more than minor changes with respect to the ‘contractedness’ of the adjective. Only in the 16th century does the masculine nominative adjective start to change: while regular adjectives maintain their uncontracted form, masculine nominative participles, which behave just like adjectives in their declension, start to become contracted. In the last Belarusian text, *Ėneida Navyvarat*, this trend continues: masculine participles are contracted, while regular adjectives are not. It might therefore be possible that in Belarusian, in a more recent time, the contractedness of the masculine participle has expanded into the declension of regular adjectives, or that the declension of masculine adjectives adopted the contractedness of the participle due to analogy when the language was standardised.

As for gender distinction, even less information was found in the texts. Whenever plural adjectives were found, they often only corresponded to nouns of the same gender, which reveals no information on adjective behaviour around nouns of a different gender.

Out of the little information that was obtained, it can be deduced that both Russian and Belarusian made a distinction between noun genders in plural in the 14th century. Interestingly enough, both languages shared some endings, but used them for different genders:

	Masculine	Feminine
Belarusian	-yi	-yě
Russian	-yě	-ye

Table 18: Nominative plural adjective endings in BY and R in the 14th century.

Besides that, the sparse information that could be found in the texts showed that in Ukrainian already in the 16th century gender distinction was disappearing. This can be assumed because of the fact that in the 16th century Ukrainian text multiple different plural adjective endings were encountered, but they did not show any coherent rule in their usage. The same goes for the 18th century Russian and Ukrainian texts. Evidently, gender distinction in plural adjectives was disappearing rather quickly, becoming obsolete in at least the Russian and Ukrainian languages in the 18th century.

4.6. Polish influence or not?

Most of the above changes in Belarusian and Ukrainian have certain facts in common. The most evident observation is that somewhere in the 16th century an event took place which caused major changes in the Belarusian language. The event caused the change of the Belarusian masculine past tense from *-l/* to *-ŭ/*, the change of the third person singular verb ending from *-t* to *-c* and a similar

change in the ending of the infinitive verb. Most of these changes (except for the change of the ending of the infinitive) were later also adopted by Ukrainian.

Besides these observations, one can also see that for some reason, Belarusian and Ukrainian maintained the auxiliary verb for a much longer time than Russian. While the latter completely rid itself of the auxiliary verb after the 14th century, the verb was still encountered in Belarusian and Ukrainian texts of the centuries after that – even though the auxiliary verb lost its old meaning and became a means of denoting conditionality and emotion.

Finally, the already mentioned event in the 16th century also caused – though this had less impact – a change in the adjective in Belarusian. Somewhere around the 16th century Belarusian partially got rid of the uncontracted ending in the masculine nominative adjective. This first only applied to participles and later expanded into regular adjectives as well.

It is striking that all of the changes that affected the Belarusian and Ukrainian languages are shared with Polish: Polish, for example, also employs a masculine past tense ending in *-/ŭ/* rather than *-/l/* and only employs contracted forms in the nominative adjective. Besides that, as Issatchenko noticed, Polish, too, employed the auxiliary verb for a longer time than Russian did. Therefore, *if* the changes in Belarusian and Ukrainian were indeed caused by their contact with the Polish language, the event that took place in the 16th century should be related to a political change in the relationship between the Belarusian (and Ukrainian) speaking lands and the Polish lands.

One quick glance at the timeline in chapter 0.2 confirms this suggestion. In the 16th century, in 1569 to be precise, the Union of Lublin took place, resulting in a tight union between Poland and (Belarus-dominated) Lithuania, also known as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The union resulted in a bilingual Polish/East-Slavic situation – according to Pugh – and that way led to an increased influence of Polish over the Belarusian and Ukrainian lands and lowered the status of Belarusian, which before that was more or less the official language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It might be because of that previously prestigious status of Belarusian that written Belarusian more quickly adopted various Polish influences (also: the Belarusian lands had been incorporated into Lithuania way earlier than the Ukrainian lands, which might have led to some increase in Polish influences already after the Union of Krewa in 1385). Ukrainian, because of the fact that it was very little used in official documentation, therefore managed to withstand the Polonisation that was taking place in the higher echelons of the Commonwealth better, which explains why the Polish influences on Ukrainian lag behind the Belarusian adoption of these influences.

The fact that the Union of Lublin goes hand in hand with the beginning of the transformation of various aspects of the Belarusian and Ukrainian languages therefore confirms the assumption that Polish had a great impact on the evolution and development of the East-Slavic languages. To return to the theories which were discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, one can therefore safely say that the theories proposed by Šaxmatov and Filin, however brilliant they may be, lose a part of their credibility. Their theories either ignore the option that Polish might have played an influential role in

the development of the East-Slavic languages or downplay the role of the Polish language. Therefore, the contemporary theory, as proposed by Pugh in his book ‘A New Historical Grammar of the East Slavic Languages’ seems to be the most plausible theory. Out of the three major theories that were discussed, only in Pugh’s theory a major role in the development of East-Slavic is accredited to the Polish language. While his theory is based solely on sound laws and other phonetic aspects of the East-Slavic languages and Polish, the primarily morphological investigation as presented in this thesis confirms Pugh’s suggestion that Polish had a great impact on Belarusian and Ukrainian as well as his assumption that the Polish annexation of those lands facilitated the Polonisation of these languages.

In other words: Šaxmatov and Filin’s theories, which downplay the role of the Polish language, are less plausible given the findings in this current investigation. The same findings, however, confirm the theory on the development of the East-Slavic languages that was proposed by Pugh, as it confirms the suggestion that the discrepancies between Belarusian and Ukrainian on the one side and Russian on the other were caused by Polish influence on these languages after the incorporation of these lands into the Commonwealth.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth played a significant role in the diversification of the East-Slavic languages and helped shape the contemporary Belarusian and Ukrainian languages by introducing various alien (i.e. non-East-Slavic) aspects to these languages.



Figure 4: Rzeczpospolita (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), as depicted in the style of the comic 'Polandball'.

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Figure 1: 'Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1619)', via Wikimedia Commons on <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rzeczpospolita2nar.png>. Last accessed 09/06/2015.

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Acknowledgements

After finishing such an extensive and elaborate work such as this, I would like to add a couple of words to express my gratitude and give credit to those who deserve it.

First of all, I would like to thank dr. Egbert Fortuin for agreeing on supervising this MA-Thesis as well as providing feedback and tips, regardless of his own busy schedule. Besides that, I would like to thank the second reader of this thesis (whoever it may be, as this is yet unknown at the time of writing) for taking the time to evaluate this work. From the department of Russian at Leiden University I would also like to thank dr. Willem Vermeer, for not objecting to being pulled into this project and offering his own insights into the subject, and dr. Andries van Helden, for giving me various ideas on how to conduct this investigation.

I would like to thank Caia Roelofsen, who – being of half-Polish descent – was very helpful in checking whether or not certain assumptions of contemporary Polish grammar were indeed true. Furthermore I would like to thank other students who patiently listened when I once again told them about the newest developments in my thesis research, which most of them would find exceptionally boring (most of all this applies to my co-students Ingrid Nelson and Werner Kiel, who had to participate in the same thesis seminars as I, even though they do not care for linguistics at all).

To conclude I would also like to name a few things that I most strongly would like to not express my gratitude to. First of all: Microsoft Word, no thanks to you for crashing twice during the saving of this thesis (and thereby causing me to suffer a minor heart attack). Secondly: the extremely warm weather, which not only made working behind a pc a torment, but which also caused my refrigerator to malfunction, thereby forcing me to waste precious time on fixing the damned machine.

Appendix 1: Excerpt from 'Смоленская торговая правда - «Договор смоленского князя с Ригою, Готландом и немецкими городами»' (1229) – Smolensk Trade Treaty, or 'Treaty of the lord of Smolensk with Riga, Gotland and the German cities'

Что са дѣиетъ по вѣрьменьемъ · то ѿидето по вѣрьменьемъ · приказано боудѣте добрымъ людѣмъ · а любо грамотою оутвѣрдатъ · како то боудѣте всемъ вѣдомъ · или кто послѣ живыи встанѣтъ са · того лѣтъ коли альбрахтъ · влдѣа ризкии оумърль · оуздоумаль князѣ смольнескыи · мьстиславъ · двдѣвѣ снѣ · прислалъ въ ригоу своего лоучышего попа · ьермея · и съ нимъ оумьна моужа пантеля · исвоего горда смольнеска · тадва была послѣмъ оу ризѣ · из ригы ѣхали на гочкыи берьго · тамо твердяти миръ · оутвѣрдили миръ что былъ не мирно · промьжоу смольнеска · и ригы · и готскимъ берьгомъ · всемъ коупчемъ · Пре сеи миръ троудили са дѣбрии людие · Ролфо · ис кашела · бжѣ дворанинъ тоумаше смолнанинъ · аж бы миро былъ и дѣ вѣка · оурадили пакъ миръ · како былъ любо роуси · и всѣмоу латинескомуу языкоу · кто то оу роусе гоститъ · На томъ мироу аж бы миръ твѣрдъ былъ · тако былъ князю любо · и рижанѣмъ всемъ · и всемоу латинескомуу языкоу · И всемъ темъ кто то на оустоко мора ходитъ · аж бы нальзль правдоу · то напсати · како то держати роуси · съ латинескимъ языкомъ · и латинескомуу языкоу съ роусию · то дѣржати · Аж быхъмъ что тако оучинили · того бѣ не даи · аж бы промьжоу нами бои былъ · а любо члѣва оубиють до смѣрти · како члѣва то ѿплатити · аж бы миръ не рѣздоушенъ былъ · такъ платити · како то бы ѿбоимъ любо были ·

Зде починаеть са правда · Аже боудѣтъ свободѣнны члѣкъ оубитъ · 1 · гривень серебра · за гольвоу ·

Аже боудѣте хольпъ оубитъ · а 1 · гривна серебра заплатити · оу смольнѣскъ тако платити · и оу ризе · и на готскомъ берзѣ ·

око · роука · нѣга · или инъ что любо · по пати гривнѣ серебра · ѿ всакого · платити за къ · е 1 · серебра · за роукоу · е 1 · серебра · за нѣгоу · е 1 · серебра · и за всакыи соуставъ · пать гривнѣ серебра · За зуобъ · г 1 · гривнѣ серебра · и смольнѣскъ · и оу ризѣ · и на гочкомъ берзѣ ·

Кто биеть дроуга · дѣревѣмъ · а боудѣте синъ · любо кровавъ · полоуторы · гривны серебра платити ѣмоу ·

по оухоу оударите · г 1 · четвѣрти серебра ·

послоу · и попѣ · что оучинать · за двоѣ того оузати · два платежа ·

Аже кого оуранать · полоуторы гривны серебра · аже боудѣте без вѣка · Тако платити · оу смольнеске · и оу ризѣ · и на гочкомъ берзѣ ·

Аже извинитъ са роусинъ · оу ризе · или на гочкѣмъ березе · оу дыбоу ѣго не сажати ·

Аже извинитъ са латининъ · оу смольнѣскѣ · не мѣтати ѣго оу погрѣбѣ · Аже не боудѣтъ поруки то оу жельза оусадитъ ·

Аже латининъ дасть · роусиноу товаръ свои оу дълго · оу смольнеске · заплатити немчиноу пѣрвѣе · хотя бы инѣмоу комоу виновать · былъ роусиноу · Тако оузати роусинѣоу · оу ризѣ · и на готскомъ берзѣ ·

Аже розгнѣваеть са князѣ на своего члѣва · а боудѣте винѣвать немчицю роусинъ · а ѿиметь князѣ все женоу и дѣти · оу хольпство · пѣрвоѣ платити ѣмоу · латинину · а по томъ князю какъ любо съ своимъ члѣкмъ · Такоу правдоу възати · роусиноу · оу ризѣ · и на гочкѣмъ берзѣ ·

Аже латининъ дасть князю хѣлопоу · въ заѣмъ · или инѣмоу доброу члѣвоу · а оумрете не заплативъ · а кто ѣмльть ѣго встатѣкъ · томоу платити немчиноу · Такова правда оу зати роусиноу оу ризѣ · и на гочкомъ берзѣ ·

Роусиноу не оупирати · латинина · ѿднемъ послухомъ · аже не боудѣтъ двою послухоу · ѿдинога немчича · а дроугога роусина · добрыхъ людии · Тако латининоу не пѣрыпрети роусина · аже не боудѣтъ послуха роусина · а дроугога немчина · оу ризѣ · и на гочкомъ берзѣ ·

Роусиноу не вѣсти латинина · ко жельзоу горячемоу · аже самъ вѣсхочетъ · А латининоу тако роусина не вести · аже самъ вѣсхочете ·

Роусиноу не звати · латина на полѣ битъ са · оу роуской земли · А латининоу не звати роусина на полѣ бито са · оу ризѣ и на готскомъ берзѣ ·

(...)

Коли сѧ · грамота писана · ишль были ·:· ѿ ржѣтва гсѣа · до сего лѣта · аѣ · лѣт · и · с · лѣт · и · и · лѣт · и · к ·:· · подь пискоупомь ризкимь ·:· провѣть · ягань · мастърь · вълквинь ·:· бжйи дворанинь · и подь горожаны · ризѣскими ·:· прѣдъ всеми латинескими коупци ·:· сѧ грамота оутвържена · всехо коупче · пьчатию · се ороудиє · исправили · оумнии коупчи · регньбодѣ · дѣтартъ · адамъ · то были горожане ·:· на гочкомь березе · мьмьбернь · вредрикъ доумбѣ · ти были из любка ·:· гиндрикъ готь · илдигърь · та два была исъ жата · конратъ шхель · вдѣ яганть кинть · та два была из мюньстѣрѧ · бернаръ · вдѣ вълкеръ · та два была изъ грюнигъ ·:· юрмьбрхть · вдѣ албрахть · та два была из дортмьна · тиндрикъ цижикъ из бремьнь · албрахть слоукъ · бернарть · вдѣ валтьрь · вдѣ албрахть фоготь · то были горожане оу ризѣ ·:· и инехъ много оумныхъ добрыхъ людѣи ·:· котории роусинь · или латинескыи · противу сею правды мълвить · того почести за лихий моужь · сѧ грамота юсть выдана · на гочкомь берзѣ пьрьдъ роускимь посломь · и пьрьдъ всеми латинскими коупци ·:· ~

а) «Перамір'е з каралём Польшчы Казімірам, з Земавітам і яго братам Казімірам Мазавецкім» (1352) – *Ceasefire with the king of Poland Kazimierz, with Siemowit and his brother Kazimierz Mazowiecki*⁸⁵

Вѣдаи то каждыи ч(е)л(о)в(е)къ, кто на тыи листъ посмотрить.

Сѹже я, князь Еоунутии, и Кистютии, и Любарть, | Юрьи Наримонътовичъ, Юрьи Корьятовичъ, чинимы миръ твердыи ис королемъ Казимиромъ Поль|скымъ [sic] и Сомовитомъ и съ его братомъ Казимиромъ Мазовьскимъ и съ его землами Краковъ|скою и Судомирьскою, Сиразьскою, Куявьскою, Лучичьскою, Добрыньскою, Плотьскою, Ма|зовьскою, Люблиньскою, Сетѣховьскою и со Львовьскою.

А за велкого [sic] княза Сѹлькѣрта, и за | Корьята, и за Патрикия, и за ихъ сыны мы ислюбуемъ тотъ миръ держати вѣлми твердо | безо всакоѣ хитрости.

Не заимати намъ королевы землѣ, ни его людии, што его слушають.

Коро|леви держати Львовьскую землю исполна. А намъ держати Володимѣрьскую, Луцкую, Бе|лзскую, Холмьскую, Берестийскую исполна жь.

А миръ вт Покрова Б(огороди)цѣ до Ивана дне до | Купаль. А вт Ивана дне за 2 лѣт.

А городовъ оу Рускои земли новыхъ не ставити, ни сожъ|женого не рубити, докола миръ стоить за 2 лѣт.

А Креманецъ держати Юрью Наримонъ|товичю вт князии литовьскихъ и вт корола за 2 лѣт, а города не рубити. А коли миръ стане|тъ, Юрью князю города лишитиса.

Аже поидеть оугорьскый король на Литву, польскому | королеви помагати. Аже поидеть на Русь, што Литвы слушаеть, королеви не помагати. |

А поидеть ли царь на лахи, алюбю князи темнии, княземъ литовьскимъ помагати. | Аже поидуть на Русь, што корола слушаеть, литовьскимъ княземъ не помагати.

А про | Любартово ятьство хочемъ его поставити на судѣ передъ паны оугорьскими. По ишествь|и С(вя)т(о)го Д(у)ха за 2 нед(е)ли литовьскимъ княземъ стати оу Холмѣ, а королеви оу Сточьцѣ. | Кде смолвать, тутъ будетъ судъ тагатиса ис королемъ. Будеть ли яль его король по | кривдѣ, Любарть будетъ правъ. И я, князь Кистютии, буду правъ передъ вѣгорьски|мъ королемъ. Будеть ли король правъ, намъ своего брата Любарта дати оугорьскому ко|ролеви оу ятьство.

А коли будетъ по миру кто не оусхочеть далѣи миру держати, тотъ | втповѣсть. А по втповѣдѣнныи стояти миру за мѣсаць.

Аже поидуть тарове [sic] на Львовьскую | землю, тогда Руси на львовьцѣ не помагати. Аже поидуть тарове на лахи, тогда Руси | невола поити ис татары.

А оу томъ перемирьи кто кому криво оучинить, надобѣ са оупо|минати старѣишему и оучинити тому и[сѣ]праву. Оучинит[ь] которыи добрыи ч(е)л(о)в(е)къ | кривду, любю воевода, алюбю панъ, оучинити исправу ис нимъ. Аже самъ не можетъ | заплатити тотъ истиньныи што же оуложать его оу вину - хочеть ли самъ король | заплатити за нь, а его дѣдичьство собѣ оузати. Не оусхочеть ли король самъ за|платити, дасть тому то дичьство [sic], кто его потажеть.

А за избѣга: можемъ его до|быти и выдати. Аже его не можемъ добыти, можемъ его иска [sic] съ вбою сторону. Аже | побѣгнеть русинъ алюбю руска или во Львовъ, или холопъ чии или роба - выда|ти его.

А што тои грамотѣ писано, тую жь правду литовьскимъ княземъ де|ржати.

А на то есмы дали своѣ печати.

⁸⁵ The original Polish names were found on *Medieval Lands – Poland*, on <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/POLAND.htm>.

Коли он то ведал, и рек “Я самъ | [есми] уморыль такую королевую [зъ]¹⁰ сего света так цудную | [своею не]опатрностью¹¹”. И он плакавши, и казалъ ее погresti. | [И онъ] слаль¹² королю Аполону ран гледети, и поведали ему, ижъ живъ | не может быти, и он его казал пустити.

И коли умер король | Аполонъ, отказал тело его, в реку¹³ вкинувшы, утопити. | И коли вкинули в реку, был у него один хортъ, который от него | николи нигде не отступовал, але за паном своим шоль у реку пла|вом, ищучы в рецэ пана своего, и нашоль его велми у глубоком | виру, инявши его за руку и выволоч на берег зубами своими. | И выкопавшы яму ногами своими, и положыль в ней пана | своего и закопал песком, штобы его не нашоль ни один зверь, | и селъ на оной могиле, штобы мог видети. |

И поехалъ король Клевдасъ в ловы, и ехал одним узречем, и много зверу | половить и ехал к одному городу, и приближылься ку оному | хорту Аполонуву. Хортъ увидевшы люди и почаль выть вел|ми высокимъ голосом. Коли король видель хорта, и послал видети, | што ест.

Они поехали и, видевшы, поведали королю, мовечи: | “Намъ ся видит, якобы человекъ новокопан, а хорт стоит на гробе | а нигде не идеть зъ гроба”. А корол был велми мудръ и поехал | сам видеть оного [хорта]. И рекъ: “То ест хорт короля Аполонувъ, | который [казал про того хорта:] то ест мой наболшый прятель”. | [И] сказа[л] роскапати моги|лу¹⁴, штобы видяль мертвеца, | [и коли роскапали, онъ позна]л¹⁵, ижъ былъ король Аполон, и вда|[рыл] ся в груди, велми высоким голо|сом говоречи: “Вже ж есми загибъ | [з такое ганбы, коли]¹⁶ наибольшый мой прятель умер | [зраднe”. И искал, кгде б|ыло¹⁷ ему быти уховану.

И зсель ис ко|[ня] своего король] ис плачем со слезами, и казал его понести | [у одинъ город]¹⁸, который был недалеко оттуль, и вбравшы |з| тело короля Аполона як есть потребно, положыл его в кошт[ел]. | А по томъ корол Клевдасъ казалъ кликати по всим местам | [абы ся до]|ведати¹⁹, хто вморыл короля Аполона, хочечи того велм[и великими] | дарьми даровати, если бы о том хто што пэвн[ого] ведал, а если | бы хто ведал а не

хотел правды споведати, такой [мает быти гор] |ломъ²⁰ каранъ.

И коли вышла от короля зап[оведь, девка Аполо]нова рекла: “Государу королю! Если бы еси был о [томъ шлюб дал, по] |ведаю²¹ о королю Аполоне, якою он смертью [умер, и могу ти все] | споведати; водлугъ твоего шлюбу прошу тебе [одноe]²² | ласки”. Рек король: “О што мене будеш просити [всего того] | дам ти”. И девка все споведала по раду, якъ ся его [сын розми] | ловаль королевое Аполонувое и не могъ ее инак [узяти и засел] | у водной дуброве и вбилъ мужа ее короля Аполон[а и як всю дру] | жыну его побил, и якъ ся королевая убила зъ жа[лости по мужу и по том] | што ся чинило, по раду ему споведала.

И рек король [Клевдас: “Сын мой и] | мене загубил и Аполона”²³. И послал по сына Аполон[ова и казал его опеко] | вати, поки бы мел лета²⁴. И потом послал по свое[го сына, и коли он] | перед него прышол, погледелъ на него велми серд[ито и рек: “Нэн] | дзъный чловече, уморыль еси одног[о] от добры[х] рыцэры и наболь] | шого²⁵ прыятеля у моим дому, а мене е[си засоромил и загубил]. Але такъ хочу вчынити, ижъ озмеш зап[лату, як для такого чыну] | злого прыстоит”.

А коли он вид[ел] таковое короле] | вое злое воли против себе, и заволал: “Государу [королю, змилуйся! Але]²⁶ | король не порушылься ни однымъ милосердь[ьем и казал] | огонь класти и сына своего в него вкину[ти. И прышла] | тая девка, которая то споведала, и поклекнувшы [перед королем, рекла:] | “Государу королю, деръжы ми свой шлюб, якъ ми еси обещаь”. [И король] | рекъ: “Девко, говоры”. И девка рекла: “Прошу {у} тебе твоего сына”. И коро[ль] | рекъ: “Готов ти ест, але мает прыняти смерть”. И казал его вки|нути у вогонь, и так] он вмер. И рекъ король девцэ: “Озми [тепер его]²⁷ | собе [мертва. То ест мо]я воля, таковое немилосер[дье карати. | Можеш взяти те пер] его и п[огрес]т[и, яко ему прыстоит]²⁸. |

39. From Al-Kitab (sixteenth century)

115 b (1) pri mne prarok paxvalnašć šveata (!), toj, što, imě pišuči, zlamali kelem «. (2) ʿAdžin ʿenheľ prišoŭ, varota ʿadčiniŭ, šemdžešat tisʼečej ʿenheľej ž nim visipališe; (3) pozdroveŭe tabe moveči, kriknŭli. Kožnij ž nix pa ʿadnom paľumisku švetlašći pasipali. (4) Skora z varot ʿu šeredžinu ʿuvašoŭ, roznije, roznije ʿenheľi, ej tevarišu, (5) tam vidžeŭ. ʿAdžin ʿenheľ šedžić, šemkrot po sto tisʼečej ʿenheľoŭ perez jim stajać, (6) šemkrot po sto tisʼečej pa prave stajać, šemkrot po sto tisʼečej pa levej staraŭe stajać; (7) četirista rozniimi imonami ʿuspaŭinajuć Panaboha, ľasku učiŭe ŭšim, Ti večistij Bože. (8) Tije ʿenheľi na zʼemlu istŭpeć, ʿu ʿadamšćix džečej hrexi berŭć, (9) klikać jeho būduć k temŭ ʿenheľu, da sŭdnahu dŭa jeho jon sxavajecca.

116 a (1) Na zʼemli, što roznije reči jest, ŭsʼix tix lidžbu jon vedaje. (2) Pašoŭ ʿadtŭl, hŭlaŭ pa vežax, razhledaŭ ŭše zvezdi, (3) kažnaje tak safami , safami zavešana, kažnaje za šehošvetnŭju haru bolšaje. (4) Tam-že vidžeŭ adžin ʿenheľ velmi džiŭnij, z moci svajej stvariŭ jeho Panboh; (5) paľavica iz sʼnehŭ, paľavica iz ʿahŭnŭ, roznije řesʼbixi z jezikoŭ idŭć. (6) Sʼneh ʿahŭnŭ pomoći nezahašić, aŭi ʿahoŭ sʼneha nerastopić, (7) ʿabadva tak ʿu stajaŭu jest. Viž Božuju moc, što jest. (8) I movi, ej tevarišu: »Učiniŭšćij řneh ʿahŭnŭ, ľasku ŭčiŭi nad ummeľem Muxemmeda!« (9) »Pej seľevať spašeŭju prarockemu!« — řesʼbix to jest taho ʿenheľa.

116 b (1) Pašoŭ ʿadtŭl na drŭhoje ŭebo. Jak słove (!) mović, mne še zdało tak. (2) Iz řelaza stvariŭ ŭebo drŭhoje Panboh, što ŭrobić, būdže hatova. (3) Naŭre drŭhomu ŭebŭ imě. Pej seľevať, prarok tak moviľ. (4) Na drŭhom ŭebe ʿenheľoŭ mnoha, ŭmahŭ mović, bo lidžbi ŭet. (5) Kali čeľevěk kurban reže, tahdi jeni na koŭi ušsedajuć, každij na haľavu karonu ʿuzľožiť, (6) ʿu rŭkax dzeržaci buľavi, ʿa jezikaŭi pećimŭć řesʼbix. (7) Xto-bi musʼulmansķju verŭ zdavaŭ, jeni, pašoŭši, ʿŭsʼix ʿu ŭiveč ʿabernuć. (8) Skora ʿabačičiŭ, sʼelam jim daŭ; jeni, priŭaŭši, tvari svaje na zʼemlu paľazi(li). (9) Pašoŭ ʿadtŭl na trečaje ŭeba. Zastaviŭ kaŭa na oku mhŭeŭju, prinŭči meŭe Panboh praŭdže.

I
Жив-быв Яней, дзяцюк хупавый,
Парнюк ниввошта украсив;
Хоць пан, а вдався нялукавый,
Даступин, весял, неспесив.
Но греки вуйму нарабили:
Як ляда Трою всю спалили.
Кашель ён згребши науцёк,

II
И швидко зробивши чавнок,
Траянцами яго набив
И в моря з ими ён паплыв.
Якась Юнона была злая,
Отродзя паньскаго лихая,
Шукала все яго сгубиць,
В кацёл у пекло пасадзиць.

III
За то от вишь ты не влюбила,
Яго Вянера што радзила,
А дзядзька зробив указею:
Юнона хвасталась сваею,
А ён Вянерину хвалив,
Вянере й дульку падарив.

IV
Юнона воблак атпихнула,
Да з нёба на моря взглянула:
Плывец на чавнаке Яней.
"Ах ты някруцина, зладзей!
Вось я цябе скручу в табаку,
Ражном у моря, як сабаку!"
Панёву швидко нахапила,
Кашель сашнями налажыла,
В калёсы села, пакацилась,
Як раз в Яола очуцилась,

V
Взашла в святлицу да й на кут.
"Здарова вси! Яол чи тут?"
Яол сядзев тагды на печки,
Мязгу скаблив на перяпечки
И лапци себе подпятав.
И вось аборы падабрав,
Заткнув за пояс кацатыг,
Скацився с печки в адзин миг.
"Здаров, хвигурная Юнона,
Цябе давно я не видав".
И три ей зробивши паклона,
Мякотнаго на стол падав.
Яна мякотнаго паела,
Уцёршись, так яму запела:

"Чи ведаеш маё ты горя?
Яней с траянцами плывець:
Спихни яго ты, сват, у моря,
Нихай нячисьцик воду пьець.

VI
Мяркую, чув, Яней ён зводник,
Варюга, злодзій, канаводник;
Траянцы также вси латрыги,
Вси курвичи и вси ярыги,
Праяву зрбяць на святу:
И их всих нада с свету знесць.
Кали, сват, зробишь тую чесць,
То я дзяхну украсиву,
Салодкую, як з мёдам сливу,
Цябе за тэе привяду".

VII
Яол расшупив тэе дзело:
З яго аж слинка пацикла,
Любив ён цешыць грэшна цела,
Дзяхну по нутру была.
Заскрёбся, барадой затрёс,
Усы разгладзив, пацёр нос,
Хапив напойку табаку,
Лупивши зубы, барматав
И реч Юноне ён таку
С паклонам вишь ты отказав:
"А вох-ци мне, моя Юнона,
Ниводнаго ж нет ветру дома;
Што буду робиць я цяпер?
Барей з пахмелля, як вяперь,
Ляжыць в святлицы на казёнки,
А Нот учора зъехав к жонки,
Зяхвир з дзяхнумаи загрався,
А Евр у батраки нанявся:
Як хочеш, ты сябе смекай,
Да е.ь дзяхну даставай!

VIII
А я все зроблю Грамадзею,
Са всих глуздов их сцибану,
С траянцов выдавлю алею,
На дно у моря заганю,
Твайго ж найбольше лиходзея,
Някрута, выблидка Янея,
Оттак папру и з дзяхнумаи
Аж булькаць будзиць пузырями,
Як в вир всих торчмя галавой
Наместник сцягниць за сабой!"

a) Testament of Prince Dmitrij Ivanovič of Moscow (before 1378)⁸⁶

20. Testament of Prince Dmitrij Ivanovič of Moscow (before 1378)

1
 скую свободу. руза
 дъ. вышегородъ. истерва. дмитрѣва свобод[а]
 ми селы и з бортники и с оброчники. и с мы. а что бу^т
 прикупиль [или п]рим[ы]
 слиль или починковъ. или котора^дмъ бытъ села оца моего ве-
 ликомъ кна[же]
 ньѣ купла или моя села куплена. или бра моего села кнажи
 иванов[ы]
 тѣ [с]ела и починки сн^ю моему кна^з василью и моѣи кнагини
 и моим[ъ]
 дѣтемъ. А чимъ мене блгвиль оцъ мои [кна] великии кото-
 рымъ зом[ъ]
 суды или dospѣхъ. или что възъ примыслиль. то зото и
 шапку зот[у]ю и че[пъ]
 и саб... зотыѣ. и порты саженыѣ. и суды зотыѣ и серебряныѣ
 суды. и ко[ни]
 10 [и ж]еребцы и стада своя. да есмь своему сн^ю кна^з василью
 и св[оеи] кна
 гини и своим[ъ] дѣтемъ. а что оцъ мои кна^з великии. . . .
 скоѣ к ст^{му} олександру. а к стѣи бци на круцицю чет[вер-
 тую часть ис тамги ис ко
 ломеньскоѣ. а костки московскиѣ к стѣи бци на м[осквѣ] оу
 стго ми
 хаило. А того не подвигнуть. а что моихъ казнач[еи] или
 посельск[ихъ].
 15 и тивуновъ. и дешковъ хто что от мене вѣд. . . . [сн^ю мое]му
 кна^з василью ни моѣи кнагини ни моимъ дѣтемъ не надоб[ны].
 А что м
 оихъ люи купленыхъ. а тымъ да есм[ь. . .] снѣ мои [кна^з]
 в[ас]ил[ии]
 и моя кна[г]ини и мои дѣти не принимаютъ ихъ. а сн^ю гра-
 моту пилъ е
 смъ собѣ дшвн^{ую}. и явилъ есмъ оцю своему ол[е]ксѣю.
 митрополиту. [всемъ]
 20 ру. и оцъ мои олексѣи митрополитъ всемъ ру и пе[ча]тъ свою
 при[вѣ]силъ
 к сеи грамотѣ. а послу на сн^ю грамоту. тимофѣи околничий
 [васильеви]
 иванъ родивонови. иванъ федорови. федоръ [анд]рѣеви а грам[оту]
 пилъ дьякъ нестеръ. а хто иметъ сн^ю грамоту чимъ рушати [н]а
 е[го] дши.

⁸⁶ Archaic forms, as denoted in the appendix to Ševel'ov, 1958: *примыслити* 'to purchase'; *костки* 'tax levied on merchants traveling through large towns'

Лета 7059-го мая в 3 день.

Прислал ко царю и великому князю ис Пронска боярин и воевода князь Иван Федорович Мстиславской татарина служилово Исень Келдишева, что посылан в Нагаи с Сююндюком Тулусуповым с таварищи к Белек Булат мирзе да к Дервишу царю. Да с ним же вместе прислал нагайских татар трех человек: Белек Булат мирзина человека Кишкилдея Кудайбердея да Атаи мирзина человека Кудайбердея, да Асанак мирзина человека Тягрибердея.

А писал, что Исень и нагайские татарове приехали к нему в Пронеск мая в 1 день в пятницу. А от Белек Булат мирзы идет посол его Карача, а Атаи мирзин посол Ишим, а Асанак мирзин посол Кудайбердеи. А всех послов и гостей 242 человека, а лошадей с ними 1006.

А за теми послы идут ко царю и великому князю от Юсуфа князя да от мирзы и от иных мирз послы. А Карача с товарищи идет перед ними днища за два.

А сказывал Исень царю и великому князю, как они пришли в Нагаи к Белек Булат мирзе, а Дервиш царь в те поры был у него и з женою, и з детми. И они жалованье царя и великого князя Дервишу царю дали. И Дервиш пожил при них у Белек Булат мирзы недели з две да поехал к Юсуфу князю с своими людьми. А жены и дети с собою не взял, а оставил их у Белек Булат мирзы. И жена его и дети и ныне у Белек Булат мирзы. А он от тех мест и по их отпуск к Белек Булат мирзе от Юсуфа не бывал. А Юсуф князь зимовал за Яком в Сарайчике. А Исмаиль мирза зимовал у Астрахани, близко от Асторохани верст з десять. А Белек Булат мирза зимовал на Волге от Астарохани днища з два. А Сююндюк с таварищи зимовали у него ж. А летовати Белек Булат мирзе на Самаре, меж Волги и Яика. А ис Крыма при них весть в Нагаи никакова не бывала. А Юсуф князь и иные мирзы в Крым ко царю послов своих послали. И те их послы из Крыма к ним в Нагаи еще не бывали. А пришли в Нагаи из Азова гости. И те гости сказывали, которых нагайских татар Али мирзиных крымской царь Сапкирей живых взял и сидели у него в тюрьмах, и тех крымской царь Девлеткирей ис тюрьмы выпустил. А в Нагаи они еще не бывали ж. А как Арслан мирза и иные мирзы молодые пошли воиною на царя и великого князя украины, и Белек Булат мирза от того их уимал, чтобы они на царя и великого князя украины воиною не ходили, и ходил за ними ворочати их до Волги, да их не доехал. И после того, пришед к себе, Белек Булат мирза послал ко царю и великому князю посла своего Карачю. А Атаи мирза и Асанак мирза послали своих послов. И идучи, они встретили Арслан мирзу меж Хопра и Медведицы. А люди с ним немногие, всего человек с тритцать или с сорок. А идет добре истомен и безконен. А полону у него всего две жонки да детинка невелик, лет в тринацать. А которые люди с ним идут в Нагаи, и они им сказывали, что Урслан мирза, пришед с украины, зимовал на песках от Хопра с полднища, а царя и великого князя казаки не дошли его днища з два. И на той встрече Урслан мирза царя и великого князя служилых татар Сююндюка Тулусупова с таварищи, трех человек, воротил с собою в Нагаи того для, что хочет с ними вместе послати ко царю и великому князю посла своего. А про царя и великого князя посла, про Петра Тургенева, не слышали ничего. А как они пошли от Белек Булат мирзы, тому третьей месяц. А поехали они от послов наперед с Вороножа.

И царь и великий князь велел нагайских гонцов поставити на Нагайском дворе и корм им велел давати.

Божией милостию великий господин Преосвященный Иларион архиепископ Казанский и Свияжский.

В нынешнем [1]734 году мая 22 дня бил челом нам Преосвященному архиепископу города Царевококшайска Троицкой церкви поп Федот Семенов с причетники и с прихожаны. В прошлых де годах построена была у них в тое городе Царевококшайску церковь во имя святого Иоанна Предтечи и ныне оная церковь стала быть ветха и чтоб нам Преосвященному архиепископу пожаловать и челобитчиков благословить и повелети в вышеписанном городе Царевококшайску показанную старую ветхую церковь разобрать и на том же месте построить вновь каменную церковь о дву престолах вверху во имя Пресвятыя и Живоначалныя Троицы а высподи Николая архиепископа Мирликийского Чюдотворца и о том строении дать благословенную грамоту.

И мы, великий господин Преосвященный Иларион архиепископ Казанский и Свияжский, слушав оного челобитья, благословил и повелел в показанном городе Царевококшайску вместо обветшалой деревянной на том же месте вновь каменную церковь божию в вышепереченное именование строить и дать благословенную грамоту. А вначале на основании тоя церкви и придела быти и чрез крест вручити и молебен пети и святой водой кропити и скопавши же под то церковное здание рвы строити камением и плимфами чинно и законоположительно яко же о сем правила и устав церковный. Повелеваю о единой или о трех или о пяти главах, а шатровых церквей отнюдь нестроити и чтоб олтари были пространные и светлые. Престолы учинить о четырех столпцах а запрестолныя образы поставить одаль престола, чтобы во время иерейского служения иерею в каждении между престола и запрестолнаго образа пройти было свободно во святыя олтари.

И во церкви учинить па трои двери царския северныя и южныя и в церкви учинить трои двери северныя и южныя и западныя. Пред западными дверми соделать паперти а в святых церквах на правыя страны церковных дверей поставить образ а имянно в верхней Спасителей з благословящей рукою или настоящего храма Пресвятыя и Живоначалныя Троицы на левой стороне церковных дверей поставить образ Пресвятыя Богородицы с превечным младенцем. В ысподней церкви на правой стране царских дверей поставить образ Спасителей з благословящей рукою. Подле того образа поставить образ Николая архиепископа Мирликийского Чюдотворца а на левой стране церковных дверей также поставить образ Пресвятыя Богородицы с превечным младенцем и протчие образы по чину. По своему обещанию поставить чинно также вверху во иконостасех образы поставить по чину же и егда те церкви состроенный и со всем церковным украшением изготовлены будут и о том нам Преосвященному архиепископу возвестити. И аще правилнаго зазора построены будут кроме, и святыя иконы поставлены будут чинно тогда о освящении тех церквей указ о освященныя антимины посланы будут. А ежели те церкви построены будут правилному и законоположению противно и святыя иконы не по чину поставлены будут и за небрежение повеления освящены не будут.

Писася в богоспасаемом царственном граде Казани в нашем архиерейском доме при кафедралном храме Благовещения Пресвятыя Владычицы нашей Богородицы и Приснодевы Марии 1734 года мая 30 дня.

Казначей иеродиакон Иван Никиткин.

Пошлина 1 р. 50 к. взято.

В книгу записано.

Канцелярист Дмитрий.

a) Deed of Peter Radceovskyj (1359)⁸⁷

44. Deed of Peter Radceovskyj (Przemyśl, 1359)

✠ Къ лѣто шестн тисащюиѣ шнстьдесатъ семюѣ. куннаъ панъ петршиъ дѣднцтво к днѣны (1) раднкомъковой дѣдннц кѣѣ н котннц што по ннц ѡцѣ длаъ. лнл прудлаа петрл(2)шнковн радѣцц(3)ѣвскому свою дѣдннц н котннц оу кѣкн н дѣтемъ кѣго. полъ стлал (3) н со манномъ н съ корѣумою н землею н съ з дворнцн н со всѣмъ што колн ѡцѣ кѣѣ прн(4)слудлало. а в то не надобъ оуступатнса нн оункумъ кѣѣ. нн племню кѣѣ. а куннаъ (5) панъ петршиъ за сорокъ грнвенъ. а на то посласн панъ староста рѣскоѣ землн ѡта ннл(6)цкнн. кожекода цтнборъ пнсаръ вшнко. а се землане панъ ходько кѣбелъскнн. кадолаъ(7)фожнц дѣрѣдъ. неанъко полѣпрннцн. богданъ тнвнцъ. шепанъ волошннц рнботн(8)цкнн. Ѡлсфѣрко судѣа. панъ контъ перемышльскнн. клнѣтуръ нз ѹгоръ гостъ. нл(9)нц гѣтарѣтъ. кость соковнц. глнъ кѣраховнц. а пнтъ могорнц оу кѣкнцкогю (10) оу дому за копѣ гроннн. а пнсалъ грамотѣ пнсаръ пайд старостынъ дѣлкъ нзъ (11) болестраннцн нменемъ дѣжковнц. а прн томъ кылъ попо пѣвѣрескнн пѣ(12)тръ. а корѣумнц Ѡлехновнц семѣнъ оу кѣкн кѣкомъ Амрнъ .1+(13)

b) «Перемышльський воєвода Фебрун свідчить, що владика Афанасій продав два дворища у Бишковичах панові Яшкові Испрувському» - *The governor of Przemyśl Februn declares that bishop Athanasius sold two farms in Byškovyčy to master Jaškov Ispruvs'kij (January 1st, 1391)*

Во 'има 'оца и сна и стго дѣа. Аминь, А се знаменито будъ . и свѣдочно всѣмъ добрымъ людемъ што на тотъ листъ оуозоздратъ. А се æ Фебрунъ воєвода перемышльскнн. познавамъ то нашимъ лист[ом]ъ . доброю волею своєю. и добрымъ оумышлѣньемъ своємъ. пришодѣши. Пере[дъ] наше 'обличье. и передъ земланы. Фанасии вѣдка перемышльскнн и[с] своєюми крылошаны. Продалъ кѣсть оу бышковнчнхъ. два дворнща пану ашкови испрувскому. на вѣкн. за .1. грнвенъ шнрокнхъ грошнн, а тако вѣдка прудалъ кѣсть. æко самъ держалъ. И[з] землею и сѣножатъми и с лугомъ, и з болонъемъ. и со всѣми оужнткн што му прнслуша оу бышкувскому граници. и оуздалъ кѣсть вѣдка перед нами. пану ашкови испрувскому. та дворнща. на вѣкн. и дѣтемъ гѣго. волѣнъ прудати. волѣнъ замѣннтн, волѣнъ кому ѡ(т)дати. А прн томъ были землане исвѣдѣци. панъ ходько кѣбелъскнн, панъ адамъ 'орецкнн, панъ мнхалъ оугрннц ваповецкнн, панъ васко шепѣчнчъ, мнчко борковн(ч), костько судѣа перемышльскнн. ннѣхъ добрыхъ люднн земланъ много было прн томъ. а к тому лнстовн. печать нашю завѣснлн ксмы, на потвержѣннѣ тѣмъ словомъ. А писана грамота. по бжьюмъ наржѣннѣ. ꙗ, лѣ(т). и, т̃, лѣ(т), и ч̃, лѣ(т) и првоѣ лѣ(т), а писанъ листъ. на стго васильæ днѣ оу перемышли. на новю лѣ(т)[о] оу вѣкн. хх

⁸⁷ Archaic forms, as denoted in the appendix to Ševel'ov, 1958: *вотнина* 'parental inheritance'; *дѣднина* 'property inherited from grandfather'; *прнслушати* 'to belong to'; *надобъ* 'it is necessary'

**47. From Letter of Mahmet Shihzoda, Sultan of Kafa,
to Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič (1502)**

И тижъ що твоя милость писалъ до насъ о Гердешамлина, щожъ бы Озовскіе татарове у нихъ пограбили на водѣ рухляды ихъ казаки; ино не были казаки Озовскіе, але были казаки Гачитарханскіи и Хара черкесъ, тыи у нихъ побрали. Ино нашъ уреднигъ выихалъ и съ людьми изъ Озова и рекли тымъ казакомъ: чомъ вы берете гости, которыи идуть у нашу землю торговати? И они ся побили съ нашими, и убили моего урядника и шестьдесятъ турковъ побили, и пошли прочь. Ино зъ Озова выихали смотрити на тотъ побой, гдѣ ся били, кого будутъ убили и который будетъ живъ. Ино нашли тамъ на побои 72 юфти. Ино тамъ былъ слуга отца моего солтана Баязита, ино то ты кожи онъ узялъ повіозъ былъ до Цариграда. И я есми писалъ до солтана Баязита, отца моего, щожъ ты гости побраны на водѣ. Ино солтанъ Баязитъ, отецъ мой, отписалъ до мене, щожъ тотъ слуга, который былъ побралъ тыи юфти на побои, онъ ихалъ кораблемъ до мене и съ иншими речми со многими своими; ино тотъ корабль не доихалъ, але загибъ на мори. И тижъ твоя милость писалъ до мене о свои люди, щожъ бы имъ тутъ у нашей земли которая сила была, али бо бы отъ нихъ которыи отъ умерщины отнимали; ино у нашей земли силы жадной нить; коли которыи дѣла суть, тутъ у насъ усе у книгахъ записують, будь ли хотя и за умерщину пишется, ино есмо не нашли, щобы была кривда кому; але намъ ся видить такъ, щожъ то есть далекая земля, а межи нами послы не издили; и которые купци твоей милости тамъ товаръ берутъ, либо у твоей милости, а либо у которого человекъ доброво возмутъ, и они собѣ корыстятъ, да тамъ приходши улгутъ, щожъ бы у нашой земли рухлядъ чїи осталъ, а они соби корысть чинятъ. Ино какъ я приихалъ до Кафѣ, не которого гостя твоей милости жадного рухляда не остало у Кафѣ; и тижъ пережъ того, коли Михайло не приихалъ, есми рухляды у сихъ поворочалъ. И тижъ твоя милость писалъ до насъ о Алагіоза, щобы твой писарь далъ ему девять сотъ денегъ: ино мы есмо пытали Алагіоза, ино у Алагіоза жадной денги его нѣтъ, але толко далъ царь Мегли - Герей за тую дѣтину одну камку бурьскую лекарю, а Алагіозъ тую дѣтину годовалъ годъ и одѣвалъ. Писано у Кафѣ, мѣсеца апрѣля 12 день.

⁸⁸ Archaic forms, as denoted in the appendix to Ševel'ov, 1958: *рухлядъ* 'goods, wares'

59. From Letters of Hetman Ivan Mazepa to M. Kočubej (ca. 1708)

Мое сердечко!

Уже ты мене засушила краснымъ своимъ личкомъ и своими обѣтницами.

Посилаю теперь до В. М. Мелашку, щобъ о всѣмъ розговилася з В. М. Не стережися ей нѣ въ чемъ, бо есть вѣрная В. М. и минѣ во всѣмъ.

Прошу и велце, за нужки В. М. мое сердечко, обласивши, прошу, не одкладай своєю обѣтници!

*

Мое сердце коханое!

Сама знаешь, якъ я сердечне шалене люблю В. М.; еще нѣкого на свѣтѣ не любивъ такъ. Мое бѣ тое щастье и радость, щобъ нехай вѣхала, да жила у мене; тилко жѣ я уваживъ, якій конецъ с того можетъ бути, а звлаща при такой злости и заедлости твоихъ родичовъ. Прошу, моя любенко, не одмѣняйся нѣ въ чомъ, яко южѣ не поединокротъ слово свое и рученку дала есь, а я взаємне, поки живъ буду, тебе не забуду.

*

Мое сердечко!

Не маючи вѣдомости о повоженью В. М., чи вже перестали В. М. мучити и катовати, теперь tedy одѣвжаючи на тыждень на певнѣ мѣстца, посилаю В. М. одѣздного черезъ Карла, которое прошу за вдлчче прияти, а мене въ неотмѣнной любви своей ховати!

*

Мое сердечко!

Тяжко болѣю на тое, що самъ не могу з В. М. обширне поговорити, що за отраду В. М. въ теперешнемъ фрасунку учинити. Чого В. М. по мнѣ потребуешь, скажи все сѣй дѣвцѣ. В остатку, коли они, проклятии твои, тебе цураются, иди въ монастырь, а я знатиму, що на той часъ з В. М. чинити. Чого потреба, и повторе пишу, ознайми мнѣ В. М!

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Моя сердечне кохана!

Тяжко зафрасовалася, почувши, же тая катувка не перестаетъ В. М. мучити, яко и вчора тое учинила. Я самъ не знаю, що з нею, гадиною, чинити. То моя бѣда, що з В. М. слушного не маю часу о всѣмъ переговорити. Больш од жалю не могу писати, тилко тое якожѣ колвекъ станеться, я, поки живъ буду, тебе сердечне любити и зичити всего добра не перестану, и повторе пишу, не перестану, на злость моимъ и твоимъ ворогамъ.

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Моя сердечне кохана!

Вижу, же В. М. во всемъ одмѣнилася своєю любовію прежню кю мнѣ. Якъ собѣ знаешь; воля твоа, чини що хочешь! Будешь на потумъ того жаловати. Припомни тилко слова свои, под клятвою мнѣ да-

ніе на тотъ часъ, коли выходила есь з покою мурованого од мене, коли далемъ тобѣ перстень діамантовий, над которій найлѣпшого, найдорогшого у себе не маю, же «хочѣ «сякъ, хочѣ такъ будетъ, а любовь «межи нами не одмѣнится.»

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Моя сердечне кохана, наймильшая, найлюбезнѣйшая Мотроненко!

Впередѣ смерти на себе сподѣвався, нѣжѣ такой въ сердцу вашомъ одмѣни. Спомни тилко на свои слова, спомни на свою присягу, спомни на свои рученки, которіе мнѣ не поединокротъ давала, же мене, хочѣ будешь за мною, хочѣ не будешь, до смерти любити обѣчала.

Спомни на остатокъ любезную нашу бесѣду, коли есь бувала у мене на покою: «Нехай Богъ несправдиваго караетъ, а я, хочѣ любяшь, хочѣ не любишь мене, до «смерти тебе, подлугъ слова своего, «любити и сердечне кохати не перестану, на злость моимъ ворогамъ.» Прошу, и велце, мое сердечко, якимъ колвекъ способомъ обачься зо мною, що маю съ В. М. далей чинити; бо южѣ большѣ не буду ворогамъ своимъ терпѣти, конечно одомщеніе учиню, а якое, сама обачишь.

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Щасливши мои писма, що въ рученкахъ твоихъ бувають, нежели мои бѣдніе очи, що тебе не оглядаютъ.

⁸⁹ Archaic forms, as denoted in the appendix to Ševel'ov, 1958: В.М. = *Ваша милость* 'Your loveliness'.