

## Jewish, Tatar and Karaite communal dialects and their Importance for Byelorussian Historical Linguistics\*

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Almost every speech community comprises dialects which are geographically, socially and sometimes even ethnically defined. The historical linguist can to some degree reconstruct the geographical relationship of dialects in earlier periods by comparing modern day dialect groupings with the language of older texts written in the same territories. The student of Byelorussian historical dialectology is in a relatively favourable position since he has at his disposal numerous descriptive monographs and dialect atlases for most areas of Byelorussia: cf. e.g., the first dialect atlas published by P. Buzuk, *Sproba linhvistyčnaje hieahrafii Bielarusi*, I, Minsk, 1928, and the more comprehensive *Dyjalektalažičny atlas bielaruskaj movy*, Minsk, 1963, edited by R. I. Avanesaŭ *et al.* (henceforth abbreviated as *DABM*).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, social and ethnic differentiation within the speech community is much more difficult to reconstruct and hence is usually totally ignored by historical linguists. In this regard, Christian S. Stang, the eminent Norwegian Slavist, seems to be alone in suggesting the desirability of reconstructing both the geographical and social parameters of Old Byelorussian (see his *Die westrussische Kanzleisprache des Grossfürstentums Litauen*, Oslo, 1935, p. 125).

The purpose of the present paper is twofold: (1) to explore the possibility of reconstructing the broad outlines of Byelorussian communal dialects in earlier periods, and (2) to try to evaluate the importance of communal dialects for the description and reconstruction of the 'general' Byelorussian language in earlier periods. By the term 'communal dialects', we have in mind the Byelorussian speech peculiar to each ethnic group.<sup>2</sup> (For further discussion, the reader may consult the appropriate chapters of my forthcoming monograph, *The Historical Phonology of Belorussian*, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg.)

Byelorussian speakers have come into contact with a variety of colloquial Indo-European and Altaic languages — e.g., Lithuanian and Lettish dialects, Kipčak Turkic dialects, Yiddish, German dialects and Romany (Gypsy) — as well as with a number of un-

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spoken languages whose functions were primarily liturgical and/or scholarly — e.g., Latin, Church Slavic, Hebrew and Arabic. Of all the Slavic languages, Byelorussian and Ukrainian are the only languages which have had prolonged contact with both of the other Slavic dialect groups — Western Slavic (primarily with Polish and secondarily with Czech) and Southern Slavic (Church Slavic). Surprisingly, the contact experiences of these groups with Byelorussian and the description of the Byelorussian speech of bilingual communities have been largely ignored in Byelorussian linguistic and ethnographic literature. This neglect is especially striking since Byelorussians historically have had exceptionally rich contact with other language communities. To be sure, these heterogeneous linguistic and cultural contacts differ greatly in the duration, intensity and direction of the influences and in the extent of geographic overlap with Byelorussian — from minor contacts with Romany or Lettish (specifically the Latgalian dialect spoken in Eastern Latvia) to relatively prolonged exposure to all the neighbouring Eastern and Western Slavic languages and East Lithuanian dialects. The issue of a separate communal dialect of Byelorussian can be investigated both for the minority groups which were to some extent bilingual (e.g., the Yiddish-speaking Jews, the Gypsies and the Turkic-speaking Karaites), for groups whose members eventually became monolingual speakers of Byelorussian (e.g. the Tatars — though in some areas the Tatars spoke Polish or Ukrainian besides Byelorussian), as well as for the three major Christian sects in Byelorussia: the Orthodox majority and the Roman Catholic (Uniate) and Protestant minorities. From the point of view of Byelorussian historical linguistics, the most important ethnic communities are the Jews, Tatars and Karaites, since they wrote Byelorussian in a non-Cyrillic script.

Yiddish-speaking Jews coming from Germany and Poland appear in the Byelorussian territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the late fourteenth century when Jewish settlements are founded in Brest, Hrodna and Troki. These were not the first Jewish communities in the area since by then Slavic-speaking Jews ignorant of Yiddish probably had been residing in Byelorussian towns for some time. The number of Yiddish-speaking Jewish settlements increased rapidly despite some intermittent periods of expulsion in the early fifteenth century, eventually spreading towards the east and north of Byelorussia. Eventually, the Yiddish-speaking Jews thoroughly assimilated the autochthonous non-Yiddish-speaking Jews. Besides their Yiddish vernacular, the Byelorussian Jews used Hebrew for written and liturgical purposes. These Hebrew sources are rich in Slavic place names and occasional Byelorussian glosses and connected texts. The mediaeval Hebrew materials from western Slavic territories have been studied in the past for their information on coterritorial Slavic languages, but the Byelorussian (and, in general, eastern Slavic) sources have yet to be explored to the same degree. The utilization of Slavic place names recorded in Hebrew script is hampered by the lack of a dictionary of Yiddish and Hebrew place names for Eastern Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Byelorussian has had contact with two Kipčak Turkic languages, Karaite (called Karaj by native speakers) and Tatar. The Karaites are followers of a Judaic sect founded in the Middle East in the ninth century which rejects the authority of the Talmud. Of all the Turkic-speaking groups which settled in Eastern Europe and the Balkans (independent of the Ottoman invasions), only the Karaites have preserved their native language up to the present time (though the language is now threatened with extinction in Lithuania and Byelorussia as the younger generation becomes predominantly monolingual Slavic speakers). Like the Jews, the liturgical language of the community was Hebrew. The Turkic-speaking adherents of the sect settled in the western-most areas of Byelorussia and in the eastern and northern Lithuanian lands in the early fifteenth century, and maybe even earlier. The major Karaite settlements were historically in the north (in Panevėžys, Troki and Vilna) and in the south, in Galicia (in Łuck and Halyč). A number of place names linked with the Karaites are also found in the neighborhoods of Hrodna, Brest, Pinsk and Navahrudak. Old Karaite texts, written in Hebrew script for religious, and in Latin for secular, purposes, contain Byelorussian place names. (The orthography of the place names recorded in Karaite and Jewish documents does not seem to differ, but this question still requires further investigation.) According to J. Mann, Karaite Turkic texts written in Hebrew characters are preserved from the eighteenth century (*Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*. II, *Karaitica*, Philadelphia, 1935, p. 1133).

Tatar Muslims from the Crimea founded communities in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Unlike their Karaite kinsmen, the Tatars abandoned their native language in favour of the local Slavic speech, either Byelorussian or Polish. To judge from contemporary sources, the linguistic shift was in full force after the late sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Arabic continued to serve as the liturgical language of the community and Turkish was also known in certain circles. In view of the fact that their linguistic output was largely in Byelorussian, we will refer to the group as 'Byelorussian Tatars', though in the literature they are also referred to as 'Lithuanian' or 'Polish' Tatars. For the student of Byelorussian historical linguistics, the importance of the Byelorussian Tatars lies precisely in the fact of their linguistic assimilation to Slavic languages. The Tatars made translations into colloquial Polish, Byelorussian and Ukrainian of Muslim liturgical writings and folklore, and these materials were recorded exclusively in a Turko-Arabic orthography. Observers have long been, and continue to be, imprecise about the character of the Slavic language of some of the Tatar documents. For example, A. Muchlinskij describes the language of his texts as 'Russian-Lithuanian' and 'Russian-Ukrainian' (*Issledovanije o proischoždenii i sostojanii litovskich tatar*, SPB, 1857, p. 29), and A. K. Antonovič speaks of 'Polish-Byelorussian' and 'Byelorussian-Polish' texts (*Belorusskije teksty, pisannye arabskim pi's'mom*, Vilna, 1968, p. 334). Most recent scholarship dates the earliest Byelorussian texts of the Tatars from the seventeenth century, though some earlier

writers have suggested the sixteenth century. The existence of the Byelorussian documents in Turco-Arabic script has been known for over a century but the analysis of fragments and their publication in Latin or Cyrillic transliteration began for the most part only in the late 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>5</sup> The first issue of the Polish-language Tatar journal *Rocznik tatarski* (Vilna, 1932), proposed the influence of Tatar on the Polish language and geographical names as topics for future research, but these subjects were not discussed in the two subsequent numbers of the journal (2, Zamość; 3, Warsaw).

There is varied evidence that the Byelorussian speech of the ethnic communities may have differed in some details. For example the Christian groups presently prefer different names for males.<sup>6</sup> It is not clear whether other defining features exist now, or existed in the past. In the case of different speech patterns among bilingual groups, we could postulate interference from the speakers' native language and/or ignorance of Byelorussian as the most likely causes for the genesis of a communal dialect. In other cases, communal dialects may have their origin in geographical differences; this seems to be the motivation for the Byelorussian speech of the Jews with its widespread sibilant confusion, as well as for the Baghdad Arabic situation that Blanc was describing (see note 2 above). The confusion of sibilants, known as *cokańnie*, was mainly a characteristic of northern Byelorussian dialects.

So far, the evidence that some linguistic features of earlier periods can be correlated with the speaker's ethnic or religious affiliation is fragmentary and to some extent contradictory. Let us examine cases where communal dialects theoretically could develop due to exposure (or lack of exposure) of an ethnic group to an exclusive foreign influence. For instance, we might assume that the Old Byelorussian literature of non-Orthodox Byelorussians would have been less exposed to Church Slavic influences than the writings of Orthodox Byelorussians, since non-Orthodox Byelorussians might have been more attracted to Latin (and/or Polish) influences, or simply preferred a written language more closely based on colloquial norms (as was the case with the Byelorussian Tatars).<sup>7</sup> There is some evidence to the contrary — for example, that Church Slavic norms were, in fact, appealing to Byelorussian Lutherans (see V. Voŭk-Levanovič, *Mova wydańniaŭ Franciska Skaryny*, Minsk, 1927, p. 7 — also published as an article in *Čatyrochсотlečcie bielaruskaha druku*, Minsk, 1926, pp. 262-83 — and I. Ogijenko, 'Język cerkiewno-słowiański na Litwie i Polsce w ww. XV-XVIII', *Prace filologiczne*, 16, Warsaw, 1929, pp. 525-43). The *Catechism* of the Byelorussian Protestant writer, Simon Budny, originally published in Niasviž in 1562 and reprinted in Stockholm in 1628 after the Stockholm Treaty in 1617 should be studied from the point of view of communal dialects. The Byelorussian Tatar translations of Muslim religious writings have been studied as a source of information on contemporary Byelorussian pronunciation norms, but not from the point of view of communal dialects. At first glance, there is no indication that the Byelorussian Tatars spoke differently from the Byelorussian Christians. In fact,

Antonovič (*op. cit.*, p. 350) praises the fit of the Arabic graphemic system to the Byelorussian sound system, thus implying that the Tatars spoke the same Byelorussian as the Christian populace. Native speakers of Byelorussian who know Byelorussian Tatars personally assert that the Byelorussian of the Tatars is identical to the Byelorussian speech of the Christians.<sup>8</sup> In one contemporary description, the dialect of Byelorussian spoken by the Tatars is said to be often unintelligible to non-Tatar Byelorussians due to the use of oriental loanwords: "Trzeba posłuchać Tatarów litewskich wtedy, gdy rozmawiać poczną o swoich modlitwach i obrządkach religijnych, o ślubach, pogrzebach, o duchach i czarodziejskich praktykach, o tradycyjnych potrawach. W takich momentach białoruszczyzna ich rozbrzmiewa dziwnymi wyrazami, nabierając cech jakiejś osobliwej gwary, w której słowa arabskie i tureckie splątają się mocno a prawie niedostrzeżenie z ruskimi. Białoruskiego zdania: "małna u dżubieju i czałmie da mieczeci czerez zireć iszow i jasioń piew" nie zrozumie Białorusin, który nie zetknął się bliżej z Tatarami" (St. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy*, Warsaw, 1938, pp. 231-2 (publ. as vol. 3 of *Rocznik tatarski*)). Moreover, the Tatar character who appears in K. Marušeuski's play *Kamedyja* (1787) speaks a broken Byelorussian (though perhaps he represents a different community of Tatars — say, from the Crimea or Central Asia).<sup>9</sup>

The status of Byelorussian among the Jews raised some interesting problems. The question of what language the Byelorussian Jews originally spoke has occupied scholars from the mid-nineteenth century up to recent years.<sup>10</sup> Here it is useful to distinguish between monolingual and bilingual Jewish communities. From the existence of scattered Byelorussian phrases and glosses in the sixteenth century Hebrew and Yiddish documents of the Yiddish-speaking community, we have evidence that at least some Byelorussian Jews were bilingual in Yiddish and Byelorussian. On the other hand, there are also indications that some Byelorussian Jewish communities at one time used an Eastern Slavic dialect exclusively and knew no Yiddish. For example, F. Beranek speaks of pre-Yiddish-speaking Jews settled in Pinsk in the twelfth century (*Das Pinsker Jiddisch*, Berlin, 1958, p. 5). However, if a monolingual Byelorussian-speaking Jewish community existed before the arrival of Yiddish-speaking Jews from Germany and Poland (or even a bilingual community using a second language other than Yiddish), not enough information is available to determine the existence of a distinct 'Judaeo-Byelorussian' or 'Judaeo-Eastern Slavic' communal dialect for that early period. Several Byelorussian linguists have claimed that the Jews translated the Bible from Hebrew into Byelorussian in the fifteenth century for use in the synagogue; if true, this would clearly indicate the linguistic preferences of the community (i.e. Byelorussian over Yiddish). Unfortunately, the translation has never been published or described.<sup>11</sup> At least for the seventeenth century we have evidence of a monolingual Byelorussian Jewish community in the oft-quoted statement of a Mahiloŭ rabbi in 1648 that many Jews speak the 'language of Russia'

and 'if God grant, may the earth be filled with wisdom and may everyone speak one language — Yiddish'.<sup>12</sup>

The first clear suggestion that Jews spoke a peculiar form of Byelorussian comes from the Polish-Byelorussian<sup>13</sup> burlesque comedies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which were written for the most part by rhetoric teachers in the Jesuit and Orthodox seminaries and which were intended to be performed between the acts of Polish school plays (hence the alternate terms 'intermediaries' or 'interludes'). The intermediaries portray Byelorussian peasants and representatives of various ethnic and social groups, such as Tatars, Ukrainians, Mazurians, Kashubians, Gypsies, Germans and Jews. The Jews are often portrayed as poor speakers of Byelorussian as, for example, when they repeatedly confuse hushing and hissing sounds. A good example is the Byelorussian speech of the Jewish characters in Marašeŭski's play, mentioned above, e.g. *kažaš* > *kazes* 'you speak', *čorny* > *corny* 'black', *až* > *az* 'even'. Finally, Karskij observes that a transcription of eighteenth century Byelorussian incantations in Hebrew characters given by Z. Biadula is imprecise; this may be due to the difficulty of fitting the Hebrew alphabet to the Byelorussian sound system, or may reflect the pronunciation norms of the Jews themselves.<sup>15</sup>

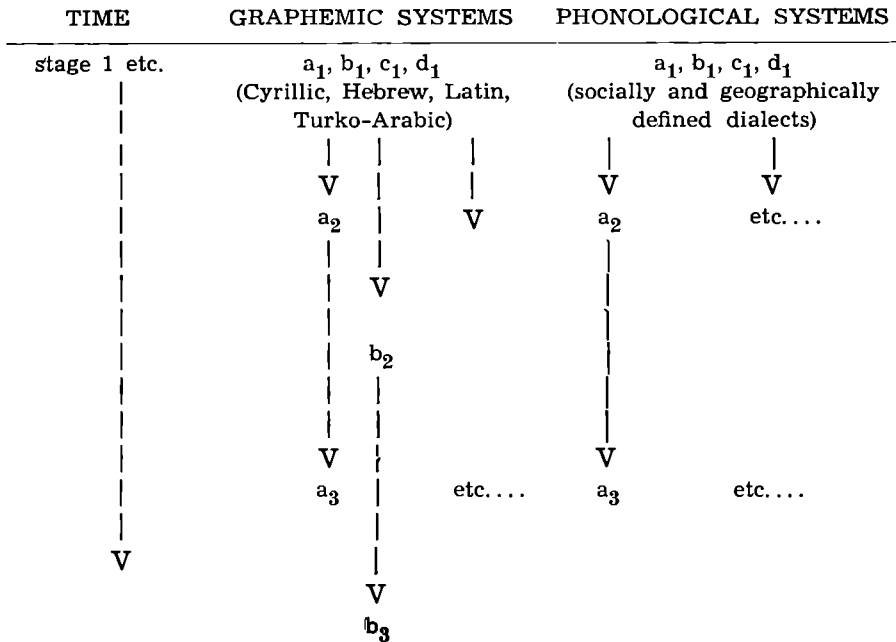
Let us leave now the topic of historical Byelorussian communal dialects and examine the question of how the Byelorussian speech of these communities may be useful for purposes of reconstruction.

Written texts are the most important key to the recovery of the historical Byelorussian sound system. But the attested documents by themselves cannot present a comprehensive picture and what evidence they do provide must be carefully evaluated. The documents fail us for three main reasons: (1) First, the existence of a codified written tradition in Byelorussia masks the reality of the spoken language. The interpretation of the Byelorussian texts is particularly complicated due to the impact of Church Slavic and Polish. (2) Second, the fit of a phonological system to the graphemic system becomes especially complex because of the gap in the rate of change of the two levels — the graphemic evolving slower than the phonological. Consequently, the discovery of a change on the graphemic level is not necessarily evidence of an incipient or even recently concluded sound change. We may simply be faced with a graphemic system belatedly catching up with a phonological *fait accompli*. A further cause for the lack of fit between sound system and writing system is the fact that the latter may not change in a linear fashion. For example, speakers may prefer a graphemic system that is more imitative of earlier graphemic or pronunciation norms, rather than a writing system that better approximates contemporary pronunciation and grammatical norms. Consider, for example, the seventeenth century Turko-Arabic texts where final *-l* in past tense verbs (phonetically [w]) is written alternately by the graphemes *v* and *l*; in the 18th century phonetic norms prevail in the orthography and the letter *v* alone is used, but in the nineteenth century, possibly due to the influence of Polish orthographic practice, both *v* and *l* are again

used. (3) A particularly vexing problem in the recovery of a phonological system from its graphemic representation is how to deal with the plethora of spellings found in a single period or manuscript. For example, Modern Byelorussian *hus* 'goose' appears in Cyrillic texts as *hous'*, *hus' hꙗs'*. In the Turko-Arabic texts, we have twenty (!) spellings for *unuk* 'grandson' (see Antonovič, *op. cit.* p. 360).

A partial solution to these dilemmas is to seek varieties of graphemic systems, each of which may reflect in different ways the spoken reality of the period. The student of Byelorussian is fortunate in being able to expand his graphemic plane to include a total of four writing systems: the standard Cyrillic (in all of its variants)<sup>16</sup>, Latin (usually based on Polish orthographic norms) and used since the seventeenth century, Turko-Arabic, also apparently in use at least since the seventeenth century, and Hebrew (in both Hebrew and Yiddish orthographic variants) — beginning with the fifteenth century. The non-Cyrillic texts of the ethnic minorities are extremely important since they may capture colloquial features which are not consistently reflected in the Cyrillic texts subject to Church Slavic spelling norms. The bulk of the non-Cyrillic materials consists of the literary works of the Byelorussian Tatar community; the materials in Hebrew script are far fewer in number and are mainly individual glosses and place names.

The problems of graphemic analysis can be summarized below. The unbroken arrow represents evolution or change; the broken arrow, replacement.



The importance of the literary records of the Byelorussian ethnic minorities is demonstrated by the spirantization of Common Slavic \*g. In all modern Byelorussian and Ukrainian dialects, Common Slavic \*g became a fricative: pharyngeal *h* or velar *ɣ*, depending on the dialect. Consider, for example, Byelorussian *hałava* 'head, < Common Slavic \*golva, corresponding to Standard Russian *golova*, Polish *głowa*, etc. Unfortunately the *DABM* fails to give an explicit account of the distribution of the two modern Byelorussian reflexes of Common Slavic \*g; nevertheless it seems clear that *h* is most characteristic of scattered locales in the southwest triangle bordered approximately by Brést, Pinsk, Prużany, and the Ukrainian territory (Ukrainian also has *h* for Common Slavic \*g: e.g., Ukrainian *holova* 'head') (see the commentary to maps #74, 106, 314 of the *DABM*). We can suppose that the *ɣ*/*h* isogloss may have run between the old Kijev-Paleśsie and Połack-Rjazan' dialect zones (for a description of these dialects, see Y. Serech, *Problems in the Formation of Belorussian*, New York, 1953); *ɣ* arose in north Byelorussian and south Russian dialects (which developed from the old Połack-Rjazan' complex) while *h* arose in south Byelorussian and Ukrainian dialects. The precise boundaries are, of course, impossible to ascertain due to the ease of drift (of *h* pronunciation into original *ɣ* territory, and *vice versa*) and the inadequacy (from our point of view) of the written records. In Cyrillic documents, scribes continued to write *Г* for Common Slavic \*g, even though they probably pronounced the letter as a fricative. A well-known indirect clue to the fricative pronunciation of Common Slavic \*g from the fourteenth century on is the fact that *g* in foreign words was written by the sequence *kg*: e.g. 'Žikgymonta' (16th c.). This would suggest that the Cyrillic letter *z* no longer had the value of a stop. Jewish and Karaite scribes writing Byelorussian words and phrases in Hebrew characters had the graphemic machinery to distinguish between *h* and *g* but not between kinds of fricatives, since Hebrew has only one grapheme, *h*. Common Slavic \*g is written by the letter *h* in Hebrew documents (and not by *g*) which directly establishes the existence of a fricative reflex, but does not specify the fricative as pharyngeal (*h*) or velar (*ɣ*): e.g. *n'wvyhwrvdk* 'Navahrudak, (16th c.), *m'h'ww* 'Mahiloŭ' (1639). Hebrew texts are rarely written with the vowel diacritics, so our transliteration marks only the consonants.

Byelorussian words written in the Turko-Arabic script of the Byelorussian Tatars may perhaps throw some light on the earlier geographical distribution of the two fricatives, since Tatar scribes had at their disposal two separate graphemes for *h* and *ɣ*. In the Byelorussian Tatar texts, the *ɣ* grapheme is usually used to denote *g* in foreign words (e.g. Polish *ɣ lūwa* 'head' = *głowa*) while the *h* grapheme marks the native Byelorussian fricative reflex of Common Slavic \*g. It is useful to note that the authors of the Tatar texts were for the most part from western Byelorussia — i.e., from an area which today has *ɣ* rather than *h* for Common Slavic \*g. If we are



entitled to assume that the choice of the *h* grapheme reflects living pronunciation norms, then we have an indication that the *h* area in the last three or four centuries was progressively being pushed towards the south. During the seventeenth century, the *ɣ* pronunciation of Common Slavic \**g* (originally characteristic of the North — i.e., of the Połack-Rjazan' dialects) was already spreading southwards; this accounts for the few cases of *ɣ* grapheme encountered in the spelling of native words in the seventeenth century Byelorussian Tatar text — words which cannot be attributed to Polish influence (see examples in Antonovič, *op cit.*, p. 205). On the other hand, of course, we could imagine an alternative explanation, which is much less exciting: i.e., that once the Turko-Arabic *ɣ* grapheme was assigned to mark foreign (i.e. Polish) *g*, the Tatar scribes had no choice but to employ *h* indiscriminately for both fricative reflexes of Common Slavic \**g*. In this case, the *h* letter would not necessarily reflect living pronunciation norms of the seventeenth century with particular accuracy and the Tatar documents would add nothing to our knowledge of Byelorussian gleaned from old Cyrillic, or, for that matter, Hebrew texts.

It is our hope that linguists and ethnographers will turn their attention to the Byelorussian communal dialects both in their present and past states — both as ends in themselves and as tools for linguistic reconstruction.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For an analysis of the materials collected by the 1963 atlas, see *Linhvistyčnaja hieahrafija i hrupoŭka biełaruskich havorak*, Minsk, 1968, edited by R. I. Avanesaŭ *et al.* This work offers both a description of the contemporary dialects as well as some suggestions for their historical formation.
2. The term communal dialect was first used by Haim Blanc in his studies of Muslim, Christian and Jewish speech in Baghdad ('Stylistic Variations in Spoken Arabic: a Sample of Interdialectal Educated Conversation', *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, edited by C. A. Ferguson, Cambridge, Mass., 1960, pp. 81-156; *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964).
3. Unfortunately, no multilingual dictionaries of Byelorussian place names exist. The *Słownik geograficzny królestwa polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, Warsaw, 1880-1902, lists place names in their various Slavic forms but is mainly synchronic. Ju. Ju. Trusman offers non-Russian names for the Viciebsk province, but his materials are not very reliable (*Etimologija mestnych nazvanij Vitebskoj gubernii*, Revel', 1897). S. A. Beršadskij promised an index of place names, to appear in the fourth volume of his *Russko-jevrejskij archiv* (see vol. 3, Vilna, 1903), but it was apparently never published. I was unable to examine M. Vejnher (Veynger), 'Hieahrafičnaja namienkatura ŭ vusnach jaŭrejaŭ', *Naš kraj*, 1, Minsk, 1926, pp. 19-22.
4. N. P. Vakar cites 16th century sources who claim that the Byelorussian Tatars were still speaking a Turkic language at that time (*Belorussia. The Making of a Nation. A Case Study*, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, pp. 44, 240). According to A. Woronowicz, the remnants of the Tatar language in Byelorussia are especially interesting because of the influence of Polish and Byelorussian ('Szczątki językowe Tatarów litewskich', *Rocznik tatarski*, 2, Zamość, 1935 pp. 351-67, esp. 352).

5. The most recent study of Byelorussian Tatar texts is by G. M. Meredith-Owens and A. Nadson, 'The Byelorussian Tartars and their Writings', *JBS*, II, 2, London, 1970, pp. 141-76.
6. See N. V. Birillo, 'Sovremennyye mužskije imena v Belorussii', *Antroponimika*, Minsk, 1970, pp. 57-61; A. K. Ustinovič, 'Mužskije ličnyje imena v grodnenskich i brestskich aktach XV-XVII vv.', *ibid.*, pp. 262-8; Ustinovič, 'Imiony-mianuški ŭ hrodzienskich i bresckich aktach XIV-XVII stst.', *Linhvistyčnyja dašledavañni*, Minsk, 1968, pp. 143-57, esp. 150; Ustinovič, 'Zanočnyja asabovyja najmenni u hrodzienskich i bresckich pomnikach pišmiennašci XV-XVII stst.', *Bielaruski linhvistyčny zbornik*, Minsk, 1966, pp. 192-304, esp. 192-3.
7. An early twentieth century observer remarked that the use of Polish and Latin in Catholic churches and the use of Russian and Church Slavic in Orthodox churches was leading to a serious cultural and linguistic split within the Byelorussian-speaking community (A-n-a, 'Bielaruskaja mova u apošnim piacieleći', *Naša niva*, 45, Vilna, 1911, pp. 578-80, esp. 580). For parallel examples among Bulgarian Catholics and Protestants see N. I. Tolstoj, 'K voprosu o drevneslavjanskom jazyke kak obščem literaturnom jazyke južnych i vostočnych slavjan', *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1, Moscow, 1961, pp. 52-66, esp. 60-1. Similarly, the Arabic literature of the Andalusian Jews differed from the contemporary Muslim literature by its greater freedom from the norms of Classical Arabic (see J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 23-4, 47ff.).
8. I am grateful to Fr. A. Nadson for this observation.
9. The text with a commentary appears in V. N. Peret, 'K istorii pol'skogo i russkogo narodnogo teatra', *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, X, 1, SPB, 1905, p. 90. See also U. V. Aničenka, 'Niekatoryja pytañni razvićcia bielaruskaj movy u XVIII stahodździ', *Viešci AN BSSR, Seryja hramadskich navuk*, 4, Minsk, 1961, pp. 119-29, esp. 120. Excerpts were also published in V. Lastoŭski, *Historyja bielaruskaj (kryŭskaj) knihi*, Kaunas, 1926, pp. 625-7, and in *Chrestamatyja pa historyi bielaruskaj movy* (ed. by U. V. Aničenka et al.), Minsk, 1961, I, pp. 446-55.
10. See J. Bihari, 'Zur Erforschung des slawischen Bestandteils des Jiddischen', *Acta linguistica*, XIX, 1-2, Budapest, 1969, pp. 163-4. For a recapitulation of the arguments see S. Dubnov, 'Razgovornyj jazyk i narodnaja literatura pol'sko-litovskich jevrejev v XVI i pervoj polovine XVII v.', *Jevrejskaja starina*, 1, SPB, 1909, pp. 7-40.
11. See Ja. Stankievič, 'Dola movy bielaruskaje (jaje vonkašniaja historyja) u roznyja peryjady historyi Bielarusi (reprinted from *Vieda*, 5, New York, 1954), quoting Je. F. Karskij, 'K istorii zvukov i form belorusskoj reči', *Russkij filologičeskij vestnik*, XXVII, 1, Warsaw, 1892, pp. 28-56, esp. 33-4; A. Luckievič, 'Die weissruthenische Literatur in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart', *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Neue Folge, 7, Breslau, 1931, pp. 365-90, esp. 370; A. Šlubski, 'Bielaruskaja mova arabskaj transkrypcyjaj', *Naš kraj*, 6-7, Minsk, pp. 51-3, esp. 51; M. Altbauer, 'O pewnej funkcji nieodmiennego imiesłowu czynnego czasu terażniejszego w polszczyźnie', *Studia linguistica in honorem Thaddaei Lehr-Splawiński*, Warsaw, 1963, pp. 333-7, esp. 334. For a reference to old Jewish religious songs in Byelorussian, with an undated text set to music, see Ja. Stankievič, 'Žydoŭskija relihijnyja pieśni pa bielarusku', *Hadavik bielaruskaha navukovaha tavarystva*, 1, Vilna, 1933, pp. 185-7, esp. 187. Translations of the Hebrew Bible may have been made by Judaizing sects but not intended for use by the Jews themselves.
12. Quoted by V. Rozental, ['Jewish Historiography in Soviet Russia and S. Dubnov'] (in Hebrew), *Sefer Š. Dubnov. Ma'amaram, 'igrot* (ed by S. Ravidovitz), London-Waltham, 1954, pp. 201-20, esp. 212-4.
13. We do not imply that the language of these comedies was somehow mixed; we mean merely that the plays performed during the intermissions of the Polish play were in Byelorussian.
14. Sibilant confusion unintentionally became a defining mark of Jewish speakers; the Jews themselves did not actively cultivate such a speech difference. In fact, the origin of many communal dialects is often accidental.

15. Je. F. Karskij, *Trudy po belorusskomu i drugim slavjanskim jazykam*, Moscow, 1962, p. 463. The reference is to Z. Biadula, 'Rukapis čarnoknižnika XVIII veku', *Volny ściah*, 5, Minsk, 1921, pp. 33-5. Unfortunately Biadula's article was inaccessible to me.
16. We say variants, since Cyrillic orthographic norms vary according to the literary genre. For instance, the use of the diacritical mark known as the *pajeryk* to denote *j* is more typical of manuscripts than of printed books (see A. M. Bułyka, 'Nadradkovyja znaki ũ starabiełaruskaj piśmiennaści', *Linhvistyčnyja daśledavañni*, Minsk, 1968, pp. 25-35, esp. 29).

## APPENDICES A-E

The following abbreviations are used in the bibliographies below:

Names of cities: B. — Berlin, H. — The Hague, J. — Jerusalem, Kr. — Kraków, L. — Leningrad, M. — Moscow, Mk. — Minsk, NY. — New York, SPB. — St. Petersburg, Petrograd, TA. — Tel Aviv, V. — Vilna, W. — Warsaw.

Names of languages: (H.) — Hebrew, (Y.) — Yiddish.

Names of periodicals:

ES — *Jevrejskaja starina*, St. Petersburg, 1909-1924.

JBS — *Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, London, 1965ff.

Kir. — *Kiryat-Sefer*, Jerusalem, 1925ff.

KS — *Keleti szemle*, Budapest, 1900-1932.

Leš. — *Lešonenu*, Tel-Aviv, 1928ff.

MK — *Myśl karaimska*, Vilna, 1924-1939. Superseded by PO.

NK — *Naš kraj*, Minsk, 1925-1930.

PO — *Przegląd orientalistyczny*, Kraków, 1948ff. Supersedes MK.

RO — *Rocznik orientalistyczny*, Kraków-Lwów, 1914-1936.

RT — *Rocznik tatarski*, Vilna-Zamość-Warsaw, 1932-1938.

Spr. — *Spravożdanja z czynności i posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, Kraków, 1890ff.

Uzv. — *Uzvyšša*, Minsk, 1927-1931.

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