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LING 491: Individual Study in Historical Linguistics

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Russian and Ukrainian: Like Two Drops of Water

The Slavic languages, a daughter family of Proto-Indo-European (PIE), first began to show dialectical differentiations about 1500 years ago before splitting into three main subgroups: South Slavic, West Slavic, and East Slavic (Sussex & Cubberley 2006). The East Slavic languages, namely Ukrainian and Russian, show many similarities, which lead to the belief that both languages are interchangeable. In reality, Ukraine takes pride in the development of Ukrainian as a language separate from Russian (Yakovenko 2008). By briefly following the Slavic language family to the present, emphasizing Russian and Ukrainian, we will illustrate the complexities of historical linguistics and linguistic reconstruction and explain a choice selection of differences that set each language apart.

Linguistic reconstruction is one of the best tools at our disposal for learning about pre-historic life, language, and culture (Watkins 2000). While archeologists provide our best tools for recovering material culture, linguistic analysis allows us to better understand *idioculture* and *socioculture* (Rankin 2002). We reconstruct language using the comparative method, which involves gathering cognate sets between descendent languages and comparing them to find correspondences and determine genetic relationships (Watkins 2000). To illustrate this process, we will look at a brief example of reconstruction adapted from Watkins (2000), using the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) descendants of the word for “daughter-in-law”: Sanskrit *snuṣā*, Old English

snoru, Old Church Slavonic *snŭkha*, Latin *nurus*, Greek *nuós*, and Armenian *nu*. Table 1 illustrates the sound correspondences within this cognate set:

Table 1: Sound Correspondences in Proto-Indo-European¹

Sanskrit	Old English	Old Church Slavonic	Latin	Greek	Armenian
<i>snusā</i>	<i>snoru</i>	<i>snŭkha</i>	<i>nurus</i>	<i>nuós</i>	<i>nu</i>
sn	sn	sn	n	n	n
u	o	ŭ	u	u	u
ṣ	r	kh	r	0	0
-ā	u	a	us	os	u

PIE *sn* became *n* when the *s* was followed by a voiced consonant, so Latin, Greek, and Armenian used to have that *s* as well. Old English saw *u* become *o* when the following syllable contained an *a*, and Sanskrit saw *s* become *ṣ* after *u*. In Old Church Slavonic, Latin, and Old English, *s* became rhotic intervocalically, and in Greek and Armenian, *s* was nullified intervocalically. In Sanskrit, Old English, and Slavic, the suffix *-a* presupposes an earlier *ā*, the regular feminine ending. In contrast, Latin, Greek, and Armenian presuppose the earlier ending *-os*, which is usually masculine. In these instances, however, it was an irregular feminine ending, implying Sanskrit, Old English, and Old Church Slavonic at some point replaced the irregular *-os* with the traditional *-ā*. When we see these sound changes applied, like in Table 2, the reconstructed form for ‘daughter-in-law’ in PIE is **snusos* (Watkins 2000).

Table 2: Sound Changes in Proto-Indo-European²

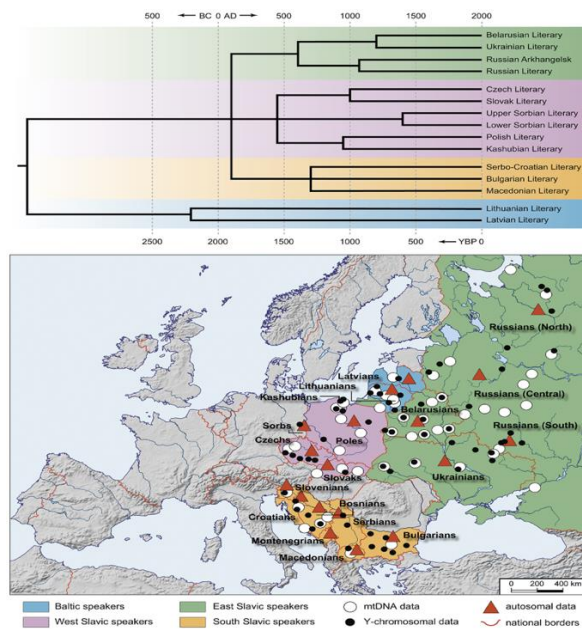
Sound Change	Sanskrit	Old English	OCS	Latin	Greek	Armenian
	<i>snusā</i>	<i>snoru</i>	<i>snŭkha</i>	<i>nurus</i>	<i>nuós</i>	<i>nu</i>
#1 <i>sn > n/[+voice]</i>				<i>snurus</i>	<i>snuos</i>	<i>snu</i>
#2 <i>u > o/ɔ_a</i>		<i>snuru</i>				
#3 <i>s > ś/u_</i>	<i>snusā</i>					
#4 <i>s > kh/u_</i>			<i>snusa</i>			
#5 <i>s > r/V_V</i>		<i>snusu</i>		<i>snusus</i>		
#6 <i>s > 0/V_V</i>					<i>snusos</i>	<i>snus</i>
#7	<i>snusos</i>	<i>snusos</i>	<i>snusos</i>	<i>snusos</i>	<i>snusos</i>	<i>snusos</i>
suffix > -os						

According to Watkins, because we can reconstruct proto-forms for words like “daughter-in-law,” we can better understand the lives of proto-populations. We know, for example, that the PIE root **deiw-* meant ‘to shine,’ was associated with the sky, and that derivatives of that word are related to God (**deiw-os*): **dyeu-pāter* ‘chief deity of the pantheon’ became Latin *Jūpiter*, Greek *Zeus patēr*, Sanskrit *Dyaus pitar*, and Luvian *Tatis Tiwaz*. From this information, we can extrapolate that the Indo-Europeans regarded God as their “sky father,” which also reveals the patriarchal role of the father, not as a parent but as the head of the household (Watkins 2000). Linguistic reconstruction also provides a better understanding of the economic and agricultural lives of proto-peoples through the sheer amount of lexical items there were about plants, animals, and basic everyday life; for example, Proto-Slavic **bobŭ* (from PIE **bhabh-*, *bhabhā*), can be seen throughout the Indo-European family (Proto-Albanian

**bhakā*, Old Prussian *baba* and *babo*, Proto-Germanic **bau-nō(n-)*, and Latin *faba*), telling us the importance that little legume had to proto-populations (Mikić 2014).

The Slavs themselves can be traced back to around 4000 BC, with the Proto-Slavic language emerging around 2000-1500 BC (Sussex 2006). Before their first mention in the Byzantine histories of the sixth century, we know very little about the Slavs and their languages; the family likely remained relatively uniform until about the 5th century, when dialectical differences would have started to evolve (Fortson 2004), as seen in Figure 1. Strong evidence links the Slavic languages to the Baltic languages, implying a Balto-Slavic origin, although this hypothesis is not accepted by all (Sussex 2006). Still, there is a general

Figure 1: Timeline and Map of Slavic Evolution³



agreement that the two families do deserve to be grouped together, and it is clear that they had a common ancestor in PIE (Carlton 1990). Because we have no written evidence of the early Slavs, recreating their language relies mainly on the comparative method (Comrie & Corbett 2003). The terms “Common Slavic” and “Proto-Slavic” can refer to separate portions of

the Proto-Slavic period (Carlton 1990), but for simplicity, we will use PS1 to represent the proto-period during which most changes affected the entire language family. It is generally thought that the breakup of Proto-Slavic began around the fifth century, with steady expansion North and East by the East Slavs (Sussex 2006). Decentralized power structures allowed for the regionalization of Slavic dialects, and by the 10th century, the family had fully established the three subgroups of South, West, and East Slavic (Sussex 2006).

After the Mongols attacked Kyivan Rus in the 13th century, there were only 2,000 of the previous 50,000-strong population left in Kyiv, with the entire population of Rus decreasing by an estimated half a million people (Mairov 2016). Over time, trade routes and diplomatic relations with Moscow allowed the Russian language to flourish but, unfortunately, had the opposite effect on Ukrainian (Flier & Graziosi 2017-2018). The Southern regions around Kyiv began to be referred to as the “border lands,” and this is likely the source of the country’s name: *Okraina* ‘borderland’ was likely derived from PS1 **ukrajь* and **ukraj* (‘separate tract of land’; ‘country’) (Flier 2017-2018). The language almost entirely ceased to be written at that point, and a true Ukrainian literary language didn’t emerge until the 18th century (Yakovenko 2008). Ukrainian also saw many borrowings, namely from Polish, and the Union of Lublin in the 16th century created a Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth that gave rise to a new form of Ukrainian: *prosta mova*, or ‘plain talk’ (Flier & Graziosi 2017-2018). Table 3 shows a sample of words borrowed into Ukrainian from Polish, although it should be noted that there were likely borrowings in Polish from Ukrainian as well (Łesiow 1998). According to Flier & Graziosi (2017-2018), the 19th century saw written Ukrainian flourish until a series of bans, like the Valuev Circular of 1863, paused its development. The Valuev Circular was inspired by the desire to see

a *triedinyi* of Russian people: Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians. Prior to the ban, *triedinyi* was the term reserved for the Holy Trinity, telling us that for Russia, the

Table 3: Borrowings in Ukrainian from Polish⁴

Polish	Ukrainian	English
<i><u>zawždy</u></i>	<i>завжди</i>	‘always’
<i><u>obietac</u></i>	<i>обіцянка</i>	‘promise’
<i>bunt</i>	<i>бунт</i>	‘preface’

perceived separability of Ukrainian was not just political or ideological- it was religious (Flier & Graziosi 2017-2018). In the 19th century, the romanticism movement saw Ukrainian establishing itself more firmly as its own language, inspiring the publication of works like the *Ruthenian Triad of Rusalka Dnistrovaia*, which contained original poetry and translations and marked the beginning of Modern Ukrainian literature (Lihus 2021). In the 20th century, Ukraine saw a brief period of “Ukrainianization” that was reversed by Stalin in 1933, and until the fall of the Soviet Union, “Russification” was the standard (Flier & Graziosi 2017-2018). In 1996, the Ukrainian constitution was amended to protect the Ukrainian language as the official state

language, and in early 2022 a law was passed that compelled all publications to print in Ukrainian- Russian is allowed, but a Ukrainian version must accompany any Russian, so most publication companies ceased publication in Russian (Constitutional Court of Ukraine 2022).

After the fall of Kyiv, trade routes with Moscow, as well as diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Tatars, allowed the Russian language to develop in a much more straightforward manner (Dmystryshyn 1991). The 18th century saw the publication of the first grammars, and the Age of Enlightenment brought about many borrowings from Latin, German, and French; French especially enjoyed a prestige status for some time and loaned at least 2983 words to the Russian language (Coker 2020). Many of those French borrowings are still widely used in Russian today, like those in Table 4, and the language assumed its modern form in the 1800s. In 1918 it underwent a spelling reform that simplified a few of the complex leftovers from PS1, including removing duplicated letters (three forms of /i/, the vowel *jat*, and use of the hard sign after word-final consonants) (Comrie & Corbett 1993).

The modern-day Cyrillic alphabet can be traced back to the 10th century when Cyril and Methodius arrived as missionaries to convert Rus to the Eastern Orthodox Church (Flier & Graziosi 2017-2018). Cyril himself did not create the Cyrillic alphabet- instead, he and Methodius are credited with creating its predecessor, the Glagolitic alphabet (Carlton 1991); the Cyrillic script was created about 30 years after Cyril's death (Klein et al. 2018). A mixed

Table 4: Borrowings in Russian from French⁵

Russian	French	English
<i>авангард</i>	<i>avant-garde</i>	'avant-garde'
<i>багаж</i>	<i>bagage</i>	'luggage'
<i>театр</i>	<i>théâtre</i>	'theatre'
<i>принимать душ</i>	<i>Prendre une douche</i>	'to take a shower'

script of both Glagolitic and Cyrillic can be seen in Figure 2; it was likely written early in the transition from Glagolitic to Cyrillic.

Figure 2: Mixed Glagolitic and Cyrillic script⁶

... .. 1. Ш. НСЗ: ОТЗ: ПУ: ГОНЭМУСЕО: : : Т' В
 О б. А О Ш Р О Н Э Ж И Т Ф. О Т. З. Б. З. М. Б. Н. Г. Р. О. М. О. С. Д. Д. Г. Т. - - -
 В' - - - - - Н Л Н Ш Г С В В Э Г: С Т Ъ. А Т. Д. И. С. З: П Ъ. Д. Г. - - - - - Э М. Ф. Т. Г. М. О. М. Д. С. W -
 - - - - - Ф Т Э: Н Ъ. Э. Ф. Э. М. Э. Ж. И. Т. Ф. С. М. О. М. Д. П. С: В. З. М. Ф. Е: Г. Л. Г. В. Ш: М. О. Р. - - -
 Н С М Ъ. З. Ч. Ф. Т. З: В. Ш. Р. Г. Н. Г. Д. З. С. Ф. Ш. И. Т. З: Ч. - - - - - Ш. З. Н. Ш. З. О. Б. И. Т. З. И - - -
 Н - - - - - З. Р. Л. Ш. И. Т. З: О. Ф. Н. Д. О. Н. З. С: А. Ф. П. О. Н. Т. Д: Ш. С. Т. З. И. Ш. Т. Р. З. Н. О. И. Т. Р. -
 О. С. Ф. И. Т. З. Р. Ш. Р. З. Н. Г. Т. Н. Р. Л. Г. О. Р. Ш. Ш. З. Ш. Ч. Л. Ф. Ш. А. N. Z: Д. Z. M. E. H -
 Н О. Ш. З: Н. Ъ. Ф. Э. Э. М. Ф. И. С. З: С. Р. О. Ф. И. С. С:
 - - - - - Ж. И. Т. Э: Н. Д. Н. О. Р. З. Р. О. В. Ф. Н. О. З. Л. Ф. О. П. И - - - - - З. Р. З. О. Л. Ш. С. Р. Л. Г. В. Ф. Н. Ъ
 Ш - - - - - З. Н. Ш: Т. Г. Ф. О. В. Z. C. E. T. B. Z. T. O. H. T. Э. И. Ш. Д. Ш. С. Т. Ъ. Ф. Д. Г. С. Т. Э. Т.
 Ф. П. Б. Ш. Ш. Ш. Д. Н: Н. П. О. Ж. З. Д. Н. Д. О. И. Ж. Д. Э. Ж. Э. Н. Ш. О. N. Ф. T. Э.
 М. Л. Ш. Р. О. M. З. Ф. Г. Э. Т. З. C. E. P. Ш. О. H. C. E. Ш. Ф: С. Ш. Д. Е. Ш. Г. О. N.
 Ф. П. З. Ш. С. T. O. Л. Ш. Ф. Э. Б. O. B. H. M. Z. C. T. Ф: Д. O. H. Д. Э. Ж. Э. П. Ъ. Д. Э. Т. З.
 Р. Ш: С. Ш. Д. H. T. З. B. Z. C. E. Л. C. N. Д. И: И. T. Э. Ш. Ш. Ш. Д. C. O. B. Z. N. Ъ. H. Э. Ж. H.
 П. Э. М. Г. Ф. Ш. Л. З. Ф. Э. В. Z. C. Ф. K. O. M. Ф. T. N. Э. Д. Ш. Г. Ф. Ш. Ф. I. C. L. H. M. Г. П.
 - - - - - : Т. N. Э. Ж. И. Т. Э. O. T. H. Д. H. O. T. З. O. Ф. Ш. Е. Ж. Р. Ф. H. Л. Ъ. H. Э. B. O. Г. M. H. H.
 Д. В. Ф. H. C. T. Г. P. O. Д. - - - - - V. Z. H. H. Ш. H. П. Ф. H.

Internally, the Slavic languages underwent a variety of changes over time, and it would be impossible to record them all here. According to Carlton (1990), the entire Slavic language family underwent a series of palatalizations, the first of which was based on intrasyllable synharmony, which was violated if a velar consonant occurred before a back vowel. As a solution, velars were fronted before front vowels, with their ultimate reflexes being alveopalatal. The second palatalization helped usher in the disintegration of PS1 and saw $k > \acute{c}$, $g > \acute{z}$, and $x > \acute{s}$ before the new front vowels \bar{e} and \bar{u} . The third, or progressive, palatalization resulted in the same reflexes as the second, occurring in the environment \bar{e} , \bar{e} + velar + vowel (except \bar{y} , \bar{y}). This third palatalization is better referred to as progressive palatalization because the change is influenced progressively by the vowel preceding the consonants. In contrast, the first two palatalizations were influenced regressively or by the following vowel (Carlton 1990).

A meaningful phonological change that occurred within the Slavic languages was the rise and subsequent fall of the *jers*, two late PS1 vowels that arose from PIE $*\bar{i}$ and $*\bar{u}$, notated by \bar{y} and \bar{y} , respectively (Klein et al. 2018) According to Carlton (1990), these vowels had schwa-like

qualities that made them susceptible to positional weakening, compensatory lengthening, and vowel-zero alternations. There is a universal tendency for high vowels to be phonetically shorter than non-high vowels, which was exaggerated in Slavic languages. Each short high vowel ceded a small amount of its length to the preceding syllable, allowing a preceding short vowel to gain more length. The lost vowel was known as a weak *jer*, while the vowel that gained length (a strong *jer*) was re-analyzed as a mid-vowel. Fill vowels were inserted to break up consonant clusters in their new word-final position. The fill vowel had the same form as strong *jer*s, giving rise to vowel-zero alternations common in Slavic languages. Table 5 illustrates the reflexes of the *jer*s in both Ukrainian and Russian; it is important to note that both symbols show up in modern Russian in *мя́гкий знак* and *твёрдый знак* (soft and hard signs, respectively), but only one is seen in Ukrainian: *мя́гкий знак*. These are purely orthographic and no longer reflect any phonetic value (Carlton 1990).

Table 5: Reflexes of The *Jers*⁷

UKR	Ex	Gloss	RUS	Ex	Gloss
ь > е	* <i>дьнь</i> > <i>день</i>	'day'	ь > 'е	* <i>дьнь</i> > <i>день</i>	'day'
ь > о	* <i>тъхъ</i> > <i>мох</i>	'moss'	ь > о	* <i>сънь</i> > <i>сын</i>	'son'

The rise and fall of the *jers* gave Slavic speech the form and structure we now recognize in modern Slavic languages and marked the end of an age-old process: the tendency to tolerate open syllables only (Carlton 1990). *Jers* in word-final position were typically weak, meaning their loss made possible the existence of word-final consonants and gave rise to new dialectical paths within the family (Sussex 2006), and previously disallowed consonant clusters and diphthongs were now permitted (Carlton 1990). The fall of the *jers* also led to necessary processes like word-final devoicing of obstruents, a process that affects all Slavic languages except Ukrainian and Serbo-Croatian (Sussex 2006).

According to Yanushevskaya & Dunčić (2015), the Russian language has 34 consonants that can be divided into two groups: plain and palatalized, or hard and soft. There are few exceptions: /j, ʒ, ts̄/ have no palatalized counterparts, while /tʃʲ/ and /ʃʲ/ have no non-palatalized counterparts. The vowel preceding a consonant determines whether it is hard or soft unless there is an orthographic sign to palatalize (represented by the aforementioned soft sign, ь). There are two pronunciation standards, STP and Moscow, although the differences began to lessen in the second half of the 20th century. Like most Slavic languages, Russian is subject to word-final devoicing, but sequences of consonants see various types of regressive assimilation. If the second consonant is a voiced obstruent, for example, the preceding consonant is also voiced (*город* 'city'; *город большой* 'big city'). Fricatives /ʃ ʒ/ (*шар* 'ball'; *жар* 'heat') can be realized either as flat velarized postalveolars or as retroflexes and tend to be slightly labialized; they have no palatalized counterparts, and their palatalization is considered non-standard (Yanushevskaya & Dunčić 2015). Kantor & Smith (1975) describe the Russian vowel system, seen in Table 6, as having similar alternations to consonants: there are

five vowels that can be realized as soft indicating (я, е, ё, ю, и.) or hard indicating (а, э, ы, у, о).

In unstressed syllables, all vowels are subject to reduction. The realization of the vowel varies depending on consonantal context: vowels are fronted more when in an environment next to palatalized consonants. In unstressed syllables, /e/ is replaced with /и/ or /ы/, while /o/ is replaced with /а/. Stress is free and can fall on any syllable in a word, although it is often stable and falls on the same syllable within a word's paradigm and derivatives (Kantor & Smith 1975).

Table 6: Russian Vowel Inventory⁸

Vowel (hard)	ex	Gloss	vowel (soft)	ex	Gloss
А	<i>масло</i>	'butter'	Я	<i>мясо</i>	'meat'
О	<i>Тома</i>	woman's name	Ё	<i>Тёма</i>	men's name
У	<i>руки</i>	'hands'	Ю	<i>брюки</i>	'pants'
Э	<i>мэр</i>	'mayor'	Е	<i>мера</i>	'measure'
Ы	<i>мыло</i>	'soap'	И	<i>Мила</i>	woman's name

Like the Russian alphabet, Pompino-Marschall et al. (2017) describe the Ukrainian alphabet as having 33 letters that can be divided into palatalized and non-palatalized, but with a third variety, as well: semi-soft consonants. Semi-soft or partially palatalized consonants are allophones of non-palatalized consonants in the context following /i/ and /j/. Furthermore, the opposition between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants is restricted to the anterior coronals /t tʲ d dʲ n nʲ s sʲ z zʲ ts tsʲ dz dzʲ r rʲ l lʲ/. Palatalization of preceding consonants is

indicated by the soft vowels <ї я ю є> or, in syllable-final position and preceding <о>, by the soft sign ь. Ukrainian sibilants represent a complex system with a two-way phonemic distinction in not only the place of articulation but palatalization and voice-voiceless opposition: /s z sʲ zʲ ʒ ʒ̣ tṣ ʤ̣ dẓ tʃ dʒ/ and plosives /b d g/ are fully voiced in all positions while /p t k/ are voiceless unaspirated throughout (Pompino-Marschall et al. 2017). Unlike Russian, Ukrainian does not utilize word-final devoicing, although final voiced obstruents may become partly devoiced with increased speech rate. Obstruents also undergo a regressive voicing assimilation in sequences of obstruents in which the second segment is voiced, changing the voiceless status of the previous segment to that of a voiced one (Carlton 1990). As seen in Table 7, the Ukrainian vowel system has six phonemes compared to Russian's five, and vowel length is not contrastive. The unstressed non-low vowels /i ɛ/ exhibit harmonizing tendencies, with unstressed /ɛ/ preceding stressed /i/ shifting to [e] and unstressed /i/ preceding stressed /ɛ/ also shifting to [e]; unstressed /ɔ/ preceding stressed /u/ shifts to [o] (Pompino-Marschall et al. 2017).

According to Yanushevskaya & Bunčić, there are several major pronunciation differences of note between Russian and Ukrainian. Russian <r> is realized as [g] (*город* 'city') while the same letter in Ukrainian represents [h] (*енергія* 'energy'); Ukrainian has the unique grapheme <ґ> to represent [g]. Russian /и/ reflects [i] (*книги* 'books') while in Ukrainian, <и> is pronounced [ɪ] (*Київ* 'Kyiv'), with another unique letter representing [i]: <і> (*іграшка* 'hedgehog'). Russian <э> is pronounced as [ɛ] (*мэр* 'mayor'), which is similar to Ukrainian <е> (*енергія* 'energy'); Russian <е> is realized as [je] (*Елена*, a woman's name), which is similar to Ukrainian <є> (*енот* 'raccoon').

Table 7: Ukrainian Vowel Inventory⁹

Vowel (hard)	ex	Gloss	vowel (soft)	ex	Gloss
А	<i>ананас</i>	‘pineapples’	Я	<i>яблуко</i>	‘apple’
Е	<i>енергія</i>	‘energy’	Є	<i>єнот</i>	‘raccoon’
И	<i>Київ</i>	‘Kyiv’	Ї	<i>їжак</i>	‘hedgehog’
І	<i>іграшка</i>	‘toy’	Ю	<i>юшка</i>	‘soup’
О	<i>огірок</i>	‘cucumber’			
У	<i>Україна</i>				

The Russian vowel ы (*мыло* ‘soap’) roughly corresponds to Ukrainian и, and the unique Russian grapheme <ё> is realized as [jo] (*зелёный* ‘green’). An orthographic difference of note is the use of the hard sign ь in Russian to indicate hardness of the preceding consonant, which is represented with an apostrophe in Ukrainian. Both languages use the soft sign, ь, to indicate palatalization of the preceding consonant, and, as was previously mentioned, Russian utilizes word-final devoicing while Ukrainian does not (Yanushevskaya & Bunčić 2015). Table 8 displays cognates between the two languages to see these differences more clearly.

Table 8: Russian and Ukrainian Cognates¹⁰

Word RUS	Gloss	Word UKR	Gloss
<i>гитара</i>	‘guitar’	<i>гі́тара</i>	‘guitar’
<i>ёж</i>	‘hedgehog’	<i>їжак</i>	‘hedgehog’
<i>год</i>	‘year’	<i>год</i>	‘year’
<i>сыр</i>	‘cheese’	<i>сир</i>	‘cheese’
<i>осётр</i>	‘sturgeon’	<i>осетер</i>	‘sturgeon’
<i>игршка</i>	‘toy’	<i>іграшка</i>	‘toy’

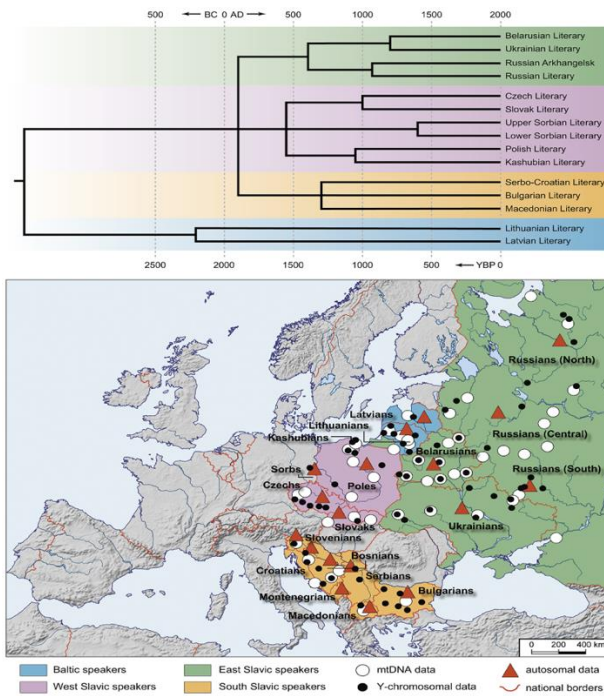
The history of Slavic languages is a complex one, despite their relatively young age. East Slavic languages especially illustrate how difficult it can be to pinpoint the exact times and locations of linguistic shifts; still, attempting to understand the internal and external history gives us historical and socio-cultural context that remains relevant today. By conceptualizing language use in cultures that differ from our own, especially through a historical lens, we can better understand how we got to where we are and even how we could proceed to avoid further conflict. There is an idiom in both Russian and Ukrainian: “like two drops of water,” or *как две капли воды* (*'kak 'dv'e 'kapl'i 'vodi*; Russian) and *як дві краплі воді* (*jak dv'e 'kɔpɫ'i 'vodi*; Ukrainian)¹¹. It is evident that cultural, social, and political contexts are integral to the way these sister languages developed, but that they are still *like two drops of water*- similar in many ways, but never exactly the same, and beautiful within their right.

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Map of the East, West, and South Slavic distribution accompanied by a timeline that shows the dialectal splits. Adapted from *Slavic languages*—Wikiwand. (n.d.). Retrieved April 28, 2022, from https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Slavic_languages.



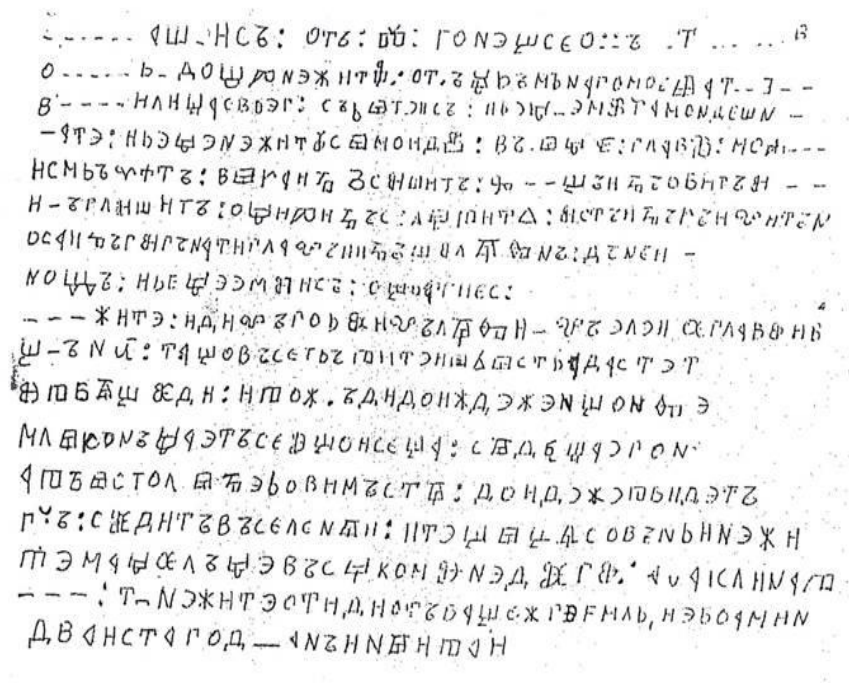
⁴ Table that shows borrowings from Polish in Ukrainian, adapted from *The Polish and Ukrainian Languages: A Mutually Beneficial Relationship* ŁESIÓW, M., De Lossa, R., & Koropecykj, R. (1998). *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 22, 393–406. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41036749>

Polish	Ukrainian	English
<i><u>zawždy</u></i>	<i>завжди</i>	‘always’
<i><u>obiecać</u></i>	<i>обіцянка</i>	‘promise’
<i>bunt</i>	<i>бунт</i>	‘preface’

⁵ Table of borrowings from French in Russian. Adapted from *Golosa: a basic course in Russian*. Robin, Richard M., Karen Evans-Romaine & Galina Shatalina. 2012. 5th ed. Boston: Pearson.

Russian	French	English
авангард	avant-garde	'avant-garde'
багаж	bagage	'luggage'
театр	théâtre	'theatre'
принимать душ	Prendre une douche	'to take a shower'

⁶ Graphic showing mixed script with both Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets adapted from *Short history of the cyrillic alphabet*. Iliev, Ivan G. 2013. *Ijors international journal of russian studies*. https://ijors.net/issue2_2_2013/articles/iliev.html (28 April, 2022).



⁷ Table showing reflexes of the *jers* in modern-day Ukrainian and Russian. Adapted from *Introduction to the phonological history of the Slavic languages*. Carlton, Terence R. 1991. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers.

UKR	Ex	Gloss	RUS	Ex	Gloss
ь > е	*дѣнь > день	'day'	ь > 'е	*дѣнь > день	'day'
ѣ > о	тѣхъ > мох	'moss'	ѣ > о	сѣнь > сын	'son'

⁸ Table showing the Russian vowel inventory with specific examples. Adapted from *Golosa: a basic course in Russian*. Robin, Richard M., Karen Evans-Romaine & Galina Shatalina. 2012. 5th ed. Boston: Pearson.

Vowel (hard)	ex	Gloss	vowel (soft)	ex	Gloss
А	масло	'butter'	Я	мясо	'meat'
О	Тома	woman's name	Ё	Тёма	men's name
У	руки	'hands'	Ю	брюки	'pants'
Э	мэр	'mayor'	Е	мера	'measure'
Ы	мыло	'soap'	И	Мила	woman's name

⁹ Table displaying the Ukrainian vowel inventory with specific examples. Adapted from *Introduction to the phonological history of the Slavic languages*. Carlton, Terence R. 1991. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers. (1990).

Vowel (hard)	ex	Gloss	vowel (soft)	ex	Gloss
А	<i>ананас</i>	‘pineapples’	Я	<i>яблуко</i>	‘apple’
Е	<i>енергія</i>	‘energy’	Є	<i>енот</i>	‘raccoon’
И	<i>Київ</i>	‘Kyiv’	Ї	<i>їжак</i>	‘hedgehog’
І	<i>іграшка</i>	‘toy’	Ю	<i>юшка</i>	‘soup’
О	<i>огірок</i>	‘cucumber’			
У	<i>Україна</i>				

¹⁰Table showing Russian-Ukrainian cognates. Adapted from *Golosa: a basic course in Russian*. Robin, Richard M., Karen Evans-Romaine & Galina Shatalina. 2012. 5th ed. Boston: Pearson and from *Ukrainian Lessons: Inspiring Resources for Learning Ukrainian Language..* <https://www.ukrainianlessons.com/> (28 April, 2022).

Word RUS	Gloss	Word UKR	Gloss
<i>гитара</i>	‘guitar’	<i>гі́тара</i>	‘guitar’
<i>ёж</i>	‘hedgehog’	<i>їжак</i>	‘hedgehog’
<i>год</i>	‘year’	<i>год</i>	‘year’
<i>сыр</i>	‘cheese’	<i>сир</i>	‘cheese’
<i>осётр</i>	‘sturgeon’	<i>осетер</i>	‘sturgeon’
<i>игршка</i>	‘toy’	<i>іграшка</i>	‘toy’

¹¹Russian and Ukrainian idiom “like two drops of water”. Ukrainian adapted from *Ukrainian Lessons: Inspiring Resources for Learning Ukrainian Language..* <https://www.ukrainianlessons.com/> (28 April, 2022).

Russian adapted from *The meaning and origin of phraseology “like two drops of water.”* <https://en.delachieve.com/the-meaning-and-origin-of-phraseology-like-two-drops-of-water/>