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LITERARY STANDARDS OF THE RUSYN LANGUAGE: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

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The extensive and multifarious group of dialects which are designated as Rusyn share linguistic characteristics with East Slavic, West Slavic and, in the case of Vojvodinian Rusyn, South Slavic languages. The subject of this essay is the manner in which these dialects, spoken by the East Slavs of historic Carpathian Rus' (today found within Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine—see Map 1) and among emigrants from that region living in Serbia, have been used to form one or more literary standards.[1] Despite the absence of agreement among Slavists as to whether these dialects should be considered a separate language or whether they are part of another language,[2] at present there do exist four regional variants of the Rusyn literary language: Lemko Rusyn in Poland; Slovakian Rusyn in the Prešov Region of Slovakia; Transcarpathian or Subcarpathian Rusyn in Ukraine; and Vojvodinian or Bachka-Srem Rusyn (which has existed for nearly a century) in Serbia. There was also a North American Rusyn literary language written in several variants, but due to assimilation this language no longer exists. Books and periodicals exist for all four variants of Rusyn and each functions in different spheres of social life. Most have their own grammars and dictionaries and are studied in schools; therefore, they reflect a social as well as linguistic reality and war-

1. The three maps included in this essay are reproduced from Magocsi and Pop xxiv–xxvi.

2. Among the most common viewpoints are: (1) the Ukrainian view, which describes these dialects as a part of the Ukrainian language—Ivan Verxrats'kyj, Volodymyr Hnatjuk, Miloš Weingart, František Tichý, Ivan Pan'kevyč, Mykola Štec'; (2) the Slovak view, which considers transitional Rusyn dialects in eastern Slovakia and Vojvodinian Rusyn dialects to be Slovak—František Pastrnek and Štefan Švagrovský; (3) the Carpatho-Rusyn view, which considers all East Slavic dialects in the region to be part of a separate, fourth East Slavic language—Aleksander Bonkalo, Antonij Hodinka, Ivan Harajda, and since 1989 Vasyl' Jabur, Juraj Vaňko, Anna Pliškova, and Julijan Ramač. In the past, there was also the view that Rusyn dialects should be classified as Russian—Georgij Gerovskij.

rant study, regardless of whether or not the dialects on which the variants are based are part of another language or constitute a separate entity.

The Rusyn dialects of Carpathian Rus' are spoken in a territory that is located along a linguistic and ethnic borderland. To the west and north are the West Slavic languages Polish and Slovak, to the south—Hungarian, a Finno-Ugric language, and to the southeast—Romanian, a Romance language. Rusyn dialects share linguistic characteristics and in some cases have absorbed elements from one or more of these neighboring Slavic and non-Slavic languages.[3] In the case of the Lemko Region the most influential factors were Polish, Ukrainian, and Slovak; for the Rusyn variant in the Prešov Region—Slovak and partially Czech; for Transcarpathian Rusyn—Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Slovak; and for Vojvodinian Rusyn—Hungarian and Serbian. This interference has lasted for centuries and has included all language levels: lexical, morphological, phonetic, and syntactic. Evidence of this process is reflected in written documents dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Some of these characteristics are also reflected in the recently created literary standards, a phenomenon which will be considered below.

Language norms and standardization: principles and definition

A popular dictionary of language and linguistics defines the process of language standardization as "the official acceptance by at least some groups within a speech community of certain general patterns of pronunciation, grammar, orthography and vocabulary" (Hartman and Stork 218). As for the concept of *standard language*, it is described as "the socially favoured variety of a language, often based on the speech of the educated population in and around the cultural and/or political centre of the speech community" (Hartman and Stork 218). The authors do point out, however, that "each language variety (dialect, style) may be considered to have its own standard, and literary, colloquial, provincial and similar standards have been distinguished" (218).

Yet another term, *linguistic norm*, comes very close to the definition of a standard. The Prague linguistic school understood the concept of *norm* as the "correct use of the language means [*prostředky*]" (Nebeská 22). In linguistic literature, the terms *norm* and *standard* are often treated as synonyms, although some authors describe the process of "normalization" as a phase which precedes the process of "standardization."[4] Normalization is considered a relatively spontaneous tendency in the course of creating the "prestigious model," as opposed to standardization, which is the "rational imposition of

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3. For details on these shared characteristics and borrowings, see the extensive literature on Rusyn dialects. Aside from Ivan Pan'kevyč's classic monograph (1938), there are several multivolume linguistic atlases compiled by Josyf Dzendzelivs'kyj, Zuzanna Hanudel', Vasyl' Latta, Petro Lyzanec', Zdzisław Stieber, and Janusz Rieger, as well as the still unpublished dialectal dictionaries of Ivan Pan'kevyč and Mykola Hrycak. See the review of the literature (Dzendzelivs'kyj 1968) and the bibliographies by Olena Pažur (1972) and Vida Zeremski (1990).

4. See the discussion in Hartman and Stork, 153–54.
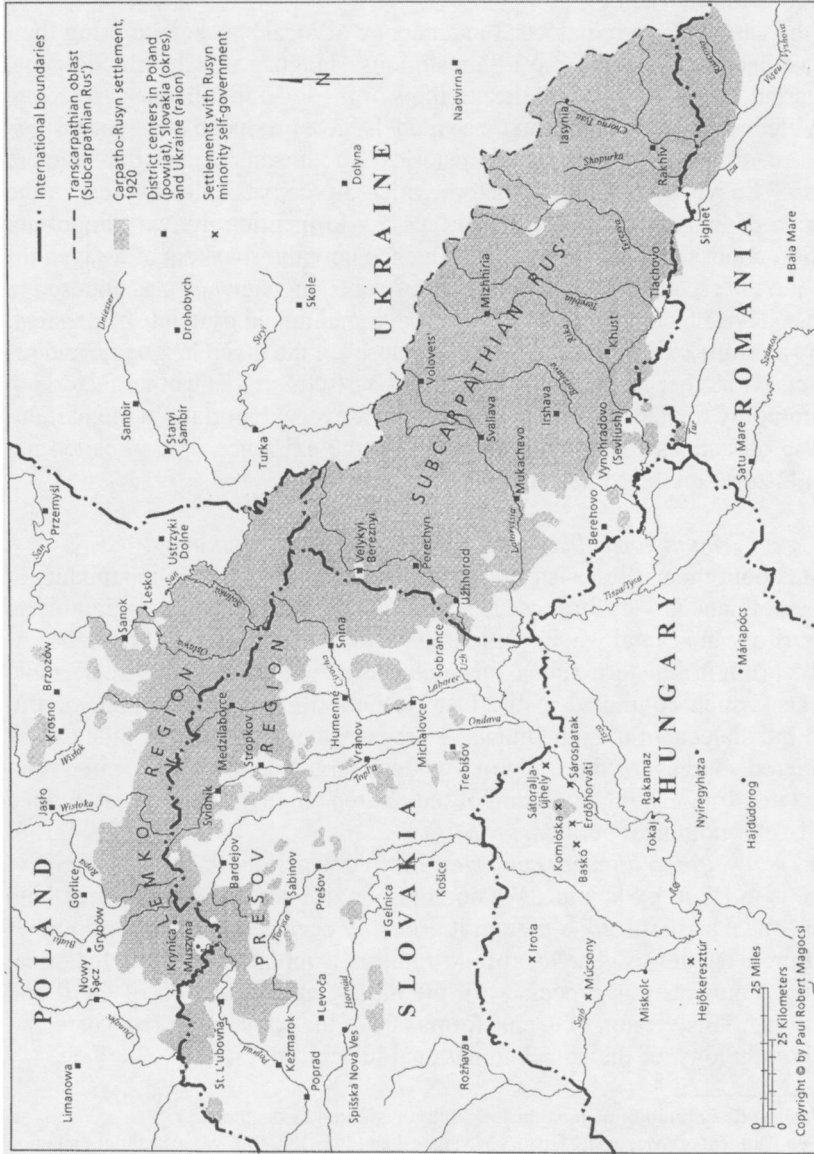
Map 1. Carpathian Rus', 2004. Used with the permission of Paul Robert Magocsi.

some variety that is stabilized and grammatized" (Baggioni 28). The highest level of standard language is a "written standard," which some scholars, who emphasize its artificial character, even describe as an "unnatural system" (Chesire and Stein 22).

In the case of Rusyn dialects, the tendency of local speakers to bring their own vernacular closer to more "prestigious" languages (Church Slavonic, Hungarian, Russian, etc.) and the attempts of the local intelligentsia to create some literary standard based on these models have produced different results. Those results were dependent on historical circumstances and the stateless status of Rusyn communities, factors which are of particular interest to the historian of language. Finally, it is necessary to mention the very important question about those factors which influence how the speakers of a given dialect and the creators of "standards" choose one language norm as opposed to another. Those factors include: (1) the above-mentioned principle of prestige; (2) the possible existence of a "great literature" in the given language; and (3) contacts with other languages and dialects (Bartsch 251). The other factor, not so commonly treated in linguistic literature but very important in the particular case of stateless peoples like Rusyns, is the existence of a so-called national historic myth,[5] which will be discussed below.

The historical context of the Rusyn literary language

Data about the earliest history of the indigenous East Slavic inhabitants of the Carpathians is very limited. It is most likely that East Slavs migrated to this territory in several waves sometime between the fifth and thirteenth centuries.[6] From pre-historic times, this area was a zone of intensive inter-ethnic contacts, which continued in the historic period and which strongly influenced the dialects of the inhabitants. As for written documents, which can be considered sources for the study of the local vernaculars, they appeared relatively late. Roughly, the evolution of the written language may be subdivided into six chronological periods.

(1) *The twelfth to fifteenth centuries.* From this period, the only written evidence is in Church Slavonic. We do not know for sure when the Carpathian region was Christianized, although it probably occurred earlier than in other East Slavic territories. The local folk tradition, supported by some historical writings, connects this process with the ninth-century mission of Cyril and Methodius. This version of events forms one of the cornerstones of Rusyn national mythology, or the so-called national historic myth.

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5. A short description of national historical myth is found in Baggioni 38.

6. See Paul Robert Magocsi, "History" (Magocsi and Pop 185–91). We also should mention that the Hutsul ethnolinguistic group (see Map 2), whose precise relationship to "Carpatho-Rusyns" is still under discussion, began to inhabit the eastern part of Carpathian Rus' quite late, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their dialects have not really influenced the literary standards of the Rusyn language.

The earliest documents written and preserved in the region are all liturgical in character and do not reveal any influences from the local vernacular. Those documents which have survived include the Imstyčovo and Mukačevo fragments (twelfth century), the Mukačevo *Psaltyr* (fourteenth century), the Užhorod *Polustav* (fourteenth century), and the Korolevo *Jevanhelija* (fifteenth century), among others. These texts have not been studied sufficiently, although the existing analyses reveal the existence of intensive cultural contacts between historical Carpathian Rus' and other parts of eastern Europe. For instance, the Mukačevo *Psaltyr* was copied from some Moldavian manuscript, while the Užhorod *Polustav* (a collection of prayers) is of Kievan origin (Kolessa). The latest of this group of documents, the Tereblja *Prolog* (late fifteenth or early sixteenth century), does contain some elements, however sporadic, of the local vernacular (Javorskij 9–41).[7]

(2) *The fifteenth to eighteenth centuries*. From this period there is some written evidence of the influence of vernacular language on Church Slavonic, the language with prestige consecrated by religious tradition. The best known and most studied written text from this period is the Charter of 1404 (Petrov 1925, Tixyj 9–12). This official document contains very distinct Hungarian elements (the late tenth-century Transcarpathia and the Prešov Region were within the Hungarian Kingdom) and Romanian elements (not only was the document written in the contact zone between East Slavic and Romanian settlement, but the so-called Vlach colonization of Romanian-speaking sheepherders from the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries strongly influenced Carpathian dialects on both slopes of the mountains). Among the Slavic elements of non-local background found in the 1404 Charter are мѣсто and листъ in their Czech meanings ('city', 'letter, epistle'). Czech had reached a high level of development by this period and it strongly affected neighboring literary languages (especially Polish and Ukrainian). The Charter's most important elements, however, came from local dialects, such as the adjective "марамурешский," referring to Maramorosh county and rendered according to local dialectal pronunciation.

The Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis on the use of living languages, strongly influenced Carpathian Rus'. However, the result of this process was different than in other parts of central and western Europe. Instead of creating their own vernacular-based standard literary language, local authors (mostly Eastern-rite Orthodox clergy) simply amalgamated basic Church Slavonic elements with the local vernacular (Franko 1900 and 1901, Stryps'kyj 1901). The most typical literary genre of this period was the *Postilla*, or collection of sermons. The best studied of these is the so-called Njagovo *Postilla* of the mid-sixteenth century, which clearly reflects the local vernacular of the village where it was created (Njagovo is present-day Dobrjans'ke in eastern Transcarpathia),

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7. Sokolov 450–68, Stryps'kyj 1901, 181–95, and Gerovskij 39–46 for the most part consider the paleographic particularities of the manuscripts.

with its Hungarian and Romanian loanwords.[8] This period is also characterized by the appearance of other genres of literature, such as apocrypha, poems, and historical chronicles, written in Church Slavonic but with a high number of local vernacular elements. The best-known author is the Orthodox religious polemicist Myxajlo Orosvyhovs'kyj-Andrella (Petrov 1932, Pan'kevyč 1925, Mykytas', Dezső 1958, Dèžè 1981; Calvi 1999a, 1999b, and 2000). His often emotion-filled writings can be considered a typical example of East Slavic Baroque, which in terms of language was characterized by very complicated syntax and mixing elements from different languages (Church Slavonic, Hungarian, Latin). To this period also belong the first printed books intended for Rusyns, a *Katexizm* (Trnava, 1698) and *Bukvar* (Trnava, 1699) (Magocsi and Struminsky), as well as the first grammar (four editions of a manuscript by Arsenij Kocak from the 1770s), all of which were basically written in Church Slavonic with some elements of the local Rusyn vernacular (Tixyj 1996, 37–39).[9]

(3) *The second half of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century.* This period was characterized by more emphasis on use of the Rusyn vernacular at the expense of Church Slavonic. It was also a time when ideas of nationalism and questions of identity began to reach Carpathian Rus', which in turn influenced the local intelligentsia in its choice of literary language. Consequently, the first traces of Russian influence appear in the local language (i. e., the poetry of Hryhorij Tarkovyč) (Rusinko). Other writers of this period used Latin, Hungarian, and the Rusyn vernacular, but their works mostly remained in manuscript.

The national revivals that were occurring among Slavic peoples and the intensified efforts to codify several Slavic languages inspired authors in Carpathian Rus' to publish grammars. They did not, however, aim to create a vernacular-based literary standard. This was due in large part to the ongoing popularity of certain beliefs among the local intelligentsia: that Cyril and Methodius had converted Rusyns to Christianity and that Church Slavonic was very closely related to and, in effect, could be considered the literary form of the Carpatho-Rusyn language. Hence, the most influential event of this period was the publication in 1830 by Myxajlo Lučkaj of a Latin-language grammar of Church Slavonic. Lučkaj's grammar, with strong vernacular influence, was inspired by the linguistic writings of the Czech Slavist Josef Dobrovský.[10] To the 1830s as well belongs a Church Slavonic grammar by Ivan Fogarašij, who also followed principles outlined by Dobrovský (Fogo-

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8. Among the extensive literature on this text see two studies by Laslo Dèžè (1967, 123–242; 1979, 5–18), as well as a dictionary of all words found in the Njagovo *Postilla* (Dèžè 1985).

9. Recently, two variants of Kocak's grammar were published by Dzendzelivs'kyj and Hanudel' 1990.

10. Lučkaj's grammar (Lutskay 1830) was reprinted in facsimile version and translated into Ukrainian by P. M. Lyzanec' and Ju. M. Sak (Lučkaj 1989). On the influence of Dobrovský on Rusyn scholarship, see Tichý 1929.

rašij). While in Carpathian Rus' religion still remained the predominant ele-
ment in cultural life, national awakenings were taking place among neighbor-
ing Slavic peoples who faced the question of creating secular literary lan-
guages. This question was to be faced by Rusyn leaders as well, but not until
after the Revolution of 1848.

(4) *1848–1918*. This period is closely associated in Rusyn history with the
name of Aleksander Duxnovyč, a Greek Catholic priest and leading figure of
national awakening among Rusyns. In language matters, however, Duxnovyč's
views were not consistent. During the early stage of his career, he wrote in his
native vernacular of the Prešov Region. By the time of the Revolution of 1848,
however, he had come under the influence of Pan-Slavic ideology and this led
to a change in his views. Duxnovyč began to consider Russian the most appro-
priate literary language for Carpatho-Rusyns.[11] His relatively short grammar
published in 1853 clearly reflected this point of view.[12] In the decades that fol-
lowed, grammars by Ivan Rakovs'kyj, Kyryl Sabov, and Jevmenij Sabov, and
dictionaries by Aleksander Mytrak and Emilij Kubek also followed this trend
(K. Sabov 1865, Rakovskij 1867, E. Sabov 1890, Mitrak, Kubek). Despite a
strong desire among the local Carpatho-Rusyn intelligentsia to write in literary
Russian, it was hardly possible to realize such a goal. This is because local
Rusyn dialects were quite distinct from literary Russian, with the result that
even the grammars published by local activists confused the rules they pro-
posed (especially those of a phonetic nature). The result was a macaronic lan-
guage (the so-called *jazyčije*), which basically was an amalgam of Russian and
Church Slavonic mixed with local Rusyn vernacular. Only at the end of the
nineteenth century were there some attempts to codify a literary language
based on the Rusyn vernacular, beginning with a Rusyn-Hungarian dictionary
by Vasyl' Čopej[13] and continuing with primers and grammars by Myxajlo Vra-
bel' and Avhustyn Vološyn.[14]

(5) *1918–1945*. During this period Carpathian Rus' found itself divided be-
tween three different states—Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania—while

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11. In arguing for Russian instead of Rusyn vernacular Duxnovyč posed a rhetorical ques-
tion to which he gave a decisive answer: "Which German, Frenchman, or Englishman writes as
the average person speaks? None! [....] We must liberate ourselves from the mistakes of peas-
ant vulgarisms and not fall into the mire of peasant phraseology" (1852, 498).

12. *Sokraščennaja grammatika ruskago jazyka* (Duxnovyč 1853), later reprinted in
Duxnovyč 1968, was Russianized (according to some without his consent) by his countryman
Ivan Rakovs'kyj and a Russian Orthodox priest in Budapest, Vasilij Vojtkovskij.

13. Čopej understood the "Rusyn or Little Rusyn language" [*rus'kij abo maloruskyj jazŷk*] to
comprise what in modern-day terms are Ukrainian, Belorusan, and the various East Slavic di-
alects south of the Carpathians (xxiii).

14. M. V[rabel']; Vološyn 1901, 4th ed. (1919); Volosin 1907. Vološyn also published other
grammars, which became quite popular during the next period: Vološyn 1919, which in its sixth
edition was entitled the *Metodyčna hramatyka rus'koho jazŷka dlja nyžčyx klas narodnŷx škol*
(Vološyn 1930); and *Praktyčna hramatyka rus'koho jazyka*, 2nd ed. (Vološyn 1928).

Rusyns living in the Vojvodina (formerly southern Hungary) were annexed to the newly created state of Yugoslavia. In each of these countries, the possibilities for Rusyn national and cultural development differed. The most favorable conditions were in Czechoslovakia, although the two areas in that country where Rusyns lived (Subcarpathian Rus' and the Prešov Region) did not form a single administrative entity.

a. In Subcarpathian Rus', where Rusyn was considered alongside Czech to be one of that province's official languages, there was no consensus about what constituted the "local language." Three main orientations developed among the local intelligentsia: pro-Ukrainian, pro-Russian, and pro-Rusyn. The third referred to those who favored creating a literary language based on the local East Slavic vernacular. Each orientation had its own cultural and civic organizations, and each attempted to codify an appropriate literary language for use in literary works, the media, and education. All three orientations did have one thing in common: they were loyal to the old etymological orthography with ѣ and ъ (the final hard sign), which in other East Slavic societies by this time was an anachronism.

The most important attempt to create a local standard based on the Ukrainian language (actually the Galician variety of Ukrainian) was made by Ivan Pan'kevyč (Pan'kevyč 1922). A talented linguist-dialectologist, Pan'kevyč prepared a grammar for schools that was based on the Verxovynian and Maramoroš dialects (see divisions 1 and 3 on Map 2). These dialects were spoken along the northern edge and in the eastern part of Subcarpathian Rus' and were closest to Ukrainian. Another grammar, which represented the opposite, pro-Russian point of view, was written by the Russian émigré Aleksandr Grigorjev, although published over the name of the Rusyn cultural activist, Jevmenij Sabov (1924). Basically this was a grammar of literary Russian with some influences drawn from the Carpatho-Rusyn literary tradition of the previous period, that is, the mixed language of the nineteenth century. The third orientation, which proposed a literary language based on Rusyn vernacular, was best represented by Jador Stryps'kyj (Stryps'kyj 1924). He argued that the new standard should be based on the dialect of the Dolynjane (in contemporary terminology: central-Transcarpathian, mid-Transcarpathian, or Subcarpathian — see Map 2). Stryps'kyj's principles were only realized during World War II, when Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia was reannexed by Hungary. At that time the Hungarian authorities adopted for official use a grammar by Ivan Harajda, which, despite its etymological orthography, was the first work to provide a standard for Subcarpathian Rus' based on the local vernacular. Harajda's grammar was used in schools under the Hungarian administration, but was banned after the annexation of Transcarpathia by the Soviet Union in 1945.

b. The situation in the other Rusyn-inhabited area of Czechoslovakia, the Prešov Region, administratively part of Slovakia, was quite different. A pro-Ukrainian orientation never developed any strong influence there. Instead,
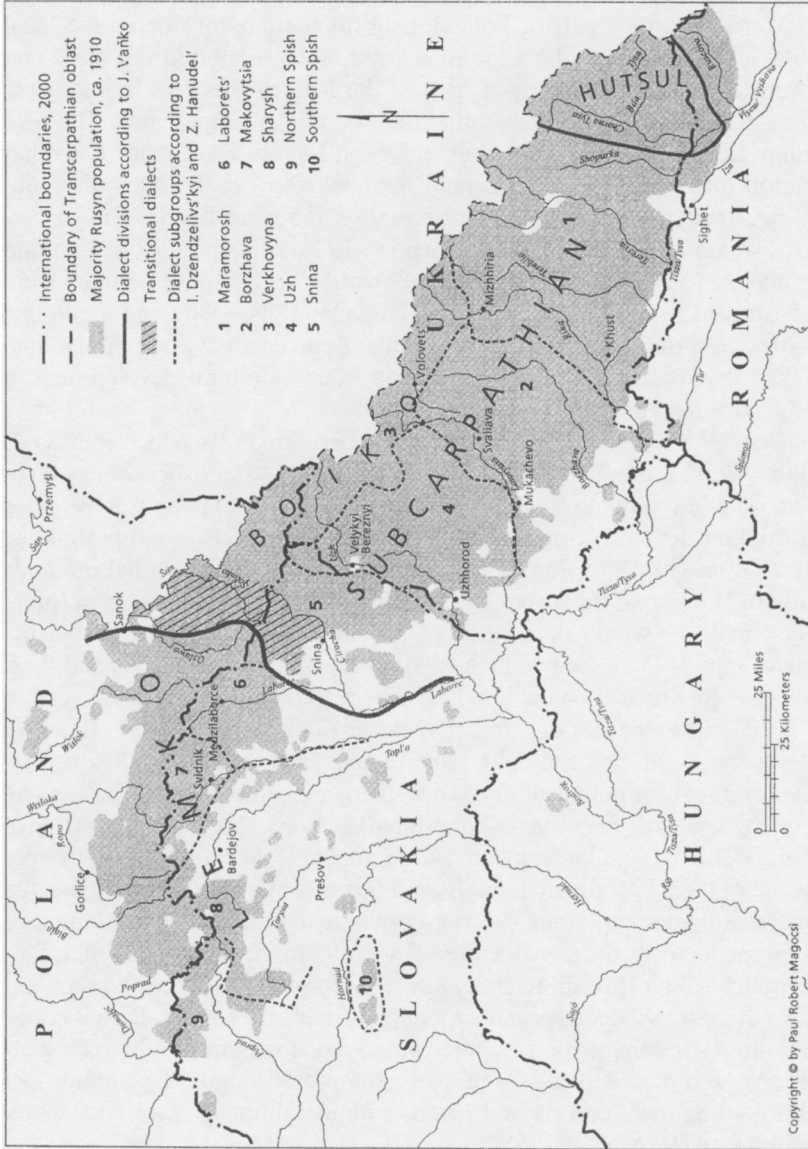
Map 2. Dialects in Carpathian Rus'. Used with the permission of Paul Robert Magocsi.

several grammars and primers published for village schools used the literary language of the nineteenth century with its mixture of Church Slavonic, Russian, and local Rusyn vernacular (Kyzak 1920 and 1921, Sedlak 1920).

c. Two language orientations existed in the Lemko Region, which after World War I became a part of Poland. One orientation considered the local East Slavic inhabitants to be Ukrainians, the other supported the view that they were a distinct nationality related to the Rusyns/Rusnaks living at the time in Czechoslovakia on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. The pro-Ukrainian Lemkos used the Galician variety of literary Ukrainian. The other orientation, best represented in school textbooks written by Metodij Trox-anovs'kyj, created a literary standard based on the local Lemko-Rusyn vernacular (Troxanovs'kyj 1935, Troxanovs'kyj 1936). This linguistic evolution was brutally interrupted by the events of World War II. Some Lemkos were forcibly moved from Poland to Soviet Ukraine in 1944–1946, and the Polish authorities resettled most of the remaining Lemkos in western Poland in 1947. The deportation profoundly hindered Lemko cultural development in Poland, and it began to revive only in the 1980s.

d. The small but very organized group of Vojvodinian Rusyns (see Map 3) found themselves after 1918 to be part of the newly established state of Yugoslavia. The Vojvodinian Rusyns numbered about 10,000 people at the close of World War I. They comprised the descendants of Rusyn immigrants, mostly from eastern Slovakia, who from the 1740s forward settled on lands in southern Hungary—the Vojvodina (in present-day Serbia) and Srem (present-day Croatia)—which the Habsburg Monarchy had recaptured from the Ottoman Empire. They speak a dialect which has mixed East Slavic and West Slavic (eastern Slovak) characteristics. The Vojvodinian Rusyn dialect became a topic of extensive debate between the Galician-Ukrainian ethnographer Volodymyr Hnatjuk and the Czech linguist František Pastrnek at the beginning of the twentieth century. Disagreement centered on whether the spoken language was East Slavic (Ukrainian) or West Slavic (Slovak) (Lunt). Regardless of what scholars may have thought, the local people were strongly convinced of their East Slavic identity, and it is perhaps not surprising that the first successful attempt among Rusyns anywhere to create a literary language based on the local vernacular occurred among them. A grammar of their language, published by Havrijil (Gabor) Kostel'nik in 1923, became the standard guide for at least two decades and a model for later Vojvodinian Rusyn grammars. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the development of a literary standard for Vojvodinian Rusyn is a perfect example of language planning that both fulfills linguistic criteria and receives almost immediate acceptance by the community (Haugen 16–26).

e. A rather separate question is that of a literary standard for Rusyns in North America. Massive immigration from Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia and especially from the Prešov Region in eastern Slovakia beginning in the 1880s
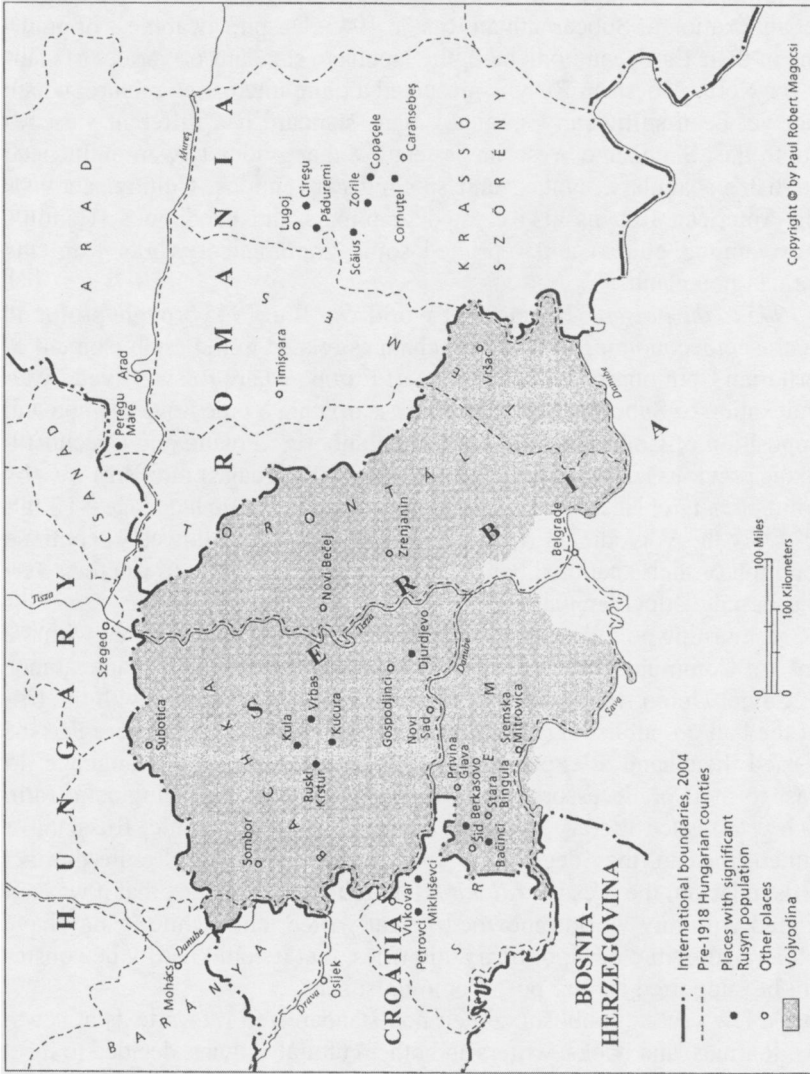
Map 3. Vojvodina and Banat. Used with the permission of Paul Robert Magocsi.

created a large Rusyn community in the northeast United States, estimated at 250,000 by the outbreak of World War I. During the first decades of their life in the North America, Rusyn immigrants actively tried to follow the cultural traditions of their homeland. These efforts were reinforced by intensive contacts with central Europe until they were cut off by World War II and the Soviet annexation of Subcarpathian Rus' in 1945. Despite awareness of publications in their European homeland, the language standard or variety of standards for North American Rusyns presented a quite interesting picture, which has not yet been sufficiently studied.[15] This standard had different varieties with both East Slavic and West Slavic features that gradually were influenced by English vocabulary, syntax, and spelling conventions. Cultural activists among American Rusyns also created grammars and handbooks (Hanulja, Mackov, among others) and reprinted some grammatical works from the Carpathian homeland.

(6) *1945 to the present.* The close of World War II in 1945 brought profound political, socioeconomic, and cultural changes related to the establishment of authoritarian Communist rule in all parts of Europe where Rusyns lived. After the annexation of Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia by the Soviet Union and the imposition of Communist regimes in neighboring Poland and Czechoslovakia, the previous language tradition (or actually, language pluralism) was, by government fiat, replaced by the nominal domination of one language—Ukrainian.[16] Only the Vojvodinian Rusyns of Yugoslavia were allowed to continue the tradition of their "national bard," Havrijil Kostel'nik, and to use their vernacular-based distinct language.

The real turning point in this period came in 1989 and is connected with the collapse of Communist rule in central Europe and the eventual disappearance of the Soviet Union. In the absence of political censorship and with the lifting of the ban on publishing in Rusyn, writers in all countries where Rusyns lived tried their hand at expressing themselves in their native language. In contrast to their predecessors, they did not attempt to use a linguistic form with an established literary tradition, such as Church Slavonic, Russian, or Ukrainian. Instead, they decided to write in the vernacular, despite the fact that Rusyn lacked the prestige (*dignitas*) of a literary language, that it was not associated with any world-renowned "great writer" and, while it may have been tolerated by the new political authorities, that it could hardly be considered to be supported by any post-Communist state.

After a few years of publishing their non-standardized Rusyn texts in newspapers, journals, and books, writers and other cultural activists decided to meet

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15. Among the few discussions on this topic are Bidwell and Duličenko 94–96.

16. In the Prešov Region the situation was more complicated, since at first the language of instruction in schools was Russian and only after 1952 Ukrainian. Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia witnessed a parallel functioning of Russian and Ukrainian literary languages with a tendency to use Russian more commonly during last two decades of Soviet rule.

in an attempt to provide some form of standard for the language they were already using in publications. In 1992 what subsequently came to be known as the First International Seminar of the Rusyn Language was held in Bardejovské Kúpele (eastern Slovakia). Among the participants were scholars from the United States (Joshua Fishman), Sweden (Sven Gustavsson), Switzerland, and Monaco. The participants decided to adopt what they called the Romansch principle, that is, like the Romansch in eastern Switzerland, to create separate norms for the Transcarpathian Region of Ukraine, the Prešov Region of eastern Slovakia, and the Lemko Region in Poland. Together with the already existing Vojvodinian Rusyn variant, they eventually would create a *koiné* to serve as the basis of a common Rusyn literary language (Magocsi and Fishman 1996). For the moment the first part of the Bardejovské Kúpele decision has been fulfilled, since by now each country has its own variant of Rusyn, despite the fact that the variants differ in their social functions (Magocsi 1996, Stegherr).

Linguistic Characteristics
of the Four Varieties of the Rusyn Literary Language

(1) *Transcarpathia (Subcarpathian Rus') in Ukraine.* The first published grammar, which appeared in 1999, is the work of four authors (Almašij, Kerča, Molnar, and Popovyč 1999) who revised a text prepared a few years earlier (Kerča and Sočka-Boržavyn 1992). Kerča is also working on a large-scale Rusyn-Russian/Russian-Rusyn dictionary. A few smaller dictionaries by other authors already exist, and these we will use to describe the various lexical characteristics of the Transcarpathian variant of Rusyn (Almašij, Pop, and Sydor; Pop). These dictionaries record some distinct characteristics of the local dialects:

a. Lexemes of Common Slavic origin: *njanjo* 'father', *stryj* 'uncle from father's side, father's brother', *vujko* 'uncle from mother's side, mother's brother';
b. Hungarianisms: *falatok* 'part of smth.', *darab* 'piece', *legin'* 'young man, fellow', *dohan* 'tobacco';
c. Romanianisms: *dzer* 'whey', *kopyl* 'bastard', *nanaško* 'godfather', *vatra* 'fire', *banovaty* 'to regret';
d. West Slavic loanwords: *všytko* 'all', *šmaryty* 'to throw', *hudak* 'musician'.

Among the phonetic particularities of the 1999 grammar should be mentioned fixed stress; the transformation of <o> in the East Slavic newly-closed syllable into <u>: *kun'* 'horse', *stul* 'table';[17] and the preservation of the high back vowel <ŷ>, which is considered one of the most distinctive characteris-

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17. The dialects upon which the Transcarpathian norm was based, however, exhibit different vowels in the same position, including <ü>, <ŷ>, and even <o> (Pan'kevyč 1938, 48–53, 70–71, and 83).

tics of the Rusyn language. Aside from traditional alphabet characters, the authors proposed the Russian letter *ë* that indicates both /jo/ and palatalized consonants before /o/, as in Russian. Morphological features which are characteristic of local vernacular include: (a) feminine nouns in -*a*, which have the instr. sing. ending -*ov*, as in *ruka* 'hand' 'arm' *rukov;* (b) masculine nouns in -*a*, which have the instr. sing. ending -*om*, as in *gazda* 'master', 'owner', 'wealthy person' *gazdom*; (c) the enclititic forms of the first person pronoun: *nja* (1st person sing. gen.), *my* (1st person sing. dat.); (d) the pluperfect of the verb: *ljubyv jem bŷm* 'I had liked [it]'; and (e) the ending -*eme*/-*yme* in the first person plural of the present tense: *nosyme* 'we carry'; *nahaneme* 'we chase someone away'.

Certain syntactical features of the Transcarpathian variant share characteristics with other Rusyn variants, while others are unique. (a) The reflexive marker *sja*, as in *mŷ sja znajeme* 'we know each other', is typical for all standards of Rusyn language and common to West Slavic languages, but different from literary Ukrainian. It is important to note that literary Russian, Belarusan, and Ukrainian all have the reflexive marker *sja*; however, this does not function as an enclitic. (b) Constructions of the type *u mene je jeden sŷn* are characteristic for the Transcarpathian variant of Rusyn in contrast to the Prešov and Lemko Region variants that have constructions of a West Slavic type: *mam jednoho sŷna* 'I have a son', 'I have only one son'. (c) The use of the preposition *v/u* to express movement to or into a given place, as in *idu v selo* 'I go to a village', differs from the Prešov and Lemko Region standards, which more often assign the preposition *do* (*idu do sela/valala*). (d) The preposition *za*+accusative or *pro*+accusative is used to express 'about' after verbs, like *dumaty* 'to think', *hovoryty* 'to speak', *spivaty* 'to sing', *znaty* 'to know', as in the constructions: *dumam za/pro vas* 'I think about you'. The Prešov and Lemko Region literary standards use *o*+locative: *znam o vas* 'I know about you'.

The social function of the Transcarpathian variant is very limited, in large part because Rusyns do not have official status as a distinct national minority in Ukraine. Publications consist mostly of a few volumes of poetry, a few school textbooks, and some newspapers.

(2) *The Prešov Region in Slovakia.* Since 1995, Rusyn has been recognized as a minority language in Slovakia. Aside from a normative grammar and orthographic dictionary,[18] there exist a whole host of language textbooks for grades 1 through 9 and for secondary schools. The language is also taught at the University of Prešov, which since 1999 has had a Division of Rusyn Language and Culture.

The lexicon of the Prešov Region variant has a large number of Common Slavic words: *zemlja* 'land', *jasnŷj* 'bright', *spaty* 'to sleep', *sestra* 'sister', *ja*

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18. Jabur and Pan'ko (1994) and Pan'ko et al. (1994) are the most important works.

'I', *što* 'what', etc. Loanwords are also widespread and can be divided into four main groups:

a. West Slavic loanwords: *barz* (many; much), *guta* (grief, sorrow), *klamaty* (to deceive), *šumnŷj* (beautiful), *vajtsak* (stallion);
b. Germanisms: *bigljaz'* (iron), *šuster* (shoemaker), *kapral'* (corporal);
c. Hungarianisms: *birov* (major), *gazda* (master; owner; wealthy, respectable man), *pul'ka* (turkey);
d. Polonisms: *gamba* (lip), *kark* (neck), *nezhrabnŷj* (clumsy), *ropuxa* (toad).

Among the phonetic particularities which should be mentioned are: (a) movable stress as a distinct East Slavic characteristic (sing. nom. *nóha* 'leg', 'foot', sing. dat. *nózi*, but sing. instr. *nohóv*);[19] (b) the vowel <ŷ>: *sŷn* 'son', (c) the hard ending *-t* in the third person singular of the present tense verbs: *xodyt* 'he/she walks', *robyt* 'he/she works', *sydyt* 'he/she seats', as opposed to the Transcarpathian forms: *xodyt'*, *robyt'*, *sydyt'*. The alphabet also contains the letter *ë*.

Morphological characteristics of the Prešov Region variant include: (a) the parallel nominative endings of *-ove/-y*, *-ove/-i* in plural masculine virile nouns which end in *-a* in the nominative singular (*sluhove/sluhy; gazdove/gazdy*)— the same parallelism appears in the vocative plural; (b) epenthetic <l> in instr. sing of nouns of the Common Slavic ū-stem class: *cerkovl'ov* from *cerkov* 'church', *morkovl'ov* from *morkov* 'carrot'; (c) enclitic forms of the dative in personal pronouns: *mi* 'to me', *ti* 'to you', *si* 'to myself'; (d) forms of instrumental of numerals: *dvomy*, *trjomy*, *pjatjomy*; and (e) the ending *-am* in the first person singular of verbs with infinitive *-ati and *-ają in present tense: *litam* 'I fly', *spivam* 'I sing'.

The syntactic characteristics of the Prešov Region variant reflect more West Slavic influence than in the Transcarpathian variant.[20] Among the most typical are: (a) the expression of possession with the verb *maty* 'to have' in a conjugated form and the accusative of the noun: *Susid mat velyku zahorodu* 'A neighbor has a big garden'. This construction could be compared with the Slovak, *Sused má vel'ku záhradu*, in contrast to the Transcarpathian variant: *U susida velykŷj kert* (Hungarian: garden); (b) sentences lacking a pronoun subject: *Robyl jem tam calŷj den'* '[I] worked there all day long', which is also a typical West Slavic phenomenon; and (c) constructions with a possessive dative: *Bolyt' mu holova* 'He has a headache', which also appears in the Transcarpathian variant.

(3) *The Lemko Rusyn variant in Poland*. As in Slovakia, Lemko Rusyn in

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19. It should be noted that while fixed stress is typical for many Rusyn dialects in the Prešov Region, the language codifiers decided to base the literary standard on the eastern dialects found in the Laborec valley where movable stress is common, as it is in neighboring Transcarpathian dialects.

20. Details on the syntax of Prešov Region dialects and literary standards are found in Vaňko.

Poland also has the status of an official minority language.[21] In comparison with the other Rusyn variants there are a smaller number of Hungarian (*gazda* 'master, owner', *legin'* 'young lad') and Romanian *(brynza* 'sheep cheese', *jafynŷ* 'blueberries') loanwords. Not surprisingly, there are a significant number of Polonisms: *dzecko* 'child', *tlok* 'crowd'. A common prosodic characteristic between Lemko Rusyn and Polish is stress on the penultimate syllable, a feature that has also become the norm in the literary language. The Lemko Rusyn phonetic system contains the vowel <ŷ>, which is a typical characteristic of the Carpathian dialects. The vowels <o> and <e> in newly closed syllables were transformed in Lemko Rusyn into <i> (*viz* 'cart', *bib* 'bean', *kin'* 'horse'), which is also common for Ukrainian. The alphabet contains ы for the sound <ŷ>, but does not have *ë*.

Among the grammatical particularities of the Lemko literary standard are: (a) the ending *-om* in the instrumental singular of nouns which in the nominative have the ending *-a*: *rukom* 'by/with the hand', *gazdom* 'by/with the master'; (b) parallel forms of the nominative plural of masculine nouns *-ove/-y*, as in the Prešov Region variant: *susidove/susidŷ* 'neighbors', *gazdove/gazdŷ* 'masters, owners'; (c) parallel forms of the nominative plural masculine with a velar suffix: *hudakŷ/hudacy* 'musicians', *parubkŷ/paribci* 'young men'; (d) the depalatalization of the ending of the nominative of feminine nouns of the former i-stem class (*hrud* 'chest-part of the body', *kist* 'bone', *pamjat* 'memory'); (e) parallel forms of the numeral '40': *čotyrdesjat/sorok*; and (f) a form of the future tense, *budu besidoval* '[I] will speak', that also appears in Polish.

The syntactic characteristics of the Lemko literary variant generally are similar to those in the Prešov Region variant; however, some particularities should be mentioned: (a) the parallel use of the prepositions *čerez/prez* plus accusative to express spatial, causal, and temporal relations: *čerez/prez n'oho ne spala* 'because of him she did not sleep'; *čerez/prez horu* 'across the mountain'—the first of these prepositions is typically East Slavic, the other is typically West Slavic; (b) the expression of movement toward a given thing or person is expressed with the prepositions *gu/ku*: *ideme gu babusi* 'we are going to the granny's place'; and (c) the presence of parallel forms for the conjunctions: *žebŷ/štobŷ*: *žebŷ/štobŷ nas znal* 'in order that he/she know us'.

(4) *The language of the Vojvodinian Rusyns in Serbia and Croatia.* Vojvodinian Rusyn presents a special case among Rusyn dialects and literary variants. It is the most developed literary standard of Rusyn, whose grammars and dictionaries could serve as a model of language planning for the other variants (Kočiš 1971 and 1972, Ramač et al. 1995–97, Ramač 2002). Aside from indigenous words (*človek* 'person', *žena* 'woman', *mac* 'to have'), the lexicon of Vojvodinian Rusyn contains various loanwords:

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21. Ministerstwo Educaciji Narodowej. The standard grammar is Henryk Fontan'skij and Myroslava Chomjak. There is also a Lemko-Polish dictionary by Jaroslav Horoščak.

a. Hungarisms: *pohar* (a glass for drinking), *paradiča* (tomato), *pul'ka* (turkey);

b. Germanisms: *haziban* (railroad), *komora* (storehouse), *gnot* (wick), *frištik* (breakfast), *vinčovac* (to congratulate);

c. Church Slavonicisms: *hospod'* (Lord), *blahoslovic* (to bless), *molytva* (prayer);

d. Romanianisms (sporadic): *kljag* (rennet bag), *fujara* (flute), *skapac'* (to disappear);

e. Serbianisms: *bostan* (melon), *briga* (concern), *zadruga* (cooperative; society).

As for phonetic characteristics, Vojvodinian Rusyn has the accent fixed on the penultimate syllable. It does not have the phoneme <ŷ> and <y>, which have been replaced by <i>. The other distinct feature of this language is the absence of typical East Slavic pleophony/polnoglasie (*brada* 'beard', *draha* 'road', *breh* 'hill') and the inclusion of several other phonetic West Slavic characteristics, such as the preservation of the Common Slavic groups **kv*, **gv* before the vowels **ĕ* and **i* (*kvet* 'flower', *kvitnuc* 'to bloom', *hvizda* 'star') and the development of **gt'*, **kt'* to *c* (*moc* 'to be able', *pec* 'to bake'); the absence of changes in the group **dl*: *modlic* 'to beg', *midlo* 'soap', *sadlo* 'fat', as opposed to the East Slavic (Transcarpathian variant): *molyty*, *mŷlo*, *salo*. The original consonants *s, z, t, d*, when they occur immediately before front vowels, become *š, ž, c, dz*: *šestra* 'sister', *žem* 'land', *cixi* 'calm', *dzivka* 'girl'.

The first codifier of the literary standard, Havrijil Kostel'nik, and his post–World War II disciple Mikola M. Kočiš considered Vojvodinian Rusyns to be a branch of Ukrainians. Therefore, when creating an alphabet for the literary language they wished to make it as close as possible to standard Ukrainian. As a result, the Vojvodinian Rusyn alphabet has the same letters as Ukrainian with the exception of *i* with one dot.[22]

The morphology of Vojvodinian Rusyn has many features that are in common with other Rusyn dialects. Among the particularities should be mentioned: (a) the ending *-ox* for the locative plural and genitive plural of masculine nouns: *kon'och*, *stoloch*; (b) enclitic forms of personal pronouns: *mi* (dative); *me* (gentive); *ci* (dative); *ce* (gentive); (c) the forms of the numeral '40' (*šteradzesjat*) and '90' (*dzevedzesjat*), which are typical West Slavic forms; (d) the form of the first person of the past tense, which is similar to Slovak as well as Serbian and Croatian: *čital som* 'I read'.

Vojvodinian Rusyn syntax generally has the same West Slavic features that appear in the Prešov Region variant of Rusyn. Vojvodinian Rusyn does, however, contain distinct evidence of Serbian influence; for example (a) use of the prepositions *počatkem* 'in the beginning' and *koncem* 'in the end' plus the

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22. It is interesting to note that there were proposals to adopt the Serbian alphabet for Vojvodinian Rusyn language (Bakov, esp. 101–38).

genitive (Serbian: *početkom* and *krajem*): *počatkom aprila*, *koncem januara*;
(b) *stredkom/štredkom* 'in the middle' plus the genitive (Serbian: *sredinom*):
sredkom tižn'a 'in the middle of the week'; (3) *u ceku* 'during' plus the geni-
tive (Serbian: *u toku*): *u ceku roboti* 'during the work'.

At present, there have been no serious attempts to create a literary language
for the small number of Rusyns in Hungary and Romania.[23] The Rusyn liter-
ary language of the North America that existed during the first decades of the
twentieth century has fallen out of use since the early 1960s.

Conclusions

The creation of any new literary language is a process that is often accom-
panied by controversy and unpredictable results. Therefore, it is difficult to
predict the destiny of each standard and its relationship to future plans for a
koiné. Nevertheless, as an experiment, the codification of any language pres-
ents an intrinsically interesting phenomenon for the linguist, whether or not
the experiment has a future. At the present, it must be said that the develop-
ment of Rusyn looks promising, especially considering the fact that serious
work on codification began only in the 1990s. Since that time much has been
achieved in the codification and use of the language in publications, educa-
tion, and other spheres of public life.

Because of its hybrid nature, Rusyn has the potential to serve as a link be-
tween different Slavic languages. In fact, Rusyn is interesting for Slavic lin-
guists because of the mixture of features that it contains, as noted in the writ-
ings of Horace Lunt, Jiří Marvan, and Henrik Birnbaum. As for the Rusyns
themselves, they are aware that a better knowledge of their own language
would make it easier for them to understand speakers of neighboring Slavic
languages and to communicate with them at least at an elementary level. Fi-
nally, and this is particularly the case for Transcarpathia, native Ukrainian and
Russian speakers who have settled there after World War II also realize the
value of learning Rusyn as a means of better understanding West Slavic and
South Slavic languages.

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23. An interesting case is that of the Hungarian Slavist Gergely Benedek, who for a recent
volume on the Rusyn language contributed two chapters in the Rusyn vernacular of present-day
northeastern Hungary, which he codified on the basis of the speech of the inhabitants in two vil-
lages, Komlóska and Múcsony (Magocsi 2004, 265–78 and 365–75). However, no Rusyn-lan-
guage publication or organization has adopted the "Benedek norm."

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Резюме

Надія Кушко
Литературні стандарты русинського языка: історичный контекст и днишня
сітуация

Сеся статя убертать ся довкола проблемы статуса релативно нового
славлянського літературного языка, то значит русинського. Широка и много-
образна група діалектув, котри суть оприділені ги русински, мавуть общи
лінгвістичні рисы из восточнославлянскыма, западнославлянскыма, а кіть
говориме за язык воєводинськых русинув, тогди и из югославлянськыма
языками. Не позеравучи на то, што помежи славістув неє консенсуса у сьому
вопросі—ци тоти діалекты уважати за окремый язык, ци они суть частьов
иншакого языка—на днишній день мож говорити за чотири регіоналні варіанты
русинського литературного языка: лемкувскый у Польщі, язык русинув Словакії
у Пряшувському краї, пудкарпатськый, ци закарпатськый варіянт русинського
языка в Украйині і, четвертый, воєводинськый, ци бачвансько-сримськый,
котрого ся тримавут уже майже цілоє столітя русины у Сербиї і Хорватиї. Процес
кодіфікації трьох из чотирьох сих варіантув зачався по 1989 році и на днись по
выше означеных державах указувут ся не все єднаки резултаты. У статі, котру
туй подаєме, силуєме ся говорити за історію творєня русинськых літературных
стандартув, их функциї в обществі и майглавні граматичні рисы каждого
варіанта. Майбулше говориме за одношеня межи русинськым и иншакыма
языками (ци то державныма, ци недержавныма), подаєме видженя перспективы
языка у будучности.