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Issues In Rusyn Language Standardisation

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Abstract

This thesis is an examination of the factors which have led to the standardisation of several variants of the Rusyn language in central and eastern Europe since 1989. It includes an assessment of aspects of the linguistic and extra-linguistic language planning activities carried out within and between the different Rusyn standard languages. The thesis considers the development of Rusyn standard languages with particular focus on those created for the Rusyns of the Prešov Region of Slovakia and the Lemkos of Poland, with reference to the language situation in the Transcarpathian Region of Ukraine and that of Vojvodina Rusyn in Serbia and Croatia. It also considers factors which have facilitated and militated against the creation of standard languages in the regions concerned and sets the development of Rusyn standardisation in the context of the development of regional and minority languages elsewhere and as an element of identity construction and assertion. A study is made of the prospects for the so-called Rusyn koiné, an auxiliary standard proposed for use across all Rusyn groups.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Figure

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed name:

Chapter 1 – Introduction

It is rare for the emergence of a new language to be attributed to a particular date, but the announcement made on 27 January 1995 in Bratislava entitled 'Declaration on the Occasion of the Celebratory Announcement of the Codification of the Rusyn Language in Slovakia' did just that (Magocsi, 1996: xi). The declaration, made in the name of the Executive Council of the Rusyn Renaissance Society (*Rusîn'ska Obroda*), reflected the agreement on a codified form of the Rusyn language of Slovakia and set out a historical context for the creation of the new language in terms of release from the suppression of the linguistic and cultural rights of the Rusyn people. It also drew attention to a little known ethnic group in central Europe and threw light on issues of language planning in such a context.

The glottonym 'Rusyn' has a complicated history, but its present day usage is now largely confined to the name of the language of those East Slavs who live in the Carpathian region of north-east Slovakia, south-westernmost Ukraine and adjoining areas of Poland, Romania and Hungary as well as by the descendents of migrants from this general region to Vojvodina in Serbia. The Rusyn national movement which emerged in post-1989 central and eastern Europe uses the term 'Rusyn' to encompass all such East Slavs, including those who identify with the ethnonym 'Lemko' and those in Vojvodina and neighbouring regions of Croatia. The term 'Ruthenian' is occasionally encountered principally in non-specialist writings on present-day Rusyn (for example, in English language reports of the Euromosaic programme). This term is not used in specialist literature on Rusyn or in English language publications produced by the Rusyn movement and is not therefore used in this study.

The Rusyn language movement (i.e. the collective of linguists, writers, academics, journalists and others who have contributed to and drive the development of the Rusyn language as an intrinsic component of a Rusyn national identity) perceives a single Rusyn language consisting of individual 'variants'. The term 'Rusyn' is used as the glottonym for each variant other than that in Poland which is known as Lemko. It is noteworthy that the titles of grammars and related items refer not to 'variants' but to 'language'. It is possible therefore to analyse Rusyn as a single pluricentric language, or a collection of languages. The official names for each Rusyn variant are[1]:

- *русиньскый язык* (*rusîn'skyj jazyk*; 'Rusyn language') in Slovakia;

- *лемківскій язык* (*lemkivskij jazyk*; 'Lemko language') in Poland;

- *русинськый язык* (*rusîns'kyj jazyk*; 'Rusyn language') in one scheme proposed for Transcarpathian Ukraine and

- *руски язик* (*ruski jazik*; 'Rusyn language') in Serbia and Croatia (Vojvodina and Srem).

The Rusyns inhabit the following areas of the three countries in question:

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[1] Where it is necessary to refer to them collectively and in distinction to the Rusyn of Vojvodina, I refer to the Rusyn of Slovakia, Ukraine, Poland and neighbouring countries as 'northern Rusyn' or 'Carpathian Rusyn'. Where it is necessary to distinguish individual variants of northern Rusyn, I use 'Prešov Rusyn' and 'Transcarpathian Rusyn' to refer to the variants in Slovakia and Ukraine respectively. No such distinction is obviously required for the Lemko of Poland.

- the southern slopes of the Carpathian mountains in north-eastern Slovakia from the Slovak-Ukrainian border in the east as far as the village of Osturňa in the west, mainly in small towns and villages and with a cultural centre in the non-Rusyn city of Prešov (Prešov Rusyn: *Пряшів* (*Pr'ašiv*)), often referred to as the Prešov region (Prešov Rusyn: *Пряшівска Русь* (*Pr'ašivska Rus'*));

- traditionally, the far south-east of Poland in the Beskid mountains (Lemko: *Лемковина* (*Lemkovîna*)), but now mainly scattered in consequence of forced resettlements (Operation Vistula) by the Polish authorities throughout northern and western Poland in the territories transferred from Germany to Poland following World War II;

- the Transcarpathian Region of Ukraine which was annexed by the Soviet Union from Hungary in 1945, following its earlier annexation from Czechoslovakia in 1939 ('*Пудкарпатська Русь*' (*Pudkarpats'ka Rus'*) in one of the proposed versions for Transcarpathian Rusyn).

Small groups of kindred northern Rusyns live in Hungary, principally in two villages: Komlóska (Rusyn: *Комлошка* (*Kotloška*)) and Múcsony (Rusyn: *Мучонь* (*Mučon'*)) in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county in north-eastern Hungary. Smaller groups still, unenumerated in censuses, live in north-western Romania.

The numbers of individuals self-reporting as Rusyns in census returns for each country are not large and the Rusyns form a small minority everywhere they live.   The most recently available census figures are as follows[2]:

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[2] The census returns for Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Serbia, Croatia and Romania also report the existence of a Ukrainian minority.

Slovakia:	24,201 (Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, 2001)
Poland:	5,863 (Central Statistical Office, 2002)
Ukraine:	10,100 (State Committee for Statistics of Ukraine, 2001)[3]
Hungary:	1,098 (Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2001)
Serbia:	15,905 (Statistical Office of Serbia, 2002)
Croatia:	2,337 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2001)

The Rusyn movement claims much higher numbers of Rusyns than the census figures suggest. Magocsi (2004: 16) provides unofficial statistics and claims the numbers for each state are in the region of 740,000 (Ukraine), 130,000 (Slovakia), 60,000 (Poland), 25,000 (Serbia), 20,000 (Romania), 5,000 (Croatia) and 3,000 (Hungary), which would mean around one million Rusyns in all countries in Europe.

In addition to these, there are a small number of Czech citizens of Rusyn descent. The Rusyn ethnonym appears also to be gaining currency in Moldova (Pfandl, 2008: 112). No separate proposals appear to have been made for standardisation of Rusyn in respect of any inhabitants of those two states.

The Bratislava declaration on the creation of a new language was perhaps the most public manifestation of a process of language planning which had begun simultaneously in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from the period of political liberalisation in the late 1980s. Perhaps it would be more accurate to describe this as the re-emergence of language planning among the linguistically and culturally East Slavonic population resident in or originating from

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[3] Figures for people self-declaring as Rusyns in the Transcarpathian Region out of a total population there of 1,254,600 at the time the census was taken. 'Rusyn' was officially deemed to be an 'ethnic group' within the overall Ukrainian nationality rather than a separate 'nationality'. Those declaring themselves as (ethnic) Ukrainians in the region in the same census were 1,010,100.

the region where these three countries conjoin, the so-called 'Rusyn language question' having arisen in the early years of the 20th century before being officially 'answered' through suppression in post-1945 central and eastern Europe.

The development of the Rusyn of Slovakia was paralleled by the development of a sister language north of the Carpathians among the Lemko people of Poland and by the first beginnings of linguistic separation in the Transcarpathian Region of the then Ukrainian SSR. Formal links were rapidly established between these three regions and outlying populations in Hungary and Romania, together with the mutual discovery by them of the self-contained Rusyn population in the Vojvodina region of the then Yugoslavia, descendents of émigrés from the Carpathian region in the 17th century. These links were made possible by the late 1980s liberalisation of central and eastern Europe, and strongly facilitated by the catalyst of a well-organised émigré population of 'Carpatho-Ruthenians' in the United States and Canada, led by Professor Paul Robert Magocsi, an academic of part-Rusyn origin (Horbal, 2002a: 300) who has based a large part of his career on the study and promotion of the Rusyns as a distinct fourth East Slavonic nation, taking their place alongside the Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians.

Co-ordination of language planning efforts has taken place on the basis of pan-Rusyn language congresses. Three have been held to date: in 1992 in Bardejovské Kúpele (Slovakia), in 1999 in Prešov and in 2007 in Krakow. The first congress set out an ambitious manifesto for Rusyn language planning. It was agreed that a Rusyn standard would be created for each of the Rusyn regions in Ukraine, Slovakia and Poland to supplement that already created in 1923 for the Vojvodina Rusyns and also to aim to develop a pan-Rusyn 'koiné' common to all regions (Magocsi, 1996: 38). This approach was termed the 'Romansh model' after the example of the Romansh language in Switzerland where five local standards were supplemented in 1982 with

the introduction of the supra-regional written standard, Rumantsch Grischun. The first fruits of the agreed policy were the creation of the Rusyn standard for Slovakia in 1995 and the Lemko standard for Poland in 2000. There remain no widely agreed and accepted standards for either Ukraine or Hungary and very little evidence of any Rusyn language planning in Romania (a short article in Romanian Rusyn is included in Trier (1999: 53)).

The efforts to establish (or re-establish) a distinct and independent Rusyn identity for the East Slavonic population of eastern Slovakia, Poland and the Transcarpathian Region in Ukraine arose, in part, out of the denial of the existence of a separate Rusyn ethnic and linguistic identity during the period of communist rule and the unwillingness of the state(s) to officially sanction the linguistic 'otherness' of the indigenous inhabitants in a pluralistic way. In support of Soviet nationality policy in Ukraine, the authorities in Czechoslovakia and Poland required all East Slavs on their territory to identify with the Ukrainian nationality. Provision of schooling, media, etc. was made solely in standard Ukrainian from the early 1950s. Many East Slavs rejected this Ukrainianisation policy on the basis of the distance between standard Ukrainian and the local spoken East Slavonic vernacular, and also because, according to Magocsi (1993b: 111), of a post-1968 conflation of Ukrainianisation with Sovietisation.

The assertion of a distinct Rusyn identity (including language and other conventionally held markers of nationhood) has met with a negative response on the part of many Ukrainians, both in the Rusyn regions and in Ukraine. The counter-argument is that there is no historical legitimacy for the existence of a separate Rusyn ethnicity at any level other than as a 'sub-ethnos' of the Ukrainian nationality. The pro- and anti-Rusyn positions led to an energetic discourse in the early 1990s in academic and local cultural circles (Magocsi (1993a) gives examples from participants on various sides of

the debate). Official recognition by the Polish, Slovak, Romanian and Hungarian governments of both Rusyn and Ukrainian minorities on their territories has allowed for the re-emergence of activity in support for a separate Rusyn identity. There has been no such equivalent official recognition of a Rusyn national minority by the Ukrainian state, with consequences for the development of the Rusyn language there.

The design and planning of the Rusyn language unsurprisingly reflects the historical, political and sociolinguistic context in which the language exists. The nature of the language also presents some interesting aspects, particularly its pluricentric nature, the intention to create an auxiliary standard language for use across all Rusyn territories and the effects of hostility from some quarters on language planning and propagation.

Attention to Rusyn (both the northern forms and the better established Vojvodina standard) in general works on the Slavonic languages is sporadic. This is perhaps surprising given the prominence of the subject of standardisation within the Slavonic languages (Sussex and Cubberley, 2006: 545-550; Brozović, 2001: 5-15). Vojvodina Rusyn is mentioned briefly only once, as an 'independent standard micro-language' on page 996 of Comrie and Corbett (in the chapter on Ukrainian), a volume which devotes full chapters to the still not standardised Kashubian language and the extinct Polabian. Rusyn, along with many other Slavonic regional and minority languages, is however granted a full chapter in Rehder (2006) on the same level as the more established Slavonic languages, and it has received considerable attention within the sub-discipline established by A.D. Dulichenko of Tartu University of the study of so-called Slavonic literary 'microlanguages'. It may be that Rusyn will be accorded similar respect by future anthologies published by English-speaking academia in years to come as it becomes further established and acknowledged.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the context for Rusyn language standardisation from the point of view of both some linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects and to attempt to set the development of Rusyn in the European context, considering various aspects of its development from the point of view of language planning models in order to provide a view of the kind of language Rusyn is and may become in the future.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of some the key characteristics of the Rusyn language both in relation to standard Ukrainian and other Slavonic languages as well as a description of the main dialect divisions within northern Rusyn. Chapter 3 sets out the historical context for Rusyn language standardisation in the Carpathian region up until the period of political change in central and eastern Europe in the late 1980s, and Chapter 4 examines developments since then. Chapter 5 analyses language planning activities undertaken in respect of Rusyn with particular reference to Nahir's analysis of language planning 'goals'. Chapter 6 considers proposals for the development of a further Rusyn standard to act as an auxiliary standard for all Rusyn regions, drawing analogies with similar projects elsewhere in Europe. A conclusion is at Chapter 7 and appendices provide supplementary material on the text.

Chapter 2 – Some Characteristics of the Rusyn Language

This chapter seeks to set out some of the chief linguistic characteristics of Rusyn as represented in the standard languages developed for 'northern' Rusyns.   There is a linguistic split within Rusyn between the northern Rusyn languages (standards for which have been formally adopted in Slovakia (Prešov Rusyn) and Poland (Lemko)) and the Rusyn language of Vojvodina, which is not the primary focus of this study.   The northern standards are based on linguistic forms which are clearly East Slavonic, representing indeed the south-westernmost extremity of that sub-group.   Vojvodina Rusyn has presented something of a classificatory challenge for Slavists, containing as it does features of all three sub-groups of Slavonic languages, but with a predominance of the West Slavonic (Bidwell 1966, Lunt 1998).   This spread across multiple sub-groups of Slavonic also presents a challenge for the Rusyn movement, who would have Rusyn viewed as a single linguistic entity.

Northern Rusyn, as the south-westernmost East Slavonic linguistic form, is geographically contiguous with Ukrainian, forming part of what might be viewed as a linguistic continuum with other Ukrainian (and ultimately Russian and Belarusian) dialects.   The dialects on which contemporary northern Rusyn standards are based have long been recognised and treated as linguistically distinct from other Ukrainian dialects (Zhylko: 132-155, Vaňko, 2002: 255).   Given their geographic position, these dialects have also undergone influence from Polish and Slovak and non-Slavonic languages (particularly Hungarian and Romanian).   Northern Rusyn shares with the other East Slavonic languages the distinguishing feature of '*polnoglasie*' (pleophony), whereby the proto-Slavonic groups *tort, *tolt, *tert *telt* become *torot, *tolot, *teret, *telet* in East Slavonic, with other reflexes in West and South Slavonic. Vojvodina Rusyn does not demonstrate *polnoglasie*.   Examples of this are northern Rusyn '*корова*' ('cow') (cf. Russian '*корова*', Belarusian '*карова*') which contrasts with Vojvodina Rusyn '*крава*' (cf. Slovak '*krava*', Polish '*krowa*', Serbian '*крава*'),

and northern Rusyn '*голова*' ('head') (cf. Russian '*голова*', Belarusian '*галава*') and Vojvodina Rusyn '*глава*' (cf. Slovak '*hlava*', Polish '*głowa*', Serbian '*глава*').

Rusyn dialect forms share a large number of features with Ukrainian, including features which are not shared with any other Slavonic language, for example the realisation of former [o] and [e] in so-called newly closed syllables as [i] (e.g. '*кінь*' (*kin'*) ('horse'), cf. Russian '*конь*', Belarusian '*конь*'). There is variability within Rusyn dialects on this point (see below), but the Prešov Rusyn and Lemko standards have this feature in common with standard Ukrainian, which distinguishes them and standard Ukrainian from all other Slavonic languages.

Differentiation between the dialect base for northern standards and Ukrainian dialects are evident at the phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical levels. A selection of some of the features which characterise the dialects on which northern Rusyn standards are formed and which are distinguishable from Ukrainian dialects to the north and east are[4]:

i) The presence of the unrounded back vowel <ы> [ɨ] , yielding a seven-vowel system in Prešov Rusyn and Lemko of <a, o, y, e, i, и, ы> as opposed to standard Ukrainian <a, o, y, e, i, и>;

ii) The variable realisation of former long [o] as phonetic [u], [y], [ju], [o], [ɨ] and [i]. This is particularly prevalent in the dialects of the Transcarpathian Region in Ukraine (where it has proven to be a divisive factor in agreeing a standard for that region) where standard Ukrainian has [i] throughout;

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[4] These examples draw on Zhylko (1954), Vaňko (2000: 26-98) and (2002: 255-262).

iii) The instrumental feminine singular ending *-ом* (western Rusyn dialects (*see* below)) and *–ов* [ой] (eastern dialects) in contrast to standard Ukrainian *-ою*;

iv) The consistent use of the verb '*мати*' ('*matî*') (to have) in Rusyn, where Ukrainian uses a non-verbal construction (shared with Russian and Belarusian), e.g. '*мам корову*' ('*mam korovu*') as opposed to Ukrainian '*у мене корова*'[5] (cf, Russian '*у меня (есть) корова*', Belarusian '*у меня (ёсць) карова*');

v) The general lack of use of subject pronouns with verbs in Rusyn compared with more consistent use of these in Ukrainian;

vi) The presence in Rusyn of a number of lexical items borrowed from Polish and Slovak and non-Slavonic languages such as Hungarian and Romanian. These include both older items, including much vocabulary related to shepherding (from Romanian) and items associated with modern life owing to the influence of the dominant state languages of Slovakia and Poland (e.g. Lemko '*право ізды*' ('*pravo izdy*') ('driving license'), cf. Polish '*prawo jazdy*' and Ukrainian '*посвідчення водія*' ('*posvidchennia vodia*')).

Within the northern Rusyn dialect group, there exists a divide into western and eastern dialects. The western group of dialects are spoken in Slovakia and Poland. These are often termed 'Lemko' in linguistic literature; this term is only used in the name of the standard language in Poland, but this indicates the close relationship between the language found in Poland and in much of Slovakia. The eastern group is spoken in the Transcarpathian Region of Ukraine and a small area in eastern Slovakia. A group of transitional forms exists between the two. The Prešov Rusyn standard is

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[5] Example taken from Vaňko (2002: 257).

based on dialect forms which relate to the transitional area between the western and eastern groups, rather than the western group to which most Rusyn dialects of Slovakia belong, a fact which has led to criticism from Slovak Rusyns who feel that the standard is unrepresentative and exclusive as a result (Vaňko, 2008: 18).   Standard Lemko is based purely on western dialect forms.

Some of the features distinguishing the two sub-groups include[6]:

i)   fixed stress on the penultimate syllable in western Rusyn dialects as opposed to mobile stress in eastern dialects (in this respect the western forms display a feature (fixed stress) common to the West Slavonic group, and the eastern forms reflect the prosody of the East Slavonic group);

ii)   the masculine past tense ending *–л* in the western group and *–в* [ŭ] in the eastern;

iii)   the instrumental feminine singular ending *–ом* in the western group and *-ов* [oŭ] in the eastern;

iv)   the use of non-palatalised *-m* [t] in the ending of the third person singular and plural in the present tense of verbs in the western group and palatalised *-mь* [t'] in the eastern;

v)   variable reflexes of original [o] in newly closed syllables in the eastern group (phonetic [u], [ju], [y], [ɨ] and [i] where the western group predominantly has [i]).

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[6] An extensive list is provided by Vaňko (2002: 258-262) from which the examples here have been taken.

vi)   Contraction of feminine singular genitive adjective endings in the western group, with retention of full forms in the eastern group (western '*доброй*' ('*dobroj*') versus eastern '*доброї*' ('*dobroji*')).

Given the geolinguistic situation in which the western and eastern groups find themselves, they are and have been exposed to strong influence from Polish and Slovak (western) and Ukrainian and Russian (eastern). By the same token, the westernmost forms of Rusyn in Slovakia and Poland have not been influenced by standard Ukrainian for a great period of time, limiting the influence of standard Ukrainian on spoken Rusyn there (Vaňko, 2002: 262) and nor did the Transcarpathian dialects have any influence on standard Ukrainian (Shevelov, 1989: 25). These factors further underscore claims for the differentiation of Rusyn from standard Ukrainian and the concomitant necessity of establishing standard Rusyn based on the spoken language of the Carpathian region as a more naturally better fitting standard language, irrespective of any arguments in favour of development of the language in support of the construction or assertion of a separate Rusyn national identity.

The eastern group of Rusyn dialects, particularly as found in the Transcarpathian Region in Ukraine, with some overspill into northernmost Romania, can be further divided into a series of sub-dialects. Kerča (2004: 144-6) lists five of these: Southern Maramorosh, Northern Maramorosh, Berezh, Uzh and Eastern Zemplin. One of the features distinguishing these sub-dialects from one another is the varying realisation of former [o] in newly closed syllables as noted above. Disagreement on the inclusion and representation of this vowel has been a key linguistic factor preventing agreement on a Rusyn standard for Transcarpathian Ukraine.

The above is a very brief overview of some of the characteristics of Rusyn within Slavonic as a whole and those distinguishing northern and Vojvodina Rusyn forms,

variation within the northern Rusyn group (the split into western and eastern dialect forms), variation within the eastern group itself and some issues arising from the selection of various Rusyn dialect bases on which standards have been developed. The intention here is to demonstrate that there are sufficient linguistic grounds on which to distinguish the linguistic forms identified by the Rusyn movement as distinct from Ukrainian, and therefore to justify the creation of a standard language based on these distinctive features. The ultimate justification for the creation of new standard languages owes as much, if not more, to extralinguistic or sociolinguistic factors than it does to purely linguistic features such as differences in morphology or syntax. Indeed, as seen elsewhere in Europe, for example in the remoulding of Serbo-Croat into four new standards of Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin, or more so in the case of Catalan and Valencian, even minimal or negligible linguistic differences can form the justification for the separation and standardisation of new languages where there are sufficient non-linguistic factors to drive this.

Chapter 3 - Standardisation of the Rusyn Language – a Historical Perspective Until the Fall of Communism

The historical period of the development of standard languages and the conditions which led to their formation which is particularly relevant to the Rusyn standard language is that of the 19th and 20th centuries and, as such, this chapter focuses on those periods only. This period saw the conscious planned development of several Slavonic languages (Slovene, Slovak) in contrast to standard languages in the Slavonic family (and elsewhere) which can be said to have developed more organically such as Russian and Polish (Hill, 1999: 22).

The process of the development of standard languages has been analysed by Haugen (1966) and subsequently by others. Hill (1999) sets out some considerations which specifically apply to Slavonic languages. He notes that 'a standard language develops in stages' and further notes that:

> *'A standard language provides a special style for every functional sphere in a modern society – that is, functional styles not only for the administration of the state (administrative or official style), but also for journalism, science and technology and for everyday conversation (standard colloquial style)'* (Hill, 1999: 21).

An analysis of the stages of development, goals and factors favouring the creation of standard Rusyn since 1989, with reference to language planning theories, forms the basis of a subsequent chapter. This chapter sets out the position on standard languages in each Rusyn territory, providing an account of the reasons why little to no progress was made in northern Rusyn in successful language planning for a Rusyn

standard there (in contrast to the successful elaboration and introduction of a standard for Vojvodina Rusyn), and seeks to illustrate Hill's observations on the phased development of standard languages and functional spread.

Several Slavonic languages were able to be developed through the stages outlined by Hill in the 19th century and function today as fully accepted polyvalent standard languages (for example Slovak and Slovene).   While Hill summarises the developmental stages (in terms of selection, description, codification, elaboration, acceptance, implementation, expansion, cultivation, evaluation and reconstruction (Hill, 1999: 21) necessary for language planners to follow in order to see the full success of a language planning process, it is important also to consider the political, social, religious, economic and even geographical environment which provide the conditions for the development of standard languages. Where the right combination of factors permitted the development of certain standard languages from the mid 19th century, some Slavonic languages only came into being subsequently as the political environment permitted or desired, for example Macedonian in 1944 where the creation of the Macedonian language supported the inclusion of the Macedonian Socialist Republic within Yugoslavia (and countered Bulgarian claims to the territory). Full state support for Belarusian by the Soviet authorities, while limited in scope and intensity, may be said to have been linked to justification for the establishment of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, and subsequent successful recognition of this as a full member of the United Nations.

For Rusyn, a suitable environment – one which saw the development of supportive conditions - can be said only to have finally emerged in 1989, and the conditions necessary for the fulfilment of the stages set out by Hill were variable in the period from the mid 19th century up until this point.

The linguistic history of the Rusyns in the 20th century can, therefore, be said to have been shaped principally by the following factors:

- the political, social and economic environment in which the Rusyns have lived, including the experience of inclusion in and governance by a number of states and political systems;

- the development of the Ukrainian language in both eastern Ukraine and Galicia and changing views on the acceptance of the equation of East Slavonic with (Great) Russian; and

- the consequent emergence of three possible linguistic and cultural 'orientations' for the Rusyns: pro-Russian, pro-Ukrainian and pro-Rusyn.

As this thesis concerns itself with an examination of the development (and attempts at development) of the Rusyn language, rather than other aspects of Rusyn national, ethnic, religious or political identity, it will attempt to focus on the linguistic aspects of the factors mentioned above.

The issue of which standard language should be used by the population of the Sub-Carpathian area came to be known as the 'Rusyn language question'. The principle theatre in which the question was debated was Sub-Carpathian Rus' (Czech: *Podkarpatská Rus*), the territory within the new state of Czechoslovakia in which the majority of Rusyns found themselves after World War I following the geo-political changes which were one of the products of the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War I.

Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

From the 19th century up until the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of which the Rusyn area formed a part, following World War I, the general written language used by local writers was the so-called '*iazychie*' (*язычие*), an un-codified language based on Church Slavonic with the admission of elements from the local vernacular 'used in the first newspapers and journals intended for Rusyns [and] in some historical works' (Dulichenko and Magocsi, 2002: 266). In consequence, the '*iazychie*' varied from author to author and was held by some, particularly advocates of Russian and Ukrainian as candidates for the standard written language of the Rusyn area, to be of low prestige (Magocsi, 2002: 205). The prevailing perception for much of the earlier part of the 20th century was that the Rusyn area formed part of the larger East Slavonic or Great Russian area, rather than constituting a unique linguistic (and ethnic) area in itself, as the proponents of the Rusyn orientation would have it (Magocsi, 1978: 132). The advocates of Ukrainian were still few in the Transcarpathian area at this time, and, as Medve notes (1993: 107), it was only in Galicia (and by extension not in the Transcarpathian area) where Ukrainian could be freely used. There were rather more advocates of Russian owing to that language's greater prestige, cultural heritage and much greater stage of development. Crucially, the use of Russian was hindered by the fact that standard Russian was little understood by the low numbers of those in the Transcarpathian region with the desire to access written Russian, or as Medve (1993: 108) pithily puts it:

> '*Журналы и газеты, выходившие на русском языке в свое время представляли высокий культурный уровень, но не двигали «д е л о»*

вперед, поскольку: а) читающей публики не было; б) читающие не все понимали русский язык'.[7]

The Rusyn area was not immune to the interest in linguistic investigation of the national groups of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (and elsewhere). A grammar of the vernacular was produced in the 19th century by Lučkaj ('*Grammatica Slavo-Ruthena seu Vetero-Slavicae, actu in montibus Carpathicus Parvo-Russicae seu dialecti vigentis linguae'* published in Budapest in 1830) (Medve, 1993: 106) but the intention behind such work was not to create the basis for the introduction of a new standardised Rusyn language (Kushko, 2007: 116). The leading cultural figure of the time in the Transcarpathian area, Aleksandr Dukhnovych, supported the use of Russian (i.e. 'Great Russian'), the cultural orientation towards the East Slavs rather than middle Europe), rather than a local standard.

With the lack of political, economic and social factors which favoured and supported the development of standard languages elsewhere, it appeared likely that the language issue in the Transcarpathian area would be dependent on developments in East Slavonic, particularly the position of Ukrainian in comparison with Russian and linguistic developments to the north of the area in Galicia. Without a large urbanised and economically powerful population, supported by a sympathetic administration and a critical mass in intellectual activism, it seems that the Transcarpathian area was to have little influence on the development of any larger East Slavonic language, particularly by comparison with Galicia, and would therefore be destined to play the role of observer.

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[7] 'Journals and newspapers published in Russian at the time presented a high cultural level, but did not move the 'issue' forward as a) there was no reading public and b) readers could not all understand Russian'.

In this context, the question of the development and adoption of a standard Rusyn language, particularly the elaboration of standards based on local vernaculars, appears to have come later to the Rusyn area than it did elsewhere. By the end of the 19th century, as noted above, various language 'questions' had been resolved in central and eastern Europe through the development and acceptance of newly standardised languages, such as Slovak, Slovene, Serbo-Croat (all wholly or partly within the same Austro-Hungarian Empire). The lack of development of the 'national question' in the Rusyn area (Medve, 1993: 106) may be ascribed to the fact that the area lacked some of the conditions which appear to support the development of standard languages, such as a large and developed urban centre and intelligentsia class or the emergence of literary or academic figures of sufficient standing to act as leaders for the cause of a new language. The Rusyn area, as the south-westernmost extremity of the East Slavonic language area, was also conditioned by perception of East Slavonic unity, an entity which was still coalescing into three new nodes (Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian). Until the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire then, it is only really possible to state that inhabitants of the Transcarpathian area had only two real options for a written language: the '*iazychie*' and Russian. It is possible that the roots of an independent Rusyn language can be found in the '*iazychie*' but political events prevented any natural evolution from the '*iazychie*' to a single standardised Rusyn language.

The Inter-War Period

The Language Question in Czechoslovakia and Hungary

The creation of the state of Czechoslovakia in 1918 in which much of the Rusyn area was included as 'Sub-Carpathian Rus'' (the exceptions being the population north of the Carpathians in Poland and the small communities in Hungary and Romania) led to

the first real attempts to define the nature of the standard language to be employed in what had become a new Czechoslovak region.   The Czechoslovak authorities adopted the general democratic principle of recognising the wishes of the local population, while also recognising that the local vernacular was linguistically closest to Ukrainian ('Little Russian') (Magocsi, 1978: 137) and seeking to preserve the unity of the new state (or rather seeking not to provide linguistic grounds for separatism or irredentism).

The 20 year period of Czechoslovak rule in the Rusyn area saw many attempts at standardising for use among the population of Russian or Ukrainian, often admitting local elements, chiefly through attempts by various interested parties of differing 'orientations' to impose their preferred standard language through the education system.   In the early years of their governance of the area, the Czechoslovak authorities did attempt to solve the language 'question' on the basis of democratic principles and through inclusion of local and other interested linguists and specialists (Medve, 1993: 109-10), but the sheer range of available orientations made the task of identifying a single standard language acceptable to all interested parties highly problematic to achieve, particularly in a multi-ethnic area such as Sub-Carpathian Rus' which, aside from its East Slavonic population contained substantial numbers of speakers of Hungarian, Yiddish and Romani.

Magocsi (1978) provides descriptions of grammars and school text books which promoted the effective continuation of the use of the '*iazychie*' (or one variant of this), a basically standard Ukrainian with the admission of local features, a Russian grammar with the admission of rather fewer local features and a further attempt at a series of school-texts based on the vernacular.   At no point does it appear that a specifically new, fully functional and elaborated 'Rusyn' language was imminent (and the prospect of creating such a language was explicitly not recommended by a panel

of academics and linguists asked to examine the language situation in the new Czechoslovak territory in 1919 (Magocsi, 1978: 136) a decision apparently not re-visited for the remainder of the existence of the Sub-Carpathian Rus'). Medve (1993: 110) lists the following 'languages' [sic] as having been introduced into the school system of Sub-Carpathian Rus' at one time or another from the 1920s on:

- The '*iazychie*'
- Russian (the language of Russian emigrants to Sub-Carpathian Rus')
- Ukrainian (the language of Ukrainian emigrants)
- 'Czecho-Russian' (the language of former Czech legionaries)
- The Sub-Carpathian version of Russian (the language of Sub-Carpathian adherents of the Russian orientation)
- Rusyn.

All of the above-named 'languages' could be said to represent a possible 'orientation' with the addition of a sixth option of assimilation to the 'Czechoslovak' language, an option which appears not to have led to the development of a particular 'orientation'.

The language question can be said not to have been resolved to the satisfaction of any party during the Czechoslovak period, but at least some of the factors which favour the creation of standard languages had emerged in Czechoslovakia, for example the desire by an administration for clarity over the use of language in the administrative and educational spheres and the establishment of committees and structures to debate the issue. Factors favourable to the creation of standard Rusyn will be examined in a subsequent chapter. The inter-war Czechoslovak period can therefore be characterised as fairly chaotic and inconclusive, at least from the point of view of study of the development of Rusyn language standardisation.

In addition to the population of Sub-Carpathian Rus', a small population of East Slavs resided in eastern Slovakia – the area generally known as the Prešov Region. The language issue for these Slavs was not addressed in the same way as it had been addressed in Sub-Carpathian Rus'. These Slavs found themselves (as they still do today) a minority among a Slovak majority. According to Kushko (2007: 118-9):

'A pro-Ukrainian orientation never developed any strong influence [in the Prešov Region]. Instead 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'.

The outbreak of World War II in 1939 and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by the Axis Powers led to invasion of Sub-Carpathian Rus' and its annexation to Hungary (following a very short-lived declaration of independence). The Rusyns (other than the Lemkos in Poland) thus once again found themselves under Hungarian sovereignty. The policy of the new governors of the Rusyn area was to develop a specifically Rusyn language for use in its newly acquired territory, where the official languages were to be Hungarian and 'Magyar-Russian' (Hungarian: *'magyar-orosz'*). The principles guiding the development of the new language were to be that it was to be neither Russian nor Ukrainian in form, but was rather to be based on the vernacular (Magocsi, 1978: 142-44). While these principles appear to favour the pro-Rusyn orientation, the intention behind the policy must clearly have been to undermine any attempts to portray the area as part of the Ukrainian (and therefore Soviet) cultural area and to use a separate identity to bolster the inclusion of the area within Hungary. Despite the war conditions, a textbook in the new language (described as 'Uhro-Rusyn') was produced in 1940 and the new Rusyn language was propagated through several popular and scholarly journals, albeit to some protest by the pro-Russian faction (Magocsi, 1978: 143).

The conclusion of World War II leading to the defeat of Hungary and the annexation of Sub-Carpathian Rus' by the Soviet Union in 1945 brought an end to the 'Uhro-Rusyn' language and also led to the political boundaries which continue to separate the Rusyns into three main states and three separate recent language development histories. Sub-Carpathian Rus' became the Transcarpathian Region (oblast) of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Official nationality policy denied the existence of the Rusyns as an independent nationality and the Rusyns were obliged to integrate into the Ukrainian nationality in the USSR. From the point of view of the authorities there the language question in Sub-Carpathian Rus' was officially resolved (and became an inheritance largely maintained by the post-Soviet independent Ukrainian state).

The Language Question in Poland

The Lemko population north of the Carpathian range found themselves citizens of the new re-established Polish state upon the demise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Predominantly rural, or living in small towns and without an administration with any overt intention of supporting the development of an autonomous language solution, as was the case in Sub-Carpathian Rus', the Lemkos experienced three language orientations: use of standard Ukrainian (in its western or Galician variety), use of a form based on the vernacular, or use of Polish. The Lemko population itself divided between those who saw no incompatibility between an identity which included both Lemko and Ukrainian elements, and those who favoured a Lemko-only identity. Some school textbooks were produced in the early to mid 1930s (Kushko, 2007: 120), and some journals and other publications were produced (Stegherr, 2003: 313; Magocsi, 2004: 98) but these appear to be the only evidence of any concerted effort at standardisation of any Lemko language in Poland. Certainly no grammars or dictionaries were compiled to codify or promulgate the Lemko language during this

period. Confusingly, the pro-Ukrainian orientation among the Polish Lemkos produced a reader for schools promoting Ukrainian, but entitled '*Перша лемківська читанка*'[8] (Magocsi, 2004: 98). Again, historical events suppressed any potential early foundations of a process which might have to led to standardisation of Lemko, and the fate of Lemko in Poland (as well as of Rusyn in Czechoslovakia and Ukraine) became bound up with the establishment of the post-World War II political settlement in central and eastern Europe, and the Lemkos were required to identify officially as Ukrainians in line with the experience of the indigenous East Slavonic populations of Czechoslovakia and the Transcarpathian Region (Mihalasky, 1997a: 686).

As an aside, the Lemko region saw, in the context of the aftermath of World War I and the Polish-Russian War, the establishment of two short-lived self-proclaimed Lemko republics: the Komancza Republic (November 1918 to January 1919) and the Lemko Republic centred on the village of Florynka (December 1918 to March 1920). Both republics were (re-)absorbed into Poland, their short existence not seeming to have led to any activity on standardisation of the Lemko language.

The Development of Vojvodina Rusyn

The one Rusyn area where the language question can be said to have been resolved is that of Vojvodina and Srem. The development of this language is not a primary theme of this thesis. It is mentioned here to provide an example of the development of Rusyn language where favourable conditions prevailed and also to provide some context around the post-1989 discovery of one another by northern and southern Rusyns.

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[8] '*First Lemko Reader*'.

The Vojvodina Rusyns (sometimes referred to as Bačka Rusyns) are settled fairly compactly in a small number of towns in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in neighbouring areas of Croatia. They are the descendents of 18th century migrants to the Danubian lowlands from eastern Slovakia, a homeland which has the near mythical name to the Vojvodina Rusyns of '*Горнїца*' ('*Horn'ica*': 'Mountain Country'). The language of the Vojvodina Rusyns has attracted the attention of several Slavists (such as Aleksandr Dulichenko (Tartu), Sven Gustavsson (Uppsala), Horace G. Lunt (Harvard), Charles Bidwell (Pittsburgh) and Henrik Birnbaum (UCLA)) because of its unusual place among the Slavonic languages. Vojvodina Rusyn is generally held to be basically West Slavonic in linguistic affiliation but contains features of both East and South Slavonic. The language was first standardised by Havrijil Kostel'nik in 1923 in his '*Граматика бачваньско-рускей бешеди*'[9] (Ramač, 2002: 555), a standard which has been further refined by Mikola Kočiš (whose 'Orthography of the Rusyn Language' appeared in 1971) and subsequently by Julijan Ramač whose 'Grammar of the Rusyn Language' was published in 2002. The Vojvodina Rusyns thus opted for a pro-Rusyn orientation to the question of which standard language to use, a process no doubt facilitated by the fact that they are a small island group surrounded by South Slavs, rather than forming a contiguous population with larger East Slavonic neighbours as is the case among the northern Rusyns. Indeed one of the primary concerns for language planners in Vojvodina is the strategy for dealing with the influence on Rusyn of Serbian (Ramač, 2008: 82-83), rather than, as is the case in northern Rusyn, determining the relationship, and consequent morphological and lexical issues arising from that relationship, between Rusyn and the rest of East Slavonic.

Vojvodina Rusyn continues to function as a polyvalent standardised language for the Rusyn population in Serbia and Croatia. Political factors favouring the maintenance of the language are evident in the fact that it has been recognised as an official language in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina since the 1970s. Yugoslavia's

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[9] '*Grammar of the Bačka-Rusyn Language*'.

position outside the Soviet area of influence undoubtedly contributed significantly to the successful establishment of the Vojvodina Rusyn language and the Rusyn language in Vojvodina has consequently enjoyed a period of continuity largely unaffected by the upheaval and extra-linguistic factors experienced by speakers of northern Rusyn variants. The Vojvodina Rusyns have engaged from the start in the northern Rusyn language revival, despite the linguistic distance between the northern (East Slavonic) and southern (essentially West Slavonic) forms.

The Rusyn Language in North America

East Slavonic Carpathian dialects were brought to the United States (and in smaller number from there to Canada) through the emigration of several thousands of migrants from the Carpathian area in the 19th and 20th century. With the Greek Catholic church as the focal point for the maintenance of Carpathian Rusyn identity, a number of publications of a predominantly religious nature were issued in the United States up until the 1970s when, in common with many other immigrant communities, the inevitable language shift to English meant that it was no longer viable or necessary to publish in any other language. The use of any form of Rusyn in North America (apart from a compact group of more recent emigrants from Vojvodina in Ontario) has dwindled to the extent that there appears to be no prospect for the standardisation of any form of Rusyn there. The legacy of the Rusyn language of North America can be found in the influence on the development of northern Rusyn brought to bear by Americans and Canadians of Rusyn descent. This influence has been considerable and such individuals have been intimately involved in the re-animation of the Rusyn identity in post-1989 Europe (Magocsi, 2004: 383-90).

The Rusyn Language Between 1945 and 1989

The transformation of first Sub-Carpathian Rus', then Poland and then Czechoslovakia into Soviet-dominated states (or parts thereof) led to the imposition in all three countries of a common approach to the question of the standard language of the inhabitants of the Carpathian region. A decision taken at the fifth Comintern meeting in 1924 that all Carpathian lands were to be united with the Ukrainian nation and language (Stegherr, 2003: 138) was to be realised in the aftermath of the Sovietisation of central and eastern Europe from 1945 on.

There is little data on the position of the very small Rusyn minorities in Hungary and Romania during the communist period. It is likely that they were subject to the administratively convenient position adopted under Soviet nationality policy whereby smaller nationalities were treated as if they were part of a larger kindred ethnic or linguistic group for the purposes of education and cultural activities (Comrie, 1981: 5), with the Rusyns of Hungary being grouped with the Slovak minority and the Rusyns of Romania grouped with the Ukrainians.

Ukraine

The effect of this policy in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic into which the former region of Sub-Carpathian Rus' had been absorbed as the Transcarpathian Region meant the end under the Soviet regime of any prospect of establishing a separate Rusyn language there. The inhabitants were officially classified as Ukrainian and a policy of Ukrainianisation took hold. The effects of this policy can still be felt today in the denial of the status of the Rusyns as a separate nationality by the Ukrainian authorities. In these circumstances, there was no possibility of working

towards or promulgating any new Rusyn standard language. The post-1989 situation in Ukraine has led to the development of proposals for a standard Rusyn language for the region, but as will be discussed below, these attempts have not yet resulted in agreement on a single standard there.

As Medve (1993: 110-1) suggests, Ukrainianisation in the Transcarpathian Region and elsewhere was not concerned merely with eradication of attempts at establishing a separate local Rusyn identity in the interests of consolidation of the Ukrainian (and therefore Soviet) identity and claim on the region, but also targeted the Rusyns' Greek Catholic church, which, as a Uniate church, was suspected of cultivating a pro-western and anti-Soviet position in violation of a policy of equation of East Slavonic linguistic background with Orthodoxy.

Poland

In Poland, the Lemkos fell victim to an arguably harsher consequence of the adoption of the Soviet approach to the national 'problem'. In 1947, the Polish authorities initiated 'Operation Vistula' (Polish: *Akcja Wisła*), a military and police operation which was aimed at the anti-Soviet Ukrainian Insurgent Army which was active in the mountains of south-eastern Poland and north-eastern Czechoslovakia. The operation led to the deportation of some 150,000 local inhabitants, of whom 50-60,000 were believed to be Lemkos. The deportees were re-settled in northern and western Poland in territories annexed to Poland from Germany at the end of World War II. The deportees were re-settled such that in no town or village where they were moved to were they to form more than 10% of the population. In a reflection perhaps of the post-Stalinist Soviet policy to lift the ban on deported Chechens, Kalmyks, Karachays and others to return to their original homelands, the Polish authorities permitted the return of the Lemkos to their original homeland from 1956 onwards, although the

majority appear to have remained in exile rather than return (and much of the original Lemko homeland has been declared a national park, thus curtailing the likelihood of any returning Lemkos resuming their previous existence) (Horbal, 2002b).   As a further consequence of Polish-Soviet policy towards the Lemkos, a number of Lemkos were forcibly re-settled from Poland to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Kushko, 2007: 120) where they, like the population of the Transcarpathian Region were subject to Ukrainianisation and denial of a separate Lemko identity.

The Lemkos, like other national and ethnic minorities in Poland, suffered from the lack of opportunity to express their national and linguistic identity owing to the fact that the minority policy of the Polish regime was unsympathetic and post-war Poland considered itself essentially a mono-national state (Simoncini, 1998: 177), with only limited permissible use of a language other than Polish by the Lemkos provided that language was Ukrainian.

As in Czechoslovakia (see below), the brief period of opportunity provided by the liberalisation of 1980-81 (and earlier during the 1956 to 1960 period, according to Best (1999: 66)) provided some space for the re-appearance of Lemko consciousness in the public arena and it was in this period that public interest in the Lemkos as an ethnic group was able to re-emerge (Mihalasky, 1997b: 43). It was not until the fall of communism, however, that any formal progress could be made on language issues.

Czechoslovakia

The state of Czechoslovakia was re-established in 1945, now comprising only the Czech lands and Slovakia following the annexation by the Soviet Union of Sub-

Carpathian Rus'. Thus Czechoslovakia lost much of her East Slavonic population, with only the minority population in north-eastern Slovakia remaining. There appears little evidence of activity to create a standard Rusyn language for that population in the period between 1945 and 1948 with the establishment in the latter year of the socialist regime in Czechoslovakia and the subordination of the country to the minority policy of the Soviet Union. This came to be reflected in a Ukrainianisation process already described in relation to developments in the Transcarpathian Region from 1945 on. In Czechoslovakia (or more narrowly Slovakia), the process of Ukrainianisation and suppression of the Greek Catholic church led to the assimilation of many of the East Slavonic population to the Slovak nationality (Magocsi, 1993: 106-7).

After a period of four years in which Russian was the officially recognised language of the East Slavonic minority in north-eastern Slovakia, official policy was changed in 1952 so that Ukrainian became the language of national minority schools for the East Slavs. Russian teachers were re-trained (including some who were sent to Kiev to learn standard Ukrainian) and the creation of a locally born pro-Ukrainian intelligentsia was encouraged (Magocsi, 1993: 106). From the point of view of the authorities, this approach can be considered to have been something of a success in suppressing local linguistic activism which rejected the pro-Ukrainian policy of the regime.

This 'success' lasted until 1968 when the liberalisation of the Prague Spring led to the re-emergence (and legalisation) of the Greek Catholic church, official use of the term 'Rusyn' and renewed public rejection of the Ukrainian language and appeals for education and culture in the local vernacular. The ending of the Prague Spring by the intervention of Warsaw Pact forces in August 1968 once again led to the suppression of all such manifestations of non-Ukrainian and non-Orthodox identity among the East Slavs of Slovakia, although some attempts at use of local and non-

standard features in Ukrainian publication in Czechoslovakia could be found as late as 1969, for example, proposals for inclusion of local features in Ukrainian publication by the writer Ivan Macinský (Dulichenko and Magocsi, 2002: 267) and the use of vernacular elements in the officially Ukrainian regional press (Štec', 1993: 244). One of the consequences of the intervention is reported to have been even greater assimilation by Rusyns to the Slovak identity in an attempt to distance themselves from association with the Russians and Ukrainians of the Soviet Union (Magocsi, 1993: 111). This situation was to last until the collapse of communism in the late 1980s and while it can hardly be considered as presenting favourable conditions for the establishment of an independent Rusyn language, the strong Ukrainianisation policy employed in Czechoslovakia and the association of the Ukrainian identity with the Soviet Union cannot but have helped to strengthen the resolve (albeit suppressed) of the pro-Rusyn position which emerged rapidly again in 1989, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

As in Poland, a linkage may be inferred between periods of overt political opposition and the re-emergence of the question of Rusyn identity in both countries. This connection re-emerged in post-communist Czechoslovakia in particular, where the battle-lines, which were drawn in the renewed debate over the language question (which by now had achieved a binary nature with the abandonment of the pro-Russian orientation), can be viewed as a confrontation between a new post-communist regional elite (the Rusyn orientation) and those with their roots in the regional elite of the previous regime (the Ukrainian orientation).

Conclusion

The mid 19th and early 20th century enthusiasm for the development of a local national consciousness and consequent interest in developing a local language to

support ideas of separate ethnicity came later to the Transcarpathian area than it did to many other peoples and regions. When such a tendency emerged, it collided with competing ideologies espoused by exponents of Russian-ness and Ukrainian-ness and the interests of external parties. Only in the 20 year existence of the Sub-Carpathian Rus' province of inter-war Czechoslovakia did the Rusyn tendency have any possibility of competing with others. The nascent Rusyn orientation in the Carpathian region was stifled by the imposition of unsympathetic policies in the authoritarian societies of the post-World War II states in which the Rusyns found themselves and they were the victims of an oppressive policy of forced adoption of the Ukrainian identity (and/or assimilation to the Slovak or Polish nation). It was only when the totalitarian systems fell in Europe that the Rusyns found themselves able to re-visit and develop the latent ideas of a separate Rusyn nationality and identity in varying, but still more benign, political circumstances.

Chapter 4 - Recent Developments

The development of standard languages for Rusyn in the Carpathian area in post-1989 Europe was primarily facilitated by political, social and cultural liberation experienced across central and eastern Europe. But other factors also contributed to favourable circumstances for the development of a new language: the development of a framework for the recognition and protection of linguistic rights across Europe, most noticeably through the creation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages; the support (financial and practical) provided to the nascent Rusyn movement by the North American diaspora population of 'Carpatho-Rusyns' and the leading role in that of the historian Paul Robert Magocsi; and also perhaps a general context of continuing development, for various reasons, of new standard languages in Europe as a whole, and the restructuring, and perceptions of the restructuring, of standard languages within the Slavonic family. These issues – effectively the extralinguistic factors shaping the Rusyn language - are considered in this chapter.

The political developments following the demise of the communist systems first in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary and subsequently in the Soviet Union led to the new opportunities for the development and promotion of minority languages hitherto smothered by monolithic state linguistic policies. The Rusyns were quick to take advantage of the new circumstances and almost immediately upon liberalisation, societies were formed in all countries with the aims of encouraging once more a specific Rusyn culture. A World Council of Rusyns was formed with representation from the Rusyn organisations in the main countries where Rusyns live, including those in North America, to oversee and co-ordinate the development of Rusyn cultural activities. The language question which had been deemed to have been administratively 'resolved' since the end of World War II through Ukrainianisation, and had occasionally come to the surface again, for example during the Prague Spring, was re-opened and the political circumstances lent themselves once again to

the sanctioning of a local Rusyn language. Rusyns remained physically divided between several states and were therefore subject to the effects of local circumstances which have affected attempts at pan-Rusyn consolidation, including the influence of local Ukrainian elites who controlled many of the institutions at the forefront of the period of Ukrainianisation (particularly in Slovakia) and who reacted strongly against a new non-Ukrainian identity and language.

Slovakia

Early efforts at Rusyn standardisation, particularly in Slovakia, drew a harsh reaction from figures within the local Ukrainian population, particularly those responsible for the various local Ukrainian institutions. This reaction took various forms, including an exchange of polemical articles in the local press criticising the concept and structure of the nascent Rusyn standard. An illustrative sample of articles for and against the existence of a separate Rusyn nationality was published by Magocsi in 1993 (1993a). The contributions contained within this collection serve to illustrate the polarised positions of the indigenous pro-Ukrainian group, who view all East Slavs of Slovakia as Ukrainians and their language as the westernmost form of a single Ukrainian language (i.e. a reflection of the official policy of the communist era) and the Rusyn movement who make claims based on competing historical and linguistic analyses to support their contention that the Rusyns were and are a separate, if part-Ukrainianised, independent nationality. It is tempting, as for example Smith (1997: 141-60) has done, to view the opposition to the Rusyn idea of the pro-Ukrainian faction as the reaction of an old elite resisting the arrival and transfer of prestige to a new elite. Indeed, many of the institutions formerly dedicated to the official Ukrainian culture of Slovakia have either transferred wholly to new pro-Rusyn leaders and recast as Rusyn rather than Ukrainian institutions (such as the former Ukrainian National Theatre in Prešov, which transferred from the use of Ukrainian to Rusyn dialects (if

not the new Rusyn standard) and was re-named as the '*Teater Alexandra Duchnoviča*' in honour of the 19th century Rusyn 'national awakener') (Plišková, 2008a: 97), or have been forced to share space with Rusyn, such as in the 'nationality-ethnic' programme of Slovak state radio. Making space for Rusyn in this way has seen a diminution in the status of Ukrainian which has been effectively relegated from its former position as the sole officially recognised minority language of Slovakia's East Slavs, with a consequent effect on the prestige of the local Ukrainian intelligentsia.

Poland

The position in Poland has been somewhat different. This can partly be explained by the small numbers of Lemkos (just less than 6,000 at the Polish census of 2002), but also because of the presence of a Ukrainian minority which includes members outwith the Lemko 'sub-ethnos' (from the point of view of those, both within and outside the Lemko community, who regard the Lemkos as a sub-division of the Ukrainian nation). The Polish census of 2002 reported nearly 31,000 Ukrainians in Poland of whom many must be of Galician Ukrainian origin, rather than Transcarpathian. Unlike in Slovakia, there is not, therefore, a direct 'competition' between two rival camps for the hearts and souls of all those who identify as either Ukrainian or Rusyn, and the prospects for an accommodation between the two groups therefore appear better than in Slovakia. Certainly, there appears to have been no polemical reaction against the development of the Lemko standard in Poland from the part of the Polish Ukrainian minority on the level of that experienced in the Prešov Region as illustrated in Magocsi's collection of 1993. A further factor in Poland is the lack of institutions for the Ukrainian minority established during the communist era by comparison with the level provided in Czechoslovakia.   This can be ascribed to the minority policy pursued by the totalitarian regime in Poland, which effectively sought to deny the multilingual and cultural reality of the country (Simoncini, 1998: 176-7) (questions on ethnicity and

languages were excluded from all Polish censuses throughout the period, for example). The issue of a battle between elites for control of institutions, leading to denial of the validity of the Lemko identity (and therefore its language) is not therefore applicable in quite the same way as may be the case for Slovakia.

In both Poland and Slovakia, the Rusyn movement appears to have been scrupulously non-political (in the sense of not pursuing any agenda seeking territorial alterations, renegotiation of international frontiers, or establishing administrative autonomies other than within the existing context of each state) in that its aims are restricted to protection and promotion of Rusyn/Lemko culture. The declaration of the codification of the Prešov Rusyn standard in 1995 emphasised the adherence of Slovakia's Rusyns to the Slovak state: '*we, the representatives of the Rusyn Renaissance Society ...... the national, cultural, and civic organization for Rusyns in Slovakia, who have gathered here in Bratislava, the capital of our country, the Republic of Slovakia.....*' (Magocsi, 1993: xi). The intention appears to be to underline the fact that there is no tension between a Rusyn and a Slovak citizen, and to emphasise that the Rusyn movement, as represented by the Rusyn Renaissance Society, does not pose any form of threat to Slovakia by focusing its efforts on 'cultural and civic' activities for the Rusyn minority within the framework of the Slovak Republic.

Ukraine

The position in Ukraine differs from Poland and Slovakia (and elsewhere) in that the Ukrainian state does not recognise a Rusyn minority as a formal nationality on the same level as, for example, it does in respect of the Crimean Tatars, and has taken judicial action against certain Rusyn activists whom it accuses of conducting activity

against the interests of the state (and in collusion with Russia). Certainly, the Rusyn debate in the Transcarpathian Region has been conducted on a much more overtly political basis than that seen in either Poland or Slovakia. In the early 1990s the region saw the establishment of a political party which sought independence for the region from Ukraine and the establishment of a 'provisional government' which sought the annulment of the 1945 treaty between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the treaty which saw the Czechoslovak territory of Subcarpathian Rus' transfer to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Belitser: 8-9). More recently, Dmytryy Sydor, an Orthodox priest and prominent advocate of the Rusyn cause and author of a 2005 proposal for a standard Rusyn language (an effort dismissed by critics as unscientific, in part for its attempt to equate much of contemporary Rusyn with Church Slavonic) (Pugh, 2009: 9; Pfandl, 2008: 105-123), has been subject to criminal investigations and proceedings over accusations of secessionism. Sydor is reported to have made provocative statements, including reference to armed rebellion by Rusyns in Ukraine (UA-Reporter.com, 2011) and is also accused of collusion with Russia in the interests of his aims of secession for Transcarpathian Ukraine.

The mainstream Rusyn movement, represented by the World Council of Rusyns, has been at pains to distance itself and to denounce claims for secession from Ukraine (with the support of Russia) made by certain Rusyn activists in Ukraine and to emphasise that it seeks improved cultural rights for Rusyns within the existing borders and legal frameworks of the countries in which they live. Magocsi, in his capacity as President of the World Council of Rusyns, issued a strongly-worded statement (World Council of Rusyns, 2008), condemning the actions and inflammatory language of the small number of activists in the Transcarpathian Region, recognising the likely counter-productive effect on the interests of the movement in Ukraine arising from any challenge to Ukrainian sovereignty and state institutions and association with Russia, given the wider context of potential separatism elsewhere in Ukraine (for example in the Crimea and the heavily Russified east of the country). In the

statement, Magocsi emphasises the fact that cultural Rusynism exists in Ukraine in the form of the publication of Rusyn books, the existence of Rusyn cultural organisations and the use of Rusyn in local schools. From the strict point of view of study of the process of standardisation of the Rusyn language, the association, through the author, of Sydor's 2005 grammar of Rusyn with a form of rebellion against the Ukrainian state, and divisions within the Rusyn community in Ukraine as a consequence, coupled with linguistic eccentricities of Sydor's grammar, mean that it is unlikely that this particular proposed standard will become the norm for Transcarpathian Ukraine.

The European Dimension and the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

At the same time, some other factors beyond the immediate flourishing of new freedoms in Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine arose which were to provide encouraging circumstances for the prospects of the development of new languages in Europe. In 1992 the member states of the Council of Europe signed the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, a framework developed for the protection of the indigenous non-official (at the national level) languages of Council member states. The Council of Europe expanded rapidly following the fall of communism to welcome former communist states who eagerly joined the Council in order to underscore the break from the past and their 're-joining' of the European mainstream and this period saw most former communist states ultimately joining European and Transatlantic organisations such as the European Union and NATO. Joining such bodies naturally involves subscribing to their conventions and agreements, and doing so could be seen as confirmation of democratisation. The Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (henceforth 'ECRML') was signed by all states in which Rusyns live and, with the exception of Ukraine, all states listed Rusyn/Lemko in the terms of their accession to the charter. This therefore led to the recognition and provision of

some protection to the Rusyn language (supplemented by national legislation) at the national level, and visibility and oversight at the European level.

At the time of writing, Rusyn has been declared as an officially recognised regional or minority language within the context of the ECRML by the following states (Council of Europe, 2011):

- Bosnia-Herzegovina[10], which signed the ECRML in 2005, and recognises Rusyn as 'Rysin' (along with Albanian, Montenegrin, Czech, Italian, Hungarian, Macedonian, German, Polish, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, Turkish, Ukrainian, Yiddish and Ladino);

- Croatia, which signed the ECRML in 1997, and recognises Rusyn as 'Ruthenian' (along with Italian, Serbian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak and Ukrainian);

- Poland, which signed the ECRML in 2003, and recognises Rusyn as 'Lemko' (along with Belarusian, Czech, Hebrew, Yiddish, Karaim, Kashubian, Lithuanian, German, Armenian, Romani, Russian, Slovak, Tatar and Ukrainian);

- Romania, which signed the ECRML in 1995, and recognises Rusyn as 'Ruthenian' (along with Albanian, Armenian, Bulgarian, Czech, Croatian, German, Greek, Italian, Yiddish, Macedonian, Hungarian, Polish, Romani, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Tatar, Turkish and Ukrainian);

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[10] Figures for the most recently conducted census in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1991) do not include data on the number of Rusyns there.

- Serbia, which signed the ECRML in 2005, and recognises Rusyn as 'Ruthenian' (along with Albanian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Romani, Romanian, Slovak, Ukrainian and Croatian);

- Slovakia, which signed the ECRML in 2001 and recognises Rusyn as 'Ruthenian' (along with Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, German, Hungarian, Polish, Romani and Ukrainian);

Ukraine's declaration on regional minority languages excludes Rusyn for the reasons discussed above and includes Belarusian, Bulgarian, Gagauz, Greek, Jewish, Crimean Tatar, Moldavian [sic], German, Polish, Russian, Romanian, Slovak and Hungarian. Hungary included Rusyn (as 'Ruthenian') within the terms of its declaration under the ECRML, which it first signed in 1993, in March 1998 (EOKIK). All states who have declared Rusyn as one of their regional or minority languages under the ECRML offer it the more detailed level of protection set out in Part III of the ECRML apart from Hungary and Romania who limit Rusyn (and several other languages in the case of Romania) to the more general Part II protection in those countries.

National Legislation

Rusyn has also benefited from recognition and protection under specific national laws on minority languages, for example, in Poland (which recognises Lemko as an 'ethnic minority' language in the same legal classification as Romani, Tatar and Karaim) in the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and the Regional Language, passed in January 2005. The relevant law in Slovakia, the Law on the Languages of National Minorities, passed in July 1999 does not make specific reference to Rusyn (or to other minority languages), but does assign rights to individuals belonging to 'national

minorities' to make use of minority languages in official contexts (in addition to the use of the Slovak official language) in areas where the national minority makes up at least 20% of the local population. Rusyn is also recognised as a minority language in Hungarian law (Euromosaic: Hungary Country Profile). In Serbia, Vojvodina Rusyn has the status of an official language of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, along with Serbian, Croatia, Hungarian, Slovak and Romanian (Statute of the Autonomous Republic of Vojvodina, Article 26).

It should be noted that the more benign environment for minority languages in Europe supported by initiatives such as the ECRML extends beyond developments in central and eastern Europe and has led to the recognition and development of standard languages elsewhere in Europe. The example of the development of Rusyn standards on the basis of local vernaculars, in preference to the use of a more established but linguistically distant standard language, has its parallels in Scandinavia and neighbouring Russia, where new standards have been and are in the process of being created for regional forms of Finnish: Meänkieli in northern Sweden, Kven in northernmost Norway and in ongoing debate on the standardisation of Karelian in Russia in preference to the use of standard Finnish in all regions. Of these, Meänkieli has matched Rusyn in terms of recognition through its inclusion in Sweden's declaration under the ECRML. A reaction to proposals to create new regional standard languages to replace standard Finnish shows some similarities to that witnessed in the Rusyn-Ukrainian debate, where proponents of the established standards in the 'larger' language appear to view its replacement by a new standard based on a local vernacular as a step towards loss of culture (Khairov, 2002: 241).

The Slavonic Context

The emergence of Rusyn as an independent standardised language (or languages) also coincided with what might be described as a re-organisation within standard Slavonic languages, chiefly occasioned by the same political changes and upheaval which provided the environment in which Rusyn could once again develop. This re-organisation involves the demise of Serbo-Croat and its recasting into the four standard (or standardising) languages of Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin (or five if Burgenland Croatian is included), and possibly also the weakening of the position of Belarusian as a polyfunctional standard language in Belarus (Bieder, 2006: 110; Zaprudski, 2007). At the same time, attention has been focused on Rusyn and other so-called Slavonic literary 'microlanguages' such as Burgenland Croatian, Kashubian and Rezian, the study of which has developed into a distinct and interesting sub-field of Slavonic linguistics, pioneered by the work of Aleksandr Dulichenko of Tartu University, and examined in publications such as Dulichenko and Gustavsson (2006). The term 'microlanguage' appears not to have gained currency in describing equivalent languages in other language families, where the terms 'minority', 'regional' or 'lesser used' serve a similar descriptive function.

The Rusyn Diaspora

One factor almost unique to Rusyn among minority languages of Europe has been the considerable influence exerted by the 'Carpatho-Rusyn' diaspora, at the forefront of which has been the American academic, Paul Robert Magocsi. Magocsi was the principle advocate in western academia of the existence of the Rusyns as a fourth East Slavonic people and has, subsequently, assumed the role of active leadership of the Rusyn movement through his chairmanship of the World Council of Rusyns.

Magocsi has been active in all aspects of the Rusyn movement, including in issues of language, and was the key driver behind what became known as the first Rusyn 'language congress', held in Slovakia in 1992, and which set the agenda for the development of standard languages on the pan-Rusyn level. The effect of Magocsi's involvement in the Rusyn movement has been seen as an important source of external validation of the existence of an independent Rusyn nation by Rusyns themselves, but has attracted severe criticism by chiefly Ukrainian opponents of the Rusyn movement (Myshanych, 1997; Kuzio, 2005), and the interest of non-Rusyn academics (Smith, 1997; Ziac, 2001). The chief accusation levelled at Magocsi by his critics is that he has somehow been responsible for the creation of an artificial Rusyn nation and its imposition from outside the region on a people who were content to be identified as part of the Ukrainian nation, but this is to ignore the reality of the local indigenous Rusyn movement which reasserted itself very soon after political circumstances once again allowed (as they had done during the Prague Spring before further repression in the aftermath of that (Magocsi, 1993: 111)).   It is perhaps more rational to view, as Smith (1997: 141-55) has done, Magocsi and other diaspora Rusyns from North America as being in a mutually supportive relationship with local elites in the Carpathian region, with each group benefitting from association with the other in terms of provision of validation for academic interests, on the one hand, and the provision of support, both financial and organisational on the other.

Development of the Standards

Magocsi has been fundamental in steering and organising various pan-Rusyn institutions, including the World Council of Rusyns and, from the point of view of the standardisation of northern Rusyn languages, in convening the seminar of Rusyn and foreign specialists at the first Rusyn language congress in 1992 which set the agenda for a programme of Rusyn language planning over subsequent years, with subsequent

congresses taking place in 1999 and 2007. It is unlikely that without the participation of a figure like Magocsi the involvement of many overseas linguists would have been secured. Among the twelve points which constituted the resolution of the 1992 congress was the objective of codification of the Rusyn language on the basis of the spoken language of four Rusyn regions: the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, the Lemko region of Poland, the Prešov Region of Slovakia and Vojvodina, and that language planners from each region should co-operate on forming a Rusyn 'koiné' as a standard language common to all Rusyn areas (a process which is examined later in this study) (Magocsi, 1996: 38). Vojvodina Rusyn already having its own standard, the focus then was on creation of standards in the three remaining regions. Emphasis was made on the fact that the language standardisation process would, by its nature, be an iterative one and subject to evolution.

Work on the Prešov Rusyn standard was completed within three years and was formally announced in January 1995 by the Rusyn Renaissance Society. The newly codified standard was described in *'Правила русиньского правопису'*[11] published by two Slovak Rusyn academics, Juraj Paňko and Vasiľ Jabur in 1994. A revised and amended version of the standard was published in 2005 by Jabur, this time co-authored by his Prešov University colleague, Anna Plišková, and entitled *'Русиньскый язык у зеркалї новых правил про основых і середнї школы з навчанём русиньского языка'*[12]. As seen elsewhere in this study, these new changes have met with criticism from within the Slovak Rusyn community, but remain the basis for the current standard. Prešov Rusyn does not yet have a comprehensive normative grammar aimed at the Rusyn community (although a descriptive grammar written in English is presented in Pugh (2009)), or indeed a mono- or bilingual dictionary of the language.

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[11] *'Rules of Rusyn Orthography'*
[12] *'Rusyn Language Reflecting New Rules for Primary and Secondary Schools Teaching the Rusyn Language'*

The standardisation of the Lemko language in Poland was undertaken by Mirosława Chomiak and Henryk Fontański, the former a teacher of Lemko in south-eastern Poland and the latter a non-Lemko Polish Slavist at the University of Katowice. Chomiak and Fontański's '*Gramatyka języka łemkowskiego/Ґраматыка лемківского языка*'[13] appeared, in Lemko with a Polish language introduction from the authors in 2000. A revised version with some changes to the orthography (Pugh, 2009: 9), although apparently not to the same degree as seen in the revision of the Prešov standard, appeared in 2004. As with Prešov Rusyn no Lemko dictionary, either mono- or bilingual has appeared since that produced by Jarosław Horoszczak prior to the establishment of the Lemko norm. Fontański and Chomiak's introduction (Fontański and Chomiak, 2000: 12-13) is interesting in that while it refers to the creation of a standard language in 1995 for what it describes as the 'southern Lemkos' of Slovakia (i.e. Prešov Rusyn), it does not set itself in any wider context other than the provision of a standard language for Lemkos in Poland. In other words, one might have expected the first standard grammar of Lemko to identify itself with the Rusyn language planning programme established in 1992 and to announce itself as the third Rusyn standard to be codified. The terms of reference for the work therefore appear to be local, rather than pan-Rusyn, although both authors continue to participate in pan-Rusyn events and structures.

As observed in the resolution to the 1992 congress, Vojvodina Rusyn pre-existed as an established and polyfunctional standard language, first codified in 1923 by Kostel'nik, and subsequently refined and revised by M. Kočiš in a series of works in the early 1970s[14]. A new 615 page grammar of Vojvodina Rusyn was produced by Julijan Ramač of Novi Sad University in 2002. This work provides not only a description of the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis of the standard Vojvodina language, but also a historical overview of its origins and development. This makes a short reference to

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[13] '*Grammar of the Lemko Language*'.
[14] '*Правопис руского языка*' ('*Rusyn Language Orthography*') in 1971 and *'Ґраматика руского языка'* ('*Grammar of the Rusyn Language'* in 1974).

the creation of standards for northern Rusyn in the 1990s in the following terms as part of a larger chapter setting Vojvodina Rusyn in the context of world, Indo-European and Slavonic linguistic taxonomy:

> *'Нєдавно кодификовани нови восточнославянски литературни язик – русински язик (язик карпатских Русинох, хтори нєшка жию у штирох державох: южней Польскей, заходней України, у Словацкей и сиверней Мадярскей).'*[15] (Ramač, 2002: 527)

> *('N'edavno kodifikovani novi vostočnoslav'anski literaturni jazik – rusinski jazik (jazik karpatskich Rusinoch, chtori n'eška žiju u štiroch deržavoch: južnej Pol'skej, zachodnej Ukrajini, u Slovackej i sivernej Mad'arskej').*

This is noteworthy from two points of view. Firstly, as in the case of the Lemko grammar of 2000, the publication of the 2002 Vojvodina grammar is not contextualised as part of a programme of pan-Rusyn work set under the auspices of the Rusyn language congresses. Instead, the work is evidently intended solely for the Rusyn population of Vojvodina (and neighbouring regions of Croatia). Its focus is once again local rather than pan-Rusyn. Secondly, the northern Rusyn language is given a separate glottonym – '*русински*' ('*rusinski*') as opposed to '*руски*' ('*ruski*') the latter term being used as the name for Vojvodina Rusyn in that language. The impression presented here is both that Vojvodina Rusyn and northern Rusyn are two separate entities, with the creation of standards for northern Rusyn of only incidental interest to a reader of a grammar on Vojvodina Rusyn, and again a lack of reference to the context of the pan-Rusyn language movement. The conclusion appears to be that the focus of the development of Rusyn standards, in the examples of Vojvodina Rusyn and Lemko, is more immediately concerned with serving the interests of local speakers in

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[15] 'A recently codified new East Slavonic language is the Rusyn language (the language of the Carpathian Rusyns who currently live in four states: southern Poland, western Ukraine, Slovakia and northern Hungary)'.

Vojvodina and the Lemko region of Poland than it is with any wider pan-Rusyn context.

The final region identified as requiring a Rusyn standard at the 1992 congress was Transcarpathian Ukraine. Here, in strong contrast to the environment which developed in Poland and Slovakia, and which largely existed already in Yugoslavia, conditions were not favourable to the successful development of a Transcarpathian standard. Because of the lack of state recognition, and consequently support in pursuance of any undertakings under the ECRML, any institutions supporting the Rusyn language in Ukraine would by necessity have to rely on private support, both financial and organisational. There is no comparable academic centre in the Transcarpathian Region to foster, support and cultivate a Rusyn standard as there are in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Serbia. This weak infrastructural basis was further hampered by the diffuse nature of the spoken language in the region, where, as we have seen, up to five dialects with varying and differentiating characteristics (for example in multiple realisations of former [o] in newly closed syllables) meant that the task of codifiers acting without the formal support of professional linguists from Ukrainian universities and similar was extremely difficult. In a situation slightly reminiscent of the inter-war period of competing proposals for a standard language for Transcarpathian Rus', proposals for standard languages have been originated by individuals representing different dialect areas, none of which has been successfully adopted as a unifying standard for the region. Indeed, the third Rusyn language congress in 2007 contained within its resolution a renewed requirement for work to conclude on the standardisation of the Rusyn language in Ukraine (Plišková, 2008b: 233).

A proposal by Igor Kerča, firstly in a proposal co-authored by members of the language committee of the Aleksandr Duchnovich Society, a cultural organisation, in

Uzhhorod and published in a very small print-run in 1999 as '*Материнськый язык*'[16], which was subject to criticism for apparent linguistic errors, and which was subsequently elaborated on in an essay by Kerča in the 2004 Opole University volume on Rusyn edited by Magocsi (Kerča, 2004: 117), is the leading candidate for a Transcarpathian standard, both in terms of acceptance over other proposals by the Rusyn movement, for example by inclusion on a par with descriptions of the Prešov and Lemko standards authored by their creators in the Opole University work, and through reference to it as the Transcarpathian standard in works by academics writing from outside the region such as Pugh and Kushko. The claims for the Kerča version are further bolstered through the publication in Uzhhorod in 2007 by Kerča of a two-volume Rusyn-Russian dictionary, an achievement not yet matched by the more established Prešov and Lemko standards. It seems likely that the work to arrive at an agreed standard for Transcarpathian sought in the resolution of the third Rusyn language congress will very likely, therefore, be based largely on that produced by Kerča. The question of acceptance by proponents of other versions (and by the local population in the Transcarpathian Ukraine) will require to be assessed at the point that a formal standard is arrived at.

Conclusion

A convergence of events and factors - post-communist liberalisation, a greater receptivity in wider European institutions to regional and minority languages as a marker of democracy, an active and engaged diaspora support network and increasing non-Rusyn academic interest and acceptance of the existence of the Rusyns as a separate people – combined to produce a set of circumstances which were uniquely favourable to proponents of the Rusyn identity for arguably the first time in history. Rapid progress has been made in standardising languages, most evidently in Poland

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[16] '*Mother Tongue*'.

and Slovakia, producing some underlying linguistic tools necessary for the successful propagation of the new standards. Rusyn has become established within the context of national legislation on minority languages and also within the international European framework provided by the ECRML. All of these measures bolster the claims by the Rusyn movement that the language is as valid as any other which can be described in similarly objective terms to those outlined above.

Chapter 5 - Rusyn Language Planning Activities

Language Planning Goals

Nahir (2003) provides a classification of language planning goals from analysis of activity conducted by language planners in several languages (Hebrew, Indonesian, Irish, Swedish and French among others). Nahir's classification identifies a total of 11 'goals' for which processes (such as those outlined by Haugen (1966)) have been developed. The extent to which language planners carry out activity in respect of each and all goals varies according to the context and need for language planning from language to language. This section examines the extent to which Rusyn language planners have embarked on activity to reach certain goals, using Nahir's classification model as a framework around which the analysis has been constructed. These goals may have been explicitly declared as such in, for example, statements at or following one of the three Rusyn language congresses. Alternatively, inferences from the evidence of activities conducted may be made to suggest the existence of implicit language planning goals.

Nahir's eleven language planning goals are as follows (the definitions summarise Nahir's own in Nahir (1983)):

- Language Purification
- Language Revival
- Language Reform
- Language Standardisation
- Language Spread
- Lexical Modernisation
- Terminology Unification

- Stylistic Simplification
- Interlingual Communication
- Language Maintenance
- Auxiliary-Code Standardisation

Language purification consists of two types of goal: external purification whereby language forms (typically lexical items) are prescribed in order to protect a language from foreign influence ('purism'), and internal purification which concerns the objective of protection of a standard language form from 'incorrect' use. The Slavonic languages exhibit varying levels of puristic approach to foreign lexical items. Some, such as Czech and Croatian, exhibit a tendency to rely on Slavonic roots and calquing for new derivations in preference to borrowings, while others, such as Slovak and Serbian, appear more open to direct loans, typically from English and French. This concept extends to language influence within Slavonic, where the influence of larger languages on smaller languages is an issue which has attracted the attention of several linguists (Marti, 1998; Marti and Nekvapil, 2007).

Language revival concerns the objective of 'turning a language with few or no surviving native speakers back into a normal means of communication in a community' (Nahir, 2003: 428). The example of the most successful instance of language revival is Hebrew, but the phenomenon is also clearly observable among the Celtic languages (for example Manx and Cornish) and elsewhere. An additional analysis of language revival could extend to the reversal of language shift among languages whose circumstances do not fully meet the conditions Nahir proposes for successful language revival ('the existence of an old language to be revived and a direct historical or cultural affinity with the historical nation whose language is to be revived' (Nahir, 2003: 429)). So far, the Rusyn language movement has made little systematic effort to halt language shift, for example no adult learning materials aimed at non-specialists have been produced, indicating that spoken Rusyn may be

maintained on a fairly stable basis in a bilingual relationship with Slovak, with use of each language more or less confined to separate functional spheres (Rusyn occupying the day to day role of informal social communication among Rusyns, with Slovak serving most other purposes).

Language reform is defined as a 'deliberate change in specific aspects of language, intended to facilitate its use' (Nahir, 2003: 429). Examples are spelling reforms, simplifications of grammar, or changes in script or lexis to suit ideological or political considerations. An example of the latter would be the experience of the devising of standard languages using the Roman script and then subsequent cyrillisation imposed on many newly written languages of the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 1940s in response to a change in the ideological approach to the nationalities question there.

Nahir views **language standardisation** as the objective of having the language or dialect of one region turned into the major language of a region. A number of factors are key to the successful achievement of the objective of language standardisation so described, principally of a socio-political, historical and economic nature. These factors are similar to the 'conditions' for the successful achievement of any attempt at language planning, a theme further explored in application to the Rusyn example below and previously on the historical context.

Language spread is the objective of causing speakers to adopt a new language. The concept is related to that of language shift, but with the emphasis on the policies and techniques needed to cause a successful (from the point of view of language planners) shift to the standardised language they seek to promote. Language spread is noted usually to serve a wider political goal. In the development of a new standard language, the aim of language spread must be of a high order of priority and one

would expect to see substantial evidence of activity in support of this objective in planning efforts for such languages.

Lexical modernisation concerns the aim of development of native resources within a language in such a way that the language is able to express the technological and specialist terminology necessary for modern life. This requirement affects both mature (developed) and immature (developing) languages, albeit in different ways.

Terminology unification is the objective of achieving a standard use of terminology, particularly in technological and scientific contexts. Nahir notes that this goal is more typical of developed standard languages (Nahir, 2003: 433).

Stylistic simplification is the simplification of actual 'language usage (lexicon, grammar and style) in order to reduce communicative ambiguity between professionals and bureaucrats on the one hand and the public on the other, and among professionals and bureaucrats on the other' (Nahir, 2003: 435). This category of language planning objective would be more likely to be encountered in mature languages (for example the concept of 'legalese'), but the idea of simplification of usage 'between professionals … and the public' might be extended to include professional linguists in their language planning capacity and 'the public' as users of a planned language, and may be linked to the objective of language reform. Rusyn is at an early stage of development such that its use in spheres where there is a high reliance on jargon or officialese requiring simplification for the purposes of communicating with the 'ordinary' citizen is practically non-existent.

Interlingual communication concerns the facilitation of communication through enhanced use of a third language (an auxiliary artificial language or a language of

wider communication) (Nahir, 2003: 436-7), citing Esperanto as an obvious candidate for the former. The concept of auxiliary standards acting as tools to facilitate communication between two different speech communities can also however be seen outside of Esperanto at a regional level (as Nahir notes (Nahir, 2003: 438)) and in an extension of natural languages in the examples of the deliberately created standard languages Rumantsch Grishun and Ladin Standard in Switzerland and northern Italy respectively. This theme is given particular attention in the Rusyn context in a separate chapter of this thesis.

Language maintenance is self-evidently the objective of preserving the use of a language which is faced with external pressures which may lead to 'a decline in the status of a language as a means of communication, a cultural medium, or a symbol of group or national identity' (Nahir, 2003: 439). Nahir makes the important observation in this definition that language is not solely a utilitarian means of direct communication of information between individuals in speech and writing, but that it also serves a wider purpose in securing (and supporting claims for) unique cultural and national-ethnic identities. He further refines the concept of language maintenance into two sub-categories of 'dominant' and 'ethnic' (minority) language maintenance.

Auxiliary-Code Standardisation concerns the development of standardised approaches to 'marginal aspects of language' (Nahir, 2003: 441) such as sign language, conventions on spelling of place-names, transcription and transliteration standards.

Nahir relates this model of language planning 'goals' to Haugen's well-known analysis of language planning 'processes', first set out in Haugen (1966: 1-26). Haugen identifies four key processes in language planning: selection, codification, implementation and elaboration. In a revision of the model, Haugen (1983) attributes

the codification and elaboration processes to 'corpus planning' (planning about language, or the design of language) and the selection and implementation phases to 'status planning' (planning about society, or the use of the designed language). As Haugen states, his model 'provides a description of what language planners have done, but it does not tell us why they have done it, nor what goals they have hoped to attain'. Nahir's analysis provides the link between the analysis of language planning goals and processes.

One analysis of Haugen's process steps could be to interpret them chronologically. 'Selection' can relate to activity immediately subsequent to a decision to undertake some language planning activity in support of a language planning goal. 'Codification' then relates to the detailed work necessary to progress the decision made at the 'selection' phase. 'Implementation' brings the first solution identified through the codification work to the attention of the intended user community, in effect 'breaking out' the solution from the language planning environment of linguists and advisors and engaging with the wider non-specialist language community to try to achieve the policy aim originally intended. 'Elaboration' may therefore be seen as the process of refinement of the original solution identified through codification based on the success (or otherwise) of the implementation phase to deliver an objective which meets the needs of the planners (their language planning goal) and the needs of the members of the language community.

As the 'selection', 'codification', 'implementation' and 'elaboration' processes in respect of various language planning goals will logically take place in generally chronological order, it would be possible to analyse Nahir's combined model (Nahir, 2003: 424) as a model of language planning maturity, as below and to make inferences on the maturity (or degree of successful achievement of individual language planning goals through analysis of the evidence provided by individual cases of planned languages):

Maturity

Goal   Selection   Codification   Implementation   Elaboration
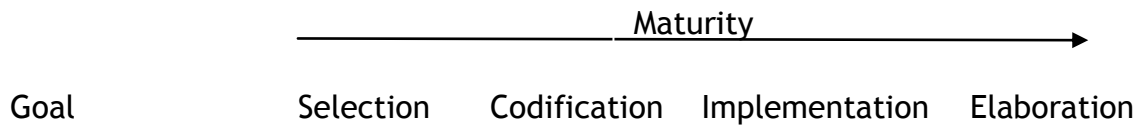
Figure 1 - Representation of Language Planning Maturity Model

It is unsurprising that the longer the history of the establishment of a standard language, the greater the evidence of maturity across all four of Haugen's processes. It might also be reasonably assumed that the selection and codification phases are of generally shorter (though intense) duration than the implementation and elaboration phases, which require positive acceptance and engagement from the wider language using population.

To the twin themes of status and corpus planning, Baldauf (2006: 150) adds a third stage of 'language-in-education planning (about learning)'. This is obviously a critical area for any new standard language seeking to gain acceptance and roots among a language community, and, in the case of Rusyn, was one of the themes of the second Rusyn language congress held in 1999 and some comments are made on the efforts of language planners in this particular sphere.

One final aspect of language planning, not explicitly covered in any of the models outlined above, is what might be described as 'prestige planning', in other words efforts made by language planners and proponents of new language projects to gain acceptance and recognition for a new standard language beyond the community of

the immediate language user community, typically among political decision-makers (usually on a domestic level) and academics and journalists (typically on an international level).   It is on this area that many of the actions of the Rusyn movement have been concerned with, through documentation and awareness-raising of Rusyn language developments in the interests of securing wider recognition of the Rusyn language as a symbol of a recognised Rusyn identity.

The analysis below will focus on the success or otherwise of Nahir's language planning goals as they relate to the two standards so far developed for northern Rusyn: Prešov Rusyn in Slovakia and Lemko in Poland and where there is sufficient evidence to support an analysis according to Nahir's classification.   While efforts continue to develop an agreed standard for Rusyn in Ukraine, and also in Hungary, and while Rusyn standards for those countries remain inchoate, they are not the primary focus of this dissertation and cannot yet be submitted to analysis in terms of Nahir's classification in exactly the same way as is possible for the established two northern Rusyn standards (as could Vojvodina Rusyn, which is not a primary focus of this analysis for reasons previously stated).

Application of Language Planning Analyses to Rusyn Standards[17]

Language Standardisation

Language standardisation, in the sense described in Nahir's analysis (i.e. the turning of the language of one area or group of speakers into the language used across a larger area and/or by a wider group of speakers) can perhaps best be evidenced in the Rusyn context by the example of the Rusyn variant of Slovakia. The lack of significant

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[17] The applicability of elements of Nahir's analysis of language planning goals on the pan-Rusyn level is considered in Chapter 6 on the proposed Rusyn 'koiné'.

dialectal differences in the Lemko of Poland seems to have precluded the emergence of conflict among intended users of the norm resistant to the suggestion of imposition of a norm based on an unfamiliar dialect. The position in Ukraine remains unsettled given the lack of progress in agreeing a standard at all, and given the adherence by the proponents of the various proposals to local variations in language, which has hindered the development of a single standard acceptable to all parties in Ukraine. Variation within the Rusyn of Vojvodina is minimal (Ramač, 2002: 461) and this has not apparently led to any serious questioning of the basis of the norm or rejection of it as unrepresentative.

The position in Slovakia is somewhat different. The division between eastern and western dialects of spoken Rusyn runs through far-eastern Slovakia, with the majority of the Rusyn-speaking population falling within the western group. A characteristic feature dividing these two variants is the existence of fixed stress on the penultimate syllable in the western form (fixed stress being a characteristic feature of West Slavonic) and of mobile stress in the eastern form. The standard Prešov Rusyn form adopted for Slovakia is said to be based on the spoken language of a transitional area between the western and eastern forms, but this assertion is challenged by Juraj Vaňko, a Slavist of (western) Slovak Rusyn origin, who cites the mobile stress pattern of standard Prešov Rusyn, among other issues, as evidence of a lack of western features (Vaňko, 2008: 18) in the standard. Other differences between the standard Prešov Rusyn form and the language used by a large number of Rusyn speakers in Slovakia are present in the form of the past participle, the instrumental case in the feminine singular and in a derivative verb suffix (Vaňko, 2008: 18-19). The nature of the norm has been criticised by Vaňko, who was not a designer of the planned standard, and who goes so far as to state that the standardised norm appears 'foreign' to speakers of western Rusyn dialects in Slovakia, recalling the pre-1989 imposition of Ukrainian as the language of all Slovakia's East Slavs (Vaňko, 2008: 18).

Vaňko goes beyond criticism of the linguistic structure of standard Prešov Rusyn to question the concept of development and propagation of a strictly defined and apparently inflexible standard which does not provide for inclusion of local variants. The trend elsewhere is towards inclusion of variation as acceptable norms (Norwegian sought to formalise such variation in various reforms to its two codified variants, only to abandon prescription in the latter decades of the 20th century (Haugen, 1966)). Within the wider Rusyn context, Lemko arguably provides an alternative more inclusive approach whereby alternatives are 'permitted' by the norm, for example in oblique forms of personal pronouns. Although this feature has been criticised by Dulichenko as being unusual for a codified norm (Dulichenko, 2006: 138), such a practice is typical of less prescriptive norms elsewhere (such as modern Norwegian, or within and between the transatlantic variants of English and Portuguese) and may result in greater acceptance of a norm (there appears to be no criticism of the Lemko norm from within the Lemko community on a similar scale to Vaňko's criticisms of Prešov Rusyn).

That Rusyn with mobile stress is intended to become a standard spoken language certainly in defined contexts, rather than in ordinary speech, by advocates of the standard is clear from contributions by a member of the Rusyn language department at Prešov University, the de facto language planning institute for the Rusyn language in Slovakia (Koporová, 2008). Were the intention for the language to serve as a written standard only, the issue of prescription of stress patterns would be less of an issue. Guidance has been produced to assist Rusyn speakers of dialects with fixed stress in the correct application of the mobile stress found in the standard language, and in eastern dialects, with particular reference to the use of the standard in the Rusyn theatre in Prešov and in Rusyn language broadcasting. Justification for this position is found in the early manifesto for the creation of new Rusyn standards issued following the first Rusyn language congress in that it was agreed that the new standards were to be based on the living language (Koporová, 2008) but one of the

effects may be the introduction of a high/low distinction within Rusyn which would mirror the previous high/low distinction between standard Ukrainian and the spoken language of north-eastern Slovakia's East Slavonic population – a distinction which may militate against wholehearted adoption of the new norm among all of the intended users in Slovakia.

It should also be noted that Prešov Rusyn does make allowances for variation, but this does not necessarily represent an attempt to incorporate features of western Rusyn dialects and as such, the reformed version has attracted criticism from Vaňko and others. The reformed version of the standard promulgated in 2005 (Jabur and Plišková, 2005) contains alternatives such as the feminine and neuter singular personal pronouns (*вна/она; вно/оно*) ('*vna/ona*'; '*vno/ono*') and in the verbal paradigm of verbs in -*овати* (-*ovatî*) (*купую/купію* ('*kupuju/kupiju*'); *купуєш/купієш* ('*kupuješ/kupiješ*') etc)[18]. This revised norm is therefore permissive to a degree, but this permissiveness does not clearly go far enough for some, and for those, the apparently prescriptive nature of the standard appears a top-down approach to language planning, reflective of the prejudices of a new regional elite and an outmoded vision of language planning (Vaňko, 2008: 16-17). Some supplementary material does indicate a view from language planners on the role of the standard in determining 'correct' and 'incorrect language', as something to be rectified among groups of users, rather than accommodated within the standard, for example in views on the use of accent in spoken versions of the standard (for example, statements of the nature of '…we can state that one of the most important deviations from the pronunciation standard of the norm is *incorrect accentuation*' [my italics] in Koporová (2008)[19].

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[18] This reflects both eastern and western features (Vaňko, 2002: 258).
[19] ('….*môžeme skonštatovať, že jedným y najvážnejšich porušení ortoepickej normy je nesprávne akcentovanie*')

Vaňko offered support for his contention that Prešov Rusyn is effectively designed by and for a narrow elite who have taken over the roles and institutions once occupied by adherents of the pro-Ukrainian orientation in a contribution to the third Rusyn language congress (Vaňko, 2008: 75-96) in which he presented the following observations (among others):

i) The Rusyn 'elite' (by which he appears to mean the movers behind the new standard in post-1989 Slovakia) originated in the same Zemplín region of Slovakia as did the previous cultural leaders of Slovakia's Ukrainian minority and therefore favoured a standard based on the local language of that region to the exclusion of features found elsewhere in Slovakia;

ii) The first users of the Rusyn standard in Slovakia (journalists and writers in the Rusyn media) also originated from the Zemplín area and could be assumed to have approved of the choice of dialect base for the new standard as one most familiar to them.

iii) While it may be accurate to describe the Zemplín dialects as transitional between the eastern and western groups of Rusyn dialects, this has had the consequence of excluding features of the western group of Rusyn dialects in Slovakia from the standard and is therefore not attractive to speakers of those dialects.

The 2005 reform may have admitted some variation to the standard (as noted) above, but it in no way moved the base for the standard westward and it may be that if Vaňko's criticisms are shared more widely, then the immediate prospects of standard Rusyn gaining wider acceptance and a natural vitality (language spread) outside of the managed use by the Rusyn 'elite', which continues to control some very significant

means of propagation of the standard in terms of media and in academic institutions, may be limited.

Language Spread

As discussed above, in the case of Prešov Rusyn in particular, some impediments have been raised to the widespread acceptance of the norm owing to reasons of dialect base. Any minority language, particularly intended to be adopted by a small population living in limited economic circumstances faces a challenge for it to be adopted. The challenge in the case of Rusyn appears to be being met on two fronts: introducing Rusyn into the education system particularly in Poland and Slovakia and through the adoption of the standards by Rusyn cultural and social organisations and in any publications produced by those organisations. The latter might be considered to be more immediately achievable given that the proponents of the standard language are also those in a position to control or influence the language policy of Rusyn organisations.

A further challenge (Plišková, 2008a: 96) is to move to a position where the standard language is (spontaneously or otherwise) adopted and used beyond the educational and cultural spheres, in other words beyond the requirement to use the language in a way which is connected with more or less direct expressions of Rusyn-ness and into general un-self-conscious usage. In the multi-ethnic environment in which Rusyn speakers exist, and in light of the virtual requirement for, at least, bilingualism in the official national language of those states, it is likely that a bilingual approach to written language will remain, particularly if opportunities to use Rusyn with state and commercial entities are limited or non-existent, and depend on the will of the state or business enterprises to provide services in standard Rusyn where there is a demand for this from citizens or customers.

Evidence of the adoption of the standard language beyond those spheres immediately controlled by those closely involved in the core Rusyn language movement (e.g. academics, journalists and writers involved with Rusyn university departments and publications of Rusyn language or cultural organisations) is provided mainly through material produced by the Rusyn language movement and some external sources, for example the European Commission's Euromosaic programme in support of minority languages (Council of Europe: Euromosaic study).

The use of Rusyn in its standardised form is perhaps most easily analysed in terms of its use in the education system (where numbers of students and schools can be counted) and in the media and publishing (where, again, quantification is more easily and naturally obtained) as opposed to use with authorities or in business.

In both Poland and Slovakia where standardised forms have been created and are officially recognised, there are a number of periodicals issued and use of Rusyn in the broadcast media, where state provided media is obliged to offer airspace to Rusyn in line with obligations of both countries under the ECRML. As might be expected, output of these is limited in scope and frequency given the relatively low number of speakers: Plišková (2008a: 104) reports that there was 13.5 hours of Rusyn broadcasting of a general and religious nature on the state channel for minority language programming, but only a 30 minute television magazine show every two months on Slovak Television.

A significant area of usage of Rusyn in all its forms is evident in the fields of literature, poetry and the theatre. The language used in these is, as might be expected given their nature, not necessarily standard Rusyn or Lemko. One success in the expansion of Rusyn in Slovakia has been the adoption by the former Ukrainian

national theatre in Prešov of Rusyn as the language of its productions in the 1990s. The exact language used by the theatre is reported not to follow the standard Rusyn, particularly in matters of accentuation[20]. The artistic freedoms of theatre and literature may not represent the most suitable functional spheres in which to expect, or indeed assess, the adoption of a set of standard rules for any language (Dunn, 2006: 60-61), but in terms of the objective of language spread, the very fact that authors, directors and administrators have moved from the use of Ukrainian to Rusyn (in whatever form) can surely be considered a significant achievement, and one which cannot be ascribed alone to a change in policy from government on the use of one or other minority languages: a demand from the reading and theatre-going public must exist in order for the use of Rusyn over Ukrainian to be provided on a sustained basis. The remainder of this analysis of language spread concerns, therefore, the spread of standardised forms of Rusyn in functional spheres which may prove more appropriate to the adoption of a new standard language.

Poland

Although Euromosaic (European Commission, 2010) cites examples of publications in Lemko published in Poland such as '*Besida*' (published by the Lemko Association (Lemko: '*Стоваршыня Лемків*' ('*Stovaršyn'a Lemkiv*') (Polish: '*Stowarzyszenie Łemków*')) and '*Vatra*' published by the Ukrainian-orientated Lemko Union (Ukrainian: '*Об'єдання Лемків*' (Polish: '*Zjednoczenie Łemków*')), of these only '*Besida*' is actually published in standard Lemko; unsurprisingly given its pro-Ukrainian orientation, the Lemko language of '*Vatra*' is rendered according to standard Ukrainian orthographical principles (Duć-Fajfer, 2004: 355-6). In this respect, the use of local forms within a general Ukrainian context is reminiscent of the sporadic publication of 'dialect' content in the Ukrainian-language media in pre-1989

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[20] See Koporová's comments on this discussed above.

Czechoslovakia (Plišková, 2008a: 97) where it is apparent, from the official linguistic policy operated then, that the 'dialects' used were considered to be Ukrainian rather than anything more independent, linguistically, culturally or politically.

Related to the use of Lemko in publications, is its use in Lemko societies and associations. As might be expected, Lemko was adopted as the administrative language of the Lemko Association, a cultural organisation founded in April 1989 to promote and protect Lemko culture in Poland, and was also adopted as the administrative language of a number of subsequently founded Lemko cultural organisations over the next decade or so (Duć-Fajfer, 2004: 355-6).

Particular focus was given at the second Rusyn language congress in 1999 to the introduction and use of Lemko (and other Rusyn standards) in the educational system as a means of securing the future of the language as a viable entity. The roots of the Lemko standard developed by Chomiak and Fontański are in Chomiak's language materials and work in schools, and at the policy level, in the Lemko region of Poland. A new education policy favourable to the inclusion of the languages of minorities in the school system was introduced in Poland in 1991, which officially facilitated the introduction of Lemko. Since that time a small number of pupils have received a variable number of classes in and on Lemko in areas where there have been sufficient numbers of pupils for this to be viable (and it should be recalled that a large number of Lemkos suffered forced dispersion around Poland in the immediate post-World War II period, meaning concentrations of Lemkos everywhere are small) (Duć-Fajfer, 2004: 357-9).

An important requirement for teaching of Lemko in schools, apart from materials, has been the training of teachers and a programme for this was created at the Krakow Pedagogical Academy in the 2001/02 academic year. The use of Lemko in schools

appears confined to lessons on the language itself and the related fields of Lemko culture, history and literature (Duć-Fajfer, 2004: 359), rather than the use of Lemko as a means through which to teach non-cultural subjects such as mathematics or the sciences. Again the small numbers of Lemko children would appear to militate against the expansion of the use of Lemko to cover subjects other than those immediately concerned with Lemko topics. Given the linguistic policy pursued in Poland until the late 1980s and the ongoing requirement for the use of Polish as the national language in all but the most localised spheres, or those most intimately related to the propagation of Lemko culture, it is likely that the most that can be expected (or perhaps also intended) for Lemko in the educational system will be a further embedding of the current restricted use of the language as described here.

There is some limited use of Lemko in the religious sphere, particularly in the Greek Catholic (Uniate) church to which a proportion of Lemkos in Poland adhere (others adhere to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church). Examples include its use in a periodical '*Antyfon*', which is reported to use some Lemko (I have not been able to view a copy of this to assess the language used) and the use of Lemko by some priests (Duć-Fajfer, 2004: 356). It is difficult to assess the extent to which the language used in this sphere is the standard language or the use of local Lemko forms in whichever way the author or editors of religious material decide to use it, as has been the experience in Slovakia as discussed below.

There is little evidence of the use of Lemko with government and local authorities in Poland, or practical provision made for it by them. For the purposes of Poland's adherence to the ECRML (which it signed in 2003 and ratified in 2009), Lemko is officially categorised as an 'ethnic minority' (Polish: '*mniejszość etniczna*') language in Poland which places it in the same category administratively as Romani, Karaim and Tatar (Ukrainian is recognised as the language of a 'national minority' (Polish: '*mniejszość narodowa*') given its status as the official language of a state other than

Poland, a feature shared by the other members of this category[21]). The use of Polish in official and business contexts is regulated by the Polish constitution which generally requires the use of Polish in all such interactions, while making allowances for municipalities with significant numbers of minority groups, thus limiting the scope for the use of Lemko or other minority languages to a degree. Speakers of officially recognised national or ethnic minority languages are entitled to request an interpreter, for example in court proceedings and to use minority language personal names, and provision is made in various pieces of legislation for the use of such languages in the broadcast media.

There is some use of Lemko in public, for example in nameplates of organisations. These are typically Lemko organisations, such as those cited above, as well as Lemko museums which also make use of Lemko in their publications. The use of Lemko in public inscriptions is also evident when Lemko cultural events or conferences are staged (Duć-Fajfer, 2004: 360). The passing of the 'Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and on Regional Language' in January 2005 provided further possibilities for the use of Lemko in Poland. This piece of legislation codified the position of Lemko in Polish law as the language of an ethnic minority (consistent with Poland's declaration under the ECRML as noted above). The legislation made provision, *inter alia*, (in Articles 12 and 15) for local municipalities to bear the costs for the provision of place name signs in minority languages subject to the population of a given municipality consisting of at least 20% of a national or ethnic minority and the matter successfully being put to a local referendum. As of June 2009, one Lemko village had successfully obtained the introduction of local place name signage in Lemko – Білянка/Bielanka, to the south-west of Gorlice in the traditional Lemko region of south-eastern Poland – with a small number of others expected to follow. A number of other minorities in Poland have obtained signage in their languages (for example, in German, Belarusian

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[21] German, Belarusian, Lithuanian, Russian, Slovak, Czech, Armenian (Yiddish is also included, apparently continuing the general Communist-era view of Jews as a national, rather than religious or cultural group).

and Kashubian), a change which can be expected to increasingly reveal to non-minority Poles and non-Poles the linguistic diversity of the country. Changes to the 'linguistic landscape' in this way are often the most overt display of the existence of minority languages, and this effect and the application of such legislative provisions to Lemko in exactly the same way as they are applied to more established and recognised languages such as German and Lithuanian can only lead to enhancement of the prestige of the language.

One further area in which standard Lemko has enjoyed success has been in its use in the academic sphere. Academic papers have been written in Lemko (on linguistic subjects) and included in publications such as the volume in the Opole University series on the modern history of Slavonic languages (Magocsi 2004) and in papers published following the third Rusyn language congress (Plišková 2008). Beyond the immediate Lemko/Rusyn specialism, Lemko was included as a 'recognised' independent Slavonic language at the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and Eastern European Studies held in England in 1990 (Duć-Fajfer, 2004: 360).

For practical purposes, therefore, and given demographics and the history of linguistic policy in Poland, it is safe to assume that all Poland's Lemko citizens, bar perhaps the very youngest and elderly, are fluent in Polish and that any demand for the use of Lemko in official contexts is likely to be restricted to the most ardent linguistic activists. Certainly there appears very little evidence of direct political linguistic activism among Lemkos of Poland on a par with the regular militancy seen in, for example, Wales, Brittany or the Basque Country, which suggests that the aspirations of the Lemko community for language use may be adequately addressed through the cultural fields (including the use of Lemko in cultural studies in the education system). The use of standard Lemko in written contexts in Poland therefore appears conditioned both by demand by speakers, or at least their receptivity towards the

language, and regulation by the authorities. It appears safe to conclude that the language will continue to be used and to thrive in contexts which are specifically Lemko, such as cultural events and Lemko studies, but that for other functions, such as interaction with authorities and study of anything other than Lemko subjects (and not even then), then the native bilingualism and small numbers of Lemko speakers will dictate that Polish will continue to be used as the principal written language used for such activities.

Slovakia

In many respects the adoption of standard Prešov Rusyn in Slovakia has followed a similar path to that in Poland, in that initial spread of the new standard has largely been confined to functional spheres most closely associated with expressions of Rusyn identity and in particular in environments most closely controlled by organisations and individuals within the Rusyn language movement. Similarly, provision has been made in law for the use of Rusyn, as a recognised minority language, in prescribed circumstances. The proportion of Rusyn speakers within the overall population of Slovakia is statistically more significant than it is in Poland, but in neither country are the numbers sufficient to form any significant influence on policy at the national level. The presence in Slovakia of the large Hungarian minority and a history of antagonism over this between Slovakia and Hungary tends to shape national policy on minority issues. The basis for the Rusyn language movement is one of recognition of its linguistic rights as a language and community distinct from Ukrainian, with little evidence of the type of overt politicisation of the issue which might occasion a different approach from the generally permissive approach to what is a small and (territorially) unthreatening minority.

The legal framework for minority languages in Slovakia was established by an act on the use of national minority languages ('*Zákon o užívaní jazykov národnostných menšín*') passed in 1999 (ILJMSR, 1999). This provided for the official use of any minority language in administrative communities where members of a minority group made up at least 20% of the population of the community. Essentially, this provides the right to submit written information to authorities in a minority language and to receive information in return. This principle is extended, in theory at least, to the provision of official forms in minority languages in qualifying communities. In reality, the provisions of the law on the official use of minority languages have been found to be effectively non-existent in the case of Rusyn (Plišková, 2008a: 99). Use of Rusyn on name plates of official buildings and on road-signs in applicable communities is very limited (Plišková cites the municipalities of Medzilaborce and Čabalovce as exceptions where signage is in Slovak and Rusyn, and reports that in most other Rusyn areas signage is in Slovak or Slovak and Ukrainian, with cost considerations a factor preventing changeover in signage to Rusyn (Plišková, 2008a: 99)).

Again with Lemko in Poland, standard Rusyn is used as the administrative language of the many Rusyn organisations in Slovakia, and in publications produced by them. The Rusyn organisations of Slovakia essentially act as the hub for the world-wide Rusyn movement, for example, the World Congress of Rusyns, and Prešov Rusyn is the norm in which the majority of the Rusyn output from the various international Rusyn organisations is invariably produced.

Eastern Slovakia hosts the editorial boards and production of three significant Rusyn language periodicals: '*Rusîn*', '*Narodny Novînky*' and '*InfoRusîn*'. '*Rusîn*' is a pan-Rusyn journal which contains articles on themes relevant to all Rusyn countries and published in the relevant Rusyn standard. '*Narodny Novînky*', by contrast, is focused on a Slovak Rusyn readership in the Prešov Region and is therefore written in the

Prešov Rusyn standard. These periodicals represent the principal interface between language planners and the intended users of the standard. '*InfoRusîn*', published by one of the chief Rusyn cultural organisations, the Rusyn Renaissance Society, has been criticised by Plišková (who is the linguistic editor of both '*Rusîn*' and '*Narodny Novînky*') for its failure to follow the rules of standard Rusyn and for including a large amount of Slovak content in its editions (Plišková, 2008a: 103) and some content is in a non-standardised Roman transliteration. As noted above, Rusyn has a limited presence in the minority broadcasting wing of Slovak state radio. Plišková again observes that even in the limited time devoted to Rusyn, adherence to the standard language used by broadcasters is variable (Plišková, 2008a: 99).

The Greek Catholic Church in Slovakia makes use of Rusyn in several of its publications. Again non-adherence to the standard, and use of the Roman alphabet for some content, indicates continued variance in use of the written Rusyn language in Slovakia (Plišková, 2008a: 99).

Some use of Rusyn outwith the spheres controlled by the Rusyn movement and those not directly concerned with expressions of Rusyn-ness have interestingly been seen in politics, where one candidate for the 2009 Presidential elections, Zuzana Martináková of the Free Forum party, provided a limited Rusyn language version of her campaign website (along with Hungarian and Romani versions)[22].

Rusyn has a small presence in the school system of Slovakia. A number of schoolbooks have been produced for use in primary schools as well as officially approved strategies for the teaching of the language in schools (Plišková, 2008a: 110). Teacher training is the focus of a dedicated programme in the Rusyn department of Prešov University.

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[22] Z. Martináková Campaign Website. Available at: <http://www.zuzanamartinakova.sk/ru/index.php> [Accessed 28/02/11].

The main impediment to the spread of standard Rusyn through the school system has been the fact that Rusyn is an optional subject in a small number of schools (Pugh, 2009: 15; Vaňko, 2007: 84). Owing to their historic negative experience under the communist regime in post-war Czechoslovakia of the state imposition of standard Ukrainian as the official language of education (and all else), which led to many Rusyn parents opting for their children to be educated solely in Slovak, there was a great reduction in non-Slovak language provision in north-eastern Slovakia and a preference established among many for Slovak language education only (Vaňko, 2007: 84). Given that Slovak is the language in which the vast majority of Rusyns in Slovakia can expect to be economically active, it is likely that the preference for Slovak-only education, with the inclusion of Rusyn as an optional 'interest' subject, is likely to continue.

Terminological unification

As Nahir notes (Nahir, 2003: 433), the development of standardised terminologies (an accepted list of categorised terms to be adopted and used in a standard language commonly for scientific and academic purposes) is more generally characteristic of a more established standard language. Proposals, to varying degrees, for unified terminology have nevertheless been developed for Rusyn in three fields: linguistic, educational and toponymic.

Linguistic Terminology

An early output of the standardisation project for Rusyn was Paňko's five language dictionary of linguistic terms ('*Русинсько-русько-україньско-словеньско-польскый словник линґвістічных термінів*' of 1994[23]) in consequence to the first

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[23] '*Rusyn-Russian-Ukrainian-Slovak-Polish Dictionary of Linguistic Terms*'.

international Rusyn language congress held in 1992. While the intention behind this dictionary is evidently to serve as the basis on which standard Rusyn variants could be structured, the implementation of the recommended terminology in subsequently developed standard variants has not occurred. The pan-Rusyn context for this is examined in the subsequent chapter on proposals for the Rusyn 'koiné'. In a contribution to the third Rusyn language congress in 2007, Fontański and Chomiak (2008: 188-191) observe the divergence (or apparent non-adoption) of Paňko's linguistic terminology in all variants of Rusyn. They note that the nature of the divergence can be at the phonological level ('*твердый/твердий*' to describe hard consonants) or more fundamental (listing five different terms used for 'pronoun' in descriptions of five Rusyn variants – Lemko, Prešov, Vojvodina, Transcarpathian and Hungarian – in the Rusyn volume of the Opole University series on the modern linguistic history of the Slavonic languages. What is less clear, is the reason Fontański and Chomiak, as authors of the standard Lemko grammar, chose not to use Paňko's linguistic terminology in that standard, beyond the relatively minor phonological differences between that variety and Prešov Rusyn. The authors' appeal for a 're-activation' of a commission to determine pan-Rusyn terminology did not make its way into the resolution of the congress (Plišková, 2008: 233-235) and it appears therefore that the separate linguistic terminologies employed in current and emerging standard variants will remain just so. Examples (all taken from Magocsi 2004) are those used for nominal case.

Table 1 - Nominal Case Terminology in Rusyn Standards

	Prešov	Lemko	Transcarpathian[24]	Hungarian	Vojvodina
Nominative	номінатів	називаючий (номінатив)	именительник	номінатів	номинатив
Accusative	акузатів	видячий (акузатив)	винительник	акузатів	акузатив
Genitive	ґенітів	рождаючий (ґенітив)	родительник	ґенітів	ґенитив
Dative	датів	даючий (датив)	давательник	датів	датив
Instrumental	інштрументал	творячий (інштрументал)	творительник	інштрументал	инструментал
Locative	локал	місцевий (локатив)	містник	локал	локатив
Vocative	вокатів	кличучий (вокатив)	звательник	вокатів	вокатив

The terms above demonstrate a mixture in preference for 'international' terms and those derived from Slavonic roots, as well as the phonetic variation noted by Fontański and Chomiak (the latter evident in the Prešov, Lemko and Vojvodina terms for 'genitive'). A comparison with the majority languages used in each country where these variants are present is as follows:

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[24] The Transcarpathian and Hungarian versions are those proposed in Kerča (2004) and Benedek respectively.

Table 2 - Nominal Case Terminology in Majority Languages

	Slovak	Polish	Ukrainian	Hungarian	Vojvodina
Nominative	nominatív	mianownik	називний	alanyeset	номинатив
Accusative	akuzatív	biernik	знахідний	tárgyeset	акузатив
Genitive	genitív	dopełniacz	родовий	birtokos	генитив
Dative	datív	celownik	давальний	részes	датив
Instrumental	inštrumentál	narzędnik	орудний	eszközhatározói	инструментал
Locative	lokál	miejscownik	місцевий	locativus[25]	локатив
Vocative	vokatív	wołacz	кличний	megszólító	вокатив

Although the terms above are a narrow snapshot of a limited subcategory of linguistic terminology, it is possible to draw some inferences about the influences on the design of each Rusyn variant. The Prešov and Vojvodina variants follow the majority languages in their respective territories by adopting Latin-based international terms for case names. The Lemko and Transcarpathian variants follow Polish and Ukrainian in adopting Slavonic terms (but not identical terms to those used in either of those languages). The Benedek proposal (Benedek, 2004) for Hungarian Rusyn adopts the international terms favoured by both the better established Prešov and Vojvodina versions in preference to those used in Hungarian. This is perhaps unsurprising given the non-Slavonic basis of the Hungarian terms and the lack of a directly comparable term for the locative case owing to the Finno-Ugric origin of Hungarian. A tentative conclusion may be drawn from an albeit limited examination which suggests that the predominant influence on Rusyn linguistic terminology, at least, is that exerted by the well-established majority languages with which Rusyn co-exists rather than proposals devised to assist in convergence developed within the Rusyn language movement itself.

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[25] Hungarian itself has multiple 'locative' cases and no single native term equivalent to the Rusyn 'locative'.

Pedagogical Terminology

One of the themes of the third Rusyn language congress in 2007 was Rusyn in the education systems of individual countries. Proposals were also made at the congress, in the context of efforts on the pan-Rusyn issue, for pedagogical terminology. Ironically, two proposals were made at the congress, one in respect of Lemko (Chomiak, 2008) and one for Prešov Rusyn (Suchý, 2008). Suchý's proposal for Prešov Rusyn is presented as a list of categorised terms without further comment. Chomiak's proposal is made in respect of pedagogical terms for the teaching of Lemko (although the article appears in the section on discussion of the problems of creating a pan-Rusyn norm) and presents proposed Lemko terms with their Polish (and sometimes English) equivalents. Comparison of a sub-set of terms proposed by each terminology illustrates a lack of unification in linguistic terms, although the two terminologies are taxonomically aligned with one another which suggests pan-Rusyn co-operation in structure in producing the scope of the contents, if not in their linguistic form:

Table 3 - Pedagogical Terminology in Lemko and Prešov Rusyn

	Lemko	Prešov Rusyn
'controlled techniques'	контролюваны технікы	контролёваны технікы
'warm-up'	языкове розогрытя	языкове розогрітя/росцвічіня
'content explanation'	выяснюваня	пояснїня
'translation'	преклад	переклад
'role play'	граня ролі	граня ролї
'dictation'	диктуваня/диктандо	диктованя
'revision'	повториня	повторіня
'testing'	тестуваня	тестованя

As with the analysis of the sample of linguistic terms above, these examples demonstrate the closeness in form of the Lemko and Prešov variants while also

illustrating the phonological differences between these two variants, resolution (or accommodation) of which are considerations in planning for the proposed pan-Rusyn standard.

<u>Toponyms</u>

Although formal proposals for a common place-name terminology of a similar nature to those proposed for linguistic and pedagogical terms have yet to emerge, some issues in this area were raised by Magocsi at the third Rusyn language congress (Magocsi, 2008: 11-12), where he noted some problems to be resolved in the interests of unification, or convergence, of Rusyn variants. The issues requiring resolution, as presented by Magocsi, are whether to base standardised Rusyn names for non-Rusyn place-names on phonetic transcription of non-Rusyn pronunciation (e.g. '*Кракув*' for Polish '*Kraków*') or whether to create Rusynised versions of non-Rusyn place-names (e.g. '*Краків*'). Magocsi suggests calquing as a means of creating Rusyn versions of certain place-names, and provides a suggestion of '*Новоє місто пуд Шатром*' ('*Novoje misto pud Šatrom*') for the Hungarian town 'Sátoraljaújhely' (literally 'new town under the 'tent'' (the shape of a local hill), cf. German: Neustadt am Zeltberg, Slovak: Nové Mesto pod Šiatrom) (Magocsi [no date]).

Magocsi also suggests standardisation of country names should be based on forms ending in –*ia* rather than the typical West Slavonic endings in –*sko*. Practice in naming countries appears to vary. Examples of both approaches to country names can be seen in the journal '*Rusîn*': '*Словакія*' ('*Slovakija*') and '*Сербія*' ('*Serbija*') (edition 4 of 2009) and '*Словеньско*' ('*Sloven'sko*') and '*Сербско*' ('*Serbsko*') (edition 2 of 2007) for Slovakia and Serbia respectively.

Language Maintenance

Language maintenance in the aspect identified by Nahir (2003: 439) as the role of language in serving a supporting role in asserting and conserving identity (and not just the basic role of acting as a means of communication) is perhaps a significant element in the motivation for the creation of standard languages in Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine. The creation of standard languages is an important element in the portfolio of symbols of nationhood exhibited by the Rusyn movement, along with a flag, a coat-of-arms, and in institutions and their names. The importance of the creation of a standardised language (in the case here of Prešov Rusyn) to the overall 'rebirth' of the Rusyn nation is evident from the terms of a public declaration made to mark the birth of the codified Rusyn language in Slovakia (see Introduction).

The terms of the declaration appear to underline the role of Rusyn as a means of securing the status of the new language as a symbol of the Rusyn nation.   Moving from the symbolic achievement of adding a language to other trappings of nationhood to the use of the new standard in preserving and strengthening the Rusyn language community is, of course, another issue. Statistical information on the numbers of self-identifying Rusyns is difficult to analyse, given that, in Slovakia and Poland at least, it has only been possible for individuals to self-identify in censuses and other official information as Rusyns rather than Ukrainians since 1989 and these figures yield little in the way of conclusion on language maintenance. It is not yet realistically possible to determine the extent to which the standardisation of Rusyn variants and the heralding of these as an important component of Rusyn identity have translated into trends on language shift among Rusyns in everyday life. Bilingualism (Rusyn/Slovak and Lemko/Polish) is a reality for all Rusyns/Lemkos and the extent to which Rusyn/Lemko is maintained depends on the nature of the functional spheres in which Rusyn/Lemko can realistically be used. In this Rusyn is essentially no different from any minority language in Europe today.

Nahir's definition of 'language maintenance' is fairly broad and incorporates 'the preservation of the use of a group's native language, as a first or even as a second language, where political, social, economic, educational pressure threaten or cause (or are perceived to threaten or cause) a decline in the status of the language as a means of communication, a culture medium, or a symbol of group or national identity' (Nahir, 2003: 439).

This definition accurately, in my view, highlights the fact that language is more than a utilitarian means of communication, and particularly in the case of a standardised written language it can provide a 'symbol of group or national identity'. Acceptance by a community of Rusyn standards in the face of the type of existential threat which Nahir highlights has been examined above in the context of the spread of the new standards. The role played by the new standards as 'symbols of group or national identity' is highlighted by the prominence given to the declaration of the codification of standard Prešov Rusyn in 1995 as a milestone in the (re)construction of a Rusyn national identity. The creation of the standard, and perhaps also the manner in which it was announced, was sufficient to draw the attention of non-Rusyn scholars to developments in north-eastern Slovakia, thereby probably contributing to an increased validation or endorsement of the overall Rusyn 'project' in the eyes of the Rusyn movement, as evidenced in articles in the Rusyn language media such as Koporová's in '*Русиньскый язык як предмет інтересу світовых лінґвістів*'[26].

The proceedings of the World Congress of Rusyns are promulgated in the Prešov Rusyn standard and this, along with the Lemko and Vojvodina standards and proposed versions for Ukraine and Hungary, has been used for scientific papers discussed at Rusyn language congresses.

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[26] '*The Rusyn Language as the Subject of Interest for World Linguists*' in '*Rusîn*' issue 2 of 2007.

The existence of a standard language or languages thus forms an extremely important part of arguments seeking to 'prove' the existence of the Rusyns as an independent East Slavonic nationality using 'facts on the ground' and, even if it were not used elsewhere, Rusyn in its standard forms would have a defined function in forming that component of the Rusyn identity for as long as the narrative requires it.

Auxiliary-Code Standardisation

Transliteration

Of the three agreed standards, only for Prešov Rusyn has there been defined a Romanisation scheme. The standard alphabet for Prešov Rusyn remains Cyrillic, but a formal transliteration scheme was provided in the 2005 reform. The scheme is provided for use 'in case of need' and for the purposes of 'scientific objectives'. The standard states that the rules of transliteration are regulated by the norm as set out in Jabur and Plišková (2005: 41-43). No equivalent transliteration scheme is provided for Lemko in Fontański and Chomiak's standard grammar of 2000, nor does Ramač provide a scheme for Vojvodina Rusyn in his 2002 grammar (perhaps somewhat surprisingly given the Yugoslav experience of developing and using defined and standardised Romanisation systems for use with Serbian and Macedonian).

In 1994 some Rusyn publications were issued in Romanised form in Slovakia, but this initiative was abandoned following a 'negative response', evidently from readers, (Teutsch, 2001: 33), demonstrating perhaps the importance of the Cyrillic script as a marker of Rusyn identity and an affiliation to the East rather than West Slavonic

world. Since then, there has been some limited printing in Romanised Rusyn. Zozuľák (2008: 105-7) cites the example of a quarterly journal, '*Artos*', produced by a Greek Catholic religious organisation.   '*Artos*' is published in Rusyn in an on-line edition using a Romanised script which differs in certain respects from that set out in the Prešov Rusyn standard, namely in its use of Slovak orthographic conventions to mark palatalised consonants rather than those stipulated for Rusyn in the norm (for example, '*deň*' instead of the standard's '*den*' ('day'); '*sja*' instead of '*s'a*' (reflexive pronoun) and in the transliteration of the Rusyn vowels <i>, <и> and <ы>). Examination of the website (Artos) of the journal indicates that the transliteration system in use retains those features of which Zozuľák is critical, which suggests that the transliteration standard stipulated in the norm, in this instance at least, remains to be implemented (see figure 1).

Transcription

In respect of transcription, rather than transliteration, Ramač provides some comment in respect of Vojvodina Rusyn in his 2002 grammar (2002: 25-6). This is partially explanatory in nature, but also sets out some rules, i.e. that transcription cannot rely on graphical symbols which represent two sounds (the iotated vowels, for example) and requires the use of the apostrophe to represent palatalisation of consonants followed by vowels.

Ramač makes some further comment on the transliteration of proper and geographical names from Roman to Cyrillic. Fontański and Chomiak (2000) make use of the characters 'л' with a superscript caron and 'j' within the grammar to illustrate points of pronunciation not explicitly described by the standard Lemko orthography.

Conclusion

The position in terms of realisation of language planning goals in both Poland and Slovakia is one of continued evolution. The Prešov and Lemko standards can be considered to be at the implementation stage of development. Language planners are heavily involved in organisations set up to promote, preserve and develop the Rusyn identity within its widest sense and thus have important inputs into publications and use of language in contexts relevant to those organisations, and therefore the opportunity to promote their preferred version(s) of the Rusyn language, as codified by them. But for the standards to thrive, they must be adopted by a wider group of users beyond those immediately involved in conscious language design and planning, and linguistic authorities, such as those who create grammars and dictionaries, must in turn be receptive to the variation which will come as the language evolves, accepting such variations, as practicably as possible, into future iterations of the standardised norms. Only in this way are Rusyn standards likely to be able to gain the full acceptance of all intended users, a step which will form an important milestone in the development of the Rusyn language.

Chapter 6 - The Rusyn 'Koiné' or 'Auxiliary Standard'

One of the future development commitments agreed at the first Rusyn language congress in 1992 was the creation of a pan-Rusyn standard (Magocsi, 1996: 37-8). This was to supplement the standards to be developed in each of the four Rusyn regions and is generally referred to as the Rusyn 'koiné'. The model for this proposal, and indeed the creation of separate regional standards, was the Romansh language of Graubünden in Switzerland (Magocsi, 1996: 37-8). The concept of the Rusyn 'koiné' can therefore be equated with Rumantsch Grischun, the artificial standard created to overlay the existing standards for each of the five Romansh 'idioms' by the non-Romansh linguist Heinrich Schmid in 1982 (Liver, 1999: 39) and of Ladin Standard (Ladin Dolomitan) which Schmid created for the Ladin language in 1997 (Gsell in Chioccheti, 2001: 17) on the basis of his work on Rumantsch Grischun. Work to develop the 'koiné' has been slower than that to develop the regional standards, and a session of the third Rusyn language congress held in Krakow in 2007 was dedicated to the development of the 'koiné' including reinvigoration of planning for the 'koiné', a form which remains inchoate at the time of writing.

The 'koiné' presents some interesting aspects of Rusyn language planning, some of which are paralleled in other languages which are fragmented into standardised sub-variants of a claimed greater whole. Similarly, there exist several languages of a similar nature (i.e. linguistic diversity does not impede a sense of ethnic unity) where the option of developing a 'koiné' has not been taken. Some examples of the former include Ladin (in the Italian Dolomites) (Chiochetti, 2001), Sardinian (Regione Autonome della Sardegna, 2006), Cornish (Cornish Language Partnership, 2008) and, to an extent, Mordvin (Churikov, 2009). Some examples of the latter would include Sami, Kurdish, Frisian and 'Circassian'. Given the detachment between script and

speech in its written form Chinese could potentially serve as the most successful example of an artificial written standard, *par excellence*. The different approaches adopted can be attributed to varying factors, both linguistic and extra-linguistic, and will be explored further below.

Terminology

The only term with current common currency among the Rusyn language movement for the proposed pan-Rusyn standard has been that of 'koiné'. This term is not entirely satisfactory (Pugh 2009: 8). It is usually employed to describe a form of compromise language which comes into existence from necessity following contact between speakers of two separate, but related, linguistic forms, and remains established in existence for as long as it serves its purpose. The term is generally first used in connection with the form of Greek used around the eastern Mediterranean as a lingua franca during the Roman period. Koiné languages typically arise where two closely related linguistic forms are spoken and where there is a functional niche leading to the development of a common form of speech (for example in trade) across linguistic or other boundaries. The koiné language is then available for use in the required circumstances without necessarily replacing the native speech of any party using the koiné.

In the Rusyn case, it is employed to describe the proposed common Rusyn written variant to be designed to foster a sense of common ethnic belonging across divergent linguistic communities, overlaying the four regional variants of the language. While a conventional koiné could arise within Rusyn, it is difficult to envisage how this might occur given the non-contiguous nature of Rusyn (particularly northern and southern forms) in terms of geography, political borders and the influence of state official

languages (principally Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian) and the restricted space in which intra-Rusyn communication takes place. The motive behind the Rusyn 'koiné' appears instead to be a desire on the part of the Rusyn movement to create a further unifying symbol of nationhood rather than to formalise a naturally occurring linguistic development.

The term 'koiné' has not been universally adopted for the name of any of the other languages which have adopted a similar approach, although the term is used by the *Servisc per la Planificazion y Elaborazion dl Lingaz Ladin* (the Ladin Language Planning Service, SPELL) to describe part of the function of Ladin Standard (Valentini, 2003). Rumantsch Grischun is termed a 'supra-regional written language' (Romansh: *lingua da scrittira surregiunala*) (Graubünden Canton, 2011); 'pan-Romansh written language' (Lia Rumantscha, 2009) (Romansh: *lingua da scrittira unifitgada rumantsch grischun*) and a 'standardised supra-regional language' (Romansh: lingua surregiunala unifitgada). Ladin Standard is described as a 'koiné interladina', while the auxiliary standards for Sardinian and Cornish are designated as 'Limba Sarda Comuna' (i.e. 'Common Sardinian Language') and 'Standard Written Form' respectively. The terms therefore vary from full 'language' (in the case of Sardinian) to a 'form' in the case of Cornish, although given the subjective nature of the concept of 'language' versus any sub-forms (dialect, variant, idiom, etc.), the claim for any or all of these standards to be considered as 'languages' would be unarguable. To cover the phenomenon of supplementary and ostensibly neutral written forms of diversified languages, the term 'auxiliary standard' is used henceforth.

If there is variety in the description of the auxiliary standards themselves in terms of function and identity in the four cases identified above (in addition to Rusyn), there is similar variety in the terms used for the diversity of the standards or sub-forms overlain by the auxiliary standard's *Dachsprache*. The term 'variant' appears to be

preferred for Rusyn in material produced by the Rusyn movement dealing with linguistic issues. The term 'language' is still very much in evidence. Where it is necessary to make a distinction or for clarity, I adopt the term 'regional standard' here to describe the forms of Rusyn standardised in the Lemko and Prešov regions, in Vojvodina and also, in prospect, in the Transcarpathian Region and in Hungary. The term 'standard' appears preferable to 'language' which may be used to encapsulate the entire Rusyn linguistic system from non-standardised spoken forms (for example in the western Prešov region and in Romania) through the regional standards to the proposed auxiliary standards.

The use of various terms for regional standards (or non-regional equivalents in the case of Cornish) underscores a hierarchical view of those languages which have adopted the auxiliary standard approach. The table below illustrates the terminology in place for each such language (sources are Gross (2004) for Romansh, Valentini (2003) for Ladin, Regione Autonome della Sardegna (1997) for Sardinian and Cornish Language Partnership (2008) for Cornish):

Table 4 - Auxiliary Standards: Terminology of Nomenclature

Language	*Regional Standard*	*Auxiliary Standard*
Rusyn	Variant	Koiné, obščerusîns'kyj jazyk, cilorusîns'kyj jazyk.
Romansh	Idiom, traditional written form	Rumantsch Grischun; supra-regional written language (lingua da

		scrittira surregiunala)
		pan-Romansh written language (lingua da scrittira unifitgada rumantsch grischun)
		standardised supra-regional language (lingua surregiunala unifitgada)
Ladin	Idiom, Variants regionales	Ladin Standard; koiné interladina
Sardinian	Varianti locali	Limba Sarda Comuna
Cornish	variety variant	Standard Written Form

Given appropriate circumstances, this hierarchy could be interpreted as a model of linguistic replacement, with a vertical pressure from the auxiliary standard on the regional standard(s) and then the dialects to produce a more levelled linguistic form. For this to take place it would require the adoption and promulgation as a matter of policy, whether adopted consciously or otherwise, of the auxiliary standard by users under the influence of institutions, particularly the state (including in education), the media and the private sector, in much the same way as prestige standard languages influence speech and restrict the vitality of non-standard forms.

<u>Names of Auxiliary Standards</u>

The names of current auxiliary standards are interesting in themselves for the information they reveal about the intent behind them. Romansh and Ladin (in the former term 'Ladin Dolomitan') emphasise the broader geographical extent of the language, appealing to speakers to recognise the auxiliary standard as belonging to a wider region, rather than a specific location which would be the realm of the existing local idiom or variant. One analysis could be that the terms have been selected to ensure that speakers do not perceive the new auxiliary standard to be designed to function in the same space as the native idioms, whose names at least in Romansh (Surmiran, Surselvan, Sutselvan, Vallader and Puter), reflect the locality of the language rather than the politico-geographical regional term of 'Grischun'.

The use of the term 'Ladin Standard' contains within it an indication of the function of the auxiliary standard. A conclusion may be drawn from the use of this term that other, pre-existing, Ladin idioms are not to be considered as 'standard' with the implication or inference possible that they are to be considered somehow 'substandard'. It is interesting to note that acceptance among the speech community of Rumantsch Grischun varies and is far from universal (Leybold-Johnson, 2006). Part of the reluctance to embrace the auxiliary standard may be attributable to the artificial nature of such standards (although many national standard languages originated from similar artificial constructs developed for extra-linguistic reasons), but feelings that the auxiliary standard may actually supplant the natural idioms may also be behind this.

The intentions behind Limba Sarda Comuna and the Standard Written Form of Cornish appear less ambiguous. The Cornish example is specific in that its auxiliary standard

is a written form which implies it is not intended to supplant any spoken form of Cornish. The Sardinian example uses the term '*limba*' ('language') in a way which may be calculated to raise the prestige of Sardinian and grant recognition of it as a language on equal terms with Italian and that the language is intended to be inclusive ('*comuna*'). The creation of Limba Sarda Comuna supersedes an earlier attempt at creating an auxiliary standard, Limba Sarda Unificada (which conveys the implication of rejecting non-unifying forms, in a way in which '*comuna*' perhaps does not) which was rejected by some speakers of southern Sardinian dialects (SLITW refers). Whether Limba Sarda Comuna can succeed where Limba Sarda Unificada did not remains to be seen.

The Rusyn auxiliary standard is most commonly referred to either as a 'koiné' or a 'norm'. The most common descriptor for the auxiliary standard is '*общерусиньский*' (*obščerusîn'skyj*) or '*цілорусиньский*' (*cilorusîn'skyj*) (i.e., common Rusyn or all-Rusyn). In this the nomenclature most resembles that adopted for Limba Sarda Comuna, in that it emphasises commonality and inclusion rather than differentiation between the auxiliary standard and any existing regional standards. This choice in name (however informally adopted) appears to support the rationale for the intention to create a Rusyn auxiliary standard as adopted at the first Rusyn language congress and re-endorsed at subsequent ones.

Motivation for Creation of Auxiliary Standards

Rusyn stands apart, in terms of its proposed auxiliary standard, from the examples cited above in that the impetus for the creation of auxiliary standards in Switzerland, Italy and the UK originates in national or local authority. The creation of the auxiliary standard eases the practical acknowledgement by the authorities of the linguistic rights of a particular community (and in the interests of meeting obligations under the

ECRML in the case of states which are members of the Council of Europe) but in such a way that the administrative overheads of the authority are minimised in such cases where the linguistic community is fragmented, i.e. the state or local authority is dealing with one community but has to contend with several languages or linguistic varieties. The creation of the auxiliary standard is initiated from outside the language community and at best involves collaboration between members of the community and outside experts to produce an auxiliary standard with a reasonable prospect of adoption. The interest of the language community is served by meeting the desire of the authority for a simpler linguistic scenario (ideally the adoption of single form) and with that the facilitation of state support for a language and language community. The administrative origin of such an auxiliary standard is made explicit, for example in the case of Limba Sarda Comuna (Regione Autonome della Sardegna, 2006), and the development of the Standard Written Form for Cornish was co-ordinated by the Cornish Language Partnership, an initiative funded by the UK government. In the case of Rusyn, the impetus for the creation of the auxiliary standard has come entirely from within the community, although the decision was driven by the agreement at the first Rusyn language congress in 1992 which was organised by a collective of Rusyn academics, linguists, historians, journalists and writers from all Rusyn-speaking areas, without direct state support, and informed by the Swiss experience (Stegherr, 2003: 245-52). It should be noted that in no country is there more than one Rusyn standard in use, meaning that administrative authorities in Slovakia, Serbia, Poland, etc. would have little interest in supporting the development of a Rusyn auxiliary standard in contrast to the position with Romansh or Ladin where several standards are used within individual countries or regions by the Romansh or Ladin communities.

Factors favouring the creation of the auxiliary standard are several. They can be of a linguistic or extra-linguistic nature and can be summarised as follows: linguistic difference between variants is not so great as to impede a viable auxiliary standard

which is intelligible and recognisable to its intended users; no one variant is dominant over any other; a will exists on the part of users of the language, state or local authority institutions, and private entities (including those in the arts) for the creation of an auxiliary standard and practical means by which this can be converted into activity exist and a functional niche for the auxiliary standard should exist to provide a requirement for its creation.

Significantly, perhaps, the examples cited of auxiliary standards in Europe all relate to auxiliary standards created for use within one country (and therefore for the space between citizens and one style of authority, or between administrative units and citizens). Several other language communities exist in Europe where one might expect some moves towards unification or consolidation of linguistic identity through the creation of an auxiliary standard, but in each case one or more of the factors discussed above are not present. Some suggested factors in the case of several languages where there is closer unity in linguistic or ethnic self-identification than there is in actual relationship of the language forms themselves might be:

Table 5 - Summary of Factors Preventing Emergence of Auxiliary Standards in Frisian, Sami and Sorbian

Language	Territory	Impediments
Frisian	Netherlands, Germany (not contiguously)	Linguistic distance between dialects, more than one state involved.

Sami	Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia	Linguistic distance between dialects, more than one state involved. Varying language laws.
Sorbian	Germany	Linguistic distance between established language variants. State committed to supporting both. Used in different Länder.

Some examples of the linguistic distance between various standards of Frisian and Sami using examples of some basic vocabulary items to illustrate the challenge posed to any attempt at unification and production of a single Frisian or Sami norm are given in Appendix C.

The Proposed Rusyn Auxiliary Standard

Having considered the general question of the creation of auxiliary standards elsewhere, the following examines some aspects of the creation of an auxiliary standard in the case of Rusyn. One of the key challenges facing the Rusyn auxiliary standard is to secure sufficient support from both the Rusyn speaking populace and the several states in which Rusyn speakers live to the extent that both the nascent regional standards and the proposed Rusyn auxiliary standard are able to develop and prosper as viable living languages.

The first Rusyn language congress of 1992 set out the creation of the auxiliary standard as a commitment in its manifesto. At that time, there were no literary standards in place (other than in Vojvodina Rusyn) on which to base such an auxiliary standard but a recognition of the proximity of spoken forms in Rusyn in the contiguous speech area in Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine would certainly have provided assurance that the enterprise would be feasible. Less clear is the extent to which it would be possible to adopt features of the Vojvodina standard into the proposed Rusyn auxiliary standard given its linguistic affiliation to West Slavonic (Lunt; Bidwell).   Indeed, indications are that Vojvodina Rusyn is considered to be excluded from the process, not solely on grounds of linguistic structure, but also because it is considered to be a well-founded standard language (Dulichenko, 2008: 21), although Magocsi is clear that Vojvodina Rusyn was to be considered as part of the process of designing the koiné as a standard 'common to all regions' (Magocsi, 1996: 38).   Examination of the differences between Vojvodina Rusyn in comparison with northern Rusyn standards is considered in this study to illustrate the point that Rusyn should be considered as consisting of at least two distinct language groups of West and East Slavonic affiliation respectively.

Since the agreement on the creation of the Rusyn auxiliary standard, progress on establishing it in terms of corpus planning has been slow. Indeed, laying the ground for the provision of the auxiliary standard and re-asserting the original intention to develop such a standard might lead to the impression that status planning is at a more advanced stage than corpus planning as far as the creation of the auxiliary standard is concerned. The following addresses some issues of corpus planning for the new auxiliary standard, followed by some observations on status planning.

Since the first Rusyn language congress agreed on the plan to create a Rusyn auxiliary standard at the same time as the creation of local standards, work on the development of the former has been patchy, although it has remained on the agenda of subsequent congresses. The issues in question in creation of the auxiliary standard involve orthography, morphology and lexis. In many ways, the question of standardisation of the spoken language belongs as much to the status planning field as it does to the corpus planning, where in the case of Rusyn, the issues at question involve the pronunciation of [o] in final syllables and word stress.

The process of creating standards in each of Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine is an exercise in selection among often competing dialectal forms in order to construct a standard which satisfies as many users as possible. This exercise culminates in standardisation and codification. The end result has seen the least dissent in Poland among the Lemko population and some dissent in Slovakia from adherents of other dialects, features of which have been felt to be insufficiently reflected in the standard. In Slovakia, changes to the orthography in 2005 have yet to be successful in assuaging the dissenters (Vaňko, 2008: 15-24). The process, as we have seen, has not yet reached a conclusion in Ukraine. At the same time, instability in the standards particularly in Slovakia provides an additional challenge of an uncertain foundation on which to construct an auxiliary standard.

The creation of auxiliary standards is a repeat of the exercise in which the local standards were created, which brings with it the challenge of finding ways of reflecting enough of the local standards in the end result so that the auxiliary standard is accepted by as many Rusyn speakers as possible, while still retaining a logical and cohesive structure to preserve its unity. The Norwegian option of the co-existence of two principle forms of a language (Bokmål and Nynorsk), each with their own sub-variants and permissible morphological alternatives, contained within the

concept of 'Norwegian language' does not appear to have been considered an option by the Rusyn language planners. English may offer a closer parallel, with British, American and Australian, etc. variants all used in different communities, but co-existing under the umbrella of English.

The process of selecting forms, and agreeing compromises to effect standardisation to be used as the basis for codification and propagation for extra-linguistic purposes, is indeed the process through which many languages, and in particular those Slavonic languages codified from the 19th century on, have been created. The survival of Slavonic regional languages following the creation of national standard languages appears limited to the use of such languages in narrow functional spheres (for example poetry and 'dialect' writing). Perhaps only Burgenland Croatian can claim to have taken its place as a fully realised regional standard.

Rusyn is effectively carrying out the process twice – once to agree regional standards on the basis of the spoken Rusyn dialects, and once again to create the auxiliary standard on the basis of the regional standards. This is quite a significant piece of activity for a small and fragmented speech community which is still attaining its linguistic and ethnic confidence.

An alternative option might, as Pugh (2009: 18) suggests, be for the adoption, with appropriate modifications, of one of the existing standards. Prešov Rusyn, based as it is on transitional dialects between the western and eastern forms, might serve as a logical choice from a strictly linguistic point of view, but the influence of Slovak in that standard may require to be tempered if it were to become acceptable to Rusyns outside Slovakia and several features of this standard have been unpopular even among Rusyns of Slovakia (Vaňko, 2008: 18).

Corpus Planning for the Rusyn Auxiliary Standard

Corpus planning describes the activities necessary to design a language in terms of its orthography, grammar and lexicon. Accompanying activities therefore include the production of written grammars, dictionaries and so forth. Corpus planning for the Rusyn auxiliary standard is in a nascent state. Although the creation of the auxiliary standard was agreed on at the first Rusyn language congress in 1992 progress has been slow in developing the auxiliary standard, with most attention focused on the need to develop the regional standards.

The most recent Rusyn language congress, held in Krakow in September 2007 devoted a session to the subject of the Rusyn auxiliary standard in which themes were discussed such as convergence in orthography, Rusyn linguistic terminology and a work written in a proposed auxiliary standard. The resolution of the congress (Plišková, 2008b: 233-5) contained undertakings to:

i) work towards the convergence of the alphabets used in the separate variants of Rusyn;

ii) agree on common principles for the writing of personal and geographic names;

iii) agree on a common norm for the transliteration of Rusyn into the Roman script to facilitate internet usage of the language and

iv) (as first practical steps to the development of an auxiliary standard), develop a common scientific terminology and graphical system.

The resolution suggests a scaling back in ambition for the creation of an auxiliary standard, or at the very least the acknowledgement of the need to adopt and maintain an incremental approach to its creation. The following sections explore some of the issues beyond these which will require to be addressed for the successful creation (and propagation) of a Rusyn auxiliary standard.

Orthography

The orthographies adopted for the Rusyn standards are in the main conservative and non-innovative. The inclusion of characters not found in any of standard Ukrainian, Russian or Belarusian is restricted to proposals (other than Kerča et al.'s) for the Transcarpathian Rusyn. Etymological principles in the creation of the standards for Lemko and Prešov Rusyn have been adopted[27] by the architects of both variants who, in contrast with the architects of any of the Transcarpathian proposals, are professional linguists. Vojvodina Rusyn's orthography is consciously based on that of standard Ukrainian, reflecting its founder, Kostel'nik's, contention that the language forms the south-westernmost Ukrainian dialect.

This conservatism is not observed in some other Slavonic regional or minority languages, or language projects where the intention appears to be to distance the minority language from its 'parent' language as much as possible while also reflecting a close analysis of the spoken form (rather than the etymological or historical basis for the given language). For example, Rezian includes the following characters absent from standard Slovene: <ä, ć, ë, ğ, ġ, ï, ö, ü>. Võru (a form of south Estonian) adopts <q> to represent the glottal stop – a letter not present in standard Estonian

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[27] Not without criticism from fellow linguists. See Vaňko (2008: 15-24) and as discussed above.

orthography, or other Baltic Finnic languages. These latter efforts appear to serve the purpose of emphasising the 'differentness' of the new language at the immediate visible level. In Rusyn there appears to have been no need for such innovation as the Cyrillic alphabet provides in both its Russian and Ukrainian variants sufficient resources for the adequate representation of Rusyn.

No Rusyn regional standard yet created contains an exactly identical orthography to any other. This is an outcome of the tension between the policy (agreed at the first Rusyn language congress) of creating regional standards on the basis of spoken forms in each Rusyn territory, while at the same time presenting the creation of these standards as forming part of a cohesive programme of language planning across all Rusyn areas. The lack of orthographical agreement has been identified – undoubtedly correctly - as a challenge to Rusyn unification in the auxiliary standard by Magocsi and Jabur (Magocsi, 2004: 12; Jabur, 2008: 57-62). The orthographies of each standard are shown in Appendix A, which includes details of the transliteration scheme used in this study (based on that recommended for Prešov Rusyn). With no currently agreed standard in Ukraine, included here is the proposal by Kerča (Kerča 2004) which, as Pugh notes (2009: 10), may be considered the *de facto* if not *de jure* standard for Transcarpathian Ukraine and which is, in any case, the most accessible variant of all those proposed for use in the Transcarpathian Region.

Normal alphabetic order (taken from the standards as described) varies from variant to variant and is as follows:

Prešov: а б в г ґ д е є ё ж з і ї и ы й к л м н о п р с т у ф х ц ч ш щ ю я ь ъ

Lemko: а б в г ґ д е є ж з і и ы й к л м н о п р с т у ф х ц ч ш щ ю я ь ъ

Transcarpathian: а б в г ґ д е є ё ж з и і ï й к л м н о п р с т у ф х ц ч ш щ ы ь ю я[28]

Vojvodina: а б в г ґ д е є ж з и ï й к л м н о п р с т у ф х ц ч ш щ ю я ь

As can be seen from the above and the comparative table in Appendix A, there is uniformity across all variants in terms of representation of consonants. The principle divergences exist in the vowel system and in the use of the soft and hard signs, and it is on these areas that effort at convergence is likely to concentrate if the goal of an auxiliary standard is to be attained. The only detailed analysis of the situation currently available is by the Slovak Rusyn Vasiľ Jabur (Jabur, 2007: 7-10) in which he discusses options for inclusion or exclusion of various characters to and from the three northern Rusyn variants. The object of Jabur's article would appear to be the creation of a unified orthography for each of these three variants in order to facilitate the creation of an auxiliary standard which could be used by northern Rusyns. Rusyn language planners would have to consider carefully the merit of orthographic disruption to Lemko and Prešov Rusyn (where the orthographic reform carried out in 2005 has met with criticism), particularly given the still tentative progress in consolidating and embedding the standards in the education systems.

Within northern Rusyn itself, there is an additional layer of complexity in vowels. Where Lemko and Prešov Rusyn agree on vowel phonemes (although Lemko does not share with Prešov Rusyn the letter <ï> to indicate iotated i, relying instead on <i> to perform this function), one of the impediments to the creation of an agreed standard

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[28] Kerča (2007) adds the hard sign <ъ> to the alphabet used for his dictionary.

for use in Transcarpathian Ukraine is the divergence among local dialects in vowels, a divergence which is reflected in provision for this in each of the proposed standards. This is most clearly seen in the masculine genitive plural form where the Kerča standard has –*ув*, but where others (still in Ukraine) have *-ÿв* or –*ів*. A compromise position for this situation was proposed in Pankevich's grammar of 1934 through the adoption of the convention of using the character <ô> in any circumstances where there was dialectal variation in pronunciation and Magocsi has recommended the practice be adopted again for any standard in Transcarpathian Ukraine (Magocsi [no date]). In other words, speakers would pronounce <ô> as phonetic [u], [y] or [i] according to preference and dialect[29]. While this may indeed provide a workable solution to resolving an issue currently preventing agreement on standardisation in Transcarpathian Ukraine, it is unlikely to find a place in any Rusyn auxiliary standard given that speakers of Lemko and Prešov Rusyn are unlikely to recognise the requirement for an additional character, particularly one which is to be used in the masculine genitive plural ending where the ending –*ів* is unproblematic. The use of the endings *-ув/-ÿв* appears to indicate the intention to reflect specific features of the spoken language in Transcarpathian Ukraine, but this in turn presents an opportunity for visible differentiation from standard Ukrainian in the only territory where the principle influence on the spoken and written Rusyn language comes from a fellow East Slavonic language. This situation supports Nikitin's observations (2006: 64-70) on language contact as driver for linguistic distancing by planners of Slavonic microlanguages.

The question raised by Jabur is whether further orthographic convergence should take place between and be put into effect in existing standards, or whether convergence efforts should be focused on the auxiliary standard. It is clear that further convergence among standards proposed for Transcarpathian Ukraine is a pre-requisite

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[29] There are parallels elsewhere for conventions of this type. For example, Breton employs the digraph <zh> which is used for a phoneme pronounced [z] by speakers of the Kerneveg, Leoneg and Tregerieg dialects, and [h] by speakers of the Gwenedeg (Vannes) dialect.

for agreement on and adoption of a standard there. A second question is whether convergence could take place between the two more established northern standards, Lemko and Prešov Rusyn. The fact that Prešov Rusyn underwent an orthographic reform in 2005 where Lemko did not suggests a lack of co-ordination between planners in Slovakia and Poland. The reform, as noted above, has not been without controversy among Slovak Rusyn speakers. In justifying the reform, arguments by Jabur and Plišková (the two architects of the reform) have focused more on the requirement to reflect, as accurately as possible, Rusyn phonemes. This approach has been criticised as unnecessary and potentially confusing in practice by Vaňko (who also cites extralinguistic factors in his argument with the direction of travel in Rusyn language planning (Vaňko, 2008: 15-24)). Putting aside consideration of the merits of the arguments on either side (extralinguistic factors are discussed below), it is perhaps indicative of the lack of transnational planning that an opportunity was not taken to effect a reform of both variants' orthographies to produce unity between these two variants which may have resulted in a stronger basis on which to build an auxiliary standard (or indeed a single standard to replace rather than supplement the regional standards).

The question of a transliteration system into Roman script is one identified in the resolution to the third Rusyn language congress of September 2007. Rusyn is a minority language in countries where the dominant language is written in Roman script (Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Croatia, Romania) and where the Cyrillic script is used for the state language (Ukraine, Serbia). Of all the standards currently developed, only in Prešov Rusyn has there been any attempt at developing a standard transliteration scheme from Cyrillic to Roman script.

The scheme proposed by Jabur and Plišková (2005: 41-3) is slightly complex, in that one to one transliteration is preferred for certain letters while the Roman forms of

others depends on the context in which they are used. No reference appears to be made to any commonly used transliteration scheme or standards, such as ISO9 or the Library of Congress system. As might be expected, the transliteration scheme follows Slovak conventions for the representation of consonants (<щ> is <šč>). Iotated vowels are represented with an initial j- when in word-initial position, after vowels, hard consonants (other than <д т н л с з р ц>) and the soft and hard signs. In all other positions they are represented with an initial '-. Thus *єден* '*jeden*', *моя* '*moja*', *одъїсти* '*odjistî*', but *волося* '*volos'a*', *дїти* '*d'itî*'. The vowels <i>, <и> and <ы> are respectively transliterated as <i>, <î> and <y>. There is little evidence of the use of this system of Romanisation in practice.

While the adoption of a transliteration system based on the system of consonant representation adopted for Prešov Rusyn, and which is broadly common to Slovak and Croatian, would be likely to be unproblematic for Rusyns in Slovakia, Serbia and Croatia, the scheme may be unacceptable to Rusyns in Poland where a system more orientated to Polish with its digraphic representations of <cz>, <sz>, <szcz> may be sought by Lemkos (although there is no data supporting this conjecture).

In summary, orthographic unity as a basis for creation of a Rusyn auxiliary standard is impeded by the foundation of the individual regional standards on features present in the spoken dialects of each region which may not be present in other Rusyn regions, by the need for differentiation from standard Ukrainian which may be mostly keenly felt in Transcarpathian Ukraine, and by a lack of a co-ordinated language planning authority with executive functions operating across borders. A further factor is the positions adopted by language planners which can appear to lay more weight on reflecting etymological principles in the regional standard at the expense of practical use by non-linguist speakers. This features most prominently among linguists within

the Prešov Rusyn community with Jabur and Vaňko representing the respective points of view.

Morphology

Morphological differences between the regional standards are, as might be expected, greater in quantity than orthographical differences. The regional standards themselves have yet to attain sufficient internal stability in their morphology or authority to prescribe the use of certain forms and currently permit a degree of variability and choice of form. Some examples are given below of intra- and inter-Rusyn variability to demonstrate some of the issues which will require to be overcome by any Rusyn auxiliary standard. Note that these are intended to be illustrative only: a detailed account can be found in Pugh 2009.

Personal Pronouns

The declension of the first person singular personal pronoun in Lemko and Prešov Rusyn is as follows:

Table 6 - Comparison of First Person Pronoun Declension in Lemko and Prešov Variants

	Lemko	*Prešov*
Nominative	*я*	*я*
Accusative	*мене мя ня мня*	*мене ня*

Genitive	мене мя ня мня	мене ня
Dative	мі	менї мі
Instrumental	мном	мнов
Locative	мнï	менï мі

The authors of the Lemko grammar are silent on the differences between the various forms for the accusative/genitive, but it is reasonable to infer from comparison with the Prešov standard (Jabur and Plišková, 2005: 57) that *мя ня мня* represent short unstressed forms. The choice of form in Lemko may represent a lack of standardisation, as noted by Dulichenko (2006: 138) who views the choice of form in Lemko as representing a lack of standardisation; it may equally be viewed as a standard which allows variation along the lines Vaňko has sought for Prešov Rusyn.

The obvious divergence in form between the two (for example in the instrumental) reflects the different dialect bases on which the standards were constructed with Lemko representing the western dialect group and Prešov being based on transitional dialects between the western and eastern groups. Again, this reflects the decision to base standards on living dialects rather than to create standards within each country which are capable of artificially transcending dialect boundaries.

Table 7 - Comparison of First Person Pronoun Declension in Transcarpathian and Vojvodina Variants

	Transcarpathian (Kerča)	*Vojvodina*
Nominative	я	я
Accusative	мене ня	мнє ме
Genitive	мене ня	мнє ме
Dative	менї ми	мнє мі
Instrumental	мнов	мну
Locative	менї	мнє

The Kerča proposal for Transcarpathian Rusyn differs little from the Prešov standard in terms of the example cited above. This is unsurprising given the dialect base used for Prešov Rusyn and the influence Kerča consciously allowed for the development of their proposal. Unsurprisingly also given its West Slavonic origins, Vojvodina Rusyn differs more extensively, in this as in all areas, from the northern varieties.

As can be seen from the tables, Transcarpathian Rusyn in Kerča's variant appears not to consistently permit short forms of personal pronouns across the same cases as Prešov and Lemko. Some internal agreement among the northern forms would be required for the auxiliary standard.

Noun Declension

Noun declension also sees variety among the standard forms. This illustrated, for example, by the declension of the regular feminine noun in hard consonant +*a* (singular and plural forms are listed for each case):

Table 8 - Comparison of Declension of Feminine Nouns in Hard Stems in Lemko and Prešov Rusyn

	Lemko	Prešov
Nominative	*робота – роботы*	*стїна – стїны*
Accusative	*роботу - роботы*	*стїну - стїны*
Genitive	*роботы – робот*	*стїны - стїн*
Dative	*роботі - роботам*	*стїнї - стїнам*
Instrumental	*роботом - роботами*	*стїнов - стїнами*
Locative	*роботі - роботах*	*стїнї – стїнах*

Table 9 - Comparison of Declension of Feminine Nouns in Hard Stems in Transcarpathian and Vojvodina Rusyn

	Transcarpathian	*Vojvodina*
Nominative	*стіна – стіны*	*школа - школи*
Accusative	*стіну - стіны*	*школу - школи*
Genitive	*стіны – стін*	*школи - школох*
Dative	*стіні - стінам*	*школи - школом*
Instrumental	*стінов - стінами*	*школу - школами*
Locative	*стіні - стінах*	*школи - школах*

The examples above demonstrate more internal stability than the personal pronouns but highlight differences between the varieties, particularly grouping the three northern varieties in opposition to the Vojvodina standard. The disagreement between the northern varieties (in this particular declension) is fairly minimal and centres on the form of the instrumental singular (*-ов* in Prešov and Transcarpathian and *–ом* in Lemko) and the lack in Lemko (in contrast again with Prešov and Transcarpathian) of the character <ï>. In terms of this one narrow example, the differences between these forms would appear to be surmountable in an auxiliary standard which unified northern Rusyn forms. As ever the divergence of Vojvodina is evident (with its characteristic genitive plural ending *–ox* (employed here also in the feminine and neuter) – a feature shared with certain eastern Slovak dialects (Krajčovič, 1988: 291), in what has been cited as definitive evidence of Vojvodina Rusyn's West Slavonic origins (Lunt).

Linguistic Terminology

As discussed above, one of the early outputs from the first Rusyn language congress of 1992 was a proposal for the establishment of a common linguistic terminology for all future Rusyn regional standards (i.e. not the Vojvodina standard), the product of work conducted by the Slovak Rusyn Juraj Paňko ('Rusyn-Russian-Ukrainian-Slovak-Polish Dictionary of Linguistic Terms', Prešov 1994). The task of re-asserting common linguistic terminology is evident in the resolution to this effect from the 2007 congress. The experience with linguistic terminology, as a system designed for pan-Rusyn purposes, seems to suggest, as far as work on the new standards is concerned (i.e. other than Vojvodina), that incorporation of pan-Rusyn aspects has been undertaken largely by language planners in Slovakia. Indeed, the pan-Rusyn question is addressed explicitly by Jabur and Plišková in the revised Prešov Rusyn standard:

'(д)алшый проблем реалізації змін вывставав і вывставає [.......] ці брати до увагы тзв. цілорусиньскый язык, інакше повіджене – ці брати огляд на іншы варіанты русиньского языка (підкарпатьскый і лемківскый), або позерати на нашу норму лем з нашого аспекту. Бо хто добрї познать нашы правила, так знає, же мы там маєме дакілько одказів на тзв. цілорусиньскый аспект. Кідь го не будеме брати до увагы, роздїлы міджі нашыма нормами ся будуть збівшовати'[30] (Jabur and Plišková, 2005: 5).

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[30] 'A further problem in the realisation of changes was and remains [.....] whether to take into consideration the so-called pan-Rusyn language, or to put it another way, whether to bring into consideration other Rusyn language variants (Transcarpathian and Lemko), or just to consider our [i.e. the Prešov Rusyn] norm from our own perspective. Whoever knows our Rules well, knows that we have several references to the so-called pan-Rusyn aspect. If we do not take this into account, the differences between our norms will increase'.

('dalšyj problem realizaciji zmin vystavav i vyvstavaje [.......] ci bratî do uvahy tzv. cilorusîn'skyj jazyk, inakše povidžene – ci braty ohl'ad na inšy variant rusîn'skoho jazyk (pidkarpat'skyj i lemkivskyj), abo pozeratî na našu normu lem z našoho aspektu. Bo chto dobr'i poznat' našy pravyla, tak znaje, že my tam majeme dakil'ko odkaziv na tzv. cilorusîn'skyj aspekt. Kid' ho ne budeme bratî do uvahy, rozd'ily midži našyma normamy s'a budut' zbivšovatî').

By contrast, the focus of Fontański and Chomiak's Lemko grammar of 2000 appears to be solely on creation of a standard for Lemkos within Poland, and bears little evidence of considerations such as those expressed by Jabur and Plišková on designing a regional standard with one eye on the goal of convergence of regional standards in the interests of creating an auxiliary standard. Fontański has himself expressed scepticism on the likelihood of the development of a Rusyn auxiliary standard in any meaningful way, for example stating in an interview with the pan-Rusyn magazine '*Rusîn*':

'ідея єдиного русиньского язык є єдна річ, але конкретна реалность – друга ...... (я)зык мать служыти на комунікацію, а я єм в тім вопросї скептічный'[31] (Trochanovskij, 2006).

('ideja jedînoho rusîn'skoho jazyk je jedna rič, ale konkretna realnost' – druha ..... jazyk mat' služytî na komunikaciju, a ja jem v tim vopros'i skeptičnyj')

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[31] 'The idea of a single Rusyn language is one thing, but the concrete reality is another...(l)anguage must serve [as a tool for] communication and I am sceptical about this question'.

'*Народ нивыдки*' as an example of a pan-Rusyn standard

In 2007, a translation of an illustrated history of the Carpathian Rusyns by Magocsi was published by Valeriy Padyak, a leading publisher of Rusyn language books and pamphlets in Uzhhorod under the name '*Народ нивыдки: ілустрована історія карпаторусинôв*' ('*Narod nîvydkî: ilustrovana istorija karpatorusînôv*') ('*The People from Nowhere – an illustrated history of the Carpatho-Rusyns*'). This work was translated from English into an attempted common form of Rusyn. The title itself reveals the use of <ô> in circumstances where different variants would use <i> or <y> (see above).

Aspects of the language form adopted for '*Народ нивыдки*' have been analysed by Plišková and were presented to the third Rusyn language congress (Plišková, 2008b: 219-32). Plišková's intention appears to be twofold. Firstly to identify features which could be unproblematically included in the future auxiliary standard and secondly to criticise elements in '*Народ нивыдки*' which, in her view, are not authentically Rusyn either from a historical standpoint or as examples of foreign elements. Plišková observes that the requirement for a standard form of Rusyn in Ukraine has not been achieved owing to the lack of direct involvement by professional linguists. Statements of this sort suggest some competition for leadership within the Rusyn language movement and a tension between professional linguists and others with an interest in the language but without a formal linguistic background. The article also reveals a tension in approach to linguistic design between the historical (or etymological) approach on the one hand, and an approach which values the current status of the language as used by its speakers, including recognition (or non-repudiation) of non-Rusyn elements (generally Russian and Ukrainian) on the other. This tension will require resolving as much as any linguistic question in developing the auxiliary standard, raising as it does questions of authority in language design, which

in turn poses the question of the extent to which tight prescription is a valid policy in language planning in the present day, a point made by Vaňko in his critique of the approach taken in Rusyn standardisation, largely with reference to Slovakia:

'[С]кусености зо штандардізації дакотрих языків .... указують, же в сучасній постмодерній добі яка ся вызначує змыслом про розмаїтость, плуралітность і розділность, при штандардізації языка не мож уплатнёвати такы поступы, якы ся поужывали при штандардізації языків у ранім періоді модернізації...'³² (Vaňko, 2008: 15-24).

('skusenostî zo štandardizaciji dakotrych jazykiv .... ukazujut', že v sučasnij postmodernij dobi jaka s'a vyznačuje zmyslom pro rozmajitost', pluralitnost' i rozd'ilnost', prî štandardizaciji jazyka ne mož uplatn'ovatî taky postupy, jaky s'a používalî prî štandardizaciji jazykiv y ranim period'i modernizaciji').

Plišková's analysis is interesting in that she highlights some areas of inconsistency within the language used for '*Народ нивыдки*'. For example, forms for the present tense third person plural form appear mostly to end in depalatalised consonants (-*ут*, -*йут*), while the copula is used in the form *суть*, indicating a lack of consistent rules even within a work, one of the intentions of which is to set out a basis for a common Rusyn language (Plišková, 2008b: 227).

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³² 'Attempts at standardisation in several languages … suggest, that in the current post-modern era which recognises the concept of variation, plurality and difference, in the standardisation of languages such measures cannot be introduced which were used in an earlier period of modernisation'.

Status Planning for the Rusyn Auxiliary Standard

Status planning is a commonly identified component of language planning. It differs from corpus planning (planning about language) and is concerned with planning about the language's place in society. Some authorities include a third phase in addition to these of 'language in education'. This field has attracted some attention by Rusyn language planners, but not yet for the auxiliary standard given the early stage of its development.

In terms of status planning for the auxiliary standard, and while the corpus planning is still at an early phase, the only development worthy of note is the establishment at the third Rusyn language congress in 2007 of an Inter-regional Rusyn Language Council. This development saw the appointment to this Council of representatives of each of the Rusyn speaking areas (with the apparent exception of Romania) as well as a number of non-Rusyn Slavists as specialists in the field. The declared purpose of the council is the resolution of outstanding linguistic questions raised at the third congress, implicit in this is the development of the Rusyn auxiliary standard. At time of writing, no concrete outputs have yet emerged from the work of the council but its existence mirrors in some respects the collaboration between native speakers and non-native speaker specialist linguists which led to the creation of Rumantsch Grischun, Ladin Standard and the Standard Written Form of Cornish.

The challenges to be faced by the council will include resolution of both linguistic and extra-linguistic problems in the establishment of, among other things, the Rusyn auxiliary standard. Resolution of linguistic issues may prove easier than establishing the auxiliary standard in reality. The experience of similar communities elsewhere will be instructive. Two effects of the introduction of auxiliary standard for Romansh and Ladin in Switzerland and Italy respectively have been a reaction by sections of

the community (and representative institutions) against the auxiliary standard and increasing preference by the state only to use the auxiliary standard in interaction with the linguistic community, thereby perhaps heightening the concerns of adherents of particular idioms over the vulnerability of the prospects of the longer-term survival of particular regional standards. A further effect of the latter appears to be the concentration of use of the regional standards as a means by which to assert the regional identity in a local context, rather than as a general means of communication in all possible functional spheres. Indeed the main non-governmental organisation favouring the spread of Rumantsch Grischun acknowledges these concerns and effects (Gross, 2004: 96).

The Romansh case presents most evidence of the effect of implementation of an auxiliary standard on users of regional standards and portrays a situation where the auxiliary standard is most enthusiastically promulgated by national and local government, and most resisted by those with a particular attachment to local traditions. The situation in Switzerland is still on the path to resolution. One possible outcome is a form of diglossia where the auxiliary standard is used exclusively by institutions, typically federal and cantonal government, while the area of functionality of the regional standard becomes increasingly limited to literature and local tradition. There are indeed indications that this is official policy in Switzerland. The tension between those promoting the auxiliary standard and its more or less mandatory use in interaction with the state and other institutions and those who remain partisans of the regional standard is likely to be stronger where there is a more established regional standard and a history of local adoption and use.

Rusyn is still several steps away from the Romansh experience. The regional standards, outside the immediate Rusyn language movement, appear still too immature to have attracted the loyalty evident particularly in Switzerland to local

forms developed over the course of several centuries. It remains to be seen whether Rusyn speakers will be as partisan as their Romansh equivalents given the peculiarly localised nature of identities in Switzerland. Outside the immediate community, disengaged states leave the ground clear for activity by Rusyn language organisations, but their limited resources and the apparently limited intended range of function for the Rusyn auxiliary standard suggest that the Rusyn auxiliary standard may face more obstacles to acceptance than either Rumantsch Grischun or Ladin Standard. These same factors also affect the acceptance of Rusyn regional standards and it is perhaps the case that most attention will be focused on the resolving questions of stability and use of these before it is turned to the Rusyn auxiliary standard – a question of prioritising necessities over desirables.

Conclusion

The requirements for the creation of an auxiliary standard are both linguistic and extra-linguistic. The linguistic requirements are that the regional standards must not be too divergent and must contain sufficient commonalities for the construction of a sound auxiliary standard. By the same token, a certain distance must exist between extant regional standards to have prevented the appearance of a natural koiné. Similarly, a certain equality must exist between the regional standards so that no one form comes to assume a dominant position and become, in effect, a unifying standard. Extra-linguistic criteria include the conscious development of a policy to create an auxiliary standard. Policies may be internal to a particular community who either wish to overcome linguistic obstacles which threaten the well-being of a language by maintaining unfavourable conditions for its continued propagation (for example, impeding the development of common literature, media and government support), or developed from outside the community such as those developed by the state, and to a lesser extent, the private sector. State interest most commonly arises where there is an interest in respecting linguistic rights of minorities to meet

domestic needs (for example of citizens in states which do not overtly impose a single official language on all citizens against the popular will) or to meet international standards - most obviously in the European case, the ECRML.

The most successful auxiliary standards have therefore arisen in those states with a commitment to respecting and furthering minority linguistic rights, and within languages with the appropriate balance of divergence and cohesion; the Romance and - potentially - Slavonic groups being particular examples of such.

The priority for the Rusyn language movement is likely to continue to remain focused on the embedding of existing regional standards in each country, with particular emphasis on resolving the outstanding requirement for standards to be developed and agreed upon in Ukraine and Hungary, as indeed attested by the resolution of the third Rusyn language congress, while ensuring that the credibility of the programme and its founders is not compromised by lack of work on the Rusyn auxiliary standard. Key to the successful development of the auxiliary standard, in terms of corpus planning, will be finding compromises to account for the divergence in orthography, morphology and lexicon between all Rusyn regional standards but in particular the gulf between the northern and southern forms. Status planning presents the very different challenge of identifying a functional niche for the auxiliary standard and securing enough support from within and outside the Rusyn community for the successful adoption and propagation of any auxiliary standard. If the aims of the regional and pan-Rusyn manifestos are to be achieved, then the only logical outcome is one in which ordinary Rusyns find themselves in a situation where there is co-existence between Rusyn diglossia and the official national language of the state. There appears to be little material available on the attitude of Rusyn speakers to this scenario on which to base an informed judgement on the likelihood of it transpiring. Other than that, any Rusyn auxiliary standard appears most likely to serve the purpose of attempting to

demonstrate linguistic unity among Rusyns required for symbolic purposes by the Rusyn movement itself in support of the movement's wider agenda, rather than to serve any wider practical function among or in interaction with Rusyn speakers.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

In the twenty or so years since the ending of the totalitarian regimes in central and eastern Europe, events which allowed the re-emergence of local proponents of a distinct Rusyn identity separate to the administratively imposed Ukrainian one experienced by the East Slavonic inhabitants of the Carpathian region of south-eastern Poland, north-eastern Slovakia and south-western Ukraine, efforts in creating and having recognised a distinct Rusyn language have been something of a success. In spite of early detractors and indifference from many outside the area, codified versions of the Rusyn language have successfully been created in Slovakia and Poland and recognised as independent and valid languages by the central governments of those states. The Rusyns of Vojvodina have succeeded, through the turmoil of post-Yugoslav nationalism, in retaining their identity and official recognition and use of their language at the provincial level. Despite the more restrictive circumstances, and provocative statements and actions by some members of the community, a level of Rusyn cultural activity within the Transcarpathian Region has been established and maintained, and the smaller Rusyn communities of Hungary, Romania and Croatia have succeeded in having their voices heard and their existence acknowledged by national governments at the local, national and European levels.

In spite of these achievements, it must be recognised that Rusyn as a language, or languages, remains very much in a state of early development, both in terms of the structure of the standard languages, where challenges exist in accommodating features of all Rusyn speakers such that the standards are recognised and felt to be reflective of all Rusyns, but also in the use and development of Rusyn in as many functional spheres as is realistic and practical to expect. The history of bilingualism, occasioned through the circumstances of being a numerically small (and generally unthreatening) minority, members of which must by dint of economic, social and political circumstance operate a large part of their lives in the majority language of

the states in which they live, means that the use of Rusyn in all but the most intimate familial and social circumstances, is always likely to remain a choice. It is likely that practical use of the Rusyn language will remain within functional spheres related to Rusyn matters, with the majority language preferred for all other interactions. Only in the Transcarpathian Region is there likely to be a longer path to standardisation and recognition given the lack of state support and comparable infrastructure (such as the existence of university departments and protection under the ECRML found elsewhere) and the difficulty in resolving dialect differences in order to produce a functional and acceptable standard. The linguistic and extra-linguistic circumstances of Rusyn in the Transcarpathian Region are therefore likely to continue to prevent the development of a standard there on a comparable basis to those of Slovakia and Poland.

The symbolic value of the language to the Rusyn movement should not be underestimated. Here Rusyn provides an important 'objective marker' in validating assertions of a separate Rusyn identity. Whether or not the recently standardised northern Rusyn languages are adopted and put into vigorous use by large numbers of the Rusyn population in contexts not immediately connected with expressions of Rusyn-ness is debatable, but, as can be seen in other European contexts such as with Manx and Monégasque, the symbolic use of a language can assure at least some form of future for any language. The issue of the successful creation and use of a pan-Rusyn auxiliary standard is one which may see the creation of this more as a symbol of Rusyn unity than in any more practical sense.

The question also remains of the extent to which it is possible to speak of a single Rusyn language. As we have seen, different versions have been codified according to local requirements, and not necessarily from the point of view of any common pan-Rusyn agenda. It seems likely that political borders and the influence on the

standards of majority languages will have the determining effect and that the future of Rusyn will be the future of (at least) three different, but affiliated, languages: Lemko, Prešov and Vojvodina Rusyn. These three may in time be joined by an agreed and supported fourth standard language in the Transcarpathian Region. It seems most likely that any Transcarpathian standard will be based in large part on work already produced by Kerča, but conditions for the wider use of the language in Ukraine beyond the current level will probably remain limited as long as the lack of recognition of Rusyn by the Ukrainian authorities continues. What seems certain is that these Rusyn languages will be increasingly accepted on their own merits as part of the ever-evolving family of Slavonic and European minority languages.

Appendix A: Rusyn Alphabets[33]

Prešov	Lemko	Transcarpathian	Vojvodina	Transliteration
Аа	Аа	Аа	Аа	a
Бб	Бб	Бб	Бб	b
Вв	Вв	Вв	Вв	v
Гг	Гг	Гг	Гг	h
Ґґ	Ґґ	Ґґ	Ґґ	g
Дд	Дд	Дд	Дд	d
Ее	Ее	Ее	Ее	e
Єє	Єє	Єє	Єє	je/'e
Ёё	-	Ёё	-	jo/'o
Жж	Жж	Жж	Жж	ž
Зз	Зз	Зз	Зз	z
Іі	Іі	Іі	-	i
Її	-	Її	Її	ji/'i
Ии	Ии	Ии	Ии	î/i[34]
Ыы	Ыы	Ыы	-	y
Йй	Йй	Йй	Йй	j
Кк	Кк	Кк	Кк	k
Лл	Лл	Лл	Лл	l
Мм	Мм	Мм	Мм	m
Нн	Нн	Нн	Нн	n
Оо	Оо	Оо	Оо	o
Пп	Пп	Пп	Пп	p
Рр	Рр	Рр	Рр	r
Сс	Сс	Сс	Сс	s
Тт	Тт	Тт	Тт	t
Уу	Уу	Уу	Уу	u
Фф	Фф	Фф	Фф	f
Хх	Хх	Хх	Хх	ch
Цц	Цц	Цц	Цц	c
Чч	Чч	Чч	Чч	č
Шш	Шш	Шш	Шш	š
Щщ	Щщ	Щщ	Щщ	šč
Юю	Юю	Юю	Юю	ju/'u
Яя	Яя	Яя	Яя	ja/'a
Ь	Ь	Ь	Ь	'
Ъ	Ъ	[35]	-	-

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[33] The alphabetical order of Prešov Rusyn is followed in this table.
[34] <i> in Vojvodina Rusyn only.
[35] Absent in Kerča (2004), but present in Kerča (2007).

Appendix B: Note on Transliteration and Phonetic Notation

I have cited Rusyn examples and quotations in the original Cyrillic and have translated these and provided transliterations where this would seem to be useful (including in the list of works consulted).

For the transliteration of all variants of Rusyn I have adopted the system proposed in Jabur and Plišková (2005: 41:43). The key features of this are given in the transliteration column of Appendix A. In this system, the vowels <я, є, ї, ё, ю> are transliterated as follows:

i)   <ja, je, ji, jo, ju> when in word initial position; after a vowel; after a hard consonant or after the soft <ь> or hard <ъ> signs (markers of palatalisation and non-palatalisation) and

ii)   <'a, 'e, 'i, 'o, 'u> when after a soft <d, t, n, l, s, z, p, c, or dz>.

The vowel <и> is transliterated as <î> in the Prešov, Lemko and Transcarpathian versions following the Jabur and Plišková system, but I have transliterated the same symbol in Vojvodina Rusyn as plain <i> owing to the simpler vowel system in that standard.

For Russian, I have used the Library of Congress system as set out in guidance from the University of Glasgow library.

I use the International Phonetic Alphabet for any phonetic notation in this thesis and use square brackets to enclose any such notation. Graphemes are enclosed in angle brackets.

Appendix C: Comparison of Basic Vocabulary Items in Frisian and Sami

Table 10 - Comparison of Basic Vocabulary Elements in Frisian dialects

	West Frisian	*Sater Frisian*	*Sylt (North) Frisian*	*Mooring (North) Frisian*
'big'	grut	groot	gurt	grut
'one'	ien	aan, een	jen	iinj, ån
'two'	twa	twäin, two	tau	tou, twäär
'children'	bern	Bäidene	jungen	bjarne
'who'	wa	wäl	hoken	huum
'bad'	min	läip	ring	hiinj
'slow'	stadich	loangsoam	lungsem	sani

Table 11 - Comparison of Basic Vocabulary Elements in Sami standards

	North Sami	*Lule Sami*	*Skolt Sami*	*Inari Sami*
'big'	stuoris	stuorak	jõnn	stuorrâ
'one'	okta	akta	õhtt	ohtâ
'two'	guokte	guokta	kuõ'htt	kyehti
'child'	mánná	mánná	päärnaž	párnáá
'who'	mii	gut	kˇii	kotemuš
'every'	juohke	juohkka	juõ'kˇ'kˇ-kaž	juáháš
'to eat'	borrat	bårråt	poorrâd	purâdiđ

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