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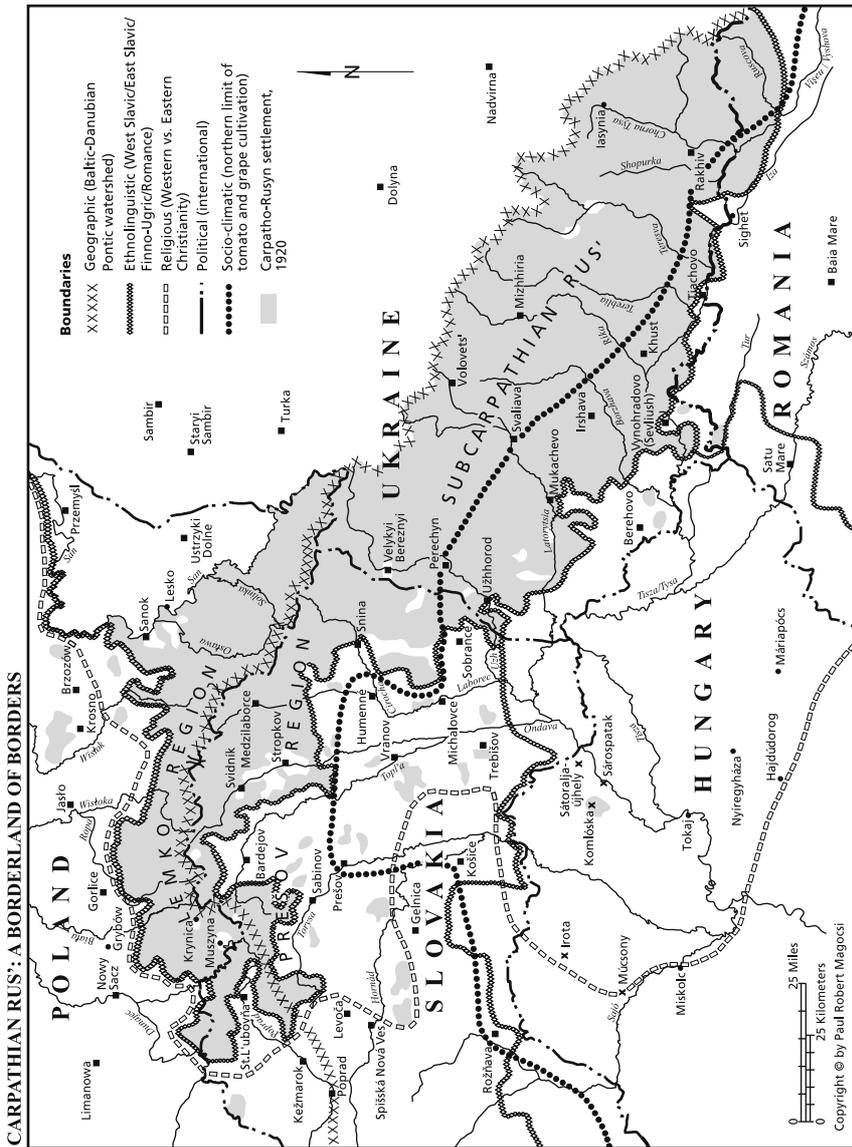
A Borderland of Borders: The Search for a Literary Language in Carpathian Rus'

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Carpathian Rus' is a borderland of borders. Through or along its periphery cross geographic, ethnolinguistic, religious, political, and socio-climatic boundaries, each of which individually or in combination has had a profound impact on the life of all the region's inhabitants (see Map 5.1). The focus of this study is the numerically dominant people living in the region, Carpatho-Rusyns, and how the various borders have had an impact on the efforts of the group's leaders (intelligentsia) to find – or create – an appropriate medium to function as the group's literary language.

What is Carpathian Rus'?

Since Carpathian Rus' is not, and has never been, an independent state or even an administrative entity, one will be hard pressed to find Carpathian Rus' on maps of Europe. In that sense it is like many other European lands – Lapland, Kashubia, Euskal Herria/Basque Land, Occitanie, Ladinia, to name a few – that is, a territorial entity defined by the ethnolinguistic characteristics of the majority of its inhabitants and not necessarily by political or administrative borders. Using the intellectual buzz-words of our day, Carpathian Rus' may be considered a classic 'construct'. Some sceptics would even say it is an 'imagined community' or, at best, a construct or project still in the making.¹ What we have in mind, however, is something quite concrete; namely, a geographically contiguous territory, which at the outset of the twentieth century (when census data was still relatively reliable) included nearly 1,100 villages and some small towns in which at least 50 per cent of the inhabitants were Carpatho-Rusyns.² Of the two component parts of the territory's name, *Carpathian* refers to the mountains and foothills that cover much of the land surface; *Rus'* refers to the ethnicity and traditional Eastern Christian religious orientation of the territory's majority East Slavic population, whose historic ethnonym is *Rusnak* or *Rusyn*.



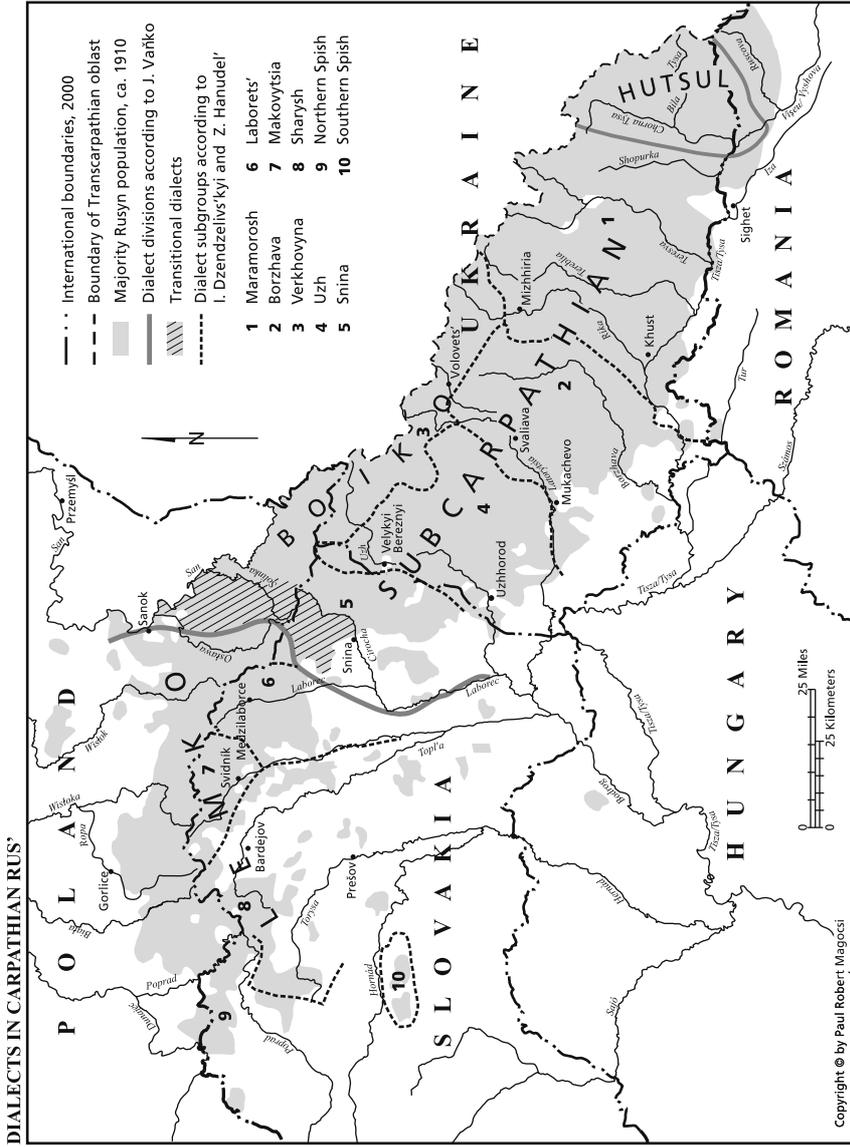
Map 5.1 Carpathian Rus': a borderland of borders

That population will be referred to here as *Carpatho-Rusyn*, a term that reflects the group's geographic location and ethnic characteristics.³

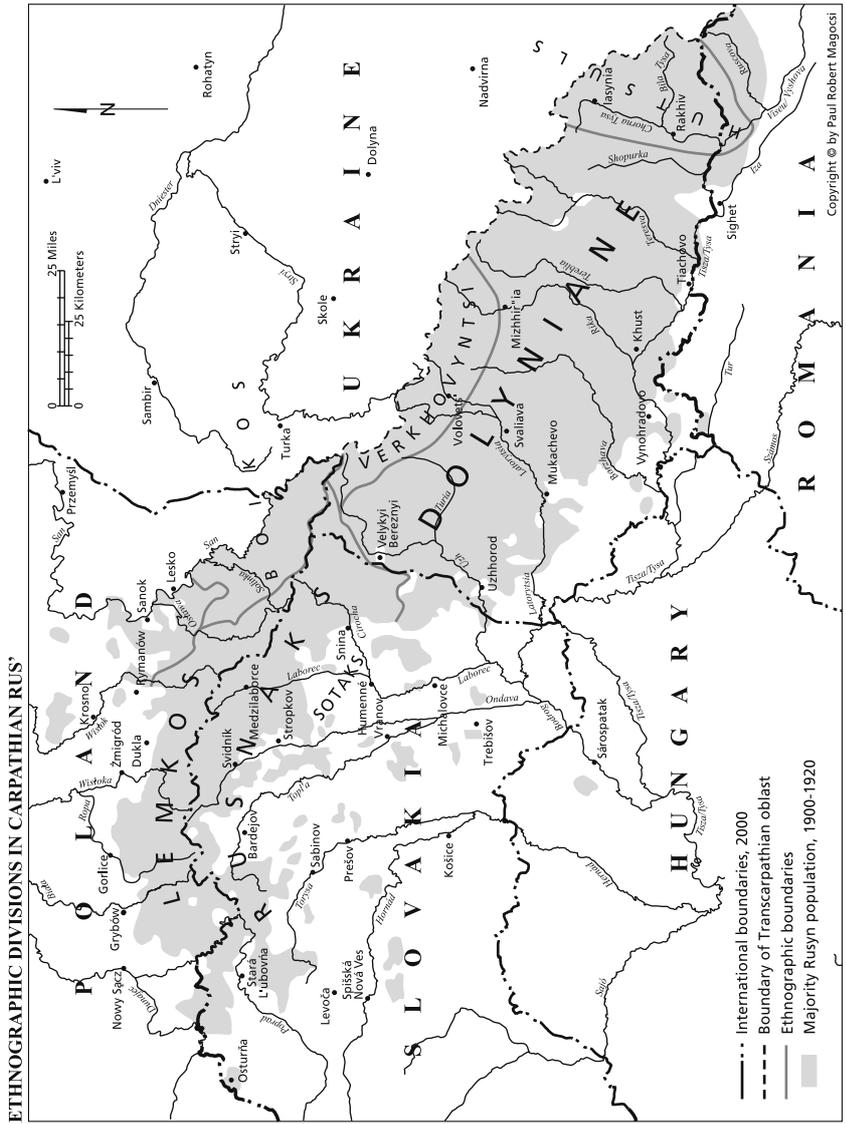
What are the basic characteristics of the various boundaries – geographic, political, religious, ethnolinguistic, and socio-climatic – noted above? With regard to size and geographic location, Carpathian Rus' encompasses a territory of about 18,000 square kilometres located in the heart of central Europe (Magocsi and Pop 2005: 131–135). It straddles the Carpathian Mountains for a distance of about 375 kilometres from the Poprad River in the west to the headwaters of the Tisza River and its tributaries (Vişeu/Vyshova and Ruscova/Ruskova) in the east. The north-south width of this territory is much narrower, ranging from between 20 to at most 75 kilometres. For orientation purposes, historic Carpathian Rus' is located within the present-day borders of south-eastern Poland, northeastern Slovakia, far western Ukraine (the Transcarpathian oblast), and northcentral Romania. These same modern-day borders determine the four regional sub-divisions within Carpathian Rus': (1) the Lemko Region in Poland; (2) the Prešov Region in Slovakia; (3) Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia in Ukraine; and (4) Maramureş in Romania.

Internally, Carpathian Rus' is divided by several mountain ranges (Beskyds, Bieszczady, Gorgany, etc.) as well as by the Carpathian crests, which form a major watershed, or geographic boundary, between two major European drainage systems – the Baltic and the Danubian. Consequently, the inhabitants on the northern slopes have historically been drawn by natural and man-made communication facilities toward the Vistula-San basins of the Baltic Sea, while those on the southern slopes are, by contrast, geographically part of the Danubian Basin and plains of Hungary.

The mountainous terrain has made communication within Carpathian Rus' difficult, except via river valleys that generally run in a north-south direction. Consequently, the region's Carpatho-Rusyn inhabitants developed marked ethnographic and linguistic (dialectal) differences across the west-east geographic spectrum (see Maps 5.2 and 5.3). On the other hand, the Carpathian crests are punctuated by several passes (Tylicz, Dukla, Lupkiv, Uzhok, Verets'kyi, Iablunysia/Tatar, among others), which historically served as means of north-south communication. The degree and frequency of contact between the Rus' inhabitants on the northern and southern slopes has been determined, however, by geographic factors. Along the eastern crests (coinciding roughly with the administrative border of the Transcarpathian oblast with the rest of Ukraine) the mountain crests are at their highest and the passes are often difficult to negotiate – factors that have historically limited north-south human traffic. By contrast, along the western crests (coinciding roughly with the Polish-Slovak border) the mountain peaks and the elevations of the passes are much lower. One river, the Poprad, even 'crosses' the watershed; that is, it begins on the southern slopes of the Carpathians but flows northward,



Map 5.2 Dialects in Carpathian Rus'



Map 5.3 Ethnographic divisions in Carpathian Rus'

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emptying into the Vistula-San basin to the Baltic Sea. In effect, the mountain crests do not divide this part of Carpathian Rus', with the result that traditionally the Rusyns on the northern slopes (known locally as Lemkos) and those on the southern slopes (the Prešov Region Rusnaks) have interacted easily with each other. Not surprisingly, their ethnographic and dialectal characteristics have much in common.

With regard to political boundaries, Carpathian Rus' can be said to belong to two historic spheres: the Polish and Hungarian. From the medieval period (at least the eleventh century) to the late eighteenth century, the Carpathian mountain crests formed the political boundary between the Polish Kingdom to the north and the Hungarian Kingdom to the south. During the long, or historic nineteenth century (1770s–1918), all of Carpathian Rus' found itself within one state, the Habsburg-ruled Austrian Empire, although it was administratively divided between that state's two component parts: the north (the Lemko Region in Galicia), belonging to the Austrian 'half'; and the south (the Prešov Region, Subcarpathian Rus', and Maramureş), belonging to the Hungarian 'half'. For much of the twentieth century, Carpathian Rus' has been divided among several states: between Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania (1919–1939); between Nazi Germany, Slovakia, and Hungary (during World War II); and between Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Romania (1945–1991). Since the Revolutions of 1989, the boundaries have not changed, although the states within those boundaries have done so. In effect, one might now speak of Carpathian Rus' in the twenty-first century as divided between the political boundaries of only two states: the European Union (Poland, Slovakia, Romania) and Ukraine. All these political border changes, especially in the twentieth century, have limited the ability of Carpatho-Rusyns in various regions to interact easily, or at certain periods hardly at all. The result has been even greater differentiation in the speech pattern (including the impact of other languages) and in the political experience and cultural values among Carpatho-Rusyns in the various regions of Carpathian Rus'.

With regard to religious boundaries, Carpathian Rus' is located along the great divide between Eastern and Western Christianity, spheres that some scholars have described as *Slavia Orthodoxa* and *Slavia Romana* (cf. Picchio 1984). Most of the region's Rusnak/Rusyn inhabitants fall within the Eastern Christian sphere, although they are in turn divided more or less evenly between adherents of Greek Catholicism and Orthodoxy. Nor is the religious landscape limited to Greek Catholic and Orthodox Christians, since traditionally within and along the borders of Carpathian Rus' have lived Roman Catholics, Protestants (Reformed Calvinists and a lesser number of Evangelical Lutherans), as well as a large concentration of Jews of varying orientations: rabbinical Misnagdim, Reformed, but most importantly Orthodox Hasidim of the most conservative variety.

Carpathian Rus' is also an ethnolinguistic borderland. All of Europe's major ethnolinguistic groups converge in the region, whose territory marks the farthest western extent of the East Slavic linguistic area and is bordered by West Slavic (Poles and Slovaks), Finno-Ugric (Magyars), and Romance (Romanians) speakers. The Germanic languages have also been a feature of the territory's cultural mix, since before 1945 ethnic Germans (Spish/Zipser and Carpathian Germans) and a large number of Yiddish-speaking Jews lived in towns and cities and also in the rural countryside of Carpathian Rus'.

Finally, there is another border that runs through Carpathian Rus', one that to date has received no attention in scholarly or popular literature but is nonetheless of great significance. This is what might be called the socio-climatic border or, more prosaically, the tomato and grape line. The northern limit for tomato and grape (wine) cultivation is found throughout a good part of Carpathian Rus'. Whereas tomato-based dishes are the norm in traditional cuisine south of the line, before the mid-twentieth century the tomato was virtually unknown to the Rusyns and other groups living along the upper slopes of the Carpathians.

The lack of grapes and wine cultivation north of the tomato and grape line has had a profound impact on the social psychology of the inhabitants of Carpathian Rus'. A warmer climate and café culture has promoted human interaction and social tolerance among Carpatho-Rusyns and other peoples to the south of this socio-climatic border. By contrast, those living farther north are apt to spend less time outdoors; and when they do interact in social situations, the environment is frequently dominated by the use of strong alcohol which, in excess, provokes behaviour marked by extremes of opinion, short tempers, and physical violence. Like all attempts at defining social or national 'characteristics', the foregoing assessment is based largely on impressionistic observation and, is therefore liable to oversimplification.⁴ Nevertheless, further empirical research should be carried out to define more precisely the exact northern limit of tomato and grape cultivation, to describe the resultant inter-regional differentiation in food and drink, and more importantly, to determine how those differences have affected the social psychology of the Rusyns and other inhabitants of Carpathian Rus'.

Carpathian Rus', therefore, certainly qualifies as a borderland *par excellence*. How, then, do these various borders relate to (1) the development of a national identity; and (2) the related question of an appropriate standard literary language for the nationality in question?

Ethnic and national identities

Carpatho-Rusyns have always been a stateless people and, as such, the national movements that they have experienced in the nineteenth (1848–1868) and

twentieth (1919–1939 and 1989–present) centuries have been characterized by a dichotomy in the way their intellectual leaders have attempted to define a national identity. Elsewhere, I have tried to address this dichotomy by developing a conceptual model for analyzing national movements among stateless peoples that contrasts the concept of multiple identities versus mutually exclusive identities. The specific case to which I applied this model concerned Ukrainians during the long nineteenth century, although I believe it can also be used to understand the evolution of most other stateless peoples in Europe (cf. Magocsi 1989 and 2010: 374–488).

Having multiple identities is the norm for most individuals in developed and developing societies. In other words, each individual has a kind of hierarchy of several potential identities from which to choose: a village, town, or city of residence; a region or state; a religious orientation; a language and/or ethnic group. Some of us also have strong loyalties and identity with the university we attended (there was a time when someone from Harvard was indeed different from a graduate from Yale or Princeton, not to mention a graduate from a state university), or with the sports clubs to which we ally as fans, or with our sexual preference, especially if it is not heterosexual. The point is that it is perfectly normal for individuals to have more than one identity, and that the decision about which one to choose depends on the circumstances in which an answer to the question is needed. Put another way, situational identity is the handmaiden of multiple identities.

For self-proclaimed members of a nationalist intelligentsia, the very idea of multiple identities is an anathema. What in most circumstances might seem a normal phenomenon – such as a resident of pre-World War II Macedonia identifying as a Macedonian *and* Bulgarian (or Macedono-Bulgarian), or a resident of nineteenth-century Ukraine as a Little Russian (or Ukrainian) *and* Russian – is totally unacceptable to nationality-builders. This is because patriotic nationality-builders feel that it is their duty to make persons aware of belonging only to a single nationality: Macedonian *or* Bulgarian, Ukrainian *or* Russian. Hence, national identities should not be viewed as part of a hierarchy of multiple loyalties; rather, national identities and, by corollary, language use must be mutually exclusive.

Much of the history of Carpatho-Rusyns, from the beginning of their first national awakening in 1848 until the present, can be seen as the story of how the local nationalist intelligentsia has struggled – often in vain – against the natural tendency of the local Carpatho-Rusyn inhabitants to maintain more than one identity or, in some cases, no national identity at all. In the eyes of the nationalist intelligentsia, such persons are unenlightened, assimilationists, or, worse still, enemies of the nationalist cause.

Questions regarding national and ethnic identity began to be raised in Carpathian Rus' during the 1830s and 1840s. The year 1848 was an especially

important turning point for those discussions. During the next two decades Carpatho-Rusyns experienced their first national awakening (Žeguc 1965; Magocsi 1978: 42–75). There was a classic national awakening – albeit on a small scale – of the central and eastern European variety. A small group of intellectuals – what we now call the nationalist intelligentsia – published the first books and newspapers in the native language; they founded organizations, village reading rooms, and schools in which the native culture and language were propagated. Some even engaged in political activity, submitting petitions to the ruling Habsburg authorities that called for cultural and political autonomy based on territorial and/or corporate group rights.

To be sure, not all members of the intelligentsia – which at the time were mostly priests – favoured the idea of promoting the local East Slavic Rus' culture. Many preferred instead association with the dominant nationality of the state, which before 1918 meant identifying as a Hungarian or, in the case of Carpathian Rus' territory north of the mountain crests, as a Pole.

As for those who believed in the desirability of association with the East Slavic and Eastern Christian world, the road to a clear national identity remained fraught with obstacles. Like many intellectual leaders stemming from stateless peoples, Carpatho-Rusyn national activists lacked pride and confidence in their own culture. Hence, it seemed easier to associate with an already existing East Slavic nationality and language. In essence, during the first national awakening in Carpathian Rus' (c. 1848–1868), national activists proclaimed themselves to be part of the Russian or Great Russian nationality; they tried to use the Russian literary language in their publications and for instruction in schools; and they tried to convince the local Carpatho-Rusyn inhabitants to adopt a Russian national identity. These early national awakeners, led by figures like Aleksander Dukhnovych and Adolf Dobrians'kyi, were partly successful in having a Russian national orientation accepted by the generation that was to follow them. By the 1890s, however, some younger intellectual activists argued that the Russian language was far from the dialects spoken by the East Slavs of Carpathian Rus' and that, instead, the local vernacular should be standardized and used as the representative language of the region's inhabitants. It was never made clear, however, what that local language should be and what alternative, if any, there should be to the Russian national identity.

The problem of national and linguistic identity became more complex after World War I, when Austria-Hungary ceased to exist and Carpathian Rus' was divided between Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Russian, or Russophile national orientation continued to be propagated by certain local activists, who were joined by postwar émigrés of Russian orientation from the former Habsburg province of Galicia (by then part of Poland) and from the former Russian Empire (by then the Soviet Union). Among such émigrés were figures like 'the grandmother' of the Russian Revolution, Ekaterina

Breshko-Breshkovskaia, who considered Carpathian Rus' the last land where the spirit of Russia was preserved in pristine form.⁵

Also from Polish-ruled east Galicia and from Dnieper Ukraine, that is, Ukrainian lands in the former Russian Empire, came émigrés of Ukrainian orientation to Carpathian Rus'. Initially, they found only a few supporters among local Carpatho-Rusyns. They were more successful, however, as teachers in Czechoslovakia's expanded school system, where they inculcated in many young people the belief that the East Slavic inhabitants of Carpathian Rus' were ethnically Ukrainian. In other words, Carpatho-Rusyns – as Rusyns – were the same people as the Ukrainians of East Galicia and the Dnieper Ukraine. And they were certainly not Russians.

It was not long before some local activists expressed dissatisfaction with the Russian-Ukrainian controversies and argued that the East Slavs of Carpathian Rus' were neither Russian nor Ukrainian, but rather a distinct nationality called Subcarpathian Rusyn, or Carpatho-Rusyn, or simply Rusyn. The result was that the entire period of what became known as the second national awakening, lasting from 1918–1939, was characterized by a fierce ideological rivalry between supporters of three national and linguistic orientations: the Russophile, the Ukrainophile, and the Rusynophile. (Magocsi 1978: 105–187). The interwar years in the Polish-ruled Lemko Region also witnessed a struggle between adherents of these three national orientations competing for the allegiance of the Lemko-Rusyn population (Moklak 1997).

The political changes brought about by World War II witnessed a change in the relative strength of these three orientations, largely because of the official policies of the new ruling governments. In the Lemko Region, where in late 1939 Polish rule was replaced by that of Nazi Germany, the Ukrainian orientation was favoured (Kubiiovych 1975). Meanwhile, south of the mountains in Subcarpathian Rus', Czechoslovak rule was even earlier (March 1939) replaced by that of Hungary, which officially supported the idea that the region's East Slavs formed a distinct nationality called Uhro-Rusyn, or Hungarian-Rusyn, that is, Rusyns loyal to Hungary (Ofitsyns'kyi 1997: 29–127; Pop 2008: 50–56).

The question of national identity seemed to be resolved after 1945, when Subcarpathian Rus' was annexed to the Soviet Union. Soviet policy on this matter had been determined as long ago as 1924, when a decision of the Comintern (adopted in 1926 by the regional branch of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Subcarpathian Rus') decreed that regardless of what Carpathian East Slavs might call themselves, they were all part of the Ukrainian nationality.⁶ This decision was not only implemented in Soviet-ruled Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia, but also in the other regions of Carpathian Rus' – in the Lemko Region of Poland (that is, among the Lemkos dispersed from their Carpathian homeland to distant parts of that country), in the Prešov Region of Czechoslovakia, and in the Maramureş region of Romania – all countries which

by the late 1940s became satellites of the Soviet Union. In effect, after 1945 the Rusyn, or Carpatho-Rusyn, nationality was banned in Carpathian Rus'.

With the collapse of Soviet-inspired Communist rule in central Europe following the Revolutions of 1989 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union itself two years later, the liberal democratic regimes that were established in Poland, Romania, and newly independent Slovakia and Ukraine allowed for the revival of a Carpatho-Rusyn national movement. (Magocsi 1999: 332–375; Rusinko 2009) As a result, Carpatho-Rusyns are today recognized as a distinct nationality by all the countries that rule the four regions of Carpathian Rus': Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine,⁷ and Romania.

This does not mean, however, that the nationality question has been resolved. Despite the radically changed political conditions in post-1989 central and eastern Europe, conflicting national orientations among Carpatho-Rusyns continue to exist. The only difference is that the number of those orientations has been reduced to two: the Rusynophile and the Ukrainophile. The strength of these two varies from country to country, with the pro-Rusyn orientation being strongest in Slovakia and Poland, and the pro-Ukrainian in Ukraine and Romania.

The language question before 1989

Ever since the first discussions about Carpatho-Rusyn national identity, which date from the first half of the chronological nineteenth century, the group's self-appointed intellectual leaders have debated the question of an appropriate literary language. In general, the Carpatho-Rusyn intelligentsia (priests, belletrists, journalists, editors, teachers, civic activists) who took on the role of language planners preferred to adopt an already existing literary language, although some tried at various times to create a distinct Rusyn literary language (Magocsi 1999: 86–111; Dulichenko 2008: 35–704).

Like many other Slavic peoples belonging to the *Slavia Orthodoxa* cultural sphere, Carpatho-Rusyn language planners preferred Church Slavonic as the group's literary language. The most important figure in this regard was Mykhail Luchkai, who in 1830 not only published (in Latin) a grammar of Church Slavonic, but argued that spoken Rusyn vernacular is basically the equivalent (with dialectal 'corruptions') of Church Slavonic (Lutskay 1830: v–xvi). By the time of the first national awakening (1848–1868), the most influential civic and cultural leaders at that time, Aleksander Dukhnovych and Adolf Dobrians'kyi, felt that Church Slavonic, a liturgical language, was inadequate for use in the modern world. Under the impact of Pan-Slavic ideology, and in particular its later phase, which gloried in the political power of the Russian Empire, both Dukhnovych and Dobrians'kyi argued that Russian was the most appropriate literary language for Carpatho-Rusyns. Neither those two leaders nor their

Russophile followers knew Russian, however. The result was that the language of their publications, which came to be known as ‘the traditional Carpatho-Russian literary language’, was an amalgam of Russian heavily influenced by Church Slavonic and by local Rusyn vernacular.⁸ This amalgam, which its detractors called the *iazychiie* (macaronic language), was used in school textbooks up until World War I (Polivka 1896–1901; cf. Vrabel’ 1898). There were some ‘disciples’ of Dukhnovych, who indeed had a somewhat better knowledge of literary Russian, which they hoped to pass on to their Carpatho-Rusyn countrymen through the publication of grammars, readers, and dictionaries.⁹

Not all Carpatho-Rusyn intellectuals favoured Russian, however, and instead a few tried to write in a literary language based on the Rusyn vernacular. For a while in the 1870s and 1880s, this orientation was encouraged by the Hungarian government, which commissioned a younger group of intellectuals (Laslo Chopei, Avhustyn Voloshyn, Mykhaïl Vrabel’) to produce dictionaries, translations of school textbooks, and newspapers in a vernacular-based Rusyn language.¹⁰ This trend continued until World War I, although its actual impact was limited, because beginning in the late 1880s the Hungarian government embarked on a policy of magyarization, or national assimilation, which by World War I had resulted in the end of most Rusyn-language elementary school instruction and even a ban on the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in whatever few Rusyn-language publications still existed.

Actually, political and ethnolinguistic boundaries had a direct impact on the alphabet used in publications intended for Carpatho-Rusyns. The states in which all Carpatho-Rusyns lived before 1945 used the Roman (Latin) alphabet, whether in its German, Hungarian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, or Romanian phonemic variants. Since the governments of those states at various times discouraged or even banned the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in schools and publications, there are certain generations of Carpatho-Rusyns, varying from region to region, who can read only in some variant of the Roman (Latin) alphabet. It is for this reason that at various times beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing until the present, Rusyn-language publications have appeared in the Roman instead of Cyrillic alphabet. The most noted example of political intervention came at the height of magyarization, which was coupled with fear of Russia during World War I. The Hungarian government, in cooperation with the highest prelates of the Greek Catholic Church, in 1915 banned the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in Rusyn school textbooks and in the popular government-sponsored vernacular weekly newspaper, *Nedilia* [Недѣля], which after 1916 was published in the Hungarian version of the Roman alphabet as *Negyelya*.¹¹

Following the collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918 and the political reconfiguration of central Europe, Carpathian Rus’ was divided among Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. Carpatho-Rusyn civic and cultural activists also

continued to remain divided between those who favoured the use of the local vernacular and those who preferred instead some other related Slavic language. The vernacularists gradually leaned toward Ukrainian, while the prewar supporters of 'the traditional Carpatho-Russian language' promoted Russian as their choice. Both orientations were assisted by an influx of political émigrés from Bolshevik Russia and Ukraine and from Polish-ruled Galicia. The newcomers who were offered posts in eastern Czechoslovakia (Subcarpathian Rus' and the Prešov Region) as teachers and educational administrators included both Russophiles and Ukrainophiles.

In order to achieve their role as Russian or Ukrainian language missionaries, a whole host of Russian- and Ukrainian-language grammars, readers, and other school textbooks were published during the interwar years of the twentieth century. The Ukrainophile émigrés, mostly from Galicia, joined with local Subcarpathian vernacularists to produce textbooks of a language they initially called Rusyn (*rus'kyi*), which incorporated many local Carpatho-Rusyn grammatical and lexical elements. By the 1930s, they moved gradually into standard literary Ukrainian, specifically the variant used at the time in neighbouring Galicia. For their part, Russophile émigrés, from Soviet-ruled Russia and Ukraine as well as Galicia, allied with Subcarpathian 'traditionalists' in order to produce texts written in literary Russian with only a limited number of local vernacular elements. Each language camp had its own representative grammar, which functioned as a kind of standard bearer in a struggle to determine the language of instruction in the schools of Subcarpathian Rus'.¹²

As the trend toward literary Russian or Ukrainian became more pronounced, some Carpatho-Rusyns expressed the desire to raise their local vernacular to the status of a literary language that was neither Russian nor Ukrainian. This local, or Rusynophile orientation remained underdeveloped. Only in the Lemko Region of Poland did cultural activists manage (with government support) to publish two small textbooks in Lemko-Rusyn vernacular that were used for a few years in village elementary schools.¹³

The Rusyn vernacular orientation reached its apogee as a result of political boundary changes in 1939. In an attempt to reverse the 'language chaos' during the two decades of Czechoslovak rule, the Hungarian regime, which ruled Subcarpathian Rus' for nearly six years from March 1939 until the arrival of Soviet troops in September 1944, banned the Ukrainian orientation, tolerated for a while the Russian orientation,¹⁴ but then gave its full support to Rusyn-oriented language planners and writers led by Ivan Haraida. A trained linguist and native of Subcarpathian Rus', Haraida created a standard Rusyn literary language based primarily on the spoken vernacular (Haraida 1941).¹⁵ With relatively substantial government funding, Haraida headed the Subcarpathian Scholarly Society, whose extensive publication programme succeeded in creating a distinct Rusyn, or Uhro-Rusyn literary language. The new standard was

used widely in the print media, scholarly journals, and textbooks, as well as for instruction in schools, on public signs, and in government-sponsored publications for the region (cf. Kapral' 2008–2010).

The experiment to create a sociologically complete Rusyn literary language within Hungarian-ruled Subcarpathian Rus' came to an abrupt end with the arrival of Soviet troops in late 1944, followed by the formal annexation of the region to Soviet Ukraine in June 1945 and also the imposition of Soviet-style Communist rule in neighbouring Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. As a result of such political changes, use of a vernacular-based Rusyn language in publications and its instruction in schools was banned. The reasoning was simple: Soviet Marxist ideologists and scholars believed they had resolved the language as well as the nationality questions. In short, Carpatho-Rusyns were declared to be Ukrainians, so their representative literary language was henceforth to be Ukrainian. Soviet policy on these matters was also adopted by the governments of Communist Poland, Romania, and (after 1952) Czechoslovakia; therefore, it was applied to the 'Ukrainian minority' in each of those countries.¹⁶ The only exception to this pattern was among the small diasporan community (18,000 strong at the time) in the Vojvodina region of Yugoslavia. That country's Communist – but not Soviet-controlled – government allowed the local Rusnaks (as they called themselves) to retain a distinct national identity and to develop a Vojvodinian-Srem Rusyn literary language. Hence, if during the Communist era (1945–1989) the Rusyn language was banned in the Carpathian homeland, it did officially exist and even flourish in Yugoslavia.¹⁷

The language question since 1989

Following the collapse of Communist rule in the wake of the Revolutions of 1989, the age-old Rusyn language question was once again on the civic and cultural agenda of all countries where Carpatho-Rusyns lived. While a certain portion of the established local intelligentsia (especially university academics) continued to consider Ukrainian as the group's only appropriate literary language, another group of mostly younger cultural activists – mostly in the media, church, and theatrical world – called for the creation of a distinct Rusyn literary language and for its adoption in public cultural activity and schools, especially at the elementary level.

Political borders complicated efforts to create a Rusyn standard, since by the 1990s Carpatho-Rusyns had been for at least half a century divided into four regional areas (the Lemko Region, Prešov Region, Subcarpathian Rus', Maramureş), each of which was heavily influenced by five different state languages. This meant that added to dialectal differentiation throughout the entire area of historic Carpathian Rus' there was differentiation among at least four variants of spoken Rusyn, influenced by a large number of borrowings from

Polish in the Lemko Region, from Slovak in the Prešov Region, from Ukrainian and Russian in Subcarpathian Rus', and from Romanian in Maramureş. How, then, would it be possible to create a Rusyn literary standard for a linguistic areal with such a marked degree of internal dialectal and regional/political differentiation?

These questions were addressed at a 'working seminar' held in November 1992, at which writers, journalists, linguists, and civic and cultural activists from three regions in Carpathian Rus', as well as from the Vojvodina region in Yugoslavia and from Hungary, agreed on common principles for the creation of a literary language. According to the resolution adopted at what later came to be known as the First Congress of the Rusyn Language, the literary form should be based on the spoken vernacular and be written with the Cyrillic alphabet (Magocsi and Fishman 1993).

The most serious challenge was the issue of dialectal differentiation, which was made more complex because of regional/political borders. The solution was to adopt the so-called Romansch model, that is, to codify several regional variants with the eventual goal to create a common standard (*koinê*). The variants were one each for the Lemko Region in Poland, the Prešov Region in Slovakia, Subcarpathian Rus' in Ukraine, and the Vojvodina in Yugoslavia. Since Vojvodinian Rusyn was already standardized and had been functioning in Yugoslavia as an official regional language since World War II, what remained was to codify the other three variants.

Linguists with the help of writers and journalists set to work immediately, with the result that a standard for the Prešov Region in Slovakia was adopted in 1995 and for the Lemko Region in 2000. The procedure was to publish orthographic rule-books and grammars and to have the new standard used in textbooks for schools.¹⁸ The governments of both Slovakia and Poland provided financial support for these language-planning efforts and recognized the new standards for instruction in state-run schools at the elementary and secondary levels. The Slovak and Polish ministries of education also provided funds to establish programmes at the university level in Prešov and Cracow, respectively, in order to train prospective Rusyn-language school teachers.¹⁹

By contrast, in Ukraine the authorities did not provide any support for codification, since the very concept of a distinct Rusyn language or Carpatho-Rusyn nationality was rejected as politically inspired activity that was unsound on scholarly grounds and, in general, harmful to Ukrainian state- and nationality-building efforts. Nevertheless, there were several efforts to create a Rusyn standard for Subcarpathian Rus'/Transcarpathia, which have taken the form of grammars and dictionaries, some being of significant size and scholarly value.²⁰ While at the national level Ukraine has not yet recognized Carpatho-Rusyns as a distinct nationality, the country's parliament passed a language law in August 2012, 'The Principles of the State's Language Policy', which lists

17 recognized 'regional' languages, one of which is Rusyn. Since then, a new Rusyn-language grammar and reader have been published, although it remains to be seen if these texts will be adopted as the accepted standard in Ukraine's Transcarpathian region.²¹

In the other territorial component of Carpathian Rus', the Maramureş region in Romania, there have been no efforts to codify a Rusyn standard. This is not the case, however, among the Carpatho-Rusyns from Hungary. A delegation of them did attend the First Congress of the Rusyn Language in 1992, but at that time they did not believe it was desirable to create a fifth variant of Rusyn. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, Hungary's Carpatho-Rusyns have created a language commission and are working on what they hope will become a Rusyn standard for their country.²²

Conclusions

Undoubtedly, the existence of various borders – geographic, political, and ethnolinguistic – have complicated efforts for Carpatho-Rusyns to find a suitable literary language to represent their culture. After nearly two centuries of attempting to use already existing literary languages, such as Church Slavonic, Russian, or Ukrainian, a portion of the group's intellectual leadership has since the Revolution of 1989 been able to undertake with some success what for various reasons proved to be impossible before – the codification of a distinct Rusyn literary language, or more properly, several variants of a literary language.²³

Notes

1. Benedict Anderson's now well-known concept of imagined communities and its relationship to the post-1989 revival of Carpatho-Rusyns is discussed with provocative irony and insight by British and German specialists on central Europe: Timothy Garton Ash in his 'Long Live Ruthenia!' (1999); and Stefan Troebst in his 'Russinen, Lemken, Huzulen und andere: zwischen regionaler Identitätssuche und EU-Ost-Erweiterung' (2006).
2. All 1,100 settlements (with their various names) are listed in Magocsi (2005: 110–206), and mapped in Magocsi (1998).
3. The literature on Carpatho-Rusyns and their homeland is enormous. For the wide range of materials that have appeared just in the past several decades, see the nearly 4,300 entries in Magocsi (1988–2012).
4. An early attempt at describing the differences in cuisine and the socio-psychological characteristics of Carpatho-Rusyns is found in Bonkáló (1990: 57–84).
5. This attitude was best summed up in the words of another Russian émigré: 'I remember with fascination how a few years before the [First] World War I learned that Russians live in Carpathians! [...] From that moment I felt inside of me an urgent desire to get to [...] Subcarpathian Rus', to learn more about this land, to see its people in their everyday life, and to hear a Russian song sung in the Carpatho-Russian land' (Bel'govskii 1932).

6. Soviet policy was spelled out in a policy statement by the influential Commissar (Minister) of Justice and later Commissar of Education of Soviet Ukraine, Mykola Skrypnyk (1928).
7. In this context, Ukraine is somewhat of an anomaly. On the one hand, the national government continues to classify Rusyns as a 'sub-ethnos' of Ukrainians. On the other hand, in March 2007, the Regional Assembly (*Oblasna rada*) of Transcarpathia – historic Subcarpathian Rus', where the vast majority of the population in question resides – adopted a resolution recognizing Rusyns as a distinct nationality within that region.
8. Dukhnovych wrote several popular textbooks in this linguistic amalgam, although his more formal grammar, *Sokrashchennaia grammatika ruskago iazyka* (1853), reflected in large measure the Russian literary language of his linguistically more knowledgeable countryman, the editor Ivan Rakovskii, and the Orthodox priest from the Russian Empire living in Hungary at the time, Vasilii Voitkovskii, who helped significantly in revising the text for publication.
Dukhnovych's literary language has recently been analyzed – on linguistic grounds and without political bias – by Udvari (2003) and Moser (2009).
9. Among these were a Hungarian-language grammar of Russian by Rakovszky (1867), a Russian reader compiled by Sabov (1868), and a monumental multi-volume dictionary by Mitrak (1888 and 1922–1928). Despite the predominantly Russian character of Mitrak's dictionaries, they nonetheless contained hundreds of Rusyn vernacular words that recently were extracted and published separately in Popovych (1999).
10. The most important result of this period was the publication of the first Rusyn-language dictionary by Chopei (1883), and a school grammar (1901), primer (1906), and reader (1908) of the 'Uhro-Rusyn' language by Avhustyn Voloshyn. The latter's more substantive grammar of the vernacular Rusyn language was written in Hungarian: Volosin (1907). No one has yet analyzed in any serious manner the language of these and other publications that appeared during this embryonic period for the Rusyn language.
11. The strongest supporter behind this movement was the priest and school inspector for the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Prešov, István Szántay-Szémán who prepared a Rusyn primer and reader (1915).
12. The Ukrainophiles supported the textbook by the Galician-Ukrainian émigré and Czechoslovak education department official Ivan Pan'kevych (1922). The Russophiles supported the textbook published under the editorship of the local Subcarpathian cultural activist Evmenii Sabov but actually written by the Russian émigré Aleksandr Grigor'ev (1924). As a result of political pressure, in 1937 the provincial authorities were forced to hold a plebiscite among parents who were asked to indicate their preference for one or the other grammar. The 'Sabov' grammar won.
The language of the Pankevych grammar, as it evolved from the local Rusyn vernacular to literary Ukrainian, is analyzed in Mozer (2009).
13. Although published with no indication of the author, both texts were written by Meletii Trokhanovskii (1935, 1936).
14. The Hungarian authorities initially favoured the local Russophile 'traditionalists', who made up a commission that prepared a Russian-language school grammar approved by the government advisor Iulii Marina (1940). Despite the support of local traditionalists, other Subcarpathian Russophiles, led by the Bukovinian Russophile émigré Georgii Gerovskii, argued that the 'Marina grammar' was an unacceptable 'mish-mash of Russian, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian' (Gerovskii and Krainianitsa 1941). The brief Russophile episode is described in Káprály (2003).

15. The leading Ukrainian-oriented Soviet specialist on Carpatho-Rusyn dialects was among the first authors to describe the language of Haraida, whose grammar he classified as 'odious' (Dzendzelivs'kyi 1998). The Rusyn literary language during the World War II period still awaits an impartial linguistic analysis.
16. The implications of post-World War II 'administrative Ukrainianization' in Carpathian Rus' has been best explained using the example of the Prešov Region; see Magocsi (1999: 242–289). On the difficulties encountered as Ukrainian was being introduced in Slovakia, see Shtets' (51–148).
17. The phenomenon of the Vojvodinian Rusyn 'micro-language' attracted the attention of several distinguished Slavists (Henrik Birnbaum, Sven Gustavsson, Horace G. Lunt, among others), but the most prolific has been Aleksander D. Dulichenko (1981, 1995–2009).
18. The Rusyn standard for Slovakia was outlined in a rule-book and orthographic dictionary: Iabur and Pan'ko (1994a, 1994b); each of the above was revised and followed by a grammar: Iabur and Plishkova (2005); Iabur, Plishkova and Koporova (2007); Iabur and Plishkova (2009). The standard for Poland is provided in Fontański and Chomiak (2000).
The standards in the above texts are described by their 'creators' in Magocsi (2004: 147–262, 331–364); and in the first English-language description: Pugh (2009).
19. There is already an extensive and even growing literature on the characteristics of the Rusyn variants in Slovakia and Poland and their function in various spheres of public life: Magocsi (1996), Plišková (2007), Plishkova (2008) and Plishkova (2009).
20. The most important of these are the grammar by Kercha and Popovych (1999), and the monumental 58,000 word dictionary by Kercha (2007). The standard developed by Kercha is described by him in Magocsi (2004: 115–146, 319–330).
21. Nadiia Pechora, *Rusyns'kyi iazyk 1.–3 tsvit* [Rusyn Language, Years 1–3, {in Rusyn} {in Rusyn Cyrillic}] (2013); Valerii Padiak, *Literaturnyi koshychok: Chytanka 2.-3 tsvit* [Literary Basket: A Reader, Years 2–3, {in Rusyn} {in Rusyn Cyrillic}] (2012). Both these texts are designed for use in Transcarpathia's Rusyn Sunday School Programme, which has been in existence since 2003. For a discussion of this programme and the complicated status of the Rusyn language in present-day Ukraine, see Padiak (2013).
22. Examples of Rusyn literary forms for Hungary based on the idiolects in two villages are provided by Gergely Benedek in Magocsi (2004: 263–276, 365–374). More recent attempts at creating a standard (ostensibly to serve both Hungary and Subcarpathian Rus') have appeared in the monthly magazine *Rusyns'kyi svit* (Budapest, 2003–present), in the instructional manual by Vira Girits, *Rusyns'ka konverzatsiia* (2010), and in a primer by Marianna A. Liavynets, *Rusyns'kyi bukvar pro shkolashuv Madiarshchyni* (2011). See also the discussion in Kapral' (2007: 85–91).
23. For general assessments of the post-1989 achievements in language codification, see the essays by Robert A. Rothstein, 'Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Language' and 'Advances in the Rusyn Language' in Rusinko (2009: 20–32, 362–367); see also the following comparative monograph, which looks at all countries where the language is developing: Marc Stegherr, *Das Russinische: Kulturhistorische und soziolinguistische Aspekte* (Munich: Vlg. Otto Sagner, 2003).

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