

The Mother Tongue of Rusyns in the Slovak Republic after 1989: Status, Problems, and Perspectives¹

Anna Plišková

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the issues arising in the course of the development of the literary language of Carpathian Rusyns, specifically those living in Slovakia, after 1989, following the change of political regimes in the countries of Eastern Europe where Rusyns live as an autochthonous population. The paper consists of four sections: 1. Introduction, 2. On the issue of standard language and national identity of Rusyns, 3. Primary spheres of using Rusyn, 4. Conclusion. The introduction contains general information about Carpathian Rusyns as an autochthonous population in several countries of the Carpathian area in Eastern Europe, as well as statistical data on the Rusyn population. The statistics are based on the official data, unless the country for a certain reason does not include Rusyns in its official statistics. Section 2 presents theoretical principles for codifying the language of Carpathian Rusyns after 1989. Section 3 gives an account of the practical application of these principles in various functional spheres. This section is the main part of the study, examining not only the need for a standardized Rusyn language in society, but also certain practical problems arising during

1 This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the contract No. APVV-0689-12.

the application of the new literary language for a national minority whose numbers are not large. The conclusion contains the discussion of further possibilities for the literary Rusyn language under institutional and political circumstances provided by the context of the contemporary EU, as well as by the interest of the Rusyn national minority in the development and application of their mother tongue.

Carpathian Rusyns live in the very heart of Europe along the northern and southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. The ethnographic area, in which they, at least until the beginning of the 20th century, were the majority population, is called the Carpathian Rus'. It occupies approximately 18,000 km² and spreads over 375 kilometres from the Poprad River in the west to the Upper Tisza and its tributaries in the east. In the context of contemporary international borders, the homeland of Carpathian Rusyns lies in present-day Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine and Romania.

Picture 1: *Carpathian Rus'*, 2007

KARPATSKÁ RUS, 1919 – 1939



Source: (Magocsi 2007: 8)

The highest number – as many as three quarters of all Carpathian Rusyns in Europe – live in Ukraine (present-day Transcarpathian region, historical Subcarpathian Rus'). In Slovakia, Rusyns live mainly in the

northeast of the country in the so-called Prešov region, historically known as *Prjaševščina*, or the *Prešov Rus'*. On the northern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, Rusyns traditionally lived in south-eastern Poland, in an area known as the Lemko region, or *Lemkivščina*, from where, after World War II, they were deported to Ukraine and the western regions of Poland. A section of them, mainly those who stayed in Poland, returned to the Carpathians; however, a majority are scattered in the south-western regions of the country (Silesia). There are a number of Rusyn villages to the south of the Tisza River – in the Maramureş Region (north-central Romania) and north-eastern Hungary. Apart from their Carpathian homeland, Rusyns also live as immigrants in the neighbouring countries: since the middle of the 18th century in Vojvodina (historically Bachka, present-day Serbia) and Srem (present-day Croatia). In the Czech Republic they mainly live in the capital, Prague, and in northern Moravia, where they moved for work, especially after World War II. The largest community outside the Carpathian homeland is to be found in the USA, where approximately 225,000 Rusyns emigrated between 1880 and 1914 (Magocsi 2007: 7–11). They mainly moved to industrial areas of the north-eastern and north-central states where, until the present day, a majority of their offspring live too. A smaller number of Rusyns also emigrated to Canada and Argentina in the 1920s, and to Australia in the 1970s and 1980s (Magocsi 2007: 7–11).

Carpathian Rusyns are one of many indigenous stateless European nations or nationalities and they do not have a dedicated administrative area in any of the countries they live in. At present, they live as a legally acknowledged national minority in all European countries, except for Ukraine.² Similarly to the histories of other small stateless nations, Carpathian Rusyns, also for objective reasons, did not officially identify themselves as Rusyns, or they were not considered Rusyns by the administrations of the countries where they lived. As a result, their actual

2 On March 7, 2007 the Transcarpathian Regional Council of Ukraine voted for the acknowledgment of Rusyns as an ethnic minority. However, this local decision does not apply in the remaining territory of Ukraine, and from the point of view of the entire Ukraine, Rusyns in Ukraine are currently considered to be only a “sub-ethnic group” of Ukrainian nationality.

number in individual countries is impossible to determine. Unofficial estimates, however, state there are approximately a million people of Rusyn origin living in Europe, and around 620,000 in America (Magocsi 2007: 11).

Table 1 Approximate numbers of Carpathian Rusyns in 2012

Country	Official statistics (in thousands)	Expert estimate (in thousands)
UKRAINE out of which: •Transcarpathian region •Relocated Lemkos	10,100	853,000 773,000 80,000
SLOVAKIA	55,500	130,000
POLAND	10,500	60,000
ROMANIA	250	20,000
SERBIA	14,200	25,000
CZECH REPUBLIC	1,100	12,000
HUNGARY	3,900	3,000
CROATIA	2,300	5,000
USA	12,900	620,000
CANADA	–	20,000
AUSTRALIA	–	2,500
TOTAL	100,650	1,762,500

Source: (Magocsi 2016: 22)

Rusyns are part of the Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family. Their dialects belong to the East Slavic branch, with the exception of Bachka-Srem Rusyn which is a West Slavic language. With regard to their settling in border areas, the lexicon of Rusyns contains a great number of loanwords from the contact languages: Polish, Slovak, Hungarian, and Romanian, as well as German. The Rusyn lexicon also includes archaic vernacular vocabulary and Church-Slavonic inferences in liturgical terminology. Unlike their Western-Slavic (Polish and Slovak), Hungarian and Romanian neighbours, Rusyns use Cyrillic as their writing system.

2. On the Issue of Standard Language and National Identity of Rusyns

Among the most significant matters which have had a major impact on the development of Rusyns as a nation is the issue of their national and language identity. The most notable revolutionary events in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries affected the process of national emancipation of all Slavic nations, including Rusyns living in the historic Carpathian Rus'. In contrast to them, however, a majority of nations managed to solve most essential matters regarding their own national existence, including their standard language, in the very process of their national revival. Rusyns, nevertheless, in the first half of the 19th century did not even manage to solve any of the fundamental issues relating to their national existence, i.e., the question of their national identity, cultural affiliation, standard language, or nomenclature.

The new national-emancipatory process of Carpathian Rusyns after 1989 brought back to life the above unresolved issues, which the previous totalitarian regime claimed, in a propagandistic way, to have finally resolved. In truth, they were never actually definitively resolved; all that happened was that some radical political measures were taken in order to eliminate them.

Bringing back the idea of Rusyn standard language and culture in the 20th century in individual countries where Carpathian Rusyns live (Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, Romania and others), as well as the efforts of other Slavic nations to create their own standard language in recent decades (Macedonians, Kashubs, Bosnians, Montenegrins, etc.) provide testimony that "standard-language and cultural regionalism, the flourishing of which it was possible to observe as early as prior to World War II, reflects the objective need to have, apart from social ethical standard-language and cultural, also local tradition, that would connect man with his 'small homeland' and would, to a certain extent, satisfy his nostalgia of the unfulfilled longing for the language of his ancestors" (Tolstoj 1996: xiii).

The issue of standard language of Carpathian Rusyns, in history as

well as at present, has been topical for a great number of authors,³ who have, in their works, focused on the main tendencies in the linguistic development before and after 1945 – depending on the dominance of the respective language in the national and cultural life of Rusyns (Magocsi 2004: 449–460; Magocsi 2007: 453–467). For this entire historic period until the present day, one significant problem has dominated in the process of addressing the Rusyn language issue. Scientists rightly and aptly named it the problem of *dignity* or *prestige* of the mother tongue. Linguists agree that Carpathian Rusyns use various dialects belonging among Eastern-Slavic languages; they, however, disagree in their relationship towards other Slavic languages: are they part of the Ukrainian language, the all-Russian language area, to which Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian historically belonged, or do they form a group in their own right? The above psycholinguistic issue, which, since the oldest times, significantly slowed down resolving the issue of Rusyn language, is still present in the minds of its users and considerably influences the search for the most objective answer possible to the following key question: Do dialects of Carpathian Rusyns have a sufficient level of *dignity*, which could serve as a basis for establishing a new standard language, or do they lack this *dignity*, which then means they will have to adopt a language means from an existing norm – Russian, Ukrainian, or other? (Magocsi 1996: 19).

The 1990s policy of open borders between the post-communist countries where Rusyns live became their new hope as member countries of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) ratified a number of agreements regarding the rights of national minorities. Especially important for Rusyns were decisions passed at the meeting in Copenhagen in June 1990, according to which the affiliation “to a national minority is a matter of a person’s individual choice and no disadvantage may arise from the exercise of such choice.” Moreover, “persons belonging to national minorities can exercise and enjoy their

3 See, e.g., Верхратський (1899, 1901), Стрипській (1907, 1924), Волошин (1921), Гусьнай (1921), Раŋkevič (1923), Sabov (1923), Францев (1931), Gerovskij (1934), Hartl (1938), Tichý (1938), Бонкало (1941), Штець (1969), Konečný (2000), Magocsi (1987, 1996, 2004), Удвари (2000), Vaňko (2000), Magocsi and Pop (2005), etc.

rights individually as well as in community with other members of their group.”⁴ The Copenhagen document also acknowledged the role of nongovernmental organizations in supporting the interests of national minorities and invited the member states to guarantee that in educational establishments, they will also “take account of the history and culture of national minorities.”⁵ At the following CSCE meeting in Geneva (July 1991), the member states adopted measures embedded in a special report which guaranteed national minorities the right to membership of nongovernmental organizations abroad. The report also confirmed the principle that individuals or organizations representing national minorities must be allowed “unimpeded contacts [...] across frontiers with citizens [...] with whom they share a common ethnic or national origin.”⁶

After 1989, new cultural organizations were established in all countries where Rusyns lived. Their main mission was identical and followed from four basic principles:

1. Rusyns are a nationality or a nation which (with the exception of Yugoslavia and forcibly relocated groups in Poland) have lived at least since the early Middle Ages as an indigenous population in the valleys of the Carpathians;
2. Rusyns belong neither to Ukrainian, Russian, nor Polish or Slovak nationality, but form a distinct Eastern-Slavic nationality;
3. Rusyns as a distinct nationality are convinced of the need for their own standard language based on the dialects they use;
4. Rusyns have the same rights as other national minorities in their respective countries, which means they also have the right to use their mother tongue in press, on the radio and television, in cultural institutions and especially schools (Jabur 2000: 191–192).

Some organizations started to issue newspapers and magazines

4 *Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE*. Copenhagen, 1990: 40–41, paragraphs 32 and 32.6..

5 *Ibid*: 41, paragraph 34.

6 *Report of the CSCE Meeting of Experts on National Minorities*. Geneva, 1991: 10.

in colloquial Rusyn.⁷ The Professional *Ukrainian National Theater* in Prešov, whose performances had been exclusively held in Ukrainian since the early 1950s, changed its name in late 1990 to *The Alexander Duchnovič Theater* and has been performing a great majority of its plays in Rusyn or, more specifically, in Rusyn dialects or some form of ‘interdialect’ ever since.

Apart from newspapers, magazines and a number of books issued in Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, and even Hungary, several attempts have been recorded since 1992 to establish a standard Rusyn norm.⁸ A flaw of these efforts from the very beginning was an absence of a coordinated approach, which resulted in almost as many norms as there were authors, compilers, and editors. A seminar on the Rusyn language was held in the Bardejov Spa November 6–7, 1992 in order to coordinate these efforts. The participants were mainly active users of Rusyn dialects in their written form: writers and editors from Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, academics from the above countries, as well as the USA, Sweden, Switzerland, and Monaco. Theoretical problems regarding the formation of standard languages of so-called small nations as well as practical ways of codification coordination were discussed at this event.

The seminar, which became known as the *First Congress of the Rusyn Language*, advised accepting a so-called Romansh model of the formation of standard Rusyn, i.e., based on the most widely spoken dialects in each region, or country, where Rusyns live. Based on this, Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland were to form their own standard norms and, at the same time, it was assumed that the preparation of a united all-Rusyn standard norm would start. The following most significant points

7 In Ukraine they are *Otčij chram* (Užhorod, 1990–1991), *Podkarpats'ka Rus'* (Užhorod, 1992–current), published by the Union of Carpatho-Rusyns (*Obščestvo karpats'kých rusynov*); in Slovakia – *Rusyn* (Medzilaborce, Prešov, 1990–current), *Narodný novynký* (Prešov, 1991–current; see also note 28), published by the organization Rusyn Revival (*Rusyňska obroda*), and in Poland – the *Besida* magazine (Krynica, 1989–current) published by the Lemko Union (*Stovaryšyňa Lemkiv*).

8 In Ukraine, Kerča and Sočka-Boržavyn (1992), Petrovcij (1993); in Poland, Chomjak (1992a, 1992b), Horošćak (1993); in Slovakia, Paňko (1992).

were part of a resolution adopted at the seminar:

- Codification of the Rusyn language is to be based on the living speech of Rusyns;
- Based on the Rhaeto-Romansh⁹ model of building a standard language, each of the four regions (countries) is to form own standard, based on the dialect most widely spoken in the given area;¹⁰
- Cyrillic is to be the writing system of the Rusyn language.

The first Congress of the Rusyn Language also suggested an academic institution should be established, which actually happened two months later in Prešov. Since January 1993, the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture at the Rusyn Revival in Slovakia has served as a centre coordinating the work of codifiers of the Rusyn language from Slovakia, Poland, and Ukraine. Within two years of hard work, experts took part as authors and worked on the linguistic aspects of the preparation of the basic minimum necessary for an act of codification, while issuing the following publications prior to the ceremonial act of proclaiming the Rusyn language in Slovakia as codified:

- prescriptive manuals (rules of Rusyn spelling, a dictionary of Rusyn orthography and terminology);¹¹

9 Romansh (also known as Romansch, Rumantsch) used by less than 0.6% of the population of Switzerland, i.e., by some 35,000 people in the south-eastern part of the country, consists of six literary micro-languages, on the basis of which in 1982, the common literary language rumantsch grischun was created, which since 1996 has become the fourth official language of Switzerland, alongside German, French, and Italian. The Rusyn literary language should therefore be constructed analogously on the basis of colloquial variants of those regions (states) where Rusyns live. On the basis of these variants a common standard language has to be established.

10 In Slovakia, the literary standard of the Rusyn language is based on the two most widespread dialects: the ones of Eastern and Western Zemplin, i.e., from the spoken language of the villages: Osadné, Hostovice, Parihuzovce, Čukalovce, Pcholiné, Pichne, Nechvalova Polianka, Nižná and Vyšná Jablonka, Svetlice, Zbojné and others where the purest forms of the Rusyn dialects spoken in Slovakia have been preserved.

11 Jabur and Paňko (1994), Paňko et al. (1994), Paňko (1994a).

- textbooks for primary schools (primer and first reader);¹²
- textbook of history of Rusyns in Slovakia;¹³
- collections of poetry and prose;¹⁴
- religious literature;¹⁵
- journalism,¹⁶ etc.

Based on the above, the ceremonial act of codification of the Rusyn language in Slovakia took place on January 27, 1995 in Bratislava and, consequently, the process of introducing the standard language into individual functional spheres commenced.

3. Primary Spheres of Using Rusyn

At present, as of 2017, standard Rusyn is practically utilized in the Slovak Republic¹⁷ in the following spheres:¹⁸

- family (partially),
- administration,
- theater,
- media,
- education,
- religion,
- literature.

3.1 Family Sphere (Sphere of Everyday Communication)

The Rusyn language – or, more specifically, its dialects – has always been the essential communication means among a large majority of

12 Hryb (1994a, 1994b).

13 Magocsi (1994).

14 Suchýj (1994), Maľcovska (1994).

15 Krajňak (1992a, 1992b).

16 Rusyn periodicals: bimonthly *Rusyn* and weekly *Narodný novynký*.

17 See Plišková (2009: 87–145, 2014b, 2015, 2016a).

18 About the functional spheres of the Rusyn language in various countries see Magocsi 2005: 317–390, part III: The Sociolinguistic aspect, for the Rusyn languages in each respective country, i.e., Kerča (2005), Pliškova (2005), Duć-Fajfer (2005), Benedek (2005), Fejsa (2005), Magočij (2005).

Rusyns, and this tradition has been significantly preserved until the present day. Unfortunately, assimilation caused by objective reasons (foremost among them, liquidation of multi-age national primary schools in towns and villages with a majority Rusyn-speaking population, and a consequent integration of young Rusyns in town schools with Slovak as the language of instruction, as well as an absence of legal opportunity to identify oneself as a Rusyn and use Rusyn as one's mother tongue in official communication spheres for over 30 years) could not be reflected in the present-day choice of language for communication, especially among the young generation of Rusyns. At present, even in traditionally Rusyn towns and villages, youth prefers to use Slovak for common communication. This fact cannot be considered unnatural, as they are growing up in a bilingual environment, where Slovak slowly displaces the language of their ancestors even from its dominant position in the family sphere. The situation is viewed differently by the middle and, especially older, generation of Rusyns, who were brought up back in the spirit of Russophile, Ukrainophile, or Carpatho-Russian traditions, who either (those who are aware) criticize youth for having strayed from their ancestors' traditions, or merely passively watch the situation, or even learn to speak Slovak and use it for communication with their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. At the same time, one needs to realize that the choice of language to use for everyday oral communication has an especial influence on, national and language identification of family members, i.e., parents and grandparents. After all, sociological research in Slovakia after 1989 showed that families in which the parents identified their nationality as Rusyn, also use Rusyn (or its dialects) as the most common communicative means (Gajdoš et al. 2001, Konečný et al. 2002).

It is obvious that Rusyn is primarily an intro-ethnic language of Rusyns, which means people speak *their language* (i.e., Rusyn) with *their people* (i.e., Rusyns) in everyday, festive, as well as official communication contexts. Rusyn is used in direct communication in:

- everyday contact within family,
- among friends and acquaintances,
- when meeting each other (in church, at a party, etc.),
- while working at home or in the field,

- during Rusyn national, religious, culture events,
- in public and at various institutions: in the street, at a shopping centre, on a bus, at the post office, in hospital, at the town hall, etc.

Apart from direct oral communication, Rusyn is also used within family in writing, such as:

- personal correspondence,
- congratulations and greetings,
- messages to family or friends, etc.

In such cases, however, its users prefer Latin to Cyrillic when writing in Rusyn. Cyrillic is more commonly used by the contemporary Rusyn intelligentsia, and especially those for whom standard Rusyn is their main interest, research subject or the main communication means, be it in its oral or written form.

Rusyn is currently most frequently spoken within the family environment in those towns and villages compactly inhabited by Rusyns. Standard Rusyn is, however, rarely used in communication; instead, a dialect or a form of an “inter-dialect” is spoken. In towns, on the other hand, even in the family environment, a direct intergenerational linguistic message as ancestral heritage is disappearing; in the young generation, the ability to speak Rusyn is lessened to passive understanding. Those persons who, in everyday communication, use the Rusyn language are almost exclusively Rusyns. There is, however, a small group of people who speak Rusyn while being of a different nationality. These are usually members of mixed families, direct neighbours of Rusyns, those who like and admire Rusyn culture, especially folk songs,¹⁹ and all those who

19 These are people who are active in the field of folk culture, such as singers, musicians, folk groups leaders, etc., in amateur ensembles based outside of the Rusyn ethnographic territory that also include Rusyn folklore in their programs (such groups are, e.g., Šarišan from Prešov, Chemlon from Humenné, Vihorlat and Šiňava from Snina, and others). Also, these are people working in professional Rusyn groups – in PULS (Sub-Duklya Artistic Folk Ensemble) and in the Alexander Duchnovič Theater in Prešov, i.e., in nationally mixed collectives whose priority is the presentation of Rusyn folklore and language in theater performances.

learnt Rusyn speech thanks to direct language contact with Rusyns. Based on the above, it could be stated that the intensity of communication in Rusyn, or its dialects, is currently decreasing in the following directions:

- a) from the house and the family sphere towards public spaces;
- b) from the oldest to the youngest generation;
- c) from homogenous to heterogeneous marriages (Gajdoš et al. 2001).

Some hope for the situation to improve (i.e., Rusyn being used on a broader scale in everyday communication) can be seen in building a network of schools with Rusyn as the language of instruction and the stabilization of its position in present-day functional spheres.

3.2 Administration

The use of Rusyn as a language of a national minority living in the Slovak Republic at present is primarily regulated by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic (1992), more specifically laws and legal regulations specifying the position of national minorities and ethnic groups, as well as international contracts and agreements. Among the most significant are:

- Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1998),
- European Charter for Regional of Minority Languages (2001) (Plišková 2015a: 202–231, Plišková 2016a: 101–129).

Following the above, the rights of national minorities in the Slovak Republic are regulated by a number of laws, among them the Law on the Use of Minority Languages (1999), which regulates the rights of national minorities regarding the use of their mother tongue in administrative communication. According to it, persons who belong to national minorities and, based on the last census of residents, form a minimum of 20 percent of the population, have the right to use, in such a town or village, their own mother tongue in administrative communication. Using their minority language, they also have the right to:

- submit written files to state and self-governing bodies and obtain written answers,
- signs on public institutions,
- official forms,

- having meetings of the regional municipality held as well as speaking at these in their own mother tongue,
- keeping a chronicle,
- labelling streets and other local geographical names.

Based on own knowledge and findings (Plišková 2006), as well as the results of sociological research (Gajdoš et al. 2001), it could be stated that this sphere of using Rusyn is one where Rusyn is used least from among all other above spheres. This situation has persisted in spite of adopting state, corresponding with European, legislation,²⁰ which guarantees broader use of minority language in official communication, despite a growing number of towns and villages with a minimum of 20 percent inhabitants of Rusyn nationality. According to the 2001 census of residents, there were 91 such towns or villages in Slovakia (Gajdoš and Konečný 2005, Dostál 2003: 159–160). It must be added that, according to the data from the 2011 census of residents in the Slovak Republic, which recorded a rising trend of citizens identifying their nationality and mother tongue as Rusyn,²¹ the number of towns or villages with a 20 percent (or higher) proportion of Rusyn inhabitants has also increased. This fact authorizes Rusyns to a broader application of their mother tongue in the administrative sphere. In this case, however, it is necessary for a more prominent initiative to be present on the part of the Rusyn population itself, town or village municipalities, as well as Rusyn nongovernmental organizations. Perhaps the only prominent initiative by Rusyns in this direction was a petition in protest of the realization of the *Law of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 191/1994 on naming towns and villages in minority languages*. Following this law's effect, towns and villages with a minimum of 20 percent of Rusyn inhabitants were officially given bilingual signs in Slovak-Ukrainian

20 *Legislatívny rámec pre jazyky menšín v Slovenskej republike*. Available online at: <http://www.culture.gov.sk/umenie/ttny-jazyk/archv>.

21 In the 2011 census of residents, 33,482 inhabitants of the Slovak Republic identified themselves as being of Rusyn nationality while 55,469 stated Rusyn was their mother tongue. Source: Štatistický úrad SR, available online at: <http://portal.statistics.sk/showdoc.do?docid=43829>.

rather than Slovak-Rusyn, i.e., the non-Slovak name, which is to signal the ethnic composition of the local population was, and is to the present day, stated in standard Ukrainian. This situation could be explained by the fact that the realization of the above law was, in the given period, supported by the parliamentary Party of the Democratic Left, some of whose members were also official representatives of the Ukrainian national minority in Slovakia. In truth, the absence of standard Rusyn at that time was a strong counter-argument, which caused, among other things, that the topical situation in 68 towns or villages with a minimum of 20 percent Rusyn inhabitants could not be solved in accordance with the law and the bilingual signs could not be prepared according to any rules of standard Rusyn. Less than a year after the so-called sign law was passed, however, the situation, changed considerably, and after the codification of Rusyn in January 1995, this argument could not be used. Consequently, representatives of Rusyn nongovernmental organizations took the initiative and required the changing the bilingual signs showing town or village names in accordance with the rules of standard Rusyn. Nevertheless, their right was not met. The most probable reason for the passed legislation not to have been adhered to was economic, but it is believed a role is also played by an insufficient emphasis placed on the consistent solution to this problem on the part of representatives of Rusyn nongovernmental organizations in Slovakia, as well as the inhabitants living in the towns and villages in question. It is necessary to emphasize again at this point that since 1991, Slovakia has recorded a significant increase in the number of towns and villages with 20 percent or more Rusyn inhabitants: from 68 (according to the 1991 census of residents) to 91 (the 2002 census), as high as 124 (the 2011 census). It is true that, in 2011, the Cabinet of the Slovak Government issued a new list of towns and villages within the Slovak Government Regulation Act No. 534/2011 Coll., issued on December 19th, 2011, which alters and amends the Government Regulation Act No. 221/1999 Coll., which issued a list of towns and villages in which citizens of the Slovak Republic belonging to a national minority form at least 20 percent inhabitants; however, based on the 1991 census of residents, this regulation currently only applies to

68 towns or villages.²²

Regarding using Rusyn, the situation is analogical in:

- naming streets and other geographical entities,
- naming public buildings and institutions.

Here, the following example could be used: there was only one single primary school (out of ten) in Slovakia where classes of Rusyn had been given since 1997, had a bilingual sign with a text in Rusyn.²³ On the other hand, some paradoxical situations can be found when a school has a bilingual sign but, again, it is Slovak-Ukrainian, in spite of the fact Ukrainian has not been taught at the school in question for a long time and there are fewer than 20 percent Ukrainian citizens living in the town or village. The situation is similar when it comes to signs on shops, restaurants, post offices, etc. A hint of change has only been observed in rare instances in signs on buildings of local or state public administration.²⁴

The situation is more positive when it comes to using Rusyn in oral administrative communication. As a basic communicative means, it is used at the municipal level during meetings of local self-governments, especially in towns and villages with a majority of Rusyn population and a prevalence of Rusyn-speaking members of the local self-governing bodies. The written agenda from such meetings is, however, only recorded in Slovak, which is likely determined by poor knowledge regarding rules of Rusyn spelling and orthography by persons in charge of making such records, or by their not being able to use the Rusyn writing system, i.e.,

22 The regulation of the Slovak Government 534/2011 Coll. on December 19, 2011, amending and supplementing the regulation of the Slovak government Act No. 221/1999 Coll., listing the towns and villages with inhabitants of the Slovak Republic belonging to a national minority comprising a minimum of 20 percent of the population. Available online at: https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/2011/534/vyhlasene_znenie.html.

23 The Primary School with Kindergarten with Rusyn as the language of instruction in Čabiny, Medzilaborce district, founded in 2008 and closed again in 2015.

24 Specifically, in Medzilaborce and Čabiny where, from the initiative of their respective mayors and heads of district offices, signs on such institutions as municipal offices and primary schools are bilingual – Slovak-Rusyn.

Cyrillic.

Since 2005, some administrative information, such as notices about the time and place of elections, has also been issued in minority languages (including Rusyn) by bodies of the Prešov self-governing region where the primary body of Rusyns live. If there is an absence of official translators into Rusyn, translations are carried out by individual Rusyn nongovernmental organizations or professionals in Rusyn language studies employed at state public institutions.²⁵ Other bodies take similar action prior to events of important social events, such as the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, which, prior to the census of residents, issues, in accordance with valid legislation, various instructions, proclamations, and other important administrative information and announcements in Rusyn.

The Rusyn language in Slovakia can also be used in written contact with the Office of the Public Defender (ombudsman), which also issues its forms in minority languages, including Rusyn. Rusyns also exercise their right to oral communication in official communication within lawsuits in linguistically mixed regions, even if no interpreter is present – thanks to the proximity of Rusyn and Slovak and their intelligibility for either party.

Recently, a more frequent use of Rusyn has been recorded in the administrative sphere during church ceremonies – weddings, christenings, funerals, etc., mainly in Greek-Catholic parishes in the north-east of Slovakia, which is directly related to the initiation of pastoral practice in Rusyn, especially by Rusyn priests in the Greek-Catholic Eparchy of Prešov.

The strongest position in administrative contact is still held by the usage of Rusyn among Rusyn social-cultural organizations, some state institutions aimed at the issue of minorities within the Slovak Republic, as well as in the international context. These are usually member organizations of the World Congress of Rusyns, which are, apart from

25 Professional and official translations into Rusyn for government institutions (the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, the Slovak Ministry of Education, etc.) are usually carried out by members of the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture, University of Prešov.

Slovakia, also active in the Czech Republic, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Serbia, Croatia, Romania, Russia, USA, and Canada. All meetings of the members, as well as their written agenda, are carried out in Rusyn while regional standards are maintained. In the international context, individual standard variations or inter-dialects of Rusyn are also used at social events. The written agenda on an all-Rusyn level is managed depending upon the origin of the person in charge of this activity. Since 1991, when the World Congress of Rusyns was established, it has always been standard Rusyn as used in Slovakia.

It could be stated that after 1989, but mainly after the codification of the Rusyn language in 1995, the level to which standard Rusyn is used in the administrative sphere has increased. Thorough, but mainly systematic, attention paid to the issue in question on the part of Rusyn nongovernmental organizations could aid in spreading the spheres of its application in accordance with valid legislation. It is a crucial moment not only from the viewpoint of promoting Rusyn as a mother tongue within the ethnic group, but also the perspective of developing a positive relationship to Rusyn in various classes of the Rusyn population, as well as members of other minorities. Broader representation of Rusyn in administrative communication also carries a significant psycholinguistic aspect:²⁶ it provides members of this ethnic group the opportunity to realize that their mother tongue has a sufficient level of dignity for functioning in official communication spheres, and not merely in everyday communication, mainly in the family sphere.

3.3 Theater

In this sphere, local dialects of Rusyns were used before standard Rusyn was codified during cultural events of a local or regional nature, namely:

- in accompanying texts by the presenters,
- when reading poetry of so-called folk authors,
- in variety programs of amateur folk ensembles presenting spoken word and music,
- when singing folk songs,
- in performances of amateur theater groups.

26 Gajdoš et al. (2001:75).

In the mid-1990s, especially by popular request, the professional Ukrainian National Theater (since 1990, the Alexander Duchnovič Theater in Prešov) saw a significant linguistic transformation from standard Ukrainian to colloquial Rusyn and its performances have since (with the exception of the past three years) been carried out in Rusyn.²⁷ This is one of two professional Rusyn theaters world-wide with an interesting history – it became the first Ukrainian cultural institution in the Prešov region after World War II and, at the same time, the first cultural institution aimed at the use of Rusyn language in the middle of the 1980s. It went back to the Rusyn language mainly because of the fact that, as a touring company, it mainly relies on local audiences in the regions of north-eastern Slovakia, the majority of which is formed by the Rusyn ethnic group speaking Rusyn as a mother tongue. The linguistic transformation was inevitable also as a result of long-term boycotting of theater performances in Ukrainian by Rusyn inhabitants of towns and villages and their requirements for an intelligible language. Although at the beginning, after 1989, the leadership of the theater also tried to include in its repertoire plays in Ukrainian, the inability to “sell” them among Rusyns predetermined its transition to a repertoire exclusively performed in Rusyn, in which appear world classics as well as works by Slovak and local Rusyn authors. The popular approach by host directors in connection with the use of a language understandable for the regular viewer has brought this cultural institution, in the past 20 plus years, significant achievements in the homeland as well as abroad. After all, the above stated is proved by the fact that members of the dramatic group of the theater in question are regularly nominated for prestigious Slovak awards – Personality of the theater season.

It is also noteworthy that currently young Rusyns regularly attend

27 In the 2008/2009 season, the A. Duchnovič Theater, after 14 years of activity, once again started performing in Ukrainian, while they are supposed to study a play a year in Ukrainian. This is a reaction of the theater founder – the Prešov self-governing region to complaints from the Ukrainian organization, the Association of Rusyn-Ukrainians in the Slovak Republic. The Embassy of Ukraine in Slovakia also got involved in solving this problem. See Uličianska (2008), Zozulák (2008).

performances of the Alexander Duchnovich Theater, despite their insufficient knowledge of Rusyn. I think that they do not see this as a problem, because most of the young Rusyns who have not mastered the literary language did not, or do not currently attend schools where the Rusyn language is taught. Raising a new generation of young Rusyns who would grow up learning the literary Rusyn language is a question that directly corresponds to the development of Ruthenian education. This is a very important topic that has not been adequately addressed by any government since 1989. It has not been, and unfortunately is still not a priority for the activities of Rusyn civil society, even though many associations clearly declare this goal in the statutes of their organizations. However, it is different in practice.

3.4 Media

The media sphere of using Rusyn in Slovakia was, until late 2016, represented by three²⁸ print periodicals of popular nature:

- *Rusyn*,
- *Narodný novynký*,
- *InfoRusyn*,

two periodicals of church nature:

- *Blahovistnyk*,
- *Artos*,

two electronic statutory media:

- *Slovak radio*,
- *Slovak television*,

and two internet periodicals:

- *Academy of Rusyn Culture in the Slovak Republic*,
- *RusinFórum*.

Each of the above has a significant role:

- in mediating information in the mother tongue to members of the Rusyn minority,
- in gaining information about this minority by members of other nationalities,

28 Since 2017, the periodicals *InfoRusyn* and *Narodný novynký* united and are issued as one periodical entitled *InfoRusyn – Narodný novynký*.

- and, mainly, in the national identification process of the non-Slovak population living in the north-east of Slovakia.

Among the key periodicals is the cultural-Christian bimonthly – at present more focused on popular science – *Rusyn*,²⁹ and the socio-cultural weekly *Narodný novynký* (*National News*).³⁰ Apart from fulfilling all the above roles, since they were established, they have always held a dominant position in the process of standardization of Rusyn and, consequently, in developing its norms and introducing them in individual spheres. The need for specialized Rusyn-language periodicals in Slovakia, especially focused on literature and the youth, was addressed by the editorial house *Rusín a Ľudové noviny* (Rusyn and Folk Newspaper) by issuing quarterly specials appended to newspapers – a literary appendix entitled *Pozdrav Rusínov* (*Rusyn Greetings*, 1995– 2012, which, in 2017, became part of the magazine *Rusyn*) and the youth-oriented *Rusalka* (*Water Nymph*, 2000–2011), financially supported by the Slovak Ministry of Culture, and, since 2010 also by the Cabinet of the Slovak Government.

In spite of achieving a significant social-national position, the editorial house *Rusín a Ľudové noviny* has experienced regression since 1995. *Narodný novynký*, originally issued weekly, has not been

29 The zero issue of the cultural Christian magazine *Rusyn* was published in 1990 by the Andy Warhol Society in Medzilaborce, while the first issue was published in 1991 by the Town Educational Centre of Medzilaborce. Starting with the second issue in 1991, until late 2003, the magazine was published by the Rusyn Revival in Slovakia based in Prešov. Between 2004 and 2005, the magazine was issued by the nongovernmental organization *Rusín a Ľudové noviny* based in Prešov, while in 2006, its publisher was the World Congress of Rusyns based in Prešov. Since 2007, the magazine has been issued, once again, by the nongovernmental organization *Rusín a Ľudové noviny*.

30 Between 1991 and 2003, *Narodný novynký* was published by the Rusyn Revival in Slovakia, between 2004 and 2016 by the nongovernmental organization *Rusín a Ľudové noviny*. Until 1994, the newspaper had been published weekly; since 1995 its periodicity fluctuated depending on governmental funding – sometimes as a biweekly, at other times (and mostly in the latest years) as a monthly. Since 1995, even the bimonthly periodicity of the magazine *Rusyn* was often broken.

able to maintain its periodicity in the long term, and the case of other periodicals was similar. In 25 years of existence, the newspaper was only issued weekly for three years (1992–1994) and ten years later, their fate was entirely unknown. At the very beginning (until the late 1994), the editorial staff was composed of four to five professional editors and two technical administrative employees;³¹ however, to a large extent after 1995³² and to the full extent since 2004, the editorial office has been issuing Rusyn periodicals and non-periodicals with no professional employees whatsoever.³³ This situation, undoubtedly, causes serious doubts not only with regard to the level, but also the general perspective of Rusyn periodical press in Slovakia.

3.5 Education

In an effort to stop the progressing assimilation of Rusyns in Slovakia, the Rusyn Revival movement in the former Czechoslovakia after 1989 defined as its primary goal to revive Rusyn national education, as it was the only way to guarantee that the national and language identity of Rusyns is preserved and developed (Magocsi 1996: 15–40). The Rusyn language was introduced in the education of the Slovak Republic in 1997/1998. Its implementation into practice followed the Conception of educating children of Rusyn nationality living in

31 Professional editors working in Rusyn media were Rusyn-speaking professionals who had been working previously in mass media in another language (mostly Ukrainian) on a permanent or temporary basis. After 1989, they founded Rusyn printed media.

32 The start of Mečiar's third government, following the early parliamentary election in 1994, brought about a major change in the attitude of government bodies and institutions towards the ethnic minorities in the country. It was typified by its confrontational attitude, especially towards the Hungarian minority and ignoring the existence and issues of other ethnic groups. On the above topic, see Gajdoš et al. (2005), Dostál (1997).

33 See *Výnos Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky z 29. apríla 2004 č. MK-480/2004-1 o poskytovaní dotácií v pôsobnosti Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky*. Available online at: http://old.culture.gov.sk/files/files/zvesti/zvesti5-6_04_web.pdf

the Slovak Republic,³⁴ which accepted the fundamental principles of alternative education as well as the social requirement of Rusyn citizens for education in their mother tongue. The integration into education following from the conception was to start from kindergartens with Rusyn as the language of instruction, which were to be established based on the parents' requirements. In spite of favourable conditions (since a great number of towns and villages with a majority of Rusyn population where Rusyn is used on an everyday basis alongside Slovak) in the Slovak Republic, there are officially only two kindergartens with Rusyn as the language of instruction (Čabiny, Medzilaborce district and Kalná Roztoka, Snina district) which were established, or changed their language of instruction, when Rusyn national schools were established in the above villages. In general, not adhering to the conception could also be assigned to the fact that neither parents nor institutions in charge pay sufficient attention to the issue in question. As a result, Rusyn children are currently officially educated, as was the case before 1989, in kindergartens in Slovak as the language of instruction, or even Ukrainian, although it is known this was only the case before 1989 in only one kindergarten at most (in Prešov). The author of the study believes the problem should also be dealt with by kindergarten founders, i.e., municipal offices in the towns and villages with a majority Rusyn-speaking population. The above situation likely corresponds with the unfavourable situation in the education of kindergarten pedagogues for nationally-mixed regions. In spite of the fact that the above Conception in its perspective intentions counted on their education at a Secondary Pedagogical School in the Prešov region, it failed to meet this goal as well.

34 *Koncepciu vzdelávania detí občanov Slovenskej republiky rusínskej národnosti* approved by the Slovak Ministry of Education in August 1996. It followed the application of the right to education in the mother tongue of national minorities enshrined in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. Art. 34, Par. 2a), Act No. 29/1984 Coll. on the system of primary and secondary schools (Education Law) as amended by later regulations and supplements (full version 350/1994 Coll.) § 3, of the Framework Convention of the European Council for the Protection of National Minorities, ratified by the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

The conception was more consistent with regard to primary schools. It expected that classes, or groups, would be established in primary schools where Rusyn would be taught, while all other subjects (apart from the mother tongue) would be taught in Slovak, following the proposed teaching plans.

Implementing Rusyn into education was preceded by two surveys focused on the parents' interest. The first one took place in 1994 and was aimed at finding out whether parents would like Rusyn language and culture to be taught in the second year of primary schools and was carried out by the member base of the Rusyn Revival in Slovakia. Based on the results obtained at that point in time, families of 251 students in three districts were interested in lessons of Rusyn. The next, more detailed, survey took place in early 1996, and was carried out by the Administration of Education of Eastern Slovakia, i.e., where, according to the 1991 census of residents, the highest concentration of Rusyns was recorded in Bardejov, Humenné, Svidník, Prešov, Stará Ľubovňa, and Vranov nad Topľou districts. The survey results showed that in 47 towns and villages and 57 primary schools, 582 students were interested in learning Rusyn.

Based on the above surveys and after the necessary school documentation had been processed, in 1997/1998, it was possible to implement Rusyn language and literature as a school subject in 12 primary schools. The practical side was not truly as successful as the survey suggested, as, in the same school year, Rusyn only started to be taught in four primary schools (in Medzilaborce and Svidník) and it directly corresponded with the efficiency of cultural and educational work of the Rusyn Revival in Slovakia in the above regions, in which it had a rather strong member base. The engagement of its individual members was, in the end, also decisive in the establishment of further primary schools in the Prešov region and the only grammar school with Rusyn as a subject in Medzilaborce, as well as an institution at university level – The Institute of National Minority Studies and Foreign Languages at Prešov University with the Department of Rusyn Language and Culture (1998). The general development of Rusyn national education in Slovakia could be defined as unflattering. The number of primary schools with Rusyn as a language

of instruction has, in the past few years, fluctuated between one and three (Čabiny, Bajerovce, and Kalná Roztoka), while at present (in 2017) only one primary school in Kalná Roztoka is recorded. Regarding secondary schools, Rusyn is not taught at all, in spite of favourable conditions and interest, as at the Pedagogical and Social Academy in Prešov, which educates kindergarten teachers to be. This rather unflattering situation regarding teaching Rusyn in Slovakia is, perhaps, slightly improved by the project entitled *Evening schools of standard Rusyn for children and adults*, run by the nongovernmental organization Kolíska (The Cradle) in the form of yearly projects supported by the Cabinet of the Slovak Government since 2015. More than 400 students in over 20 primary schools and kindergartens primarily, but not only, in the Prešov region are involved in the project (Kraľova 2015: 1, 3). The author of the study considers it merely as an alternative, and mainly an unsystematic solution to the teaching of Rusyn, while it should be the government, i.e., the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic, who is exclusively in charge of it rather than nongovernmental organizations or Rusyn volunteers.

The positive outcomes of the development of Rusyn language teaching and research were enhanced by the only university institution aimed at Rusyn studies in Slovakia – the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture at Prešov University, established on March 1, 2008. It is a scientific-educational workplace aimed at the preparation of educational projects, study plans, outlines, textbooks, teaching aids and other scientific-educational material, and also provides the study program ‘Rusyn Language and Literature’ at all three university levels – Bachelor, Masters’ and Doctoral. The Institute carries out scientific research and provides for the development of Rusyn studies focused on language, literature, culture, art, theater, ethnography, religion, education, mass media, history, national identity, community activities of Rusyns in Slovakia and abroad, as well as national policy of individual states with regard to Rusyns with the aim of gaining objective information about the state needs and perspectives in the development of the Rusyn ethnic group in Slovakia and abroad. As the only one of its kind in Slovakia, the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture at Prešov University is

the highest institution for research and formation of norms for standard Rusyn (Plišková 2014a: 442–449).

The Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture is the only institution at university level worldwide which provides study programs at all three levels of university education focused on Rusyn studies. It is an institution which, in the modern history of Slovakia and the former Czechoslovakia, historically issued the first university textbooks for the teaching of Rusyn language, literature, and history, and organizes significant and unique projects aimed at promotion of Rusyn studies in Slovakia and abroad. Furthermore, it offers a summer school *Studium Carpato-Ruthenorum: International summer school of Rusyn language and culture*, where the language, history, and ethnography of Rusyns are taught parallel in two languages – Rusyn and English (since 2010), and in which, to the present day, approximately 200 students from 13 European, American and Asian countries have taken part. No less important is the institute's project *Scientific Seminar on Carpathian-Rusyn Studies*, within which, since 2009, researchers from Slovakia and abroad present, on a monthly basis, the outcomes of their research in Rusyn studies while the Institute publishes these in the scientific almanac *Studium Carpatho-Ruthenorum*. What is quite likely most significant is the fact that, since 1999, the Institute has been building the Library of Carpathian Studies at Prešov University, unique in the European context, where documents can be found in print and digital format. A majority of these come from the Carpatho-Rusyn Library at the University of Toronto which, until recently, had been the only library of its kind worldwide, and its unique collection of 15,000 volumes was the outcome of over 40 years of collective efforts by the historian Professor, Dr. Paul Robert Magocsi. Thanks to the project (2013–2015) Enhancing the linguistic competence in minority languages among students of Prešov University (ITMS 261102302105), supported by European structural funds, the Institutes' employees were able to transfer part of the collection housed in the Carpatho-Rusyn Library at Toronto University to the Library of Carpathian Studies at Prešov University, where they provide invaluable study and research materials for students, as well as scientific and pedagogic employees of Prešov University, and those from other universities worldwide (Plišková 2015b: 12–14).

Should one ponder the future of Rusyn in the Slovak education system with regard to the current political environment, an improvement could be assumed. The most recent initiatives of the Slovak Ministry of Education, Science, Research, and Sport call for optimism. In the context of adhering to the 2016 governmental proclamation, a working group in charge of preparing a new conception for the development of Rusyn education in the Slovak Republic was established in 2016 at the Ministry of Education. The document *Conception of the development in the education of Rusyn language and culture in kindergartens, primary and secondary schools in the Slovak republic* is the outcome of its efforts.³⁵ To what extent it will also be realized, however, and what specific results can be expected, will be possible to experience within the next 2 to 3 years, i.e., the period during which the current governmental coalition of the Slovak Republic is in office (2016–2020). In 2016, the party based on nationality principles (Most-Híd), which is part of the above coalition, nominated in Mgr. Petra Krajňák, of Rusyn origin, to the position of Secretary of State for Education. The development of Rusyn education is among the highest priorities on his agenda (Pliškova 2016b: 1–3, Juraškova 2017: 8–9).

3.6 Religion

In order to understand the present-day position of the Rusyn language in the religious sphere, it is necessary to provide some basic information from the history of Rusyns. Their several-centuries-long existence in the Subcarpathian region was, in the religious field, accompanied by Eastern rite and Church-Slavonic liturgical language (Vladimír Rus de juxta Hornad 2004), which was in practice, wherever necessary, complemented by elements of the local vernacular and was also used in such a form in education throughout the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Even before the codification of Rusyn, the need to use Rusyns' mother tongue in pastoral practice started to be discussed and the first

35 See „Nová pracovná skupina na ministerstve sa bude venovať rozvoju výučby rusínskeho jazyka a kultúry.“ Available online at: <https://www.minedu.sk/nova-pracovna-skupina-na-ministerstve-sa-bude-venovat-rozvoju-vyucby-rusinskeho-jazyka-a-kultury/>

steps in the issuing of church literature were taken.³⁶ Modern Rusyn ministry is associated with the name Father František Krajňák (Magocsi 2002: 242, Plišková 1999: 2–3), who served for over 20 years (1985–2006) in the Greek-Catholic parish of Medzilaborce. As early as the 1980s in the above parish, he initiated the formation of a team of translators made up of theologians and laymen, who started translating catechism, gospels and epistles. Since, at that point, Rusyn had not been codified, the team of translators defined, for the purposes of their work, essential grammatical rules and adopted a policy of utilizing words from all Rusyn-dialect regions in north-eastern Slovakia, while using the Medzilaborce dialect as the basis.

The first fruit of their translating endeavours was the samizdat *Malý gréckokatolícky katechizmus pre rusínske deti* (*Short Greek-Catholic Catechism for Rusyn Children*, 1982), *Epištoly* (*Epistles*, 1985) and *Evanjeliá na nedele a sviatky celého roka* (*Gospels for Sundays and Saints' Days around the Year*, 1986), which started to be used right away by those priests who supported pastoral practice in Rusyn (Timkovič 2006: 9–10). This met with highly positive feedback on the part of the faithful, which, in turn, was great motivation for further translations.³⁷

Rusyn translations in pastoral practice are presently used by approximately 20 priests in the Greek-Catholic Eparchy of Prešov and, especially, by members of the Council of Rusyn Greek-Catholic Priests (Plišková 2004: 198–203), of whom there could be about 40 in a

36 Before the codification, the following translations from Church-Slavonic were approved by the Church and published in print for the needs of practice: *Malýj grekokatolyc'kýj katechizm pro rusyňský dity* (1992), *Molytvenyk sv. ružancja* (1992).

37 The following were approved by the church and were published in the codified norm: *Jevanhelije od sv. Joana* (2003), *Akafist ku svjaščenučitel'ovy Pavlovy Petrovy Goidičovy* (2006), *Krestna doroha Hospoda našoho Isusa Christa*, *Akafist Christovým strast'am*, *Toržestvenna odprava Isusovoj molytvý* (2006), *Malýj trebnyk* (2013), *Molytvennyk Radujte sja v Hospodi* (2021). The following translations into Rusyn are to be approved by the Church: *Liturgija sv. Ioanna Zlatoustoho pro virujučich*, *Jevanhelija od Mafteja, Marka, Luký, Joana*.

welcoming structure-related environment. The question could be asked why there are so few of them. The reason, according to the author, lies in insufficient national awareness of graduates in theology, in whose studies there is an absence of preparation for doing pastoral work in mixed-nationality parishes, in this case, in parishes with a majority Rusyn-speaking population. A certain role is likely played by the reserved attitude of the church hierarchy in introducing Rusyn in pastoral practice, which they often consider “harmful secularization” (Timkovič 2006: 36) within the church in question. General experience, however, speaks against the Rusyn language and ethnic group, as wherever pastoral practice is conducted in Slovak, the return to Rusyn is nearly impossible, and such is also active growth of national awareness in such parishes. Moreover, the process of assimilation in these parishes is much more dynamic, which is also proved by statistics from censuses of residents.

In spite of all that, Rusyn pastoral practice has laid religious as well as social foundations in Slovakia. Its future, however, depends on the extent of the tolerance with which the church hierarchy is willing to accept it. According to Rusyn priests, dependence on the volition of others could be solved by their own church institution and, once again, acknowledging the *Rusyn Greek-Catholic Church sui iuris (in its own right)* in Slovakia with its own bishop and bishopric, the establishment of which was proposed by the Council of Rusyn Greek-Catholic priests in 2003 when it was also submitted to then Pope John Paul II (Timkovič 2006: 263–270), or at the very least, by the establishment of its own vicariate (Timkovič 2006: 302–303). Purposeful linguistic education of priests to be for nationally-mixed regions within the Greek-Catholic, as well as Orthodox, Theological Faculty at the University of Prešov could play a significant role in the above-mentioned process.

In this context, the pastoral practice of the Orthodox Church in Slovakia, which also uses Eastern rite, is also worth mentioning, as its Rusyns also form the majority membership. The Orthodox Church, following the historic context, has religiously adhered to Church-Slavonic in their liturgy as well as ministerial work. According to some of its representatives, the official introduction of Rusyn in religious life and pastoral practice could be considered a political step. Based on history, the Orthodox Church has been linked with a single significant

political, pro-Ukrainian, line, while its current position in relationship to the Rusyn ethnic group is especially unclear. According to the author of this study, the unclear nature is complicated by the fact that, when teaching religion, Slovak is exclusively used, which is also the case of publications. In spite of that, some of its Rusyn priests, especially in their sermons, strive to accept the language affiliation of the Rusyn faithful and alongside Church-Slavonic, or Slovak, also use their dialect. It is still true however, that representatives of this church have never officially shown any initiative to introduce the mother tongue of their Rusyn congregation in their ministerial work, as is the case of some Greek-Catholic priests.

3.7 Literature

The sphere in question is the only one among all of the above in which the continuity of using Rusyn (or, until 1995, its dialects) has never been broken. The literary efforts of Rusyns in the Prešov region have a long tradition in spite of the fact that, in some specific periods, they were slowed down by a lack of active writers or obstructed by strong assimilation processes. Rusyn literature has, nevertheless, always had personalities who had some influence on the literary scene throughout society. In the field of literature, Rusyns were just as active in the period when they all lived in the same empire and were allowed to identify themselves as Rusyns, such as in the 18th century, when such authors as A. Padaľský, I. Vislocký, A. Kocák, and A. Vaľkovský were active and were, in their works, also motivated by emigrant literary works by Rusyns in North America – E. Kubek, Š. Varzáli, and I. Ladižinský. Rusyn authors were also represented in 19th century literature, among them I. Ripa, P. Lodij, M. Andrejkovič, A. Labanc, T. Podhajecká, A. Kriger-Dobrianska, M. Nevická, A. Duchnovič, P. Kuzmiak, and A. Pavlovič. In the 20th century, I. Žák, I. Novák, A. Capcara, A. Halgašová, M. Hvozda, A. Halčáková, J. Maťašovská, Š. Smolej, M. Polčová, E. Capcara, A. Vladyková, and J. Kudzej wrote their works in their vernacular.

Should the genres of the works by the above writers be defined, it could be said that not all can be included in a single genre, as a majority of the above authors wrote in several genres, some of them produced all, poetry, prose, as well as drama. This is actually a specific feature of Rusyn literature as a literature of a small nation: that Rusyn writers

were, at the same time, representatives of the national intelligentsia with creative ambitions, which they strived to apply not only through a broader literary scope, but also through activities in the cultural, social, scientific, pedagogical, religious, and even political area, which frequently crossed the Carpathian borders.

After half a century of decrease in the production of literary works written in Rusyn dialects, literature in Rusyn was only brought back to life in all genres (poetry, prose, drama) as late as the end of the 20th century, i.e., in the new political and social environment in Central and Eastern Europe (i.e., also in the historic Carpathian Rus'). The development of Rusyn literature and the emergence of new talented writers were mainly enhanced by the following facts:

- significant support for the Rusyn revival process on the part of the government,
- performing classic plays by world as well as national authors in Rusyn by the professional Alexander Duchnovič Theater in Prešov,
- more opportunities to publish in new Rusyn periodicals and non-periodicals (*Rusyn, Narodný novynký/National News, InfoRusyn, Rusyňskýj narodnýj kalendar'/Rusyn National Calendar, Rusyňskýj literaturnýj almanakh/Rusyn literary almanac, Grekokatolyc'kýj rusyňskýj kalendar'/Greek-Catholic Rusyn calendar*),
- performing plays and presenting literary works of Rusyn writers on the Slovak radio within national-ethnic broadcasting in Prešov and later in Košice,
- establishment of publishing houses and nongovernmental organizations for the purposes of spreading culture and literature in Rusyn (*Rusínska obroda/Rusyn Revival, Svetový kongres Rusínov/World Congress of Rusyns, Spolok rusínskych spisovateľov/Association of Rusyn Writers, Rusín a Ludové noviny/Rusyn and National News, Akadémia rusínskej kultúry v SR/The Academy of Rusyn Culture in the Slovak Republic*).

The post-1989 Rusyn literary tradition was also enforced by some mature and renowned authors, who, until 1989, wrote fiction in standard

Ukrainian, such as Š. Suchý, M. Maľcovská, J. Charitun, and M. Kseňák, which was a significant contribution to increasing the quality of present-day Rusyn literature.

Positive tendencies in the development of Rusyn literature have continued after the autonomous Slovak Republic (1993) was formed, when, after the codification of Rusyn (1995) and its introduction in education (1997) the above old- and middle-generation writers (who regularly published their works especially in the quarterly literary appendix of the weekly *Narodný novynký* entitled *Rusyn Greetings* and the magazine *Rusyn*) were gradually joined by young authors, especially university students of Rusyn. It was thanks to their initiative that the editorial office of *Narodný novynký* started, in late 2000, issuing a quarterly appendix for Rusyn children and youths entitled *Rusalka/Water Nymph*. During more than 10 years of its existence, it included, alongside journalistic articles, poetical and prosaic debuts of young authors and artistic translations of, primarily, present-day Slovak literature.³⁸

The fact that as many as seven present-day authors of Rusyn literature in Slovakia have been granted the prestigious international Alexander Duchnovič Award for the best literary work in Rusyn since 1997 speaks to the level of their works.³⁹ Had it not been for various linguistic influences and tendencies as a result of political pressure from the neighbouring countries, Rusyn literature could have prided itself on a much greater number of authors and, naturally, an even higher level or artistic production.

38 A collective almanac of these debuts was published in 2009 by the *Rusín a Ľudové noviny* Publishing House in Prešov also entitled *Rusalka* (edited by Anna Plišková).

39 The Alexander Duchnovič Award for the best literary work in Rusyn has so far been given to the following Rusyn authors living in Slovakia: Štefan Suchý (1998), Mária Maľcovská (2000), Mikuláš Kseňák (2002), Jozef Kudzej (2010), Juraj Charitun (2012), Štefan Smolej (2014), and Ľudmila Šandalová (2015). The prize is awarded by the Carpathian-Rusyn Research Centre in the USA from the Steven Chepa Fund for Carpatho-Rusyn Studies, University of Toronto, Canada.

4. Conclusion

The present study has attempted to present the process of addressing the issue of the Rusyn language, i.e., questions regarding the standard language of Carpathian Rusyns with emphasis on those living in northeast Slovakia, and some future prospects were outlined. The fact that the formation of a standard language for this ethnic group was complex and complicated is proved by the issue still strongly resonating at the turn of the 21st century among the local population, in spite of the beginnings of the quest for an adequate standard language for Rusyns going back 300 years.

Solving the main dilemma regarding their ethnic identification, i.e., whether Rusyns are part of Russian nationality, Ukrainian nationality, or form a distinct Slavic nationality in their own right, undoubtedly, represented a key to addressing the Rusyn language problem. The issue of self-identifying of Rusyns has always depended on the level of social democratization, the strength, beliefs, and attitudes of the actual intelligentsia, who, unfortunately, fluctuated mainly as a result of the absence of their own ethnic-linguistic dignity among various ethnic and linguistic tendencies, identifying with one or the other according to the benefits it could provide. The Rusyn ethnic and language issue is, thus, freely solved as late as the end of the 20th century thanks to the establishment of a new pluralistic policy in most of those post-communist countries where Rusyns live within the Carpathian area, and after they have been accepted by newly-formed legislation regarding basic human and ethnic rights (Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, etc.).

The codification of the Rusyn language in Slovakia in 1995 started a long-term process of further development of the mother tongue of Rusyns, functioning in individual spheres where, while testing viability, its weaknesses are also spotted (such as terminology, authentic vocabulary, borrowings, etc.), which requires the constant attention of linguists. After 10 years of its practical functioning it has turned out that, apart from the necessity of orthographic corrections, it is vital to work on the terminology for specific functional spheres, especially for education and administration. Until the present day, only linguistic terminology of

the Rusyn language in Slovakia has been codified, which, after having been verified in practice, will also require corrections. The codification of further terminology will obviously be completed after more than 20 years of collection, as a great number of words have been introduced within each sphere, which will need to be specially assessed and selected with regard to local linguistic traditions, while taking into consideration other regional standards of Rusyn. The authors of codification manuals, however, point this fact out in the very beginning of this process claiming that they merely consider codification the start of a long-term linguistic development, based on the fact that standard Rusyn is a living language going through a constant process of changes (Jabur 1996: 43–53).

Publications on the Rusyn language, its functional spheres and the future prospects of its use in the form of regional and trans-regional standards are rather new, should one consider the fact that they were only brought back to life as late as 1989 by the new political environment in Europe. Following this, Rusyn, or Carpathian Rusyn, studies were formed as a research field in its own right, which is now dealt with by specialized institutions and a growing number of scientists in Slovakia and abroad. This area, however, includes a great number of complex issues brought about by the self-identification process of Rusyns. The language issue is only one of a whole range of problems still awaiting study in more detail.

References

- Benedek 2005 – Gergely Benedek. Maďarsko. In: P. R. Magocsi (ed.). *Rusynskýj jazýk*. Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski - Instytut Filologii Polskiej.
- Chomjak 1992a – Myroslava Chomjak. *Gramatýka lemkiwskoho jazýka*. Legnica.
- Chomjak 1992b – Myroslava Chomjak. *Lemkiwska gramatýka dlja dity*. Legnica.
- Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE*. 1990. Copenhagen, 40–41, Paragraphs 32 a 32.6.

- Dostál 1997 – Ondrej Dostál. Menšiny. In: Martin Bútorá (red.). *Slovensko 1996. Súhrnná správa o stave spoločnosti a trendoch na rok 1997*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, 253–256.
- Dostál 2003 – Ondrej Dostál. Národnostné menšiny. In: M. Kollár and G. Mesežnikov (reds.). *Slovensko 2003: Súhrnná správa o stave spoločnosti*. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, 159–160.
- Duč-Fajfer 2005 – Olena Duč-Fajfer. III. Sociolingvistický aspekt. Lemkovyna. In: P. R. Magocsi (ed.). *Rusyňský jazyk*. 349–363. Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski – Instytut Filologii Polskiej.
- Fejsa 2005 – Michajlo Fejsa. III. Sociolingvistický aspekt. Vojvodyna. In: P. R. Magocsi (red.). *Rusyňský jazyk*. 375–384. Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski - Instytut Filologii Polskiej.
- Gajdoš and Konečný 2005 – Marián Gajdoš and Stanislav Konečný. Rusínska a ukrajinská menšina v národnostnej politike Slovenska po roku 1989. In: Štefan Šutaj (red.). *Národnostná politika na Slovensku po roku 1989*. Prešov: Universum.
- Gajdoš et al. 2001 – Marián Gajdoš et al. *Rusíni/Ukrajinci na Slovensku na konci 20. storočia. K vybraným výsledkom historicko-sociologického výskumu v roku 2000*. Prešov: Universum.
- Gerovskij 1934 – G. Gerovskij. *Jazyk Podkarpatské Rusi. Československá vlastivěda díl III Jazyk*. Praha.
- Hartl 1938 – A. Hartl. K jazykovým sporům na Podkarpatské Rusi. In: *Slovo a slovesnost. List pražského lingvistického kroužku IV*. Praha.
- Horoščak 1993 – Jaroslav Horoščak. *Peršyj lemківsko-pol'skij slovnyk/ Pierwszy słownik lemkowski-polski*. Legnica.
- Hryb 1994a – Jan Hryb. *Bukvar 'pro rusyňský dity*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Hryb 1994b – Jan Hryb. *Čitanka pro rusyňský dity*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Jabur 1996 – V. Jabur. K niektorým otázkam charakteristiky noriem rusínskeho jazyka na Slovensku. In: P. R. Magocsi (ed.). *A New Slavic Language is Born. The Rusyn Literary Language of Slovakia / Zrodil sa nový slovanský jazyk. Rusínsky spisovný jazyk na Slovensku*. New York: Columbia University Press, 43–53.
- Jabur 2000 – V. Jabur. Rusínsky jazyk na Slovensku: stav po kodifikácii a perspektívy rozvoja. In: J. Doruľa (red.). *Slovensko-rusínsko-ukrajinské vzťahy od obrodenia po súčasnosť*. Bratislava: Slavistický kabinet SAV, 190–205.

- Jabur and Paňko 1994 – Vasyľ Jabur and Jurij Paňko. *Pravyla rusyňskoho pravopysu*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Juraškova 2017 – T. Juraškova. Choču cholem pjatnadcjat' rusyňských škol. *InfoRusyn – Narodný novynký XIV* (26), 7, 8–9.
- Kerča and Sočka-Boržavyn 1992 – Ihor Kerča and Vasyľ Sočka-Boržavyn. *Rusyns'kýj jazyk: očerk kompleksnoji praktyčnoji gramatyky* (unpublished manuscript).
- Kerča 2005 – Ihor Kerča. III. Sociolingvistichnýj aspekt. *Pudkarpats'ka Rus'.* In: P. R. Magocsi (red.). *Rusyňskýj jazyk*. Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski - Instytut Filologii Polskiej, 319–329.
- Konečný 2000 – Stanislav Konečný. Rusíni na Slovensku a vývoj otázky ich spisovného jazyka. *Človek a spoločnosť. Štúdie a články*. www.saske.sk/cas/1-2000/konecny2.html.
- Konečný et al. 2002 – Stanislav Konečný et al. *Sebareflexia postavenia a vývoja Rusínov na Slovensku. Niektoré výsledky etnosociologického výskumu na severovýchodnom Slovensku v roku 2002*. Prešov: Róbert Vico-vydavateľstvo.
- Krajňak 1992a – František Krajňak. *Malýj grekokatolyckýj katechizm pro rusyňský dity*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Krajňak 1992b – František Krajňak. *Molytvenyk sv. ružancja*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Kraľova 2015 – Ľ. Kraľova. Večerni školý rusyňskoho jazyka pro d'ity i doroslych OZ Kolýsočka-Kolíška v 2015 roci. *Narodný novynký XXV12*, 1, 3.
- Legislatívny ráamec pre jazyky menšín v Slovenskej republike*.
<http://www.culture.gov.sk/umenie/ttny-jazyk/archv>.
- Magočij 2005 – Pavel R. Magočij. III. Sociolingvistichnýj aspekt. *Ameryka*. In: P. R. Magocsi (ed.). *Rusyňskýj jazyk*. Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski - Instytut Filologii Polskiej, 285–302.
- Magocsi 2005 – P. R. Magocsi (ed.). *Русинський язык*. Opole.
- Magocsi 1987 – P. R. Magocsi. *The Language Question among the Subcarpathian Rusyns*. Fairview, New Jersey.
- Magocsi 1994 – P. R. Magocsi. *Rusíni na Slovensku*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.

- Magocsi 1996 – P. R. Magocsi. Rusínska jazyková otázka znova nastolená... In: P. R. Magocsi (ed.). *A New Slavic Language is Born. The Rusyn Literary Language of Slovakia / Zrodil sa nový slovanský jazyk. Rusínsky spisovný jazyk na Slovensku*. New York: Columbia University Press, 5–40.
- Magocsi 2002 – P. R. Magocsi. Krainiak Frantisek. In: P. R. Magocsi and I. Pop (eds.). *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*. Toronto - Buffalo - London: University of Toronto Press, 242.
- Magocsi 2007 – P. R. Magocsi. *Národ znikadiaľ: ilustrovaná história karpatských Rusínov*. Prešov: Rusín a Ľudové noviny.
- Magocsi 2016 – P. R. Magocsi. *Chrbtom k horám: Dejiny Karpatskej Rusi a karpatských Rusínov*. Prešov: Universum.
- Magocsi and Pop 2005 – P. R. Magocsi and I. Pop (eds.). *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture* (2nd rev. ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Maľcovska 1994 – Marija Maľcovska. *Manna i oskomyna*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Paňkevič 1923 – I. Paňkevič. Jazyková otázka v Podkarpatské Rusi. In: J. Chmelař, S. Klíma, and J. Nečas (eds.). *Podkarpatská Rus*. Praha, 130–150.
- Paňko 1992 – Jurij Paňko. *Normý rusyňskoho pravopysu*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Paňko 1994a – J. Paňko. *Rusyňsko-rus'ko-ukrajiňsko-sloveňsko-pol'skŷj slovnyk lingvističnyh terminiv*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Paňko et al. 1994 – J. Paňko et al. *Orfografičnyj slovnyk rusyňskoho jazyka*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Petrovcij 1993 – Ivan Petrovcij. *Dialektarij, abož myla knyžočka rusyns'koji bysidŷ u viršach*. Užhorod.
- Pliškova 1999 – A. Pliškova. Sproba rozložŷty Rusyniv, abo... *Rusyn IX*, 3–4, 2–3.
- Plišková 2004 – A. Plišková. Rusínsky jazyk na Slovensku po roku 1989. In: Š. Šutaj (ed.). *Národy a národnosti. Stav výskumu po roku 1989 a jeho perspektívy*. Prešov: Universum, 198–203.
- Pliškova 2005 – A. Pliškova. III. Sociolingvistichnýj aspekt. Prjašivska Rus'. In: P. R. Magocsi (ed.). *Rusyňskŷj jazyk*. Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski – Instytut Filologii Polskiej, 331–348.

- Plišková 2006 – A. Plišková. *Spysovnýj jazyk karpatškých Rusyniv: problemy stanovliňa, kodifikaciji, akceptaciji i sfer funkcionovaňa*. [Dissertation.] Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava.
- Plišková 2008 – A. Plišková. Practical Spheres of the Rusyn Language in Slovakia. *Studia Slavica Hungarica* 53, 1, 95–115.
- Plišková 2009 – A. Plišková. *Language and National Identity: Rusyns South of the Carpathians*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Plišková 2014a – A. Plišková. Karpatorusinistika v kontexte dejín Prešovskej univerzity. In: P. Kónya (ed.). *Univerzita v kontexte zmien*. Prešov: Vydavateľstvo PU, 442–449.
- Plišková 2014b – A. Plišková. Rusínsky jazyk na Slovensku 20 rokov po kodifikácii. In: Andrej Sulitka and Uherek Zdeněk (eds.). *Praha a menšiny: Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference konané v Praze dne 4. prosince 2014*. Praha: Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i., ve spolupráci s Magistrátem hlavního města Prahy a Domem národnostních menšin, o.p.s., 103–123.
- Plišková 2015a – A. Plišková. Rusínsky jazyk v kontexte Európskej charty regionálnych alebo menšinových jazykov. In: K. Koporová (ed.). *Rusínsky spisovný jazyk na Slovensku: 20. výročie kodifikácie*. Prešov: Prešovská univerzita - ÚRJK, 202–231.
- Plišková 2015b – A. Plišková. Prjašivska univerzita bude maty unikatnu Biblioteku karpatorusynistiký. *Rusyn XXV*, 1, 12–14.
- Plišková 2016a – A. Plišková. Rusínske masmédiá na Slovensku v kontexte Európskej charty regionálnych alebo menšinových jazykov. In: K. Koporová (ed.). *Dynamické procesy v súčasnej slavistike*. Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Prešovskej univerzity, 101–129.
- Plišková 2016b – A. Plišková. Mgr. Petro Krajňak – pedagog, rusyňskýj aktivista, politik. *Rusyn XXVI*, 2, 1–3.
- Report of the CSCE Meeting of Experts on National Minorities*. 1991. Geneva.
- Sabov 1923 – E. Sabov. Literární jazyk Podkarpatské Rusi. In: J. Chmelář, S. Klíma, and J. Nečas (eds.). *Podkarpatská Rus*. Praha, 125–129.
- Štatistický úrad SR. <http://portal.statistics.sk/showdoc.do?docid=43829>
- Suchýj 1994 – Štefan Suchýj. *Rusyňskýj spivnyk*. Prešov: Rusínska obroda.
- Tichý 1938 – F. Tichý. *Vývoj současného spisovného jazyka na Podkarpatské Rusi*. Praha: Orbis.

- Timkovič 2006 – Jozafát V. Timkovič. *Rusíni na Slovensku v cirkevných dokumentoch, I. diel*. Užhorod: Vydavateľstvo V. Paďáka.
- Tolstoj 1996 – N. I. Tolstoj. Úvodom. In: P. R. Magocsi (ed.). *A New Slavic Language is Born. The Rusyn Literary Language of Slovakia / Zrodil sa nový slovanský jazyk. Rusínsky spisovný jazyk na Slovensku*. New York: Columbia University Press, xiii.
- Uličianska 2008 – Zuzana Uličianska. Teater sja verne k ukrajiňskomu jazýku. *Narodný novynký XVIII (17–20)*, 3.
- Vaňko 2000 – J. Vaňko. *The Language of Slovakia's Rusyns/Jazyk slovenských Rusínov*. New York.
- Vladimír Rus de juxta Hornad (J. V. Timkovič) 2004 – *Dejiny gréckokatolíkov Podkarpatska (9.–18. storočie)*. Košice.
- Zozul'ak 2008 – Aleksander Zozul'ak. Teater A. Dukhnovicha po ukrajiňský bude hraty lem pro horstku Ľudej!? *Narodný novynký XVIII (17–20)*, 3–4.
- Бонкало 1941 – А. Бонкало. *Руський літературный языкъ*. Літературно-наукова бібліотека, 4, Унгарь.
- Верхратський 1899 – І. Верхратський. *Знадоби для пізнання угорско-руських говорів: 1. Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка*. XXVII. Львів.
- Верхратський 1901 – І. Верхратський. *Знадоби для пізнання угорско-руських говорів: 2. Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, XL. Львів.
- Волошин 1921 – А. Волошин. *О письменном языкеъ Подкарпатских Русинов*. Ужгород.
- Гусьнай 1921 – И. Гусьнай. *Языковой вопросъ въ Подкарпатской Руси*. Книгопечатня “Св. Николая” въ Пряшевѣ.
- Стрипській 1907 – Я. Стрипській. *Старша руська письменность на Угорщинѣ*. Ужгород.
- Стрипській 1924 – Я. Стрипській. *Гдѣ документи старшей исторіи Подкарпатской Руси?* Ужгород.
- Удвари 2000 – И. Удвари. *Образчики з історії пудкарпатських Русинув XVIII. столітія. Изглядованя з історії культури и языка*. Ужгород.

Францев 1931 – В. А. Францев. *Изъ истории борьбы за русскій литературный языкъ въ Подкарпатской Руси въ половинѣ XIX ст.* Прага.

Штець 1969 – М. Штець. *Літературна мова українців Закарпаття і Східної Словаччини.* Братислава.

Online resources

Nariadenie vlády Slovenskej republiky 534/2011 Z. z. z 19. decembra 2011, ktorým sa mení a dopĺňa nariadenie vlády Slovenskej republiky č. 221/1999 Z. z., ktorým sa vydáva zoznam obcí, v ktorých občania Slovenskej republiky patriaci k národnostnej menšine tvoria najmenej 20% obyvateľstva. Available online at:

https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/2011/534/vyhlasene_znenie.html

Legislatívny rámec pre jazyky menšín v Slovenskej republike. Available online at. <http://www.culture.gov.sk/umenie/ttny-jazyk/archiv>
Výnos Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky z 29. apríla 2004 č. MK-480/2004-1 o poskytovaní dotácií v pôsobnosti Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky. Available online at:

http://old.culture.gov.sk/files/files/zvesti/zvesti5-6_04_web.pdf

Nová pracovná skupina na ministerstve sa bude venovať rozvoju výučby rusínskeho jazyka a kultúry. Available online at:

<https://www.minedu.sk/nova-pracovna-skupina-na-ministerstve-sa-bude-venovat-rozvoju-vyucby-rusinskeho-jazyka-a-kultury/>