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The Rusyn Language: Recent Achievements and Challenges

Carpatho-Rusyns – Cyrillic alphabet – language planning – Rusyn language

The goal of this study is rather modest: to survey publications devoted to the Rusyn language that have appeared since 2004. In that year a 480-page monograph on the Rusyn language—as one of the fourteen volumes in the series, *A Modern History of the Slavonic Languages*—was published by Opole University in Poland under the auspices of an international committee of Slavic linguists (Magocsi 2004). The appearance of this volume meant, in effect, that Rusyn was recognized as a distinct language, not simply a dialect or branch of another language, in other words a new reality that has been accepted since then by Slavists in many countries.¹ Three years later marked another milestone. In 2007, the first center of higher education in Carpatho-Rusyn Studies anywhere in the world was established: the Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture at Prešov University in Slovakia. It is from this period, the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, that this study takes its start. But before looking at the achievements and challenges faced by the

¹ Among the best conceptual discussions is that of Stefan Pugh (2007); see also Kushko (2007), Magocsi (2016), and Vaňko (2007).

Rusyn language since that time, first a few words of context would seem appropriate.

Geo-Political Context

The area where Rusyn has traditionally been spoken by the indigenous population—historic Carpathian Rus’—is a territory covering about 18,000 square kilometers. At present, historic Carpathian Rus’ is located within four countries: Poland (the southeastern corner known as the Lemko Region); Slovakia (the northeastern corner known as the Prešov Region); Ukraine (the far western Transcarpathian oblast/Zakarpattia); and Romania (the Maramureş Region along the southern bank of the upper Tisza/Tisa River). Aside from this geographically contiguous territory divided by the borders of the above-mentioned four countries, Rusyn was in the past also spoken by the indigenous population in several villages of what is now northeastern Hungary. Finally, there were (and still are) a small number of Rusyn speakers in the Vojvodina region of Serbia and the Srem region of Croatia, but these diaspora communities which date back to the mid-eighteenth century, as well as immigrant communities that from the 1880s settled in the United States and Canada, will not be discussed in this study.

There is no question that the number of people who declare themselves of Carpatho-Rusyn nationality or who declare their mother tongue as Rusyn declined precipitously during the nearly half century since the close of World War II. The reason is quite simple. After 1945, when all countries where Carpatho-Rusyns live came under Communist rule, their nationality and language were banned. This was in keeping with Soviet policy (first adopted in 1924) that was implemented throughout the region after 1945; namely, that Rusyn speech consists of dialects of the Ukrainian language, and that Carpatho-Rusyns are a branch of the Ukrainian nationality.

It was only after the collapse of Communist domination throughout central and eastern Europe in 1989 and the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991 that the political environment changed. Carpatho-Rusyns were permitted once again—as they had before World War II—to exist as a distinct people and allowed the possibility to develop a codified

literary language. Many speak of the post-1989 period as the third Carpatho-Rusyn national awakening. An awakening has indeed occurred although with varying degrees of intensity and with differing degrees of success.

In the present-day era of ubiquitous globalization, it may seem surprising that the number of people who identify as Carpatho-Rusyn and who declare their mother tongue as Rusyn have actually increased. This is most evident from data provided by censuses undertaken in post-Communist Czechoslovakia/Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary. By contrast, the number of Carpatho-Rusyns has not increased in Romania (the Maramureş), and their number is impossible to gauge from the one census undertaken by Ukraine in 2001.²

The largest number of Carpatho-Rusyns is in Slovakia, where they continue to increase in size. There have also been some modest numerical increases in Poland and Hungary.³

TABLE 1: Census data on Rusyn nationality/ethnicity

	SLOVAKIA	POLAND	HUNGARY
1991	17,200	—	—
2001	24,200	5,900	1,100
2011	33,500	10,500	3,900

2 Not only are there any comparable figures for Ukraine, but the one census that was taken tells us little about the number of Carpatho-Rusyns in the Transcarpathian region. Despite promises before the census that Rusyn would be an official nationality category, the State Bureau of Statistics created no code for the response “Rusyn”; therefore, Ukraine’s published in national statistical data Rusyns do not exist. Despite the negative environment before the 2001 census, nevertheless as many as 10,100 inhabitants of Transcarpathia identified their nationality as Rusyn, although that figure remains buried in difficult to access regional statistical reports and not in published national census data (Deržavnyj komitet 2003: 62).

3 The data in Tables 1 and 2 are drawn from official census reports published by the governments of Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary.

TABLE 2: Census data on Rusyn as mother tongue

	SLOVAKIA	POLAND	HUNGARY
1991	49,100	—	—
2001	54,900	5,600	1,100
2011	55,500	6,300	1,000

A key feature of the post-1989 national revival has been a call by new civic organizations in all countries in the Carpathian region to codify a Rusyn literary language. An important step in this regard was the convocation in November 1992 of a “working seminar”—subsequently known as the First Congress of the Rusyn Language—that was held in Bardejovské Kúpele, Slovakia. Scholars, writers, journalists, and civic activists from Carpatho-Rusyn communities in Poland, Czechoslovakia (Slovakia), Ukraine, Hungary, Yugoslavia (Serbia), the United States, and Canada were in attendance, as well as several world renowned socio-linguists and Slavic linguists from other countries.⁴

After two days of deliberations, the “First Congress” adopted a set of principles, which since then have guided the work of Carpatho-Rusyn language planners: (1) that the Rusyn literary language should be codified on the basis of the spoken vernacular; (2) that the alphabet should be Cyrillic; and (3) that initially there should not be a single literary language, but rather a different variant for each of the four communities where Carpatho-Rusyns live: Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, and Serbia (whose standard language already existed). The third principle came to be known as the Romansch model, after the experience of the fourth nationality in Switzerland which earlier in the twentieth century had created five variants and then a sixth variant (koiné) for general use among all Romansch speakers. Analogously, it was felt that at some unspecified time in the future a Rusyn koiné would be created based on the four regional variants.⁵ The First Congress also called for the creation

4 Among the notables present was the twentieth-century dean in the field of sociolinguistics, Joshua Fishman from the United States, and the respected Slavic linguist from Sweden, Sven Gustavsson.

5 The Romansch model was already proposed a year earlier in the programmatic statement, “Carpatho-Rusyns: A New or Revived People?” delivered in March 1991 at the First Word Congress of Rusyns (Magocsi 1999).

of various linguistic publications, the establishment of research and pedagogical institutes, and for the use of the “new Rusyn languages” in schools. Subsequent Rusyn language congresses held in 1999, 2007, and 2015 re-assessed the goals set out in 1992 and identified the progress and challenges that still faced language planners and teachers.⁶

Recent Language Publications

The major goal announced in 1992 at the First Congress of the Rusyn Language was basically achieved within the next decade. That goal, which called for the creation of a codified literary language, was realized after the appearance of standard grammars for Rusyn communities in the Prešov Region of Slovakia (Jabur and Pan’ko 1994), in Ukraine’s Transcarpathian region (Almašij et al. 1999), in the Lemko Region of Poland (Fontánski and Chomiak 2000), and in the Vojvodina of Serbia (Ramač 2002).

Even before, and certainly after, the appearance of these standard grammars, the “new” Rusyn languages were being used in a wide range of publications (books, newspapers, journals). Two bibliographies covering the years 1989 through 2014, which exclude works published in Serbia and Croatia (Il’čenko and Lendjel 2007; Il’čenko and Padjak 2015), list no less than 600 Rusyn-language publications, the majority of which are scholarly works, language textbooks, and bellettres.

a. Dictionaries

Perhaps the most remarkable achievement during the past decade has been the completion of several large-scale dictionary projects. Transcarpathia has been the leader in this regard: Igor Kerča published a two-volume 58,000 word Rusyn-Russian dictionary (Kerča 2007) and a two-volume 65,000 word Russian-Rusyn dictionary (Kerča 2012); while Jurij Čori published a five-volume 250,000 word Rusyn-Ukrainian dictionary (Čori 2013–2016) and a five-volume compilation of Rusyn

⁶ The work of the first four Rusyn language congresses has recently been surveyed in Pljiškova and Citrjakova (2017). The presentations at the third and fourth congresses are found in Pljiškova (2008a) and *Rusyn’skyj literaturnyj jazýk* 2015.

phrases with their equivalents in Ukrainian (Čori 2015–2017). The monumental dictionaries of Kerča and Čori provide explanations in Russian or Ukrainian as well as examples of Rusyn-language phrases for each lexical entry. More modest in scope is the dictionary under the editorial direction of Dmytrij Pop, which is more properly a compilation of two word lists each of about 20,000 words: the first in Rusyn is followed by equivalents in Ukrainian and Russian; the second in Russian is followed by their equivalents in Ukrainian and Rusyn (Pop 2007). D. Pop also compiled with several students and retired people a volume that includes two lists of phrases: one in Russian with their equivalents in Rusyn and Ukrainian, the other in Rusyn with their equivalents in Ukrainian and Russian (Pop 2011).

Dictionaries of a more specialized kind have also appeared. Mychayl Almašij published two smaller-sized works: a Rusyn orthographic-orthoeptic (pronunciation) dictionary (Almašij 2014a); a list of Rusyn linguistic terms with their equivalents in Russian, Ukrainian, and Latin (Almašij and Uchal' 2014); and the truly ambitious Rusyn-Slavic lexicon, which consists of over 4,700 Rusyn words followed by definitions and illustrative phrases for each in Rusyn as well as the equivalent word in ten Slavic languages: Belarusan, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Slovak, Czech, Bulgarian, Serbian, Slovenian, and Macedonian (Almašij 2015). Finally, several scholars from Transcarpathia (none of whom supports the view that Rusyn is or even could be a distinct language) have enriched our knowledge of the region's dialects with an etymological dictionary of 11,500 family names (Čučka 2005), a 15,900-word dictionary of the lowland Maramoroš Rusyn dialect (with definitions in Ukrainian) spoken in the village of Sokyrnycja just east of Chust (Sabadoš 2008), and a list of words from two Hutsul villages near Rachiv in the far eastern Maramoroš region (Pipaš and Halas 2005).

Dictionary projects in other Rusyn-inhabited regions have been less extensive. For the Prešov Region in Slovakia, Jurij Pan'ko published 45,000 word Slovak-Rusyn dictionary (Paňko 2012–2015), while the staff at Prešov University's Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture released a revised version of the earlier 1994 orthographic lexicon which takes into account the Prešov Region Rusyn language reform adopted in 2005 (Jabur et al. 2007).

Scholars in the Lemko Region of Poland have been working on two large-scale still unpublished dictionary projects since the 1990s. To date only a few other works have appeared, the most extensive of which is the Lemko-Polish dictionary of Jarosław Horoszczak. This is actually two lists of words (with no explanations or linguistic examples): Lemko-Rusyn with their equivalents in Polish, and Polish with their equivalents in Lemko-Rusyn (Horoszczak 2004). The only other dictionaries of the contemporary Lemko-Rusyn literary language are a series of small-scale Polish-Lemko-English/English-Lemko-Polish school texts of words and phrases on specific topics (Chomiak and Górska 2004; Chomiak, Górska and Sandowicz-Bakowska 2006; Chomiak and Górska 2003). More scholarly in nature is the detailed dictionary compiled by the respected Polish dialectologist, Janusz Rieger, which focusses on the Lemko-Rusyn dialect (with definitions and linguistic examples in Polish) spoken in the village of Bartne (Rieger 2016). Finally, cultural enthusiasts among the post-World War II Lemko diaspora in Ukraine (former eastern Galicia) have tried to preserve the speech of their forefathers in what are described as dictionaries of “the Lemko dialect of the Ukrainian language.”⁷ These include: a compilation of Lemko-Rusyn words (Pyrtej 2004); a collection of 2,600 phrases (Stupins’ka and Bytkivs’ka 2013) with explanations in Ukrainian; and something called a “Lemko” dictionary, which, in effect, is a compilation of over 10,700 Ukrainian words explained by using nearly 26,000 “rare and most often used” Lemko words (Duda 2011).

Diasporan cultural activists in North America have also been busy trying to record the Rusyn lexical heritage. Clearly the most ambitious project is that of Nancy Kelly who published in three volumes a list of over 39,000 Rusyn words with their equivalents in English and a list of over 48,000 English words with their equivalents in Rusyn (Kelly 2016).

b. Grammars

The past decade has witnessed the publication of several grammars whose existence reflects the on-going work of standardization. The grammar of Mirosława Chomiak and Henryk Fontański, first published in 2000, was

7 Cited in Duda (2011: 2).

reissued four years later but with no changes (Chomiak and Fontański 2004). Much different is the situation in the Prešov Region of Slovakia, where the staff of Prešov University's Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture introduced revisions to the standard that was first adopted in 1995. The changes were initially outlined in a new rule book (Jabur and Pljiškova 2005), then in a university textbook (Jabur and Pljiškova 2009), and finally elaborated in a 325-page revised grammar compiled by Vasyl' Jabur, Anna Pljiškova, and Kvetoslava Koporova (Jabur et al. 2015). It is the 2005 revised version of the Rusyn literary language in Slovakia which forms the basis of the descriptive grammar written by the recently deceased American Slavist Stefan Pugh for Germany's Lincom Europa series, *Languages of the World/Materials* (Pugh 2009), as well as for the revised and expanded edition of a popular phrasebook with grammatical notes that was first published in 1976 for use primarily in North America (Magocsi 2015).

In contrast to Poland's Lemko Region and Slovakia's Prešov Region, where Rusyn grammars form the basis for a language used in schools and other spheres of public life, the work of grammarians (none of whom are trained linguists) in Ukraine's Transcarpathia are little used, even unknown, and have become little more than cultural artifacts. Since the first attempt at a standard grammar for Transcarpathia was published in 1999, two other grammars have appeared, one by the Orthodox priest Dymytrij Sydor (2005), the other by the retired elementary school teacher Anna Mehela (2014). Each author implies that his or her grammar is destined to become the new standard for Transcarpathia, but neither has been able to fulfill that role.⁸

c. School Textbooks

Aside from dictionaries and grammars, even greater numbers of Rusyn-language school textbooks have appeared during the past decade. In Ukraine's Transcarpathia there existed for just over a decade a non-governmental funded extracurricular Rusyn School Program. From 2003/2004 to 2012/2013 it operated weekly Rusyn-language and culture

⁸ Sydor's grammar has, in particular, been the subject of justified criticism (Pfundl 2008; Nimčuk 2013).

classes in 24 to 40 schools in the region.⁹ For that program a few grammars (Almaši 2004; Padjak 2012) were published, and more recently a small rule-book appeared (Almašij 2014b).

Not surprisingly, it is in those countries where the Rusyn language is recognized and taught in state schools that many more student texts have appeared. For Poland's Lemko-Rusyn schools there is a new pre-school drawing book (Prokopczak 2003) and elementary primer (Murjanka 2003). Particularly productive is the teacher Mirosława Chomiak, who has published three school grammars and readers (Chomiak 2003; Chomiak 2005a; Chomiak 2005b) and a fourth designed for use with computers (Chomiak and Matała 2003).

Whereas published language textbooks in the Lemko Region are directed primarily at pre-school and elementary level students, in the Prešov Region there is now available a full gamut of Rusyn-language textbooks for all levels of the educational system. These include handsomely designed and colorful textbooks for the elementary level (Pljiškova and Koporova 2011; Glosíková 2011; Varšova et al. 2014; Melničakova 2015; Gicova-Micovčinova 2015), and a systematic series of grammars, readers, and workbooks commissioned by the Slovak Ministry of Education for use in Rusyn-language classes at the elementary level (grades 1 through 9) and the middle school level (grades 1 through 4). No less than 19 textbooks devoted to grammar (*Rusyn'skŷj jazyk*), 17 readers with literary texts (*Čitanka/Lyteraturna výchova/Rusyns'ka literatura*), a music textbook (*Muzyčna výchova*), and several workbooks (*Robočii zošŷt*) have been published since 2004, some in more than one edition.¹⁰ There are even conversation or phrasebooks designed to introduce elementary and middle-level school children to foreign languages, whether Slovak or English, through the medium of Rusyn (Koporova et al. 2009; Magocsi 2014). Finally, there are university-level textbooks (Jabur and Pljiškova 2009), including one designed specifically for foreign students enrolled at Prešov University, whether during the standard academic year

⁹ Details about Transcarpathia's decade-long Rusyn School Program are found in Padjak (2013).

¹⁰ The Prešov Region Rusyn-language textbooks are listed in Il'čenko and Padjak (2013: 23–30).

or at the intensive Studium Carpato-Ruthenorum International Summer School (Pliškova and Koporova 2015).

On-Going Challenges

As with any literary language, standardization is by definition an on-going process that can never ever be complete. The reason is obvious: languages are living organisms which by their very nature evolve in response to the ever-changing societies of which they are a part. The Rusyn language is no exception as is evident in the discussions that have taken place during the last decade and a half as they relate to revisions of existing literary norms or even the creation of new norms.

a. The Koiné Project

Aside from the conceptual decision to develop four Rusyn literary variants, one each for Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Serbia, the First Congress of the Rusyn Language also anticipated creating at some point in the future a koiné, or general standard for the entire Rusyn linguistic area.

Of all the proposals put forth at the first (1992) and subsequent (1999, 2007, 2016) Rusyn language congresses, the idea of a koiné has proven to be the most problematic. There was an experiment in this direction by the Transcarpathian philologist and publisher, Valerii Padjak, who created a koiné based on the Transcarpathian and Prešov Region variants to translate the popular history book, *The People from Nowhere* (Magočij 2007). This effort—not surprisingly the fate of most initial experiments—was criticized at the Third Rusyn Language Congress in 2007. Other congress papers addressed linguistic issues, which arguably needed to be resolved before koiné planning could move forward.¹¹

¹¹ The speaker who analyzed the koiné translation was Anna Pljiškova, “Hljadanja konsenzu pry formovanju kojne na prykladji perekladu tekstu knyžkŷ ‘Narod nyvŷdkŷ’”; despite her often justified criticisms Pljiškova nonetheless “welcomed this first effort on the path toward the creation of a future [Rusyn] koiné” (Pljiškova 2008a: 219–232). Other papers at the Third Congress dealt with the general koiné phenomenon—Jurij Van’ko, Rusyn writing systems—Vasyl’ Jabur, and Rusyn linguistic terminology—Henryk Fontański and Mirosława Chomiak (Pljiškova 2008a: 15–24, 178–191).

Since 2007 an air of skepticism seems to be dominant among Rusyn language-planners who argue that a koiné is impractical and not likely to happen. Nor is the present reality encouraging for the koiné project, especially when some regions (in particular Transcarpathia in Ukraine) have not yet agreed on their own standard. Despite discussions, language planners in various countries with Carpatho-Rusyn inhabitants have been unable to adopt a common alphabet whose number of letters, as reflected in current grammars, range from 34 to 39. Similarly, there is not yet agreement on a common linguistic terminology, let alone grammatical rules and lexicon. Since most language planners favor the phonetic instead of etymological principles, the adjectival endings in some variants use the soft sign (-ськый in Transcarpathia and Hungary), while others do not (-скый in the Prešov Region; -скій in the Lemko Region). How to render the one vowel which has plagued Rusyn-language writers since the late nineteenth century remains an unresolved problem, so that present-day literary standards in the Prešov and Lemko regions use **i** (regardless of how the phoneme is pronounced); Transcarpathian grammars may use some combination of up to six letters (**i**, **y**, **ÿ/ï**, **o**, **ô**) for the one phoneme.

b. The Roman Alphabet (Latynyka)

Whereas the call at the first language congress to use the Cyrillic alphabet has basically been accepted, Rusyn communities located in countries where the Roman alphabet is used by the official state language face a serious problem. In the pre-1989 era of Communist rule, Russian was a required subject beginning already in elementary schools. The result was that all students had at the very least the ability to read Cyrillic. This is no longer the case in post-Communist schools in Poland which face this same handicap but have not been swayed from publishing Rusyn only in Cyrillic. In Slovakia, however, Greek Catholic clerical supporters of the Rusyn language led by Reverend František Krajňák (who together with his colleagues are a minority in their own church) generally use the Roman alphabet (*latynyka*), sometimes with parallel texts in Cyrillic (*azbuka*), in their religious books and serial publications.¹² Their reason-

¹² The most widespread Rusyn-language church publications are catechisms (Krajňák 1992), service books (*Malýj trebnyk* 2013; *Apostoly* 1997, 2017), and

ing is simple: at least one generation of young people in Slovakia are unable to read the Cyrillic alphabet; therefore, it is better to bring them the Word of God not in Slovak but in their native Rusyn, even it has to be done through the medium of the Roman alphabet.

Revisions of Grammatical Standards

Whereas there are standard grammars and dictionaries for the Rusyn language in Poland, Slovak, and Ukraine, not all publications, including school textbooks, necessarily follow the proposed standards. For instance, in Poland some school texts authored by the teacher Mirosława Chomiak do not follow the norms used in the standard grammar of which she was co-author (Fontański and Chomiak 2000).

Controversies over an acceptable standard have been especially problematic in Slovakia following the adoption in 2005 of a revised standard by the staff at Prešov University's Institute of Rusyn Language and Culture. Since then more than a decade has passed, yet the disputes continue.¹³ The Prešov Institute has a monopoly on producing school textbooks, so that they as well as some publishers and periodicals (*Rusyn*, 1991-present) use the new 2005 standard. On the other hand, Slovakia's oldest and largest Carpatho-Rusyn civic society, the Rusyn Renaissance Society/Rusyn'ska obroda and its official organ (*Info Rusyn*, 2001-present) basically use the "original" 1995 standard.

Ukraine's Transcarpathian Region faces the worse situation of all, not in the least because the Rusyn language, while not banned, is generally ostracized by Ukraine's governing authorities. Rusyn is not part of the state-approved curriculum for Transcarpathia's educational system,

the Book of Gospels (*Tetrajevanhelije* 2009), all with parallel texts in the Roman and Cyrillic alphabets. The monthly magazines *Artos* (2005-present) of the Greek Catholic Society of St. John Chrysostom and *Blahovístnyk* of the Basilian Monastery in Prešov (1995–2001) and in Krasnyj Brid (2001-present) publish articles either in the Roman alphabet (the majority) or the Cyrillic alphabet.

13 For a summary of the conflicting views on this matter, see Pan'ko 2008, Vasyl' Jabur, "Orfografičny problemý" (Plišková 2007: 93–103, Pljiškova 2008a: 57–62).

and it is used only in a few publications and in newspapers that appear at best haphazardly. Considering such conditions, none of the existing grammars produced in Transcarpathia (Almašij et al. 1999; Sydor 2005; Pečora 2013; Mehela 2014) has been accepted as a norm, so that each author and publisher writes in his or her own form of Rusyn. The result is linguistic chaos.

The Hungarian Variant of Rusyn

The newest and somewhat unexpected developments have occurred in Hungary. At the First Language Congress back in 1992, the Hungarian delegation argued that it did not favor creating a separate Rusyn standard for Hungary, but that instead it would likely adopt the standard in Slovakia. By the end of the 1990s, and with an increasing number of immigrants from Ukraine settling permanently in Hungary, the few Rusyn serial publications that appeared in Budapest (*Rusyns'kyj svit*, 2003-present; *Kalendar-Al'manach/Rusyns'kyj al'manach*, 2000-present) were written in a language that more and more resembled what was used in Transcarpathia. But when the Transcarpathians failed to develop a commonly accepted standard, Hungary's Rusyn civic leaders decided to create a new fifth standard language based in part on dialects from Transcarpathia as well as orthography that reflected the way words are pronounced by older generation Rusyns in villages like Komlóška and Múcsony in northeastern Hungary.

The announcement that a Rusyn norm for Hungary was in the making came in 2007 from Mykhayl Kapral', at the time lecturer in the former Department of Ukrainian and Rusyn Philology at the Nyíregyháza School of Advanced Education.¹⁴ The first attempts at creating the new standard came a few years later with a Rusyn-Hungarian phrasebook (Giric 2010), an elementary school primer (Ljavyneč 2011), but most especially since 2011 the bi-monthly magazine *Rusyns'kyj svit*. The culmination of Hungary's Rusyn standardization efforts—all under the language editorship

14 The reasons for codifying a fifth Rusyn standard are discussed in three articles by Mykhayl Kapral' (Plišková 2007: 85–91; Pljšikova 2008: 73–79; *Rusyn'skyj literaturnyj jazýk* 2015: 90–97).

of Mykhayl Kapral’—came with the publication readers and workbooks for the first four years of elementary school (Bajsa 2015a; Bajsa 2015b; Zajakovs’ka and Giric 2015) and an orthographic dictionary with grammatical tables (Kapral et al. 2017).

Conclusions

There is no question that the Rusyn language has made significant advances since the outset of the twenty-first century. This essay, basically bibliographical in nature, hopefully has succeeded in informing the Slavic scholarly world of the numerous, through little known, body of language texts that exist for what are now five variants of the Rusyn literary language.

It is important to note that Rusyn is not only to be found in publications. It is a living medium employed in daily oral communication and also in schools, churches, the print media, radio, television, internet social media, literary and scholarly publications, and at civic, cultural, and academic events. Its use in each of these domains varies from country to country and its success depends in large part on how various governments do, or do not, accord respect and financial support for the language’s development. The already existing scholarly literature on how Rusyn functions in certain countries is in itself a testimony to the achievements it has made since the Revolutions of 1989 and in particular during the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century.¹⁵

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15 On the functional use of the Rusyn language in Slovakia, Poland, and Ukraine, see Pljiškova (2008b: 74–123), Pljiškova (2009: 87–145); Misiak (2006: 111–130). See also studies by Olena Duć-Fajfer, Kvetoslava Koporova, František Krajnjak, Marianna Ljavyneć-Uhryn, Valerij Padjak, and Aleksander Zozuljak in Pljiškova (2008: 96–126), and *Rusyn škyj literaturnyj jazyk* (2015: 116–200).

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