

 **SRIC Slavic Research Center**
スラヴ研究センター

RUTHENIANS *versus* UKRAINIANS IN SERBIA AND HOW THEY ARE INTERWOVEN

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Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University
Sapporo, 27 September 2010



- Olena Papuga has for the first time in history addressed the parliament of Serbia in her native language-Ruthenian in 2010.



The Constant Ruthenian Dilemma

"Each people has it's constant dilemma. For Ruthenians it is the question - is Ukraine their native state or not?"

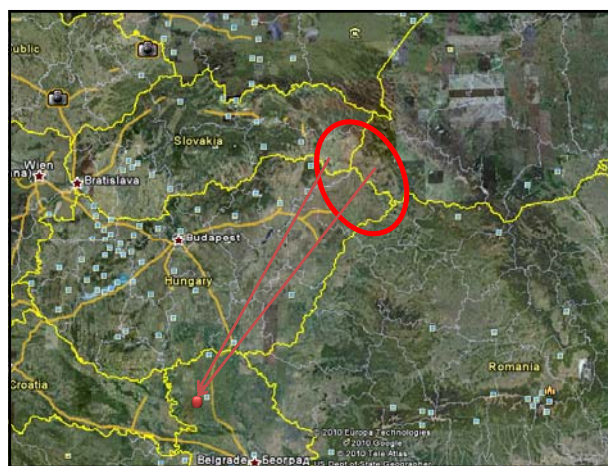
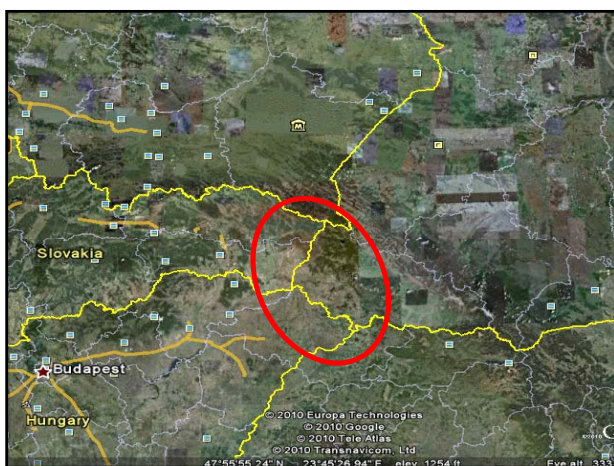
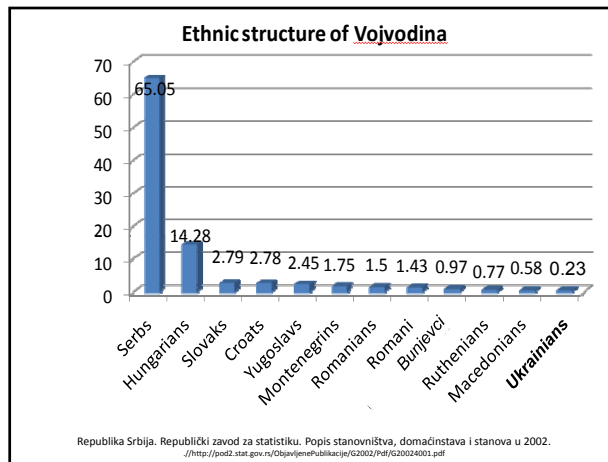
Ruthenians settled to Vojvodina 260 years ago, during the reign of Maria Thereza of Austria. Our national holyday is January, 17th - the day when the agreement about the settling of Ruthenians was signed. Ruthenians settled from the borders of present Ukraine, Poland and Slovakia.

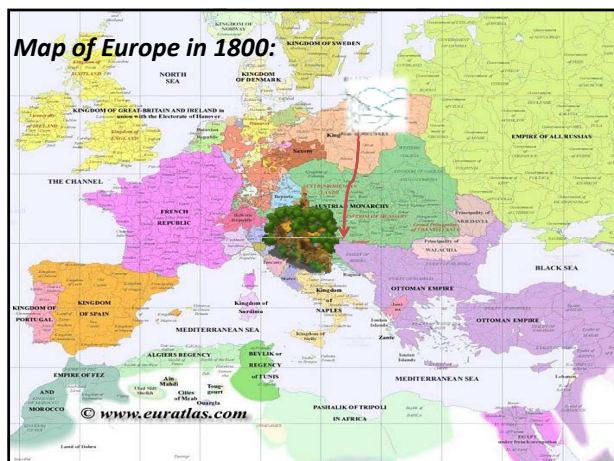
There are different opinions about our relationship to Ukraine among Ruthenians. We have two societies - "Ruska Matka" and The Union of Ruthenians and Ukrainians of Vojvodina. They are fighting on this matter. The Union contends that Ukraine is our native state, while *Matka* claims it was the Habsburg monarchy - according to them, since it doesn't exist anymore, we don't have our native state at all," - says Olena Papuga. *Danas*, 30. 08. 2010.

Danas.rs

Earlier Approaches to the Question

- Sabadosh Janko. *From the History of Struggle of Ukrainians (Ruthenians) for their National and Social Freedom and Unity, their Political, Economic and Cultural Development*, Doctoral dissertation, Belgrade university, Department of Law, 1970.
- ПУМ'ЯНЦЕВ, Олег. *The Question of National Identity of Ruthenians and Ukrainians of Yugoslavija (1918 - 1991)*. Dottorato di ricerca in Studi Iberici, Anglo-americani e dell'Europa Orientale. Settore scientifico-disciplinare di afferenza: Universita ca' Foscari di Venezia, 2009.





Folk song

Господи милосердний, на нас подивися,
куди мої рідні брати порозходилися.
Один пішов лугом, лугом, другий пішов крайом,
третій пішов середином, та зістав капральом.
Перший тужить, нарікає, десть там у Банаті,
ні землиці, ні хатинки, а подерті шати.
Другий застряг десть у Бачкі, так же мізерія,
то робота, то хорота, гірка урбарія.
Третій краде дні у Бога там у Надь Королі,
ніде щастя на чужині, ніде нема долі .

*Банат (Banat, Vojvodina),
*Бачка (Bachka, Vojvodina),
*Надь Король (Nagy Karalyu - Sagei, Romania),



17 January 1761

- The first sizeable Ukrainian enclave was formed by "Bačvanski Rusnaci" [Bačva Rusyns], Ruthenians who settled in Serbia
- The agreement was signed to settle 200 Greek Catholic Ruthenian families from upper Hungary - known as Gornjica - in Ruski Krstur.
- 1763, another group of 150 Ruthenian families arrived in the village of Kucura.

Gornjica

Upper Hungary
(present Ukraine-Slovakia-Hungary triangle)



Ruski Krstur



The Uniate church in Ruski Krstur. Cathedral of Apostolic Exarchate of Serbia (1784)

Ruth of Ruthenians?

- There is an interesting hypothesis that the Vojvodina Ruthenians may have sprung from the Zaporog Cossacks

In 1785, the Zaporog Cossacks indeed addressed a petition to the Austrian government to allow them to settle on the Austrian border.

- There is no convincing evidence to show that the Vojvodina Ruthenians originated from the Zaporogs
Ruthenian folklore preserves not the slightest trace of a Kozak memory (РАМАЧ 2007: 49; ДУЛИЧЕНКО 2009: 335-339)

Djura Vislavski, a Ruthenian from the Banat

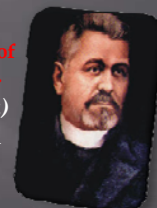
- "Kerestur and Kucura were settled in the fourth year of the reign of Maria Theresa, i.e. in 1744, and populated by people from the Tatra, Spishka, Maromaroš and Makow. And many came from Galicia. My grandfather was from Galicia, from the river Vistula, which is why he acquired the surname Vislavski" (*Ruthenians in the Banat*, ЗОРЯ 1880: 30).

20TH CENTURY (PRO UKRAINIAN)

- VOJVODINA COLONIES IN THE VILLAGES OF RUSKI KRSTUR AND KOCUR AND IN NOVI SAD BECAME THE CENTRES OF RUTHENIAN CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.
- PROSVITA SOCIETY (РУСКЕ НАРОДНЕ ПРОСВИТНЕ ДРУШТВО - РНПД) WAS FOUNDED IN NOVI SAD.
- *Ruski Kalendar* (1921-1940, 21 issues in all)
- *Ruski Novini* (1924-1941)
- *Naša Zagratka* (1937-1941)
- in the Ruthenian (Bačva-Srem) dialect of Ukrainian

Gavril Kostelnik (1886 - 1948)

- ▣ *A Grammar of the Speech of Bačva-Srem* (Грамматика бачванскосримскей бешеди), 1923
- ▣ **This work influenced the development of the language of Ruthenian publications.**
- ▣ *From my Village* (З мойого валала) – the collecting of poems published in 1904, in the Ukrainian town of Zhovkva, marked the dawn of a Ruthenian literary tradition



KPSJR (anti Ukrainian fraction)

- Some Ruthenians came out against the pro-Ukrainian course taken by *Prosvita* and gathered around the Cultural-Educational League of South-Slav Ruthenians (Културно-просветни савез јужнословенских Русина - КПСЈР) formed in Vrbas in 1933
- Заря" (1934-1936) → "Русска правда" → "Русска зоря"
- Comparing the cultural contribution made by activists of the Ruthenian *Prosvita* and the later League, researchers stress the great credit due to the former in constituting the literary life of Ruthenians in Yugoslavia, while the latter produced the first literary works in Ruthenian in the spirit of Socialist Realism (ТАМАШ 1997: 72).

1948 Resolution of 3rd Informbiro [Cominform]

- Ruthenians began to fear that the Ukrainian name and the use of elements of contemporary Ukrainian culture might be equated with harbouring sympathy for the Soviet Ukraine and the USSR
- Cultural-Educational League of South-Slav Ruthenians, which supported the separatism of the Ruthenian minority, received the support of the Socialist Yugoslav government. (САБАДОШ 1971: 23; РУМ'ЯНЦЕВ 2009)



RUTHENIANS IN SERBIA

- Ruthenians in Serbia
- press and publishing house, *Ruske Slovo* (<http://www.ruskeslovo.com/>)
- Ruthenian department at the government textbook office
- the bureau for culture, radio and TV programmes.




Culture

- Radio programmes in Ruthenian have been broadcast since October 1966
- Шветлосц* (1952-1954, 1966-present)
- Pionirska Zagratka*
- In Vojvodina, Ruthenian is one of six official languages
- Education through the language is provided all the way from pre-school through three primary schools, one secondary (the only one in the world to teach in Ruthenian), and a section for Ruthenian Studies at the Philosophy Department of Novi Sad University



Education

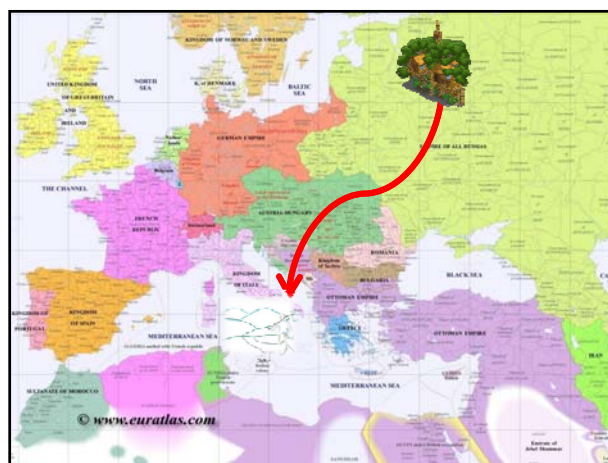


- Ruthenian was introduced as a discipline in 1972
- Chair of Ruthenian language and literature established in 1983
- Since 1981-82, twenty-eight students have graduated
- One has acquired a master's degree
- Two have PhDs
- A history of Ruthenian literature, a history of Ruski Krstur, the life and work of Gavriilo Kostelnik, a history of the Ruthenians, a grammar of the Ruthenian Language by Julijan Ramač, a Ruthenian-Serbian dictionary ...

Second wave (1890-1901) from Galicia



- Bosnia-Herzegovina and Galicia, as parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, found themselves in the same state
- The main administrative centre for the Ukrainian colony was in Prnjavor; later Banja Luka, Čelinac
- **The authorities called them Ruthenians, they called themselves Ukrainians and the local population called them Galicians”** (НЕБЕЩИЙ 2005).



Ukrainian settlers in Bosnia (Now Republika Srpska)

- The first national reading room opened in Prnjavor in 1909.
- **Prosvita Society** was founded and requested the central organization in **Lviv** to register it as one of its branches (ТЕРЛЮК 1996: 35-37)
- By the end of 1914, *Prosvita* was represented in all places of Ukrainian emigration in Bosnia.
- Kvitka-Osnovjanenko: *Сватання на Гончарівці*, was performed in 1919 in Prnjavor.
- *Верховинці* in 1921.
- *Prosvita* published the first issue of its magazine in Ukrainian: *Ridne Slovo*, which continued to appear until 1941 and from 1934 until 1941 the illustrated annual almanac.





After WW I and WW II

Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes → Socialist Yugoslavia

- The Ukrainians did not meet with much encouragement from the authorities in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, nor subsequently from Socialist Yugoslavia, due to fears of that the minority might form a bridge with the Soviet Ukraine. (САВАНЮК 1997: 79)

VOJVODINA SOCIETY OF UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND CULTURE IN 1989

- *Ukrajinske Slovo*, published since 1996 
- *Ridne Slovo* and the children's magazine: *Solovejko*
- Since the 1990s, there has been an increase in the number of those choosing to study Ukrainian as an optional subject in schools in Vojvodina
- 1991 Ukrainian Studies were introduced as a subject at the Philology Department of Belgrade University
<http://www.ukrajnistika.edu.rs> 
- In 2001, this became the Chair of Ukrainian Language and Literature

РІДНЕ СЛОВО

УКРАЇНЬСЬКА МОВА В ШКОЛАХ ІНДІЇ

У двох основних школах Індії з грудня місяця розпочалося викладання української мови для дітей, які виявили бажання вивчати українську мову. Цей предмет введений у двох школах Індії: в Основній школі ім. Душана Єрковича і Основній школі ім. Іована Поповича. В обох школах уроки української мови відвідує по 14 дітей різного шкільного віку - від першого до восьмого класу. Викладає українську мову Здравка Дрляча, яка навчалася у Білгородському університеті на кафедрі української мови. Діти зацікавлені у вивченні української мови і радо відвідують ці уроки.





Ukrainian at Belgrade University



- Since 1991. Ukrainian Studies have been written, anthologies of Ukrainian poetry and contemporary stories have been edited and translated
- a student magazine in Ukrainian, *Vikno*, comes out regularly <http://www.ukrajinstika.edu.rs/preuzimanje/pdf/casopis/2.pdf>
- Ukrainian is gaining an equal footing in Serbia as a Slavic discipline



Насловна Библиотека Наставници Студенти Линкови Форум Контакт

Україністика

портал за український язик и књижевност филолошког факултета у Бєлграді

Укрїнський язик и књижевност помага се на Катедри за славянску филолошког факултета Бєлградског универзитета као други славянски язик од 1991. године. Први предавач био је истакнути слависта, дипломатички радњавац Катедра за славистику, Богдан Ткачић (1991/92. школске године....)

Тема: Програи наставе према Болонској деклар.

Изувајмо: Библиотека (допуњено), Распоред за 2007/08, Хроника, Скрипте (допуњено), Примери испита

Галерија

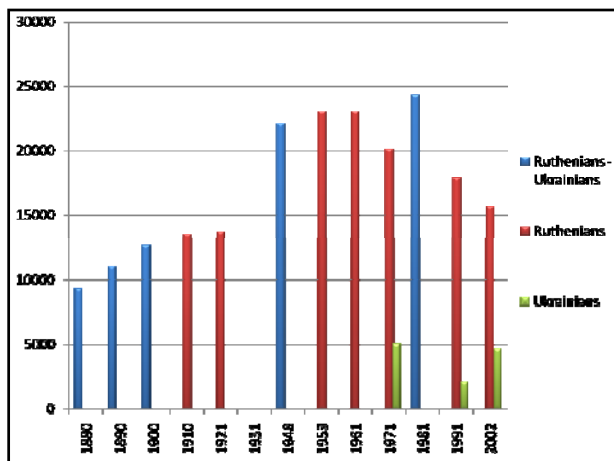
Ruthenian-Ukrainian – Real or False Dilemma?

year of a census	Ruthenians-Ukrainians	Ruthenians	Ukrainians	% of the population of Vojvodina	most populous ethnicity in Vojvodina
1880	9299			0,8%	7
1890	11.022			0,8	7
1900	12.663			0,9	7
1910		13.479		0,9	7
1921		13.664		0,9	7
1931		21.000		1	7
1948	22.083			1,3	8
1953		23.038		1,4	7
1961		23.038		1,4	7
1971		20.109	5.006	1, 0,3	7
1981	24.306			1,2	7
1991		17.889	2.057	0,9 0,1	10 15
2002		15.626	4.635	0,77 0,23	10 12

Sources: 1980, 1990, 1990, 1991, 1991: *Национална структура становништва у Војводини, 1921-1991*; *Упоглед описе државних јединица Војводине, 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991*; *Упоглед описе државних јединица Војводине, 1941*; *Савезна Република Србија и Црна Гора, Статистика Србије 1991*; *Савезна Република Србија и Црна Гора, Статистика Србије 2002*.

See also:

1. Đurić, Čučić, Kiočević. *The Ethnic Structure of the Population in Vojvodina* / www.radko.rastvorina.srb.rs/balkan/djuric-ucucic-kiocevic-vojvodina.html
2. www.ubia.rs/ubia.asp
3. www.kczr.org/download/ukstovimiroslav_samardzic_tanajicija_1_majnine_u_vojvodini
4. *И Магвар Карина организационик, 1910*. Магвар Статистика Колекционијек, еви, Неприватна, Београд, 1912.
5. Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva 1921. Општа државна статистика, Сарајево, 1932.
6. *Popisi stanovništva iz 1953., 1971.* Београд: SZS.
7. *Prvi rezultati popisa stanovništva... iz 1991.* Statistički bilten 206, Novi Sad., 1991.



Real or false?

- A 1970 conference on the traditional culture of Vojvodina Ruthenians and Ukrainians noted that the problem of having to decide between being **Ruthenian or Ukrainian** was a false dilemma.
- In **Austro-Hungary**, and after its demise in **Czechoslovakia**, there was a faction that promoted the idea of a **separate Ruthenian or Rusyn nation**. This faction was supported by ruling Hungarian circles and the Czech government (САБАДОШ 1971: 7). Julijan Tamaš, says: "Unfortunately, the former SFRY and today Serbia and Montenegro, arbitrated in the final separation of the Ruthenians from the Ukrainians, which is historically unjustified."



Political manipulation

- "The Canadian Professor Magocsi forms societies of Ruthenians and Ruthenian sympathizers. This is how he stokes populist national feeling, but in a mini-mini version, since the majority of Ruthenians do not know the facts of their own history, he tries to turn the Ruthenian majority who do not know against the minority who do know the historical facts..." (TAMAŠ 2005).
- The dilemma was evidently **artificially created in order to propagate ideas in vogue in the countries in which the Ruthenian/Ukrainians had previously lived.**

Origin of Ethnonyms Jagic and Ibersberg

- 1915 a group of Ruthenian members of parliament from Austrian Galicia asked the Austrian parliament to change the then official terms Ruthyns, Ruthenian to Ukrainians and Ukrainian.


The opinion was sought of two professors at Vienna University, Hans Ibersberg and Vatroslav Jagić

"On the Ukrainian language and the term Ukrainians"



"Both appellations 'Ruthyns' and 'Ukrainians' are equally correct, with the very important difference that the former, because of historical events in the late 18th century, was used only for that part of Little Russia which belonged to Austria, while the latter is well founded, politically and geographically, as far as Little Russians living in Russia are concerned".

(ЯГІЧ 1961: 288-296).



Ivan Franko

- “Officially, they sometimes called this people *Russen* (Ruthenians), sometimes *gens ruthenia*, sometimes *Rusniaken* (Rusnaki), Ukrainians scholars, however, called themselves the people of Rus’, Little Russia or Slavs”

Ivan Franko
The great Ukrainian writer and slavist, Ruthenian by origin (1856 - 1916)

GAVRIL KOSTELNIK – THE AUTHOR OF THE FIRST GRAMMAR OF THE RUTHENIAN SPEECH

- × *Why did I Become an Ukrainian?*
- × “The Ukraine-Ukrainian is another, more recent name for the people of Little Russia and and their country and is linked to the definition of Little Russians - our people.
- × “Our older name [is] Rus’ (the country), Ruthenian (the old Rusiĉ) or Rusyn.
- × “The name ‘Ukraine’ denotes the Kiev and Poltava region at the time when they were part of Poland and represented the end, the border of the Poles. Before our people acquired the name Ruthenian they had not one but various tribal names – Poljani, Tiverci, Dulibi etc.



RUSNAKY

“Russians call the Ruthenians Little Russians, in the late 19th century they called themselves Ukrainians. That appellation they have taken to continue the tradition of Cossack’s Ukraine... Polish scholars still use the appellation Ruthenians because that word has been used with that meaning for centuries... Their territory stretches from East Carpathians to Don, from rivers San and Bug to Caucasus, from Black and Azov sea to the river Pripjat.


Carpathian Ruthenians, like all highlanders are divided to smaller branches: Lemkos, Boykos, Hutsuls.

Some groups of Lemkos call themselves Horn’aky. Ruthenian language group in Yaslon district calls themselves Mixed People.

A whole group of Lemkos, together with the Mixed People call themselves Rusnaky” (FISCHER 1928: 24)


ADAM FISCHER

RUSINI



WYDAWNICTWO ZAKŁADU NAROD. IM. OSSOLIŃSKICH
LWÓW — WARSZAWA — KRAKÓW
1 9 2 8


**STUDY OF LEMKO SPEECH
IVAN VERHRATSKI (1907)**



ЗВІСНИК ФІЛОЛОГІЧНОЇ СЕКЦІЇ
КАРПАТСЬКОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ ІМ. ШТЕЙНМАНА
V
ПРО
ГОВОР ГАЛИЦЬКИХ ЛЕМКІВ.
ІВАН ВЕРХРАТСЬКИЙ.
БІБЛІОТЕКА
БІВШОГО КІЇВСЬКОГО
УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ
У КИЄВІ, 1907.

Як вже в горі зазначено, говор лемківський належує найбільше впливу слов'янській, історично також вплив польський, який то польський єврейське загалом єсть немаленький. Крім того бесіда лемківська приналеж також до деякої мови неславянської і так як в німеччині: кермець, оара, оайка, ораїр, ораїрка, маор, шляба, шварст, шиткувати, райоа, шолтис або солтис, реч, орішво... в мадероно: іалда, сейка, бігувати, еселувати, дугка, оґас... в румунсько: вакада, натра, дьа, дьілок (в означені дьі, гора злісом просла)... а латинсько: овір, провіденція, сінарка, тіртувати, бестис, естір, оася (оасно)... а французького: парда, пардинь, рекуда... і др. (латинської і французької мови посередно переняті в польського або в німеччині). В термінології для виразки різних мовитів в відомених жита публичного і державного пролякоє ся вплив німеччині в данійших часів, який теорію дозволяє уступити впливові польському.

Часть граматична говора лемківського оговорена була в Archiw für slawische Philologie her. v. V. Jargić XIV. B. pag. 267—612, відтак XV. B. pag. 46—73 і B. XVI. pag. 1—41. Тоді подані я лише матеріал зібраний мовою р. 1890. в 15 вісцях. Нинішнє одновок відтак я поборюваня по Лемківщині для дальших студій діалектологічних оже при разі і проте теорію розпорядканя мовою даною далекою богишши, бо зібраний в 52 вісцях, я даваю єною статтю переробив і доповнив а до А. т. е. граматичної



MIXED LANGUAGE?

- Antoine Meillet “Certain linguists talk of mixed languages. This is an expression... which is unsuitable, because it conjures up the idea that such a language would be the result of the mixing of two languages placed in equal conditions and that one could never tell whether a language is the continuation of a language A or a language B...” (MEILLET 1921: 83)



Kostelnik

- Kostelnik thus presents the language of Bačva Ruthenians as a Ukrainian substrate with integrated elements of Polish and Slovak adstrata.
- *Граматика бачваньско-рускей бешеди* (Grammar of the Bačva-Russian Speech), published in Ruski Krstur in 1923
- *Корінь нашої бешеди*, pointing to the presence of Ukrainian substrate in Krstur speech which, in the opinion of the prominent Ukrainian linguist Oleksa Horbach, belongs to the “mixed Ukrainian-Eastern Slovak speeches of the Zemplin-Uzh type. (ГОРБАЧ 1961)




Sobolevsky, Hnatiuk, Pasternek

- 1898, Hnatiuk’s study *Ruthenian Settlements in Bačka*.
- 1898, Sobolevsky published a review of Hnatiuk’s study *Не русские, а словаки* (Not Russians but Slovaks, СОБОЛЕВСКИЙ 1898).
- Alexander Sobolevsky’s opinion that the Bačka Ruthenians were Slovaks continued to be developed by F. Pasternek at Prague University.



- *Словаки чи русини?* (1901) Hnatiuk provided a review of the literature on Bačva Ruthenians from Šafarik on, and indicating the inaccuracies in Sobolevsky and Pasternek’s argument.
- Frantiček Tichý

Hnatiuk



- Hnatiuk concludes: “The greatest support for the theory of the Slovak origin of Ruthenians comes from the language, which is very Slovakized, but is still not Slovak;
- There are no traces of an historical or literary Slovak tradition among the Bačva Ruthenians; if they had originated from the Slovaks, some trace of this would certainly have remained” (ГНАТЮК1901: 39).

PRO AND CONTRA

Pro Slovak:

- A. Sobolevski, F. Pastrnek, J. Pata, O. Broch, V. Francev, S. Czambel, F. Tichý, J. Lishka...

Pro Ukrainian:

- V. Hnatjuk, H. Kostel'nik, M. M. Kochish, O. Horbach, H. H. Nadj, J. J. Dzendzelivsky, P. P. Chuchka, M. Mushinka, Lj. Belej, E. Baric...

“Ruthenian language should be studied together with Ukrainian language at Slavic departments, as its historical and contemporary special branch” (Barić 2007: 337).

West or East Slavic?

- West Slavic characteristics (according to Sven Gustavsson 1983: 24)
 1. the retention of the Proto-Slav groups *gv, kv*, unlike the Eastern-Slav *zv, cv* (*звізда, квіце* // *звізда, цвіт*)
 2. absence of the epenthetic *л* following softening of the bilabials (*составени, конопи*)
 3. the development of Proto-Slavic groups **tort, *tol, *tert, *telt* to *trat, tlat, tret, tlet* (*глава, крава, страна, прах, брег, вречено*)
 4. the change *x > ш* in the second and third palatalizations: *више завше*
 5. the retention of the Proto-Slavic groups *dl, tl*: *шидло, садло, мидло*;
- East Slavic characteristics of Ruthenian
 1. changes *ь > е, ь > о*: *пес, меч, сон, мох*;
 2. the development of primary unaccented Proto-Slavic groups with reduced phonemes after sonants, such as **trьti, iьti, trьti, tьti* into the combinations *up, ru, li* (*триваю, дриляю, дурсаю, хрибет, бляха, слиза*);
 3. the development of *e* into *o* following a sibilant and before the next hard consonant (*чоло, пчоло*);
 4. retention of the prothetic phoneme *в*, specifically in pronominal forms: *вон, вона, воно, вони*;
 5. the existence of the prothetic phoneme *й*: Ruthenian conj *як*, Slovak *ак, ако*, Ukrainian *як*;
 6. the development of *je* from the Proto-Slavic long vowels *i, e* into *i*: *били, дідо, винчане, рика, квітнуц, квице* итд.
 7. the development of *yl > в*: *вок*, but *волма*

West Slavic characteristics of the Ruthenian and contra arguments:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the retention of the Proto-Slav groups <i>gv, kv</i>, unlike the Eastern-Slav <i>zv, cv</i> (<i>звізда, квіце</i> // <i>звізда, цвіт</i>) 2. the development of Proto-Slavic groups <i>*tort, *tol, *tert, *telt</i> to <i>trat, tlat, tret, tlet</i> (<i>глава, крава, страна, прах, брег, вречено</i>) 3. absence of the epenthetic <i>л</i> following softening of the bilabials (<i>составени, конопи</i>) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the existence of Ukrainian and Belarusian group <i>kv</i>: <i>квітка, квітнути, квітучий, кветка</i>; 2. the presence of <i>torot, tolot, teret</i> forms in Bachva-Ruthenian: <i>соловей, жайворонок, норов, смерека, черево, череп, чересло, черешня...</i> ; 3. the existence of some parallel forms with epenthetic <i>л</i>: <i>зrabлі</i> |
|---|--|

AMONG THE UKRAINIAN CHARACTERISTICS OF RUTHENIAN SPEECH, KOSTEL'NIK INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING: (КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975: 185–189).

► At phonetic level:

- retention of the prothetic phoneme **в**, specifically in pronominal forms: **ВОН, ВОНА, ВОНО, ВОНИ**;
- the existence of the prothetic phoneme **й** Ruthenian conj **ЯК**, Slovak **ак, ако**, Ukrainian **як**;
- the development of **je** from the Proto-Slavic long vowels **i, e** into **i**: **били, дідо, винчане, рика, квітнуц, квице** итд.

Kostelnik

At morphological level:

1) suffix – *ого, ому* in the genitive and dative singular of the masculine and neuter of adjectives and pronouns: *його, йому, доброго, одного*.

At lexical level:

- the existence of the comparative conjunction *і*, in contrast to the Slovak *a*.
- change of *и* into *у* in forms of the auxiliary verb: *бути (був, була)*, in contrast to Slovak and Polish forms: *był, była, był, była*;

At syntax level:

dropping of auxiliary verbs in compound noun predicates:
вони добри люде, як вам то мало etc.

• As we see, Kostelnik does not provide a complete list of the Ukrainian characteristics of Ruthenian speech. In fact, nothing has been said about the

At phonetic level

- changes *ь > е, ь > о*: *пес, сон, мох*
- development of primary unaccented Proto-Slavic groups with reduced phonemes after sonants, such as **trьt, *tlьt, *trьt, *tlьt*, into the combinations *ир, ри, ли* (*триваи, дриляи, диргаи, хрибет, гирми, блиха, слиза, кирвави*)
- ї > в* : *вовк*
- е > о* after *ж, ч, ш*: *мачоха, облачок*

Nothing has been said about the:

At morphological level:

- the absence of gender differentiation in the nominative plural of adjectives and pronouns (*тоту добри дзеци*), in contrast to the Polish, Slovak and Serbian
- suffix *-а/-у* in the Genitive singular of masculine nouns: *коня, плуга, стола, динара, атома, квадрата; меду, шнігу, цименту, болю, жалю, гніву, страху, крику, краю, парку, гаю, Београда, Нового Саду*;
- suffix *-ови* in the Dative/Locative singular of animated masculine nouns: *орлови, псови, сушедови, пайташови, коньови, бут столу*;

- suffix *-ми* in the Instrumental plural of some nouns (the same as in the Ukrainian): *коньми, лодзми, дверми, дзецми*;

- short forms of adjectives: *годен, голоден, рад*;

- double stems of pronominal forms *теб-/тоб-; себ-/соб-*;

- the using of the pronominal form *себе* as a particle in initial and final formulas of tales: *Жили себе дідо и баба; Жили себе и тєраз кєд не помарли*;

- suffix *-ат-* in plural forms of neuter nouns: *качата, качатох, качатом...*

- diminutive forms with the suffix *-ат-к(о)*, like: *качатко, жєвєратко*.

Kostelnik examines Polish influences on Ruthenian speech, citing the following as indicative:

⊙ **At phonetic level:**

1. A stable accent always on the antepenultimate syllable;
2. Lingua-dentals *m, ð* change to *ц, дз*: *робиц, знац, шпивац, шмерц, треци, штварцина*
3. Nasalised front vowels changed to a front vowel [e]: *курче, каче*, (but pl. *качата, курчата* as in the Ukrainian - Lj.P.);
4. Soften alveolar sibilants: *шмерц, швиня, жима, жем*;
5. Palatalisation of the alveolars *н, л* before front Proto-Slavic vowels:
зушеніца, терліца, аловнік, католік;
6. Hard sonant syllabic *p* becomes *ар*: *гарло, марква, витарту*;
7. Retention of the Proto-Slavic groups *dl, tl*: *шидло, садло, мидло*;
8. Unvoiced *k* becomes voiced *г*: *лігац, ліг, варгоч, мозгу*.

➤ **At morphonological level:**

➤ Alternating *k* and *ц* before front vowel *и*: *Руснаци, Поляци, Словаци*.

➤ **At morphological level:**

- Absence of final non-syllabic *i* in adjectival suffixes: *добри, красни, святи*;
- Suffixes *-ем, -ім* in first person singular of the present tense: *-дзем, знам, відзим, шпивам*;
- Suffix *-ть* disappears in third person singular and plural of the present tense: *ходзи-ходза, роби-робя*.

At lexical level:

1. Adverbial borrowings: *шицко, ютро, кельо, вельо, тельо, вец, вецей, шак, нігдзе, нігда, кеди, теди, заш*;
2. Borrowing of certain verbs: *руцац, волац*;
3. Dependent conjunction *же* instead of Ukrainian *цо*: *гварим, же пойдзем*.
4. Some noun borrowings (*чулка, вечурня, кравенца*) as indicated by the phoneme *у* instead of the former Ukrainian *о* from the Old Russian *е*; nasalized *ѣ*.

FROM SLOVAK CHARACTERISTICS, KOSTELNIK SELECTS

❖ **At phonetic level:**

❖ Development of Proto-Slavic groups **tort, *tol, *tert, *telt* to *trat, tlat, tret, tlet* (*злава, крава, страна, прах, брег, врецено*)

It's also Gustasson's argument supporting his thesis about Bachva-Ruthenian as West Slavic language (Густавсон 1983: 24)

The presence of *torot, tolot, teret* forms in Bachva-Ruthenian: *соловей, жаиворонок, норв, смерека, черево, череп, чересло, черешня...* - Lj.P.

Rutenians in Slovakia use forms with *torot, tolot, teret* - *робота, молода, голова, берег* etc. (see texts in *Najnowsze dzieje języków słowiańskich, Русьинський язык*, ed. P. Magocsi, Opole, 2004, pp.393-424)

West or South Slavic features?

We could speak here about South Slavic *trat, tlat, tret, tlet* characteristic of Ruthenian as well (*злава, крава, страна, прах, брег, вретено*)

❖ Unvoiced glottal-fricative *x* becomes the voiced pharyngeal *г*: *зоц* instead *хоц*;

FROM SLOVAK CHARACTERISTICS, KOSTELNIK SELECTS

- ❖ **At morphological level:**
- ❖ Formation of the first personal singular in the perfect using auxiliary verbs *сом, ши*: *сом, ши (читал сом, читал ши)*
- ❖ But with the pronominal form without auxiliary verb - *я читал, ти читал, вон читал, ми читали, ви читали, вони читали* - Lj.P. ;
- ❖ Formation of the active verbal adjective with *-ль* (*ведол, кладол, предол, могол* in the masculine gender with verbs whose infinitive stem is a consonant.
- ❖ But *однес, одвез, улек, виплет, мог, дар, тар, умар* - Lj.P.
- ❖ **At lexical level:**
- ❖ Numerous borrowings of lexemes: *шугай, шумни, шварни, яраби, татош, роваш, вера, гибай, охабиц, пачиц ше, нашивиц, дудрец, худобни, зармуток, бочкац.*

The “Our Speech” article

- The description of the relationship of Ruthenian speech to the Ukrainian language:
- “My brother has greatly changed, but he is mine”
(КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975:196).

ДЗЕ СПАДА НАША БЕШЕДА (КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975: 199-207)

Slovak influence

1. The development of *ie* from Proto-Slavic long *i, e* into *e*: *шмели, человек, венец, дзецко*
2. Change of nasalized front vowels into *e*: *бич ше, целє, церне, гаче.*
3. The suffix *-ох* in the Genitive plural (*людох*), which he previously considered an authentic Ruthenian form arising from a wish to avoid homonyms in short possessive adjective forms such as *-оо* (*хлопов калал*) in the masculine, and in forms of the Genitive plural of masculine nouns: *хлопов, столов, дубов*.
4. The suffix *-у* in the instrumental singular of feminine nouns: (*зос жену, зос хижу*). Must be compared with forms з жінкоў, мноў, тобоў from west Ukrainian speeches - Lj.P. ;
5. The suffix *-ме* in verb forms in the first person plural of the present tense: *робимє, идземе, шпивамє*.

we should also include here

- development of Proto-Slav groups *dj, tj, kt > dz, c* (*медзи, ноц, боляци*)
- the retention of the Proto-Slav initial *ie* (*ешень, елень*);
- the retention of the Proto-Slav groups *gv, kv*, unlike the Eastern-Slav *zv, cv* (*звизда, квєцє // звїзда, цвїт, but Ukr. квїт, квїтнути*)
- contractions such as *бац ше, шац* (*боятися, сьяти*)
- absence of the epenthetic *л* following softening of the bilabials (*составени, конопи, but граблі*)
- regressive assimilation according to the voicing of the consonant at the end of a word or syllable before the sonants *м, н, л, р* (*були зме, брад ми гутори*)
- absence of the prothetic consonants *з, й, в* (*око, ухо, ігелка*)

BORROWINGS FROM THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE IN RUTHENIAN SPEECH (КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975: 207-315.)

- analytical form of the infinitive *да + презент* in conditional sentences, where the meaning is imperative-optative and the mood is the unreal conditional (*гварел да му дам*).
- prefix and suffix forms such as *год (яки год), кой (койяки, койхто* etc.)
- not only words were taken over, but also grammatical forms: "Certain Serbian words have become so customary in our speech that we are no longer capable of omitting or changing them, even though they introduce new forms into our speech" (КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975: 247)
- **Ukrainian base and Serbian affix** (for instance *одховац* from the Serbian *одгојити* and Ukrainian *виховати*) or a **Serbian base and Ukrainian affix** (*пошлидок* from the Serbian *последица* and Ukrainian *наслідок*)

Kosteľnik letter to Alexey Shahmatov and Yuri Bindas

- contaminated suffixes of the locative singular of masculine nouns which appeared under the influence of Serbian: *на гробу, у Загребу*
- borrowings from the Serbian written language, (*u* denoting a high front vowel *i*, before which there is a hard variant of the phoneme)



- "Do not adhere to the Croatian-Serbian extreme phonetics, because you will distance yourselves too much from the Ukrainian and Ruthenian" (КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975: 338)
- Ruthenian teachers of Srem in 1950 in which the principle "write as you hear it" was abandoned and voiced consonants were written in front of unvoiced (3 НАШОГО ПРАВОПИСА 1951: 53).

- ▶ "Our speech really can help us to recognise all Slavic languages" (КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975: 333)
- ▶ borrowings as a factor known in contemporary linguistics as *transfer* (ЖЛУКТЕНКО 2000: 212)
- ▶ "sticking like a burr to a fleece, not subject to or harmed by any [other] language"
- ▶ "something originating on the border of three peoples has to be so" (КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975: 194)

It's not just a matter of an external phenomenon

- ▶ Examining the influence of one language on another, linguists observe that this is not just a matter of an external phenomenon, but also relates to the internal development of the language which absorbs everything that suits its structure and the internal laws of its development
- ▶ Therefore, among the factors influencing language, we can also list the structural characteristics of the receiving language (primarily of its lexis), the presence, absence or level of development of its literary tradition and written matter, the number of speakers and the status of the language group, since language hierarchy correlates to other hierarchies – economic, national, educational etc.

- ▶ “Свою бешеду треба чувац од цудзих словох, кельгод лєм мож. Кед єст свойо слово, та не слободно брац цудзе... Дзе немаме ище свойо, там треба створиц нове слово, або вжац слово зос нашого кнїжкового, або зос сербского языка, алє треба тото слово примєниц гу духу нашей бешеди”
- ▶ One’s own language should be protected from foreign words as much as possible. When we have a word of our own, we should not take on a foreign one... Where no word of our own exists, a new one should be coined by taking it from our standard language [Ukrainian – Lj. P.] or from Serbian, but this word should be changed to fit the spirit of our speech) (КОСТЕЛЬНИК 1975: 246)

CONCLUSION

- ▶ history, ethnography and linguistics confirm that Ruthenians and Ukrainians in Serbia represent one people, a single national minority which in Vojvodina was artificially divided into two enclaves.
- ▶ this division was the product of politics dating back to Austro-Hungary and continuing through the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to Socialist Yugoslavia
- ▶ Confrontation among the emigrants, basically the usual division in any environment into the autochthonous population and the new settlers, has over time, due to ignorance of the historical facts and the fanning of populist ideas, grown into partial antipathy
- ▶ antagonism between Ruthenians and Ukrainians is not expressed in urban intellectual circles, where both are grouped around the Greek Catholic Church.

Perspective

- Ruthenian as a micro-language will continue to have a future.
- Ruthenian literature will also continue to develop and it would be wrong to hinder this natural course of things
- the Ukrainian language will increasingly gain in importance as the language of an existing national minority, but also as the language of a large Slavic country
- Debates on the originality of Ukrainian or Ruthenian belong to the past.
- Guiding people to discover their historical roots and sources and informing both the Ruthenian and Ukrainian population in Vojvodina while suppressing attempts to politicize the issue will contribute to closer cooperation between these two parts of a single historical matrix.

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Thank You!