
| RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Documentation Attempts of Rusyn in Ukraine's Transcarpathia

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| ABSTRACT

Rusyn belongs to the Eastern Slavic language family and is considered a minority language. It is spoken across various countries, such as Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, and Ukraine. Each of these countries has a standardized variant of this language, with the exception of Ukraine. The Rusyn people in Transcarpathia are the last group of people without a standardized variant of their language because it is not recognized. Given the conflict in Ukraine and the general attitude toward Rusyn people, language documentation is not a priority. There have been various attempts in the past to codify the language, but all have failed to be adopted, mainly due to a lack of support, both by the Rusyn community and the Ukrainian government. This paper compares the documentation attempts of six resources, of which the aim was to document the Transcarpathian Rusyn language. The paper compares their differences, similarities, weaknesses, and strengths and concludes with suggestions for future research projects.

| KEYWORDS

Language documentation, minority languages, Ukraine, Rusyn, standardization.

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

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1. Introduction

Rusyn is an Eastern Slavic language (ISO 639-3) (Hammarström et al., 2024), spoken in Europe, mainly in Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, and Ukraine. It is a recognised language in all of them except Ukraine, which considers it to be a dialect.

The language is protected under the European Charter for Minority Languages (ECRML) (Council of Europe, 2023) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (p. 107), Croatia (p. 108), Poland (under the name 'Lemko') (p. 130), Romania (p. 132), Serbia (p. 137) and Slovakia (p. 138). Of these countries, Poland, Serbia, and Slovakia have their own standardized variants. As for the other countries that recognize it, since their populations of Rusyn speakers are significantly smaller, no desire has been expressed for a standardized variant. The language and the people can also go "by other names, such as Lemko in Poland and Pannonian in Vojvodina. Different authors also give the language in general different names, such as Ruthenian" (Wood, 2024, p. 1).

Ukraine's Rusyn population (which is focused mainly in the Transcarpathian oblast) is a lot bigger but complicated to estimate due to the last census having been conducted in 2001, and Rusyn is not an option in the list of ethnic identities. Consequently, there have been various attempts at creating a standard, but the process has yielded few results. There are six contemporary texts that attempt to describe the language of this region: Magocsi (1979), Almašij et al. (1999), Nikolaev and Tolstaja (N&T) (2001), Sydor (2002), Pečora (2013) and Megela (2019). They, however, all differ greatly. The issue for Rusyn in Transcarpathia is that there are many subdialects, and representation is difficult with so much variation to consider. Magocsi explains that "language planners...have been unable to adopt a common alphabet whose number of letters...range from 34 to 39. Similarly, there is not yet agreement on common linguistic terminology,...grammatical rules and lexicon" (n.d., p. 93).

This article compares these six texts, highlighting how they are similar and different, to give an overview of the documentation status of Transcarpathian Rusyn. Firstly, two literature reviews are given: one on minority language documentation and one on the standardization processes that Rusyn has undergone in the other three main countries. Following this, the research and findings of the documentation processes and attempts in Ukraine are given. This paper ends with a discussion of the results and recommendations for moving forward.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Minority language documentation

Król considers minority language documentation “essential...but it is not the final goal” (2021, p. 46). The final goal is the revitalization and maintenance of the language so it can be used in regular spheres in the same way as the dominant language. Revitalization can be otherwise understood by Fishman’s definition of ‘Reversing Language Shift’: “the recovery, recreation, and retention of a complete way of life, including non-linguistic as well as linguistic features” (2001, p. 452). In this view, documentation is not just about the lexis and phonetics but the extra-linguistic processes that speakers use since they “can often be considered part of the contextual information and may be described in the tier devoted to the contextual commentary” (Schultze-Berndt, 2006, p. 229). It is a long procedure, which raises the question: what should(n’t) linguists document?

Król describes his experience documenting the Wymysiöeryś language: “we have to take care of what we document...I gave up looking for ‘the pure Wymysiöeryś language’ and...started to listen to what people were actually saying” (2021, p. 46). A linguist can find many written documents in the target language, but this is not representative of how people speak spontaneously. As Himmelmann states: “the core of a language documentation...consists of a corpus of audio or video recordings of more or less naturally occurring communicative events with annotations and commentary” (2006, p. 254).

Documentation started out as simply recording the language, producing “a dictionary, a grammar and a set of texts of the language” (Child Language Research and Revitalization Working Group, 2017, p. 3). Unfortunately, such materials are not useful or interesting to regular people and generally only serve other linguists. As such, language documentation goes hand in hand with the creation of “instructional activities and materials” (p. 4).

One example of a successful case of revitalization is Basque. After a period of losing the language under dictatorial rule in Spain, in addition to the French government not doing much for those in the northern territory, “The generation...encountered an ample range of new language domains, including Basque-language media, Basque-language education, a plethora of forms of cultural production in Basque such as literature, theatre and music, and numerous opportunities to hear, speak, read and write Basque in diverse media” (Elkartea, 2010, p. 57). After standardization was “proposed by Euskaltzaindia in 1968” (Oñederra, 2016, p. 127), “Basque entered new fields such as the mass media, the (also new) university, and public administration, where it had never been present before” (p. 131). It is not simply enough to say that a language is recognized and everyone can continue their lives, expecting the language to revitalize itself. Documentation should encourage new linguistic materials that can be used in everyday life.

Motivation is the inevitable challenge of documentation. Is there any point in documenting a language which no one is invested in saving? As is the everlong debate on the role of the linguist, Edwards sums it up as follows: “What some would see as inappropriate and unscholarly intervention, others would consider absolutely necessary” (2010, p. 34). Although the discussion of this paper is not focused on whether Rusyns should be encouraged to reclaim their language, it will be addressed later in the discussion section concerning how this affects the documentation process. Speaking generally, Karan describes six different types of motivations people can have: they are communicative, economic, relating to social identity, relating to power and prestige, nationalistic/political, and religious (2008, p. 6). Minority languages usually lack several of these. The Duoxu language is an example of a language that lacks all of these since the government provides no support and there are less than ten speakers. Chirkova surmises that “the entire Duoxu community is not interested and invested in the cause of revitalization of their traditional language. Taken together with the non-existent support on both federal or regional level and a lack of resources, Duoxu’s prospects for revitalization appear rather bleak” (2018, p. 449). Although less than ten speakers exist, there are around 2,000 Duoxu people, and the previous statement is a generalization, as Chirkova later states that there are “numerous individual efforts within the Duoxu community” which “include studying the Duoxu language, collecting linguistic and ethnographic data, and disseminating the results” (p. 449). In this way, despite there being a lack of external motivations and/or benefits, there still exists the motivation of just wanting to maintain a language for the sake of it.

Different age groups pose another issue, especially for the Rusyn context. Rusyn is a rural language in Ukraine, belonging to the older generation who passed the language down to their children. These children moved to bigger cities where they met Ukrainian, the dominant language, and, therefore, adapted accordingly. As a result, “in situations of severe endangerment where there are only a handful of elderly first-language speakers, communities may be reliant on documentation of their languages to promote

language learning" (Child Language Research and Revitalization Working Group, 2017, p. 5). However, just like in English, the older and younger generations have different modes of speaking. For those younger people who are motivated to revitalize their language, what should be documented: the older generation's way of speaking or the younger one's? Hornsby (2015) discusses the notion of 'new speakers' and the constant debate on the authentic and legitimate language that is had between the older generation (who claims to speak correctly) and the younger (who is still learning and adapting the language to their needs).

2.2. The standardization of Rusyn in Poland, Serbia and Slovakia.

In 1992, it was decided that Rusyn would be standardized "for each of the Rusyn regions...to supplement that already created in 1923 for the Vojvodina Rusyns" (Baptie, 2011, p. 11). It was inspired by the standardization of Romansh, which "is divided into five regional dialects" with "a pan-regional variety called Rumantsch Grischun...introduced in 1982, which is used as uniform written language at federal and cantonal levels" (Gross, 2017, p. 7). The realization of this plan has not yet been fulfilled since Switzerland is just one country, while Rusyn is spread over several.

2.2.1. Poland

As Hornsby explains in his chapter on Lemko, the first educational materials began to be produced in the 1930s, but no real standardized variant was put forward until 2000 when Henryk Fontański and Mirosława Chomiak published their *Gramatyka języka łemkowskiego* (2015, p. 96). This grammar was produced because, as "the interest in teaching and learning Lemko grew rapidly, it became obvious that its grammatical rules should be set as soon as possible" (Horbal, 2003, p. 363). A standard was needed since "At the present time[,] the Lemko vernacular [was] used by journalists, writers and poets" (Horbal, 2005, p. 91).

Horbal is quite optimistic, but Hornsby describes a different reality. It is true that education is available in Lemko, but it "experiences many complications" (Hornsby, 2015, p. 97). For example, 339 was "the highest number...of students" (p. 97) recorded who studied Lemko, and "Lemko is taught on a voluntary basis" (p. 98). Those who do have an education in Lemko, as recorded by Hornsby, show differing attitudes. To quote one of his participants, a girl explains that "'My grandmother speaks "her" Lemko, but we are learning "correct" Lemko"' (p. 105). The documentation and standardization process has seemingly separated the two generations apart from each other, with the younger generation of new speakers favoring the standard, perceiving it as correct, while the older generation speak the way they have always known, which has lost prestige.

Another ostracizing point is the distance Fontański, and Chomiak's grammar has caused with the other Rusyn communities. Linguists are confused as to why "it does not set itself in any wider context other than the provision of a standard language for Lemkos in Poland" (Baptie, 2011, p. 52). Hornsby echoes this, saying they "do not mention the wider context of Rusyn language codification" (2015, p. 96).

2.2.2. Serbia

Fejsa gives a great history of the Serbian context. Standardization started with "Havrijil Kosteljnič: as the codifier of the Ruthenian language of the Ruthenias in Serbia / Vojvodina – he wrote the first grammar of the Ruthenian language in 1923" (2017b, p. 67). This grammar came about because "the Ruthenian ethnic community decided to elevate its colloquial language to the level of a literary language. In that same year, the first cultural-educational organization was formed, and a resolution was adopted to use the language in...education, cultural life, and the press" (p. 68).

1974 was the next important date to shape what is now the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, which "gained extensive rights of self-rule under the 1974 constitution," and Rusyn "became one of the five official languages" (p. 69).

Rusyn is accessible in all spheres of public life, and more and more linguistic works have been published on this variety of Rusyn, such as dictionaries and school textbooks.

Despite this, there are some negatives to address. Fejsa describes several issues that are faced in this region, the first being that people are leaving their language behind for Serbian because it offers more benefits, both economically and socially. The population is also small, and their numbers do not seem to be rising, going from 15,905 in 2002 to 11,483 in 2022 (Kovačević, 2023, p. 12). Equally, teachers are not being supported, trained, or motivated to work in this sphere. Fejsa concludes that. "if not reversed, the process...may lead to the extinction of the Ruthenian identity" (2017b, p. 74).

2.2.3. Slovakia

"The codification of the language of Slovakia's Rusyns in 1995, based on...east...and west Zemplin - brought an end to the long-lasting dispute over which language should be the literary language" (Plišková, 2008, p. 96). Before codification, Rusyn was used in conversations and unofficially in entertainment and religion. After the publication of three books, "a *Rusyn Orthographic Rulebook*...a *Rusyn-Russian-Ukrainian-Slovak-Polish Dictionary of Linguistic Terminology*...and a 42,000 *Orthographic Dictionary of*

the *Rusyn Language*" (Magocsi, 1995, p. 238), a standard was created. It was updated later on with a new publication in 2005 with some changes (Jabur & Pljišková, 2005).

As is the case of the other varieties, a standard exists, but the change in the linguistic environment is minimal. Education is available for people; however, "The only elementary school applying the Rusyn language in its tuition is the village of Čabiny which in 2008–2016 served an example; however, it had to close because of a lack of students" (Matlovič et al., 2020, p. 1168). The University of Prešov also holds a summer school each year, which people can attend, but it is costly. In addition, there is media available for Rusyns, as well as signs and administrative facilities.

3. Methodology

Now that the context of the previous processes of standardization has been explained, these next sections will look at the unsuccessful attempts in Ukraine. The corpus consists of six documents, each describing the language, either as a whole or as a part of the region. In order of publication date, they are:

1. Magocsi's (1979) *Let's Speak Rusyn*. This book is a phrasebook with a small grammar section at the end. It is aimed at Rusyn immigrants in the USA.
2. Almašij et al.'s (1999) *Материнський язык: писемниця русинського языка* [Mother tongue: A grammar of the Rusyn language]. An attempt at codifying the language, this grammar considers other dialects and is one of the more popular grammars for linguists.
3. N&T's (2001) *Словарь карпатоукраинского торуньского говора, с грамматическим очерком и образцами текстов* [A dictionary of Carpatho-Ukrainian dialect of Torun', with a short description of grammar and text samples]. This work focuses on the Torun' village of Transcarpathia. It is important to note that the authors consider what they documented to be a 'Carpatho-Ukrainian dialect.' They use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) instead of the Cyrillic.
4. Sydor's (2002) *Граматика Русинського Языка Для Русинів Украйни, Центральної Європи и Америки* [A grammar of the Rusyn language for Rusyns of Ukraine, Central Europe and America]. This is a grammar, written in both Rusyn and English. It is unclear if the author is claiming to represent the entirety of Rusyn speakers or just a region. The text is confusing, with inconsistencies between the Rusyn and English translation.
5. Pečora's (2013) *Русинський язык 1-3* [The Rusyn language 1-3]. It is designed to be used in schools and has three sections, focussing on phonology, lexis and grammar.
6. Megela's (2019) *Граматика Русинського Языка* [A grammar of the Rusyn language]. It was written in the hopes of helping to codify the language.

The first step was the selection of materials for this corpus. These texts were chosen because they all describe Rusyn in the Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine, and they are all relatively modern sources that describe the language that is allegedly used now by speakers of this area.

The next stage was the comparison. This was done in several stages. Firstly, a spreadsheet was created to note the specific topics that are included in each document. The six texts rendered 19 topics overall. They are as follows:

1. Alphabet
2. Noun cases
3. Personal pronouns
4. Possessive adjectives
5. Demonstrative pronouns
6. Interrogative pronouns
7. Reflexive pronouns
8. Numerals
9. Adjectives
10. Comparative adjectives
11. Superlative adjectives
12. Proper adjectives
13. Present tense verbs
14. Past tense verbs
15. Future tense verbs
16. Conditional mood
17. Imperative mood
18. Reflexive verbs

19. Participles and adverbial participles

The next step was the comparison of all the attested forms in each of the texts. Another spreadsheet was created and all entries were compiled to allow side-by-side comparison. These are accessible in the Appendices.

One obstacle to this comparison was the fact that not all of the texts cover all of the topics. For example, basic ones such as adjectives are included in all of the materials, but more advanced topics such as participles are less so.

A second point to make is that the audience for each of these texts is different. While Magocsi's text is for people with no specialist linguistic background and does not trouble itself with the complexities of the language, N&T's linguistic study is for professional linguists and is much more in depth.

A third issue is that the purpose of all of these texts is different. Authors such as Sydor and Pečora have a goal that is greater than just providing linguistic information. Sydor is known for his political, separatist views, writing about "the inadequacy of the very "liberators" of different color and the ever pseudo-democratic governments" (2001, p. 14) in his introduction. Pečora hopes that the reader "Гордіт ся...своїм Підкарпатським краєм и своїм прекрасним язиком" [is proud of their Transcarpathian region and beautiful language] (2013, p. 3). It is possible that some inconsistencies in the comparisons are a result of trying to make the language look more unique than it actually is in an attempt to promote Rusyn pride.

Differences may also occur as a result of the representation of the areas these documents cover. These texts represent both small and large-scale areas: Magocsi and N&T describe the language of specific villages, while the others seem to speak for the entire region. To be more precise, Magocsi describes Rusyn in a village called Pidhirne. N&T describe Rusyn in Torun'. The other four authors are Rusyn speakers from Ukraine, so it can be assumed they have based their works on their own speech since they do not explicitly state where their data comes from. Pečora and Almašij et al. do acknowledge that different dialects exist but do not state on which one their works are based.

4. Results and Discussion

In the interest of space, the full tables of results are available in the Appendices of this paper for the reader to view. Below, the proposed alphabets will be discussed, followed by a breakdown of the different types of differences that have been found.

4.1. Alphabet

Each source provides its own alphabet, except for N&T's, because they use the IPA in their study.

Magocsi's alphabet consists of 35 letters (Figure 1). Two letters which do not appear in some of the other sources are <ÿ> and <ю>. They represent the close front rounded vowel [y] and [jy].

Sydor has 38 letters (Figure 2), of which four are not found in some of the other texts: <Ѣ>, <ô>, <ÿ> and <î>. He explains that <Ѣ> represents the sound [i^e] in the middle of words and [ji] at the end of words (33). <ô> represents [o^u]. <ÿ> and <î> represent the same sound; [y]. He explains that it is stylistic: the genitive plural of horse would be 'коньѡв,' but it "is not good for writing or reading," so instead, it is 'коньів' (2002, p. 40).

Pečora's alphabet has 36 (Figure 3) but acknowledges <î> and <ô> as extra letters. The former represents sounds [u], [y], and [i], depending on the dialect (p. 13). The latter represents [o] and [u], again depending on the dialect.

Megela and Almašij et al. have 35 letters (Figure 4 and Figure 5) with no oddities.

Figure 1: Magocsi's proposed alphabet (p. xxi-xxii)

| | | | |
|------|--------|------|--------|
| а, А | а, А | | |
| б, Б | b, B | | |
| в, В | v, V | | |
| г, Г | h, H | | |
| г, Г | g, G | | |
| д, Д | d, D | | |
| е, Е | e, E | | |
| є, Є | je, Je | | |
| ж, Ж | ž, Ž | | |
| з, З | z, Z | | |
| и, И | y, Y | | |
| і, І | i, I | | |
| й, Й | j, J | | |
| к, К | k, K | | |
| л, Л | l, L | | |
| м, М | m, M | | |
| н, Н | n, N | | |
| о, О | o, O | | |
| п, П | p, P | | |
| р, Р | r, R | | |
| с, С | s, S | | |
| т, Т | t, T | ш, Ш | š, Š |
| у, У | u, U | щ, Щ | šč, Šč |
| ү, Ӯ | ü, Ü | ы | ȳ |
| ф, Ф | f, F | ь | • |
| х, Х | ch, Ch | ю, Ю | ju, Ju |
| ц, Ц | c, C | ӱ, Ӳ | jü, Jü |
| ч, Ч | č, Č | я, Я | ja, Ja |

Figure 2: Sydor's proposed alphabet (p. 30)

1. **Аа** (а) = *Aa* (ei); 2. **Бб** (бы) = *Bb* (bi); 3. **Вв** (вы) = *Vv* (vi); 4. **Гг** (гы) = *Hh*-high; 5. **Гг** (гы) = *Gg* (*g-gun*); 6. **Дд** (ды) = *Dd* (di); 7. **Ее** (е) = *Ee* (*i*); 8. **Ёё** (йо) = *Yo-yours*; 9. **Єє** (је) = *Ye-yes*; 10. **Жж** = *Zh*; 11. **Зз** (зы) = *Zz* (zet); 12. **Ии** (и) = *Yu* (big, Rusyns); 13. **Іі** (і) = *Ii* (ai)-triller; 14. **Її** (їі) = *yi*-(Iaiti); 15. **Йй** (йы) = *Yu* (yellow); 16. **Кк** (кы) = *Kk* (kei); 17. **Лл** (лы) = *Ll* (el); 18. **Мм** (мы) = *Mm* (em); 19. **Нн** (ны) = *Nn* (en); 20. **Оо** (о) = *Oo* (ou); 21. **Пп** (пы) = *Pp* (pi); 22. **Рр** (ры) = *Rr* (ar); 23. **Сс** (сы) = *Ss* (es); 24. **Тт** (ты) = *Tt*(te); 25. **Уу**(у) = *Uu*(yu); 26. **Фф**(фы) = *Ff*(ef); 27. **Хх** (хы) = like “*h*” or “*Kh*” (Hanover); 28. **Цц**(цы) = as *Cc*(si)-tsunami; 29. **Чч**(чы) = *Ch*-church; 30. **Шш** (шы) = *Sh*-shelf; 31. **Щщ**(щы) = as *Sch*-No full analog; 32. **Ыы** = (No direct analog. Like “*y*”); 33. **Ьь**(мнягкый знак = softening sign). 33. **Юю**(ю) = *Yu*-(you); 35. **Яя**(ја) = *Ya*-young; 36. **Ѣѣ** (ять-«іе»); 37. **Ôô** (о з позначкôв) – No direct analog; 38. **ÿ** (у з позначкôв) – No direct analog; 39. **î** (і з позначкôв) – No direct analog.

Figure 3: Pečora's proposed alphabet (p. 5)

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| А а (а) | Б б (бы) | В в (вы) | Г г (гы) | Гг (гы) | Д д (ды) |
| Ее (е) | Є є (йе) | Ё ё (йо) | Ж ж (жы) | З з (зы) | І і (і) |
| Ї ї (і) | И и (и) | Ы (ы) | Й й (йы) | К к (кы) | Л л (лы) |
| М м (мы) | Н н (ны) | О о (о) | П п (пы) | Р р (ры) | С с (сы) |
| Т т (ты) | У у (у) | Ф ф (фы) | Х х (хы) | Ц ц (цы) | Ч ч (чы) |
| Ш ш (шы) | Щ щ (щы) | Ь (мягкий знак) | Ъ (твердый знак) | Ю ю (йу) | Я я (йа) |

Figure 4: Megela's proposed alphabet

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| А а | Б б | В в | Г г | Гг | Д д | Е е | Є є | Ж ж | З з | И и | ы |
| а | бы | вы | гы | гы | ды | е | йе | жы | зы | и | ы |
| І і | Ї ї | Й й | К к | Л л | М м | Н н | О о | П п | Р р | С с | Т т |
| і | йі | й | кы | лы | мы | ны | о | пы | ры | сы | ты |
| У у | Ф ф | Х х | Ц ц | Ч ч | Ш ш | Щ щ | Ю ю | Я я | ь | | |
| у | фы | хы | цы | чы | шы | щы | йу | йа | мягкий знак | | |

Figure 5: Almašij et al.'s proposed alphabet (p. 13)

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Л а (а) | Ж ж (же) | М м (ем) | Х х (ха) |
| Б б (бе) | З з (зет) | Н н (ен) | Ц ц (це) |
| В в (ве) | І і (і) | О о (о) | Ч ч (че) |
| Г г (га) | Ї ї (і) | П п (пе) | Ш ш (ша) |
| Гг (ге) | И и (и) | Р р (ер) | Щ щ (ща) |
| Д д (де) | Ы ы (ы) | С с (ес) | Ю ю (ю) |
| Е е (е) | Й й (ёт) | Т т (те) | Я я (я) |
| Ё ё (ё) | К к (ка) | У у (у) | Ь ь (ерь) |
| Є є (е) | Л л (ел) | Ф ф (еф) | |

4.2. Linguistic differences

Across all the texts, four main inconsistencies were discovered. They are:

1. Phonetic,
2. Morphological,

3. Grammatical,
4. Orthographical.

4.2.1. Phonetic inconsistencies

Figures 6-11 show the percentage of the occurrence of variants in their phonetic forms for all possible noun endings, including number, gender, and case, across the texts. This is just a portion of the differences found, but it gives a good insight into the rate at which these documents differ. In the case of noun declensions, only five of the texts were compared since Magocsi does not address this topic in his phrasebook. Appendix 5 only compares Almašij et al. and N&T because the other texts do not mention this verb type. Across all the noun declension types, 41 out of 292 possible endings were 100% the same. These were usually nominative endings or plural instrumental, dative, and locative endings, which tend to be the most similar across Slavic languages.

Phonetic differences include:

1. Vowel quality,
2. Palatalisation,
3. Ellipsis.

Figure 6: Rate of occurrence of phonetic nominal endings in Appendix 1

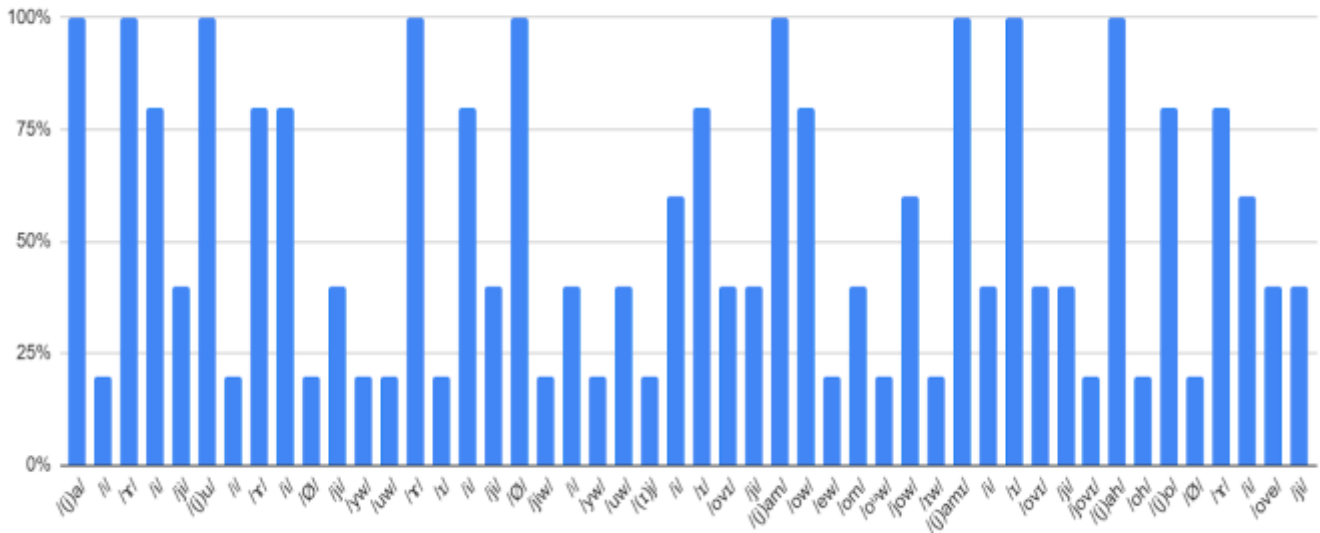


Figure 9: Rate of occurrence of phonetic variants in Appendix 4

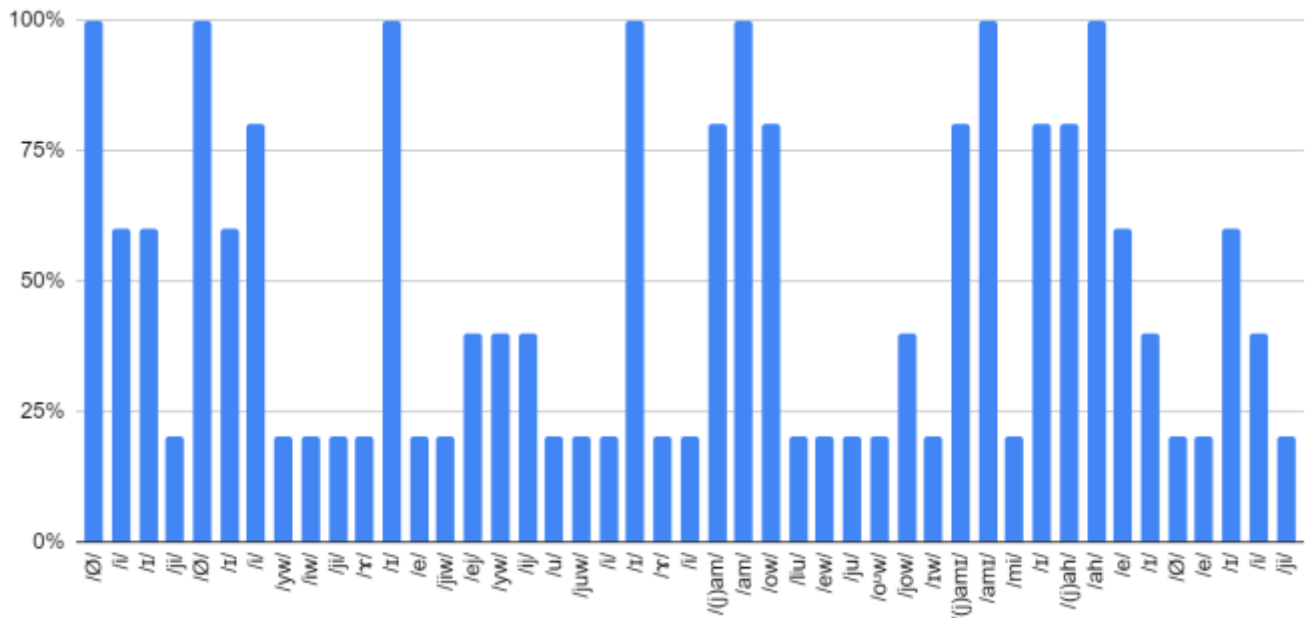


Figure 10: Rate of occurrence of phonetic variants in Appendix 5

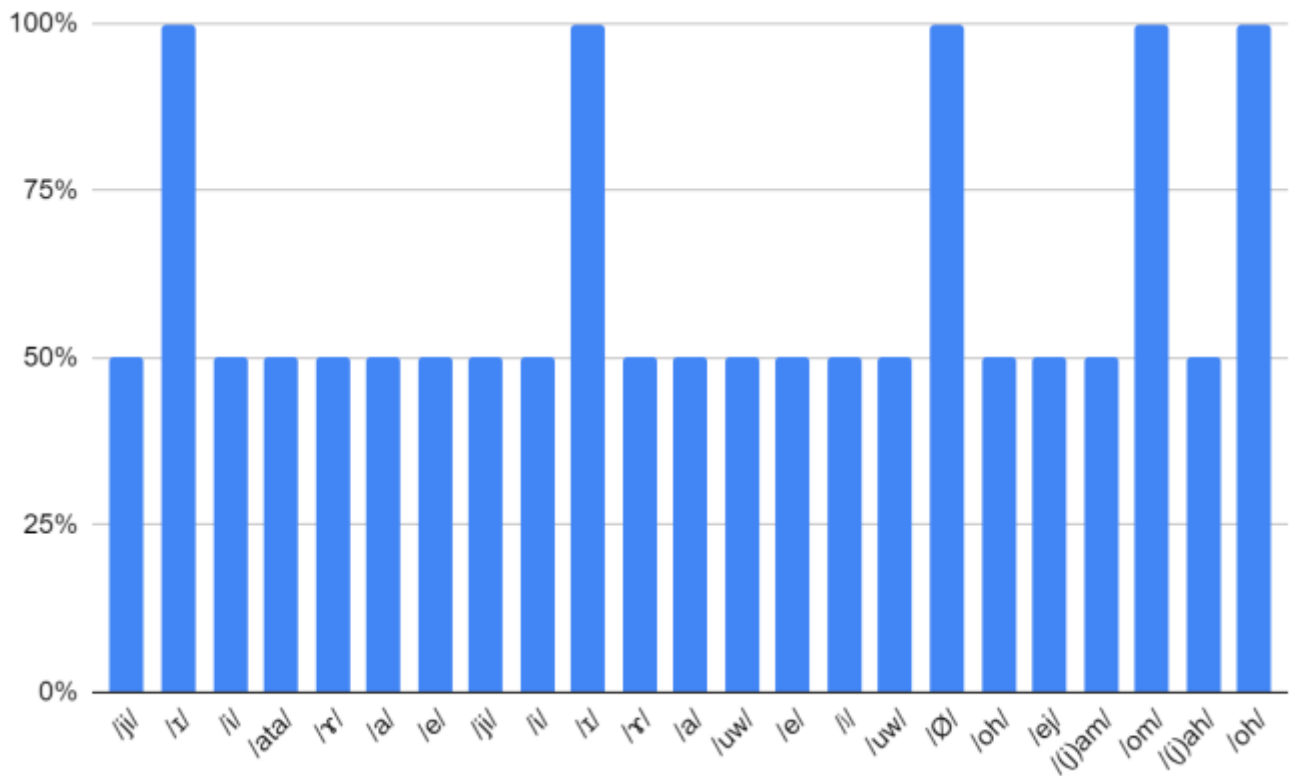
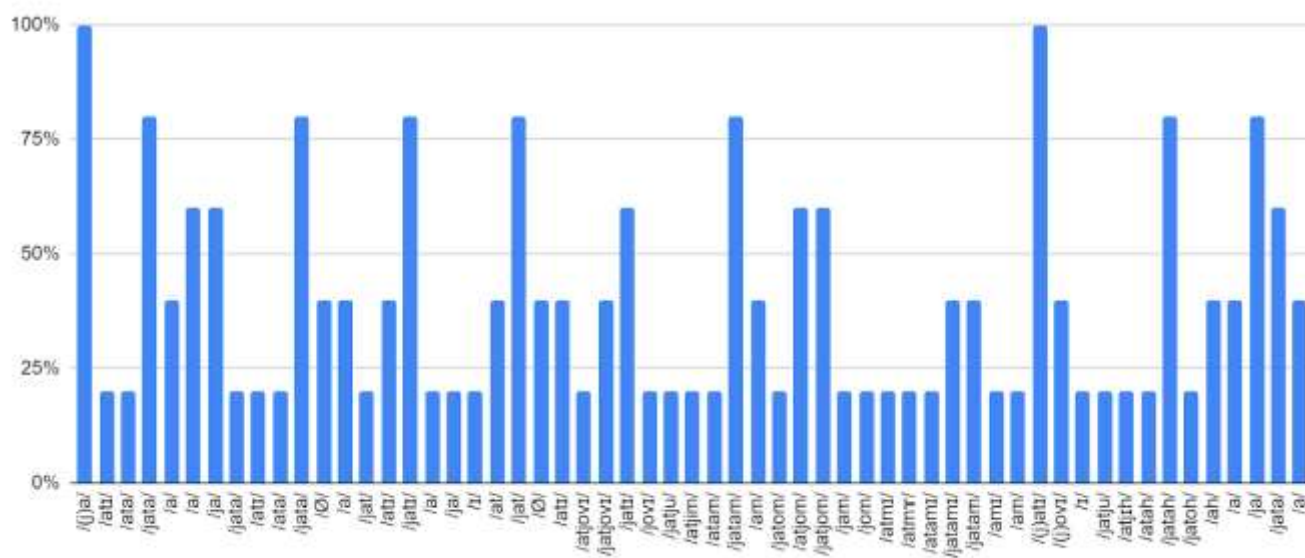


Figure 11: Rate of occurrence of phonetic variants in Appendix 6



4.2.1.1. Vowel quality

Some examples of differing vowels include the animate accusative plural or genitive plural endings for Type 1 nouns (Appendix 1), such as Pečora's '-îb' ([ɣw]) and Megela's '-yв' ([ɣw]). Megela does not have a letter for the close front rounded vowel [y], while the other documents report this as a key vowel for the Rusyn language.

Another difference, where Pečora reports [y], and Megela reports [u], Sydor sometimes reports his unique sound [o^u], such as in the genitive plural of Type 2 noun declensions (Appendix 2).

A different vowel can be used completely, such as in Type 2 locative declensions. The majority of the authors propose the locative plural ending '-ax,' while N&T also propose [ɪx] and Almašij et al. propose '-ox/-ëx.'

4.2.1.2. Palatalisation

Most Slavic languages differentiate between hard and soft consonants, which are usually dependent on the vowels that proceed them. For example, Rusyn has four similar sounds: the hard are <ы> (close-mid back unrounded vowel [ɤ]) and <и> (near-close near-front unrounded vowel [ɪ]). The soft are <і> (close front unrounded vowel [i]) and <ї> ([ji]), a palatalized variant of the previous sound. In noun declension Type 4 (Appendix 4), where others write that [ɪ] and [i] is the ending for accusative plural endings, Pečora writes that it is [ɪ] and [ji].

Another instance of this is between Sydor and the rest in the instrumental Type 1 nouns (Appendix 1). He provides only the hard variant /o^uw/, while the rest give a second soft equivalent, /jow/.

4.2.1.3. Ellipsis

N&T demonstrate ellipsis in their variants, namely in Type 6 noun declensions (Appendix 6). They write suffixes /-atm/ and /-atmɤ/, consisting of two syllables, but the others record an extra [a] vowel between the two consonants: Sydor - /-atam/, Pečora - /-jatam/, Megela - /-jatam/, Almašij et al. - /-jatam/.

Other examples of this can be seen in Appendix 7. N&T report a dative variant for 'I' as /mni/, while the rest report a two syllable variant /meni/.

4.2.2. Morphological inconsistencies

There appears to be a dilemma about when to use suffixes '-ими' and '-има' in the instrumental plural of adjectives and numerals. The declension of 'one' (Appendix 23) is disputed between Almašij et al., Pečora, and Megela, who suggest either 'єдныма' or 'єдными'. In other varieties, such as Prešov Rusyn, there are identical variants, both being acceptable according to Pljiškova and Koropova (2015: 138), while the Pannonian Rusyn is '-има' for instrumental plural (Fejsa 2017a), and so is the Lemko (Fontański and Chomiak 2000).

The same occurs for adjectives (Appendices 28-30) in the instrumental plural.

Another case of this can be seen in participles (Appendix 41). Present participles, according to Sydor, have 3 variants, '-ачи' (with the soft variant '-ячи'), '-учи' (with no soft variant), and '-я,' whereas Megela reports only the first two (both with soft variants). The adjectival present active participles also differ, with Megela citing the same roots ('-ач-' (soft variant '-яч-'), '-уч-' (soft variant '-юч-') which then decline based on number, gender and case. Sydor adds two more possible variants: '-ащый' (soft '-ящый') and '-ущый' (soft '-ющый'). The past passive also has an extra entry by Sydor, who states '-(в)шыйся' is acceptable, but Megela makes no mention of it.

4.2.3. Grammatical inconsistencies

The third person singular pronouns, in Slavic languages in general, can have two to three different forms based on the grammatical environment. Only Almašij et al. and N&T address this in their description of these pronouns in accusative, genitive, and dative environments. They give an object pronoun, a pronoun used after prepositions, and a possessive pronoun. All other texts give one or two variants.

Another inconsistency can also be found for the accusative singular and plural adjectives. In Slavic languages, and Rusyn is no exception, there is a distinction between animate and inanimate nouns. The inanimate take a similar nominative adjective if it is masculine or neuter, while the animate have genitive endings. For example, looking at the possessive adjectives for 'my' (Appendix 15), according to Sydor, Pečora, and Megela, only variants that have the same genitive endings are provided, while Almašij et al. and Magocsi give two variants for masculine and plural possessive adjectives (the former being inanimate and the latter being animate): Magocsi gives 'мүй/мого' and 'мойі/моіх,' and Almašij et al. give 'муй/мого' and 'мої/моих.' Interestingly, however, Pečora and Megela provide two variants, as does Magocsi and Almašij et al., for the accusative demonstrative pronouns 'this' and 'these' (Appendix 17): Pečora's 'сесь/сѣро' and Megela's 'сись/сьоро' for the accusative masculine singular, and only Megela gives 'сесі/сих' for the plural. Sydor and Megela give two for 'that' and 'those': Sydor and Megela report the accusative singular to be 'тот/того,' while Megela reports the plural to be 'тоты/тых.' Megela also provides the same variants for singular and plural accusative adjectives for the neuter, while no one else does. More examples of this can be found in Appendices 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 31.

4.2.4. Orthographic inconsistencies

Concerning orthographical inconsistencies, there are few, but they exist.

Representing the /jo/ sound in most texts is done simply by the letter <ѣ>, but Magocsi and Megela do not include this letter in their alphabets, and so use <йо>. Another similar situation occurs with the letter <ї>. The accusative 'her' has variants such as 'її' from Pečora and 'єї' from Sydor and Megela. Magocsi, again, does not have this letter in his alphabet and substitutes it with <йі>. Why he does this is not clear. One reason could be to distance the language from Ukrainian and Russian since <ї> is a Ukrainian letter, and <ѣ> is Russian (although not exclusively).

In terms of suffixes, where <ѣ> is used by all for the locative singular Type 2 nouns' endings (Appendix 2), Megela uses <ѣо>. The rule can be understood as <й> comes word-initially, while soft signs are used word-internally, be it for presentation or adding complexity to the language. It also appears in the instrumental singular as '-ѣм' versus Megela's '-ѣом.' Magocsi is observed doing the same thing in Appendix 10 with the instrumental 'нѣов.'

The /y/ sound has the most variation in orthography because it is a unique sound to Transcarpathian Rusyn, and not all dialects have it. As mentioned before, Magocsi and Sydor use <ÿ> and <ю̇>, perhaps borrowing the idea from the German or Hungarian alphabet by using the umlaut. While Magocsi uses one symbol, Sydor uses a second - <î> - for stylistic purposes. Pečora only uses <î> to represent all the variations of this sound, those being [u], [y], and [i], depending on the dialect. It should be noted that in real life, these variants are not used by all, and instead <ÿ> is used in writing by some, as is depicted by rueportal.eu (n.d.) in Figure 12. One example of it in use is by the writer Lyzhechko (2023).

Figure 12. Rusyn alphabet proposed on the website rueportal.

| | | | |
|----|----|----|----|
| Аа | Бб | Вв | Гг |
| Ґґ | Дд | Ее | Єє |
| Жж | Зз | Ии | Ыы |
| Іі | Її | Йй | Кк |
| Лл | Мм | Нн | Оо |
| Ōō | Пп | Рр | Сс |
| Тт | Уу | Ўў | Фф |
| Хх | Цц | Чч | Шш |
| Щщ | Ьь | Юю | Яя |

4.3. Discussion

Despite these six writers having studied and recorded the same language, there is little consensus as to what it is or how it should be written. On the other hand, it confirms that Transcarpathian Rusyn has a lot of variation geographically, dividing itself into a minimum of at least 4 dialects according to Pečora (p. 12) and six according to Almašij et al. (p. 88), which have been listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Pečora and Almašij et al.'s reported dialects of Rusyn in Transcarpathia

| Pečora's dialects | Almašij et al.'s dialects |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Maramorošs'kyj | Southern Maramoroš |
| Boržavs'kyj/Berežs'kyj | Northern Maramoroš |
| Užans'kyj | Berežs'kyj |
| Verxovins'kyj | Užs'kyj |
| | Eastern Zemplin |
| | Verxovina |

The trouble with developing a standardized grammar to describe the language of a specific region is that it will never be truly representative of the entire population. For example, Scots (Costa, 2018), Diidxazá (De Korne, 2018) or Kven (Lane, 2018) are, to

name but a few, examples that have had pushback from language standardization efforts due to the exclusion of certain ways of speaking.

This lack of consensus shows linguists do not understand the linguistic situation of this area, which is not helped by the fact that Ukrainian linguists, who have the geographical advantage of studying it, refuse to consider it as anything but a dialect of Ukrainian (Bača, Kovač & Štec', 2008; Masenko, 2011; Myšanyč, 2013; Skrypnyk, 2013). As was discussed before, the other varieties of Rusyn had recognition before the codification procedure was executed. There is not even a corpus of Transcarpathian Rusyn from which linguists can start studying, only minute studies that show small sides of linguistic peculiarities and the sociolinguistic situation (e.g., Boudovskaia, 2010, 2017, 2020; Goca, 2010; Káprály, 2018; Sabadoš, 2008; Tolstaja, 2000, 2012; Xarkivs'ka, 2015)

To argue that the lack of recognition by the government and other linguists is the cause for the disorder in the standardization process would be naive. The problem is also exacerbated by the Rusyn people, mostly the older generation. As mentioned in the literature review, age is one of the obstacles for standardization. From Wood's (2021) interviews with Rusyn speakers from Ukraine, four out of five of these interviewees were for standardization and recognition. One of the interviewees mentioned that one of the problems is the older generation, saying: "I do blame USSR...because I see those people attitude and they behave as if...I have no control of the situation...I cannot change it; I can do nothing...They got used to the fact that the government rules everything and they have no control of the situation" (p. 58). This historical trauma from Soviet times has had an impact on people's ability to trust the government to support their interests (Sapsford et al., 2015).

Considering Rusyn has been standardized three times already in Poland, Serbia and Slovakia, it is worth discussing the result of this. As for Lemko, Fontański, and Chomiak (2000) standardized it, and Horbal (2003) celebrates it as a positive step. Two years later, he mentions that "In 2001 Chomjak's program for teaching Lemko at the high school level...was approved by the Ministry of National Education and Sport" (2005, p. 91), but Hornsby (2015) tells a different story. Those who do have an education in Lemko, as recorded by Hornsby, show differing attitudes, such as the previously quoted "My grandmother speaks "her" Lemko, but we are learning "correct" Lemko" (2015, p. 105). It shows that the standard that has been created does not reflect the language of the older generation, creating a linguistic divide in the very community that is trying to come together. This leads to the rise of "new-speakers", as Hornsby writes. "The newer generations of Lemko speakers, educated at university, in a codified, pan-Rusyn variety are indeed the ones who hold (or will hold) linguistic power" (p. 108). It does not mean, however, that the older generations' ways of speaking are illegitimate and do not deserve documentation and recognition. It is an inevitable and constant battle between the generations as to who speaks the so-called correct way.

It is plausible that the older generation of Rusyns from this region is scared or dubious of change and standardization. Lane (2018) discusses the Kven context and how the standardization process had pushback from those who "expressed concern that elements from their dialect might not be incorporated" or "stated that the actors involved in this process were removed from the grassroots and...that their efforts were primarily motivated by self-interest" (2018, p. 108). The end of Lane's chapter finishes with conversations with two people who were not favorable of a standard, but after they had been given a text in Kven to read, their attitudes became more supportive and they saw the use in it.

Ideally, there should be some form of recognition in the next few years, but it does not seem likely, given the conflict with Russia and the Ukrainian view that Rusyn is a dialect. The next best thing would be to start documenting the language anyway. N&T have already done this for Torun', although under the impression that it is a dialect. This can only come from creating a corpus of oral language. There is writing from this region encouraged by online movements, as investigated by Wood (2024), such as Mihal' Lyzhechko, who created the website 'Interfyisa' to give news about technology to Rusyn speakers (Interfyisa, 2024). Another strong movement is 'The Society for Rusyn Evolution,' which is backed by Starick Pollock (The Society for Rusyn Evolution, 2024) and publishes Rusyn writers from all Rusyn-speaking countries. However, a real corpus of oral language is lacking.

Once the language and data is available and documented, then the process of standardization can begin. It can be done in various ways. Taking the Kven example from Lane (2018), the process was government funded (which would require recognition from the Ukrainian government), and an institute was composed of linguists and native speakers to start the standardization process. In determining which variety to use, they opted for something "based on Eastern and Western Kven dialects, close to Meänkieli" (107). The decision to include variation in this standardization process was taken, "However, the amount of variation was debated at the meetings of the Kven Language Council. A large degree of variation was seen as essential if those who speak or understand Kven were to identify with and accept the standard, whereas a standard with less variation might be easier to master for new speakers who would learn Kven through education" (p. 107-108). In the case of Rusyn, the problem naturally arises as to what to base the standard on. For Kven, there were two main varieties, but Rusyn in Transcarpathia has at least four to six. This would be discussed at such meetings.

In the case that Rusyn is not recognized in the near/distant future, what can be done?

A similar case to Rusyn is the Elfdalian language in Sweden. It has no legal status in Sweden since the government considers it a dialect and no recognition from the ECRML. Nonetheless, it has been standardized. Sapir (2017) recounts the history of this process. The revitalization process started in 1984 “with the foundation of Ulum Dalska,” which organized “musicals, conferences, language courses, school activities, as well as assisting scholars, who wished to study or document Elfdalian” (p. 52). Up until the present day, such events are still taking place. Standardization attempts started with Steensland, who “was the first to attempt to create a standard orthography for Elfdalian” (p. 55), then “Åkerberg made likewise an attempt to introduce a standard Elfdalian orthography. In 1999, he began to give Elfdalian language courses, simultaneously trying to revitalize the classical grammar system” (p. 55). Sapir himself was the next, in 2004. Ulum Dalska created “a new Elfdalian language council, whose principal aim would be to create a standard Elfdalian orthography. The council was to consist moreover of Östen Dahl, Gunnar Nyström, Lars Steensland and Bengt Åkerberg” (p. 55). The process employed on this council was that it should be “regionally ‘neutral’ in the sense that it should not reflect a certain variety” (p. 55). The process took just over half a year with agreement from everyone on the council. Naturally, some were not happy with the proposed idea, “mainly from Elfdalian speakers who felt that some items in the new spelling did not coincide with their own local pronunciation. Others claimed that the orthography did not reflect the regional or generational diversity, that Elfdalian never had an orthography, and that people should or could just write what they pronounced” (p. 56). In response to this, the committee “pointed out that the aim of the orthography was to render written communication in Elfdalian easy to encode and decode, not to regulate the spoken language and not to eradicate the regional variation, and that the written norm could not reflect all regional varieties” (p. 56). In addition to orthography, grammar is also available by Sapir (2023), which is just another step at concretising the standardization process.

Sapir concludes that linguistic revitalization, although minimal, is visible in the community and that “pessimistic views as to an imminent language death for Elfdalian may not become a reality, at least in the short term” (p. 56). His final remarks, however, highlight the importance of recognition: “An official recognition of Elfdalian as a language according to ECMRL will give the revitalization efforts an additional boost” (p. 56).

The advantage that Rusyn in Ukraine has over Elfdalian is that other countries do recognize it and have already established a standard. It is well within the range of possibilities that a committee be created in Transcarpathia to work on a standard orthography and language that represents everyone’s interests. As was the case with Elfdalian, not everyone will be happy, but Sapir notes that “the speech community would need more time to get accustomed to the orthography” (2017, p. 56), which was also observed by Lane’s (2018) conversations with the two people who were positively swayed after reading a text in Kven.

5. Conclusion

This article has compared the numerous attempts at standardization of Rusyn in Ukraine’s Transcarpathian region. These texts differ in terms of grammar, morphology, and orthography, and there is very little consensus as to what the Transcarpathian Rusyn language actually is. In comparison with the historical processes of standardization in other countries where Rusyn is recognized and protected, Transcarpathian Rusyn is not ready to be standardized. The importance of recognition clearly plays a part in this, but, as seen with the Elfdalian situation, it is not crucial to start.

It is recommended that studies of Rusyn are undertaken in this region first so as to get an understanding of how this language sounds and is used in comparison to the other varieties. Ukrainian linguists are mostly of the understanding that it is a dialect, so the work will probably need to be undertaken by linguists outside of Ukraine. A linguistic committee can then be established to discuss the orthography, grammar, and lexis should be. This, however, all depends on the motivation of Rusyn speakers in Transcarpathia. If people are willing to participate in such studies, it will be much easier, but the current attitude toward Rusyn suggests it will be challenging.

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Appendix 1: Noun declensions, Type 1.

| | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|-----------------------|---------|----------|------------|--------------|
| NOM SG | -а/-я/-ь | -а | -а/-я | -а/-я | -а/-я |
| NOM PL | -ы/-ї/-і | -ѣ/-і | -ы/-і | -ы/-ї | -ы/-і |
| ACC SG | -у/-ю/-ь | -у | -у/-ю | -у/-ю | -у/-ю |
| ACC PL | -ы/-ї/-і | -ѣ/-і | -Ѳ/-і | -ы/-ї/їв | -ы/-і/-ув |
| GEN SG | -ы/-и/-ї/-і | -ѣ/-і | -ы/-і | -ы/-ї | -ы/-і |
| GEN PL | -Ѳ/-ь/-ув/-ї/-и/ї/-юв | -Ѳ/-іw | -Ѳ/-ь | -Ѳ/-їв | -Ѳ/-ув |
| DAT SG | -і/-и | -і/-і | -ови/-і | -і/-и | -і/-и/-ови |
| DAT PL | -ам/-ям | -ам | -ам/-ям | -ам/-ям | -ам/-ям |
| INS SG | -ов/-ев/-ив | -ow/-ew | -ом/Ѳв | -ов/-ев | -ов/-ьов/-ом |
| INS PL | -ами/-ями | -амі | -ами/ями | -ами/-ями | -ами/-ями |
| LOC SG | -и/-ї | -і/-і | -ови/-и | -і/-и/-еви | -і/-и/-ови |
| LOC PL | -ах/-ях | -ах/-ох | -ах/-ях | -ах/-ях | -ах/-ях |
| VOC SG | -о/-ё | | -о/-ё | -о/-ё/-Ѳ | -о/-ьо |
| VOC PL | -ы/-ї/-і | | -ы/-і | -ы/-ї/-ове | -ы/-і/-ове |

Appendix 2: Noun declensions, Type 2.

| | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|---------------|
| NOM SG | -∅/-ь/-й/-о/-а | -∅/-о | -∅/-о/-е | -∅/-о | -∅/-о |
| NOM PL | -ы/-ї/-і | -ѣ/-і | -ы/-і | -ы/-ї | -ы/-і |
| ACC SG | -а/-я | -∅/-о | -∅/-я | -а/-я/-∅ | -а/-я |
| ACC PL | -ы/-ув/-юв/-ї | -ѣ/-і | -и/-ов | -ы/-ов/-їв/-ї | -ы/-ув/-юв/-і |
| GEN SG | -а/-я/-у/-ю | -а/-у | -а/-я | -а/-я | -а/-я |
| GEN PL | -ув/-ох/-юв/-ѣх | їw | -ôв/їв | -їв/-їв | -ув/-юв |
| DAT SG | -ови/-ѣви | -ові/-у | -ови/-ѣви | -у/-ови/-ѣви | -ови/-ю |
| DAT PL | -ам/-ом/-ям/-ѣм | -ам/-ім | -ам/ям | -ам/-ям/-овам | -ам/-ям |
| INS SG | -ом/-ѣм | -ом | -ом/-ѣм | -ом/ѣм | -ом/-ьом |
| INS PL | -ами/-ми/-ями/-ьми/-йми | -амі/мі | -ами/-ями | -ами/-ями/-овами | -ами/-ями |
| LOC SG | -і/-ови/-у/-ѣви/-и/-ю | -і/-ї/-у/-ові | -ови/-ѣви | -ови/-ѣви | -ови/-ьови/-і |
| LOC PL | -ах/-ох/-ях/ѣх | -ах/-іх | -ах/-ях | -ах/-ях/-овах | -ах/-ях |
| VOC SG | -е/-у/-ю | | -у/-ю | -е/-ю/-у | -е/-ю/-у |
| VOC PL | -ы/-ї/-і | | -ы/-і | -ы/-ї/-а | -ы/-і |

Appendix 3: Noun declensions, Type 3.

| | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| NOM SG | -o/-e/-я/-a | -o/-e/-a | -o/-e | -o/-e/-ε/-я | -o/-e/-a/-я |
| NOM PL | -a/-я/-ена | -a | -i/-a/-я | -ы/-a/-я | -ы/-я/ |
| ACC SG | -o/-e/-я/-a | -o/-e/-a | -o/-я | -a/-я/-o/-ε/-e | -a/-я/-e |
| ACC PL | -a/-я/-ена | -a | -i/-a/-я | -овiв/-iв/-e/-a/-я | -ы/-ув/-я |
| GEN SG | -a/-я/-ени | -a | -a/-я | -a/-я/ | -a/-я |
| GEN PL | -∅/-ь/-ий/-ен/-iв | -iв/-∅ | -∅в/iв | -iв/-овiв/-a/-й/-∅/-я | -ув/-юв |
| DAT SG | -y/-ови/-ю/-ёви/-ени | -u | -ови/-ёви/-ю | -ови/-ёви | -ови/-ю |
| DAT PL | -ам/-ям/-ом/-ём/-енам/-еном | -ам | -ам/ям | -ам/-ям | -ам/-ям |
| INS SG | -ом/-ём/-нём | -ом | -ом/-ём | -ом/ём | -ом/-ьом |
| INS PL | -ами/-ями/-енами | -амi | -ами/-ями | -ами/-ями | -ами/-ями |
| LOC SG | -ови/-ёви/-и/-ени/-y/-i | -i/-i/-u | -ови/-ёви/-ю | -ови/-ёви/-ю/-i | -ови/-ьови/-i |
| LOC PL | -ax/-ox/-яx/-ёx/-енаx/-еноx | -ax | -ax/-яx | -ax/-яx | -ax/-яx |
| VOC SG | -o/-e/-a/-я | | -y/-ю/-e/-я | -e/-y/-ε | -e/-y |
| VOC PL | -a/-я/-ена | | -a/-i/-я | -ы/-ове/-a/-я | -ы/-я |

Appendix 4: Noun declensions, Type 4.

| | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| NOM SG | -∅ | -∅ | -∅ | -∅ | -∅ |
| NOM PL | -i | -I/-i | -и | -ï/-и | -i |
| ACC SG | -∅ | -∅ | -∅ | -∅ | -∅ |
| ACC PL | -i | -I/-i | -и/-i/-îв | -ï/-и | -i/-iв |
| GEN SG | -и | -ɣ/-I/-e | -и | -и | -и |
| GEN PL | -ий/-ув | -ïw/-ej | -eй/-îв | -îв | -ий/-юв/-и |
| DAT SG | -и | -I/-ɣ/-i | -и | -и | -и |
| DAT PL | -ам | -ам | -ам/-ям | -ам/-ям | -ам/-ям |
| INS SG | -ов/-ив | -ow/-l'u/-ew/-ju | -ôв | -ёв/-ов | -ов/-ьов |
| INS PL | -ами | -амI/-mi | -ами/-ями | -ами/-ями | -ами/-ями |
| LOC SG | -и | | -и | -и | -и |
| LOC PL | -ах | -ах | -ах/-ях | -ах/-ях | -ах/-ях |
| VOC SG | -e | | -e/-и | -и | -e/-∅ |
| VOC PL | -и/-i | | -e/-и | -ï/-и | -i |

Appendix 5: Noun declensions, Type 5.

| | Almašij et al. | N&T |
|---------------|------------------|---------------------|
| NOM PL | -ï/-и/-ата/-ы/-а | -i/-I/-e |
| ACC PL | -ï/-ы/-а/-ув | -i/-I/-e |
| GEN PL | -ь/-ув/-∅/-ох | -ej/-∅ |
| DAT PL | -ям/-ам/-ом | -ом |
| INS PL | -ями/-ами/-ми | --mi/-Ima/-амI/-ома |
| LOC PL | -ях/-ах/-ох | -ох |
| VOC PL | -ï/-ы/-а | |

Appendix 6: Noun declensions, Type 6.

| | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| NOM SG | -я | -а | -а/-я | -а/-я | -я |
| NOM PL | -ята | -at-ɪ | -ата/-ята | -ята/-а | -ята/-а |
| ACC SG | -я | -а | -а/-ята | -а/-я/ | -я |
| ACC PL | -ята | -at-ɪ | -ата/-ята | -ята/-а/-∅ | -ята/-ят/-а/-∅ |
| GEN SG | -яти | -at-ɪ | -ати/-яти | -я/-яти/-а | -яти/-и |
| GEN PL | -ят | -at-∅ | -ат/-ят | -ят/-∅ | -ят/-∅ |
| DAT SG | -яти/-ятю | -at-ɪ | -атёви/-ятёви | -яти/-ати/-ёви | -яти/-ятьови |
| DAT PL | -ятам/-ятом | -at'-im | -атам/-ятам | -ятам/-ам | -ятам/-ам |
| INS SG | -ятём | -at'-om | -атём | -ятём/-ям/-атём | -ятьом/-ьом |
| INS PL | -ятами | -at-mɪ/at-mɤ | -атами/-ятами | -ятам/-ами | -ятам/-ам |
| LOC SG | -яти/-ятю | -at-ɪ | -ати/-яти | -яти/-ови/-ёви/-ати | -яти/-ови/-и/-ьови |
| LOC PL | -ятах/-ятох | -at'-ix | -атах/-ятах | -ятах/-ах | -ятах/-ах |
| VOC SG | -я | | -а/-я | -я/-а | -я |
| VOC PL | -ята | | | -ята/-а | -ята/-а |

Appendix 7: Personal Pronoun “I”

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|----------|----------------|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|
| NOM | я | я | ja | я | я | я |
| ACC | мене | ня, мене | мене, п'а | мене, ня | мене, ня | мене, ня |
| GEN | мене, ня | ня, мене | мене, п'а, мп'а | мене, ня | мене, ня | мене, ня |
| DAT | мені, ми | ми, мені | мен'и, мп'и, ми | мені, ми | мені, ми | мені, ми |
| INS | мнов | мнѠв | мпow | мнѠв | мнов | мнов |
| LOC | мені | мені | мп'ɪ | мені | мені | мені |

Appendix 8: Personal pronoun "You" (singular)

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|----------|----------------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|
| NOM | ты | ты | tɤ | ты | ты | ты |
| ACC | тебе | тя, тебе | tebe, t'a | тебе, тя | тебе, тя | тебе, тя |
| GEN | тебе, тя | тя, тебе | tebe, t'a | тебе, тя | тебе, тя | тебе, тя |
| DAT | тобі, ти | ти, тоби | tobi, ti | тебі, ти | тобі, ти | тобі, ти |
| INS | тобов | тобѠв | tobow | тобѠв | тобов | тобов |
| LOC | тобі | тобі | tob'i | тебі | тобі | тобі |

Appendix 9: Personal pronoun "He"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|----------|----------------|-----------------|---------|---------|----------|
| NOM | овѣн | ун | v'in | вѣн, ун | вѣн | вун |
| ACC | його, го | го, нѣго, ѣго | jogo, n'ogo, go | ѣго, го | ѣго, го | його, го |
| GEN | його | го, нѣго, ѣго | jogo, n'ogo, go | ѣго, го | ѣго, го | його, го |
| DAT | йому, му | ѣму, му | jomu, n'omu, mu | ѣму, му | ѣму, му | йому, му |
| INS | ним | ним | nim, nim | ним | ним | ним |
| LOC | нѣм | нѣм | n'im, nomu | нѣму | нѣму | нѣму |

Appendix 10: Personal Pronoun "She"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|---------|-------------------|-------------------|----------|--------|--------|
| NOM | она | она | она | она, вна | она | она |
| ACC | ѣї | ї, ю, ню, ниї, єї | jeji, n'u, ji, ju | ї, єї | ї, її | єї, ї |
| GEN | ѣї | ї, ниї, єї, нѣї | jeji, neji, ji | ї, єї | ї, її | єї, ї |
| DAT | юї | юї | ji, nij, jij | юї | нив | юї |
| INS | нѣов | нѣв, нив | new, n'ow | нив | нив | нив |
| LOC | нѣюї | нѣюї | n'ij | нѣюї | нѣв | нѣюї |

Appendix 11: Personal Pronoun "It"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|----------|----------------|-----------------|----------|---------|----------|
| NOM | овўн | оно | оно | оно, вно | оно | оно |
| ACC | його, го | го, нёго, ёго | јоҕо, н'оҕо, ҕо | ёго, го | ёго, го | його, го |
| GEN | його | го, нёго, ёго | јоҕо, н'оҕо, ҕо | ёго, го | ёго, го | його, го |
| DAT | йому, му | ёму, му | јому, н'ому, му | ёму, му | ёму, му | йому, му |
| INS | ним | ним | ним, ним | ним | ним | ним |
| LOC | ньюм | ньюм | н'им, ному | ньюм | н'им | ньюму |

Appendix 12: Personal pronoun "We"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|---------|----------------|------|-------|--------|--------|
| NOM | мы | мы | мѣ | мы | мы | мы |
| ACC | нас | нас | нас | нас | нас | нас |
| GEN | нас | нас | нас | нас | нас | нас |
| DAT | нам | нам | нам | нам | нам | нам |
| INS | нами | нами | намѣ | нами | нами | нами |
| LOC | нас | нас | нас | нас | нас | нас |

Appendix 13: Personal Pronoun "You" (plural)

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|---------|----------------|------|-------|--------|--------|
| NOM | вы | вы | вѣ | вы | вы | вы |
| ACC | вас | вас | вас | вас | вас | вас |
| GEN | вас | вас | вас | вас | вас | вас |
| DAT | вам | вам | вам | вам | вам | вам |
| INS | вами | вами | вамѣ | вами | вами | вами |
| LOC | вас | вас | вас | вас | вас | вас |

Appendix 14: Personal Pronoun "They"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|---------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| NOM | они | они | они | они, вни | они | они |
| ACC | їх | їх, них | їх, н'ї | їх | їх | їх |
| GEN | їх | їх, них | їх, них | їх | їх | їх |
| DAT | їім | їм | їім, ним | їм | їм | їм |
| INS | нима | нима, ми | німі | нима | нима, ми | ними, нима |
| LOC | них | них | ніх | них | них | них |

Appendix 15: Possessive adjective "My"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| NOM SG | мўй, моя, моє | муй, моєго, моє, моя | мôй, моя, моє | мій, моя, моє | муй, моя, моє |
| NOM PL | мойі | мoї | мoї | мої | мої |
| ACC SG | мўй/мого, мою, моє | муй, мого, моє, мoю, | мо(є)го, мою, мо(є)го | мого, мою, мого | мойого, мою, мойого |
| ACC PL | мойїх/мойі | моих, мoї | мoї | мої | мої/мойих |
| GEN SG | мого, моєі, мого | мого, мoєму, моєго, мo(є)ї, мoюй, | мо(є)го, моєї/мої, мого | мого, мої, мого | мойого, мойoї, мойого |
| GEN PL | мойїх | моих | мойих | моїх | мойих |
| DAT SG | мому, моюй, мому | мoму, моєго, мoєму, мoюй, | мо(є)му, моюй, мо(є)му | мому, моїй, мому | мойому, моюй, мойому |
| DAT PL | мойім | моим | мойима | моїм | мойим |
| INS SG | мойім, мойов, мойім | моим, мoєму, моим, мoюй, | мойим, мойoв, мойим | моїм, моєв, моїм | мойим, мойов, мойим |
| INS PL | мойіма | моима(ми) | мойима | моїма | мойими |
| LOC SG | моюім, моюй, моюм | мoюм, мoюм, мoєму, мoюй, | мо(є)му, моюй, мo(є)му | мому, моїй, мo(є)му | мойому, моюй, мoюму |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| LOC PL | МОЇХ | МОИХ | МОЙИХ | МОЇХ | МОЙИХ |
|---------------|------|------|-------|------|-------|

Appendix 16: Possessive adjective "Our"

| | Megela |
|---------------|------------------------|
| NOM SG | наш, наша, наше |
| NOM PL | наші |
| ACC SG | наш/нашого, нашу, наше |
| ACC PL | наші/наших |
| GEN SG | нашого, нашу, нашего |
| GEN PL | наших |
| DAT SG | нашому, нашуй, нашому |
| DAT PL | нашым |
| INS SG | нашым, нашов, нашым |
| INS PL | нашими (-а) |

Appendix 17: Demonstrative pronouns "This/These"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| NOM SG | сись, сися, сисе | сись, сеся, ся, | ses', ses'a, sese | сись, ся/сися, йсе/се | сесь, ся/сеся, сесе | сись, сеся, сесе |
| NOM PL | сисі | сесе, се, сесі, сї | ses'і | сисі | сесі | сесі |
| ACC SG | сього/сись, сисю, сисе | сёго, сись, сесю, сю, сесе, се, | ses', ses'u, sese | сёго, сисю, се/сесе | сесь/сёго, сесю, сесе | сись/сього сьої сесе/сього |
| ACC PL | сих/сисі | сих/сесі | ses'і | сисі | сесі | сесі/сих |
| GEN SG | сього, сейі, сього | сёго, сєї, сёго, | s'ouo, seji | сёго, сєї/сєї, сёго | сёго, сєї/сєї, сёго | сього сьої сього |
| GEN PL | сих | сих | six | сих | сих | сих |
| DAT SG | сьому, сьуй, сьому | сёму, сьуй, сёму, | s'omu, s'ij | сёму, сьуй, сёму | сёму, сїй, сёму | сьому сьуй сьому |
| DAT PL | сьом | сим | sim | сим | сим | сим |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| INS SG | СИМ, СИВ, СИМ | СИМ, СЁВ, СИВ, СИМ, | sim, sew | СИМ, СЬОВ, СИМ | СИМ, СІЙ, СИМ | СИМ СЬОВ СИМ |
| INS PL | сима | сима(ми) | simi | сима | сима/и | сими (-а) |
| LOC SG | сюм, сюй, сюім | сюм, сёму, сюй, сюм, сёму, | s'im, s'omu, s'ij | сёму, сюй, сёму | сёму, сів, сёму | сьому сюй сьому |
| LOC PL | СИХ | СИХ | SIX | СИХ | СИХ | СИХ |

Appendix 18: Demonstrative pronouns "That/Those"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Megela |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| NOM SG | ТОТ, ТОТА, ТОТО | ТОТ, ТОТА, ТА, ТОТО, ТО | tot, tota, tot | ТОТ, ТА, ТОТА, ТОТО | ТОТ, ТОТА, ТОТО |
| NOM PL | ТОТІ | ТОТЫ, ТІ | totɤ | ТОТІ | ТОТЫ |
| ACC SG | ТОГО/ТОТ, ТОТЎ, ТОТО | ТОГО, ТОТ, ТУ, ТОТУ, ТОТО, ТО | tot, totu, tot | ТОГО/ТОТ, ТОТУ, ТОТО | ТОГО/ТОТ, ТОТУ, ТОТО/ТОГО |
| ACC PL | ТИХ/ТОТІ | ТЫХ/ТОТЫ | totɤ | ТОТІ | ТОТЫ/ТЫХ |
| GEN SG | ТОГО, ТОЙІ, ТОГО | ТОГО, ТОІ, ТОГО | toɣo, toji | ТОГО, ТОІ, ТОГО | ТОГО, ТОІ, ТОГО |
| GEN PL | ТИХ | ТЫХ | tɤx | ТЫХ | ТЫХ |
| DAT SG | ТОМУ, ТЎЙ, ТОМУ | ТОМУ, ТУЙ, ТОМУ | tomu, t'ij | ТОМУ, ТОЙ/ТОВ, ТОМУ | ТОМУ, ТУЙ, ТОМУ |
| DAT PL | ТЎМ | ТЫМ | tɤm | ТЫМ | ТЫМ |
| INS SG | ТИМ, ТОВ, ТИМ | ТЫМ, ТОВ, ТЫМ | tɤm, tow | ТЫМ, ТОВ, ТЫМ | ТЫМ, ТЫВ, ТЫМ |
| INS PL | ТИМА | ТЫМА(МИ) | tɤmi | ТЫМА | ТЫМИ |
| LOC SG | ТЎМ, ТЎЙ, ТЎМ | ТУМ, ТОМУ, ТУЙ, ТУМ, ТОМУ | t'im, tomu, t'ij | ТОМУ, ТОЙ, ТОМУ | ТОМУ, ТУЙ, ТОМУ |
| LOC PL | ТИХ | ТЫХ | tɤx | ТЫХ | ТЫХ |

Appendix 19: Interrogative pronoun "Who"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| NOM | ТКО | КО | xto | КО | КО | КО |
| ACC | КОГО | КОГО | koɣo | КОГО | КОГО | КОГО |
| GEN | КОГО | КОГО | koɣo | КОГО | КОГО | КОГО |
| DAT | КОМУ | КОМУ | komu | КОМУ | КОМУ | КОМУ |
| INS | КИМ | КЫМ | kɤm | КЫМ | КЫМ | КИМ |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-----|----------|------|------|------|
| LOC | кўм | кум | komu/kim | кому | кому | кому |
|------------|-----|-----|----------|------|------|------|

Appendix 20: Interrogative pronoun “What”

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|---------|----------------|-----------|-------|--------|--------|
| NOM | што | што | ščo | што | што | што |
| ACC | што | што | čoʊo | што | што | што |
| GEN | чого | чого | čoʊo | чого | чого | чого |
| DAT | чому | чому | čomu | чому | чому | чому |
| INS | чим | чим | čim | чым | чим | чим |
| LOC | чўм | чум | čomu/c'im | чому | чому | чому |

Appendix 21: Interrogative pronoun “Whose”

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| NOM SG | чий, чія, чіє | чий, чия, чие | чий, чия, чиеє | чий, чия, чие | чий, чия, чие |
| NOM PL | чийі | чиї | | чиї | чиї |
| ACC SG | чийого/чий, чію, чіє | чиего, чий, чию, чие | чиего/чий, чию, чиеє | чиего, чию, чие | чий/чийого, чию, чие/чийого |
| ACC PL | чийіх/чийі | чиїх/чиї | | чиї | чиї/чиїх |
| GEN SG | чийого, чийі, чийого | чиего, чиї, чиего | чиего, чиеї, чиего | чиего, чиеї, чиего | чийого, чийої, чийого |
| GEN PL | чийіх | чиїх | | чиїх | чиїх |
| DAT SG | чийому, чиюй, чийому | чиему, чиюй, чиему | чиему, чиюй, чиему | чиему, чийй, чиему | чийому, чиюй, чийому |
| DAT PL | чийім | чиїм | | чиїм | чиїм |
| INS SG | чийім, чийів, чийім | чиим, чиев, чиим | чийым, чийов, чийым | чиїм, чиев, чиїм | чийим, чийов, чийим |
| INS PL | чийіма | чиїма(ми) | | чиїми | чийими |
| LOC SG | чийом, чиюй, чийом | чиюм, чиему, чиюй, чиюм, чиему | чиему, чиюй, чиему | чиему, чиев, чиему | чийому, чиюй, чийому |
| LOC PL | чийіх | чиїх | | чиїх | чийих |

Appendix 22: Reflexive pronoun

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Megela |
|------------|---------|----------------|----------|--------|
| ACC | себе | себе | sebe/s'a | себе |
| GEN | себе | себе | sebe/s'a | себе |
| DAT | собі | собі | sobi/si | собі |
| INS | собов | собов | sobow | собов |
| LOC | собі | собі | sob'i | собі |

Appendix 23: Declension of "One"

| | Almašij et al. | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| NOM SG | єден, єдна, єдно | єден, єдна, єдно | єден, єдна, єдно | єден, єдна, єдноє |
| NOM PL | єдні | єдні | єдні | єдні |
| ACC SG | єден, єдного, єдну, єдно | єден, єдну, єдно/єдного | єден/ого, єдну, єдно | єден, єдну, єдно |
| ACC PL | єдні, єдних | єдні/єдних | єдних | єдних/єдні |
| GEN SG | єдного, єднѡї, єдного | єдного, єднѡї, єдного | єдного, єдної, єдного | єдного, єдної, єдного |
| GEN PL | єдних | єдних | єдних | єдних |
| DAT SG | єднѡму, єднуй, єднѡму | єдному, єднѡй, єдному | єдному, єдній, єдному | єдному, єднуй, єдному |
| DAT PL | єдным | єдным | єдным | єдным |
| INS SG | єдным, єднѡв, єдным | єдным, єднѡв, єдным | єдным, єднов, єдним | єдным, єднов, єдним |
| INS PL | єдныма | | єдныма | єдными |
| LOC SG | єднум, єднуй, єднум | єдному, єднѡй, єдному | єдному, єдній, єдному | єдному, єднуй, єдному |
| LOC PL | єдних | єдних | єдних | єдних |

Appendix 24: Declension of “Two”

| | Almašij et al. | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|----------------|---------|----------|--------------|
| NOM | два | два/дві | два | два/дві |
| ACC | два/двох | двох | два/двох | два/дві/двох |
| GEN | двох | двох | двох | двох |
| DAT | двом | двом | двом | двом |
| INS | двома | двома | двома | двома |
| LOC | двох | двох | двох | двох |

Appendix 25: Declension of “Three”

| | Almašij et al. | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|----------------|-------|-----------|------------|
| NOM | три | три | три | три |
| ACC | три, трѐх | трѐх | три, трѐх | три, трьох |
| GEN | трѐх | трѐх | трѐх | трьох |
| DAT | трѐм | трѐм | трѐм | трьом |
| INS | трѐма | трѐма | трѐма | трьома |
| LOC | трѐх | трѐх | трѐх | трьох |

Appendix 26: Declension of “Four”

| | Almašij et al. | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|------------------|
| NOM | четыри | чотыри | чотыри | четыри |
| ACC | четыри, четырёх | чотырѐх | чотырѐх | четыри, четырьох |
| GEN | чотырѐх | чотырѐх | чотыри, чотырѐх | четырьох |
| DAT | чотырѐм | чотырѐм | чотырѐм | четырьом |
| INS | чотырѐма | чотырѐма | чотырѐма | четырьома |
| LOC | чотырѐх | чотырѐх | чотырѐх | четырьох |

Appendix 27: Declension of "Seven"

| | Almašij et al. | Sydor | Pečora |
|------------|----------------|--------|-----------|
| NOM | сім | сім | сім |
| ACC | сім/сімох | сіммох | сім/сімох |
| GEN | сімох | сімох | сімох |
| DAT | сімом | сімом | сімом |
| INS | сімома | сімома | сімома |
| LOC | сімох | сімох | сімох |

Appendix 28: Declension of hard masculine singular and plural adjectives

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| NOM SG | добрый | -ый | -ѣj/-i | студений | студений | добрый |
| NOM PL | добрі | -і | -iji | студені | студені | добрі |
| ACC SG | доброго/добрый | -ого, -ый | -ѣj | студений | студений | добрый |
| ACC PL | добрых/добрі | -ых, -і | -u | студені | студені | добрі |
| GEN SG | доброго | -ого | -оуо | студеного | студеного | доброго |
| GEN PL | добрых | -ых | -ѣх | студеных | студеных | добрых |
| DAT SG | доброму | -ому | -ому | студеному | студеному | доброму |
| DAT PL | добрым | -ым | -ѣт | студеным | студеным | добрым |
| INS SG | добрым | -ым | -ѣт | студеным | студеным | добрым |
| INS PL | добрыми | -ыма, -ыми | ѣтѣ | студеныма | студеныма | добрыми |
| LOC SG | добрѹм | -ум, -ому | -їт, -ому | студеному | студеному | доброму |
| LOC PL | добрых | -ых | -ѣх | студеных | студеных | добрых |
| VOC SG | добрый | -ый | | | | добрый |
| VOC PL | добрі | -і | | | | добрі |

Appendix 29: Declension of hard feminine singular and plural adjectives

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|---------|----------------|-------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| NOM SG | добра | -а, | -а/-і | студена | студена | добра |
| NOM PL | добрі | -і | -її | студені | студені | добрі |
| ACC SG | добру | -у | -у | студена | студену | добру |
| ACC PL | добрі | -ых, -і | -у | студені | студені | добрі/добрых |
| GEN SG | доброї | -ої | -ої | студеної | студеної | доброї |
| GEN PL | добрых | ых | -ѣх | студеных | студеных | добрых |
| DAT SG | добрій | -уй | -ї,-і | студеной | студеній | добрій |
| DAT PL | добрым | -ым | -ѣм | студеным | студеным | добрым |
| INS SG | добров | -ов | -ов | студенѡв | студенов | добров |
| INS PL | добрыми | -ыма, -ыми | -ѣми | студеныма | студеныма | добрыми |
| LOC SG | добрій | -уй | -ї,-і | студеной | студеній | добрій |
| LOC PL | добрых | -ых | -ѣх | студеных | студеных | добрых |
| VOC SG | добра | -а | | | | добра |
| VOC PL | добрі | -і | | | | добрі |

Appendix 30: Declension of hard feminine singular and plural adjectives

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Pečora | Megela |
|---------------|---------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| NOM SG | доброє | -оє | -оје | студеноє | студеноє | доброє |
| NOM PL | добрі | -і | -і,-іжі | студені | студені | добрі |
| ACC SG | доброє | -оє | -оје | студеноє | студеноє | доброє |
| ACC PL | добрі | -ых, -і | -и | студені | студені | добрі |
| GEN SG | доброго | -ого | -оуо | студеного | студеного | доброго |
| GEN PL | добрых | -ых | -ѣх | студеных | студеных | добрых |
| DAT SG | доброму | -ому | -ому | студеному | студеному | доброму |
| DAT PL | добрым | -ым | -ѣм | студеным | студеным | добрым |
| INS SG | добрым | -ым | -ѣм | студеным | студеным | добрым |
| INS PL | добрыми | -ыма, -ыми | -ѣми | студеныма | студеныма | добрыми |
| LOC SG | добрум | -ум, -ому | -ім, -ому | студеному | студеному | доброму |
| LOC PL | добрых | -ых | -ѣх | студеных | студеных | добрых |
| VOC SG | доброє | -оє | | | | доброє |
| VOC PL | добрі | -і | | | | добрі |

Appendix 31: Declension of masculine singular and plural proper adjectives

| | Sydor | Peçora |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| NOM SG | нянькiв | нянькiв |
| NOM PL | нянькoвy | нянькoвy |
| ACC SG | нянькoвoгo | нянькiв |
| ACC PL | нянькoвyх | нянькoвy |
| GEN SG | нянькoвoгo | нянькoвoгo |
| GEN PL | нянькoвyй | нянькoвyй |
| DAT SG | нянькoвoмy | нянькoвoмy |
| DAT PL | нянькoвyм | нянькoвyм |
| INS SG | нянькoвyм | нянькoвyм |
| INS PL | нянькoвyмa | нянькoвyмa |
| LOC SG | нянькoвoмy | нянькoвoмy/вiм |
| LOC PL | нянькoвyх | нянькoвyх |

Appendix 32: Declension of feminine singular and plural proper adjectives

| | Sydor | Peřora |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| NOM SG | нянькôва | нянькова |
| NOM PL | нянькôвы | няньковы |
| ACC SG | нянькôву | нянькову |
| ACC PL | нянькôвых | няньковы |
| GEN SG | нянькôвої | нянькової |
| GEN PL | нянькôвый | няньковый |
| DAT SG | нянькôвôй | няньковîв |
| DAT PL | нянькôвым | няньковым |
| INS SG | нянькôвôв | няньковов |
| INS PL | нянькôвыма | няньковыма |
| LOC SG | нянькôвôй | няньковîй |
| LOC PL | нянькôвых | няньковых |

Appendix 33: Declension of feminine singular and plural proper adjectives

| | Sydor | Pečora |
|---------------|-------------------------|------------|
| NOM SG | няньк ^о вое | няньковое |
| NOM PL | няньк ^о вы | няньковы |
| ACC SG | няньк ^о вое | няньковое |
| ACC PL | няньк ^о вых | няньковы |
| GEN SG | няньк ^о вого | нянькового |
| GEN PL | няньк ^о вый | няньковый |
| DAT SG | няньк ^о вому | няньковому |
| DAT PL | няньк ^о вым | няньковым |
| INS SG | няньк ^о вым | няньковым |
| INS PL | няньк ^о выма | няньковыма |
| LOC SG | няньк ^о вому | няньковому |
| LOC PL | няньк ^о вых | няньковых |

Appendix 34: Present Tense conjugation, First conjugation

| | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor |
|------------|----------------|------|--------------|
| 1SG | -у, -ю | -и | жию/живу |
| 2SG | -еш | -eš | жиеш |
| 3SG | -е | -е | жиє |
| 1PL | -еме | -еме | жиєме |
| 2PL | -ете | -ете | жиєте |
| 3PL | -ут | -ut | жиють/живуть |

Appendix 35: Present Tense conjugation, Second conjugation

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Megela |
|------------|----------|----------------|------|----------|---------|
| 1SG | говорю | -у, -ю | -ju | сокочу | роблю |
| 2SG | говориш | -иш | -iš | сокотиш | робиш |
| 3SG | говорить | -ит | -it | сокотить | робить |
| 1PL | говориме | -име | -ime | сокотиме | робиме |
| 2PL | говорите | -ите | -ite | сокотите | робите |
| 3PL | говорять | -ат, -ять | -'at | сокотять | роблять |

Appendix 36: Present Tense conjugation, Third conjugation

| | Almašij et al. | N&T |
|------------|----------------|-------|
| 1SG | -ю, -(в)у | -ju |
| 2SG | -ш | -š |
| 3SG | -т | -t |
| 1PL | -єме, -ете | -jeme |
| 2PL | -єте, -ете | -jete |
| 3PL | -ют, -(в)ут | -jut |

Appendix 37: Present Tense conjugation, Fourth conjugation

| | N&T |
|------------|-----------|
| 1SG | -m |
| 2SG | -š |
| 3SG | -s'c' |
| 1PL | -me |
| 2PL | -ste |
| 3PL | -d'at/dut |

Appendix 38: Perfect Tense endings

| | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Megela |
|------------|----------------|---------|----------|--------|
| 1SG | ЕМ, -М | -(i)m | -(и)М | -(и)М |
| 2SG | ЕСЬ, -СЬ | -(i)s' | -(и)СЬ | -(и)СЬ |
| 3SG | | | | |
| 1PL | СЬМЕ | -(i)sme | -(и)СЬМЕ | СЬМЕ |
| 2PL | СЬТЕ | -(i)ste | -(и)СЬТЕ | СЬТЕ |
| 3PL | | | (СУТЬ) | |

Appendix 39: Future "to be"

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T | Sydor | Megela |
|------------|---------|----------------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1SG | буду | буду | budu | буду | буду |
| 2SG | будеш | будеш | budeš | будеш | будеш |
| 3SG | буде | будеш | bude | буде | буде |
| 1PL | будеме | будеме | budeme | будеме | будеме |
| 2PL | будете | будете | budete | будете | будете |
| 3PL | будуть | будут | budut' | будуть | будуть |

Appendix 40: Conditional clitics

| | Magocsi | Almašij et al. | N&T |
|------------|---------|----------------|---------------|
| 1SG | БЫХ | БЫХ | -bɤm |
| 2SG | БЫСЬ | БЫ-СЬ | -bɤs/bɤjs |
| 3SG | БЫ | БЫ | -bɤ |
| 1PL | БЫСЬМЕ | БЫ СЬМЕ | -bɤsme/bɤjsme |
| 2PL | БЫСЬТЕ | БЫ СЬТЕ | -bɤste/bɤjste |
| 3PL | БЫ | БЫ | -bɤ |

Appendix 41: Declension of participles

| ADV PTCP | Sydor | Megela |
|----------|---|-------------------------------------|
| PRS | -ачи/-ячи/-учи/-я | impf. -учи (-ючи), - ачи (-ячи) |
| PST | -авши/-ивши/-івши/евши/-увши/-ши/-вши | -ши, -вши |
| | | |
| ADJ PTCP | Sydor | Megela |
| PRF | -тый | |
| IPFV | -ваный | |
| PRS AC | -ачый/-ячий/-учый/-ючий/-ащый/-ящый/-ущый/-ющый | -ач- (-яч-), -уч- (-юч-) |
| PST AC | -лый/-авшый/-івшый/-ившый/-ывшый/-шый | -л-/-івш-, -ивш-, -ывш-, -авш-, -ш- |
| PRS PASS | -амый/-ямый/-имый/-емый/-емый | |
| PST PASS | -ный/-(-в)шыйся/-тый | -н-, - ен-, -т- |