IMPLEMENTATION OF PHONETIC ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN GALICIA AND BUKOVINA IN 1892: POLITICAL, LEGAL AND NATIONAL ASPECTS

Ulyana USKA

Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv (Ukraine) E-mail: ulyana_uska@yahoo.de

Abstract. The article presents an analysis of the Austrian politics regarding the problem of standardization of the Ukrainian language, based on the materials of Austrian State Archives in Vienna and the legal acts of central ministries. We have described the process of introduction of the phonetic spelling in all spheres of life in Galicia and Bukovina, and revealed its geopolitical and nation-oriented meaning. This process was objective and legal; it was based on the principles of the Austro-Slavism and the spirit of modernization.

Keywords: phonetic spelling, Ukrainian language, Galicia, Bukovina, Austro-Hungary

Rezumat: Introducerea ortografiei fonetice a limbii ucrainene în Galiția și Bucovina în 1892: aspecte politice, juridice și naționale. Articolul analizează politica austriacă privind problema standardizării limbii ucrainene, pe baza materialelor din Arhivele Austriece de Stat din Viena și a actelor juridice din ministerele centrale. Studiul evidențiază procesul de introducere a scrierii fonetice în toate sferele vieții în Galiția și Bucovina și dezvăluie semnificația sa geopolitică și națională. Acest proces a fost obiectiv și legal; el a avut la bază principiile austro-slavismului și spiritul modernizării.

Résumé: Introduction phonétique orthographe Ukrainien langue en Galice et en Bucovine 1892: politiques, juridiques et nation aspects. Dans l'article, analyse la politique autrichienne sur le problème de la normalisation de la langue ukrainienne, basé sur les matériaux des Archives d'Etat d'Autriche à Vienne et règlements du ministères central. L'étude décrite le processus d'introduction de l'orthographe phonétique dans toutes les sphères de la Galice et de la Bucovine, et révèle-t-elle importance géopolitique et nationale. Ce processus a été objectif et juridique ; il a eu lieu sur la base de l'idéologie de la austroslavism et dans l'esprit de modernisation.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The problem of language standardization in the context of Ukrainian nation formation has never been merely linguistic or cultural; it has always had

geopolitical determination. This problem was characterized by several constituents: proving not only independence of the Ukrainian language, but also, in general – proving distinct character of Ukrainian culture; creating single norms of literary language and its correlation with local dialects; development of stable orthography and grammar. The standard Ukrainian phonetic orthography was established under the influence of modern and worldview changes in the mid-1890s in Galicia and Bukovina, which happened here faster than in the rest of Ukraine.

Traditionally, the history of orthography remains the subject of language studies. However, the "humanitarians" (or the mainly scholars of language and culture experts) have revealed the problems of standardization of the Ukrainian language on the background and in conjunction of socio-political, communicative and sociocultural processes. These studies include works of Ukrainian scholars Lev Poliuha¹, Iryna Farion², Mykola Lesiuk³, Vasyl Burdulaniuk⁴ etc., and Austrian researchers Michael Moser⁵ and Herman Bieder⁶. However, political, legal, and nation-formational aspects of Ukrainian history of orthography were outside of their attention, which can be a separate subject for research in the general studies.

The aim of this article is to analyze the Austrian policy in relation to the Ukrainian language's standards, to clarify the process of phonetic orthography implementation into all the aspects of life in Galicia and Bukovina, and to reveal its nation-formational meaning based on Austrian state archive in Vienna and

¹ Л. Полюга, Львівські видання "Просвіти" і проблема нормативності української літературної мови (1868–1939) [The Lviv editions of "Prosvita" and the problem of normativity of the Ukrainian literary language (1868–1939)], in: "Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність" [The Ukraine: cultural heritage, national consciousness, statehood], Львів, 2010, Вип. 19, С. 196–200.

² I. Фаріон, *Правопис – корсет мови? Український правопис як культурно-політичний вибір* [The spelling – the corset of the language? The Ukrainian spelling as the cultural and political choice], Львів, 2009, С. 28–30.

³ М. Лесюк, Становлення і розвиток української літературної мови в Галичині: монографія [The formation and development of the Ukrainian literary language in Galicia: Monograph], Івано-Франківськ, 2014, 732 с.

⁴ В. Бурдуланюк, Українське мовознавство Галичини другої половини XIX – першої третини XX століття [The Ukrainian linguistics of Galicia of the second half of the XIXth – the first third of the XXth century], in: "Галичина: науковий і культурнопросвітній краєзнавчий часопис" [The Galicia: scientific and cultural linguistic journal], Івано-Франківськ, 2013, № 22–23, С. 370–383.

⁵ М. Мозер, *Причинки до історії української мови* [Advances in the history of the Ukrainian language], Харків, 2008, 832 с.

⁶ Г. Бідер, *Українська мова в Габсбурзькій монархії* [The Ukrainian language in the Habsburg monarchy], in: "Мовознавство" [The Linguistics], 1997, № 1, С. 25–29.

normative acts of central ministries.

PROBLEM OF THE UKRAINIAN AND POLISH LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION

In 1860–80's the process of the Ukrainian and Polish language standardization intensified greatly, which was on the one hand, the result of Slavic linguistics development in Austrian Empire, and on the other - dictated by the nation-formational processes based on Austrian and Slavic studies. The official grammar book for schools in Galicia was for a long time the book by a professor of the department of Polish language and literature from the Lviv University, Antonij Małecki⁷, which up to 1911 was reviewed and edited 12 times. The Grammar was compiled in a year by the order of Austrian Ministry of Religion and Education, and in 1863 was approved by the School Board in Vienna. In 1864 A. Małecki became a member of School Council for his merits in educational sphere and in 1868 he took part in formation of the Regional School Council in Galicia. After his retirement from the position of rector of the Lviv University (1872–1873) in 1879 he reviewed and edited his book again, this was expanded to two volumes. The scientist critically revised his previously used dogmatic and grammatical, historical, and literal principles of spelling and partly considered the foundations of Slavic comparative linguistics, which were mainly preached by Polish linguists from the universities of the Kingdom of Poland.

In 1890, the Austrian government initiated the elimination of contradictions in versions of Polish orthography and thus the beginning of the spelling reform in Galicia. The Ministry of Religion and Education instructed the Academy of Knowledge in Krakow to create an Orthographical Commission, which included not only Polish philologists, but also representatives of various fields of science and scientific publications. In May 1892, the new concept of spelling was agreed with the Regional School Council in Lviv. On the 31st of October 1892, the Orthographical Commission prepared a conclusion8, based on which the first attempt was made to unify the Polish spelling. A few days later, on the 25th of November 1892, the phonetic spelling of the Polish language was officially introduced by the Ministry of Religion and Education in the schools and

⁷ A. Małecki, *Gramatyka języka polskiego. Większa* [The Grammar of the Polish language. The Bigger], Lwów, 1863, 417 s.

⁸ Uchwały Akademii z dnia 31 października 1891 w sprawie pisowni polskiej. Akademia Umiejętności w Krakówie [Resolutions of the Academy of 31 October 1891 on Polish spelling. The Academy of Skills in Krakow], Kraków, 1892, 39 s.

administrative bodies of Galicia⁹. The new rules were published in the brochure *Prawidła pisowni przyjęte przez Akademię Umiejętności w Krakowie*¹⁰, that however did not stop orthographical arguments in scientific environment. Leading Polish philologist Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, Aleksander Brückner, Antonij Kalyna, Jan Karłowicz and Adam Kryński opposed to this decision and demanded the use incomplete at that time basics of analogy in linguistics as *expressis verbis*, in result of which in 1894, in the framework of the Regional Exhibition in Lviv, they announced their Protest to the new spelling¹¹.

Unlike the scientific discussions in the Polish linguistic environment, the controversial situation around the new spelling of the Ukrainian language unfolded mainly in the political arena. The literary battles in Galicia intensified attempts by politicians of the Ukrainophile direction to put an end to the "alphabet war", because of which, in 1859, the Latin letters for the application of documents in the Ukrainian language were implemented in the sphere of office work of the regional authorities. First, it was about the affairs of the Galician courts and the transcripts of the Seimas meetings. At the same time, the Galician Russophiles rushed to the other extreme: to confirm linguistic unity with Russia they invented the artificial language *iazychie*, which the well-known scholar and church figure Ivan Ohienko called "a true disgrace in our history" 12.

Supporting the orthographic reform, Austrian government has a big aim to bring norms to orthography of Ukrainian language, to finally separate Galician Ukrainians from the influence of "Russian world", which still traditionally kept using etymological spelling. Thanks to the introduction of the key idea of the phonetic-morphological principle: "write, as you hear, and read, as you can see", the process of standardizing the Ukrainian language occurred in the Western European cultural dimension. This key approach of the Serbian Slavic scholar Vuk

Osterreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Justizministerium (JM) I–HI/4, Karton (K.) 907, Ordner Nr. 13.095 vom 28. Juni 1894 (Abschrift einer Erlass des Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht vom 25. November 1892 Z. 23.231 an den k. k. Landesschulrat für Galizien).

¹⁰ *Prawidła pisowni przyjęte przez Akademię Umiejętności w Krakowie* [The Spelling regulations, adopted by the Academy of Arts in Krakow], Warszawa, 1893, 16 s.

J. B. de Courtenay, A. Brückner, A. Kalina, J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, Sprawa przyjęcia jednolitej pisowni przez Akademję umiejętności w Krakowie [The issue of adopting uniform spelling by the Academy of Skills in Krakow], Warszawa, 1895, 27 s.

¹² І. Огієнко (Митрополит Іларіон), *Історія української літературної мови* [The History of the Ukrainian literary language], Київ, 2001, С. 110.

Stefanović Karadžić was first used by the member of the Ruska Trinity¹³, Markiyan Shashkevych, in the almanac *Rusalka Dnistrovaya*; it was also defended by the progressive Galician linguists Iosif Lozinskyi, Theodore Lysyak, Theofan Glinsky and others¹⁴.

PHONETIC ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

In the 1860-80's two orthographies of the Ukrainian language were simultaneously used in Galicia: the historical and etymological – maximovichiyka (1827), which was used mainly by Russophiles, and the phonetic - kuleshivka (1856), popularized by Ukrainophiles. Confrontation of hostile political camps also occurred in the field of competition between "etymology" and "phonetics". In Galicia of the late 1870's, the *dragomanivka* (1877) was also partially spread. However, the positions of the "Phonetists" were considerably strengthened only after the publication of the Malorussian-German Dictionary by Eugene Zhelekhivskyi, in 1886. As I. Ohienko noted, "the innovation of this spelling, called zhelekhivka was the consistent use of i... zhelekhivka was not something new, because we could see it before in the writings of Om. Ohonovskyi"15. In 1889, professor of the Department of Ruthenian Literature from Lviv University, Omelyan Ohonovskyi published *Grammar of the Ruthenian language for secondary* schools with a combined phonetic and etymological spelling, which, in fact, created the ground for spelling reform¹⁶. As it was noted by modern researchers, the dictionary of E. Zhelehivskyi contributed significantly to the convergence of Galician and Nadneprovskii spelling¹⁷, which turned out to be a positive phenomenon in the formation of Ukrainian nation.

In the mid-1880's, the linguists from Bukovina joined to find a solution to the problem of phonetic spelling. In particular, Stephan Smal-Stotskyi (after defending his doctoral thesis at the University of Vienna on *The process of analogy*

¹⁶ М. Лесюк, Становлення і розвиток української літературної мови..., С. 211.

¹³ Note. The outdated term "Ruthenian" or "Rusenian" (German Ruthenisch) must be understood in its modern meaning as "Ukrainian"; it has nothing in common with term "Russian".

¹⁴ М. Лесюк, Становлення і розвиток української літературної мови..., С. 508.

¹⁵ І. Огієнко, Історія української літературної мови, С. 151.

¹⁷ С. Бевзенко, *Історія українського мовознавства* [The History of Ukrainian Linguistics], Київ, 1991, С. 50.

in the inflection of the Ruthenian language, under the direction of the Slavic professor Franc Miklošič, in the fall of 1885) took the post of professor at Czernowitz University. This year, the position of professor of Romance philology was also given to a native resident of Innsbruck - Theodore Gartner - who expressed an unusual interest in linguistic research, including phonetics, vocabulary and grammar of the Ukrainian language¹⁸.

In the autumn of 1886, some scientists from the Czernowitz university responded positively to the initiative of the Ministry of Religions and Education to introduce the phonetic spelling into Ukrainian schools of Galicia and Bukovina. The Ministry ordered to set up (under the relevant Regional School Councils) specialized commissions to study the issue of reorganizing spelling. Recognizing the progressive nature of "phonetics", the Lviv commission still decided that its implementation is considered premature. The Czernowitz Commission also voted against changing the spelling with a majority vote¹⁹. In 1887-1888, the discussions of this problem did not lead to the long-awaited agreement. The Russophile majority was not inferior from their positions and persistently insisted on "etymology", which temporarily conserved the situation²⁰.

This situation lasted until the beginning of the "new era" policy in Galicia (1890–1894), because of which the Austrian government actively supported the Ukrainophile direction. In autumn 1891, the Ministry of Religions and Education established specialized commissions at the Regional School Councils in Lviv and Czernowitz, which had to resolve the issue of spelling. Based on the order of the Ministry, the Regional school council conducted a survey in Galicia, in the result

¹⁸ O. M. Horda, *Theodore Gartner's contribution to the development of ukrainian language, in:* "Humanitarian and social sciences in Eastern Europe: achievements and prospects. Book of abstracts of the Science Symposium", May 31, 2017, Minsk, P. 14–19.

¹⁹ В. Даниленко, О. Добржанський, *Академік Степан Смаль-Стоцький: Життя і діяльність (1859–1938)* [The Academician Stephan Smal-Stotskyi: Life and Activities (1859–1938)], Київ–Чернівці, 1996, С. 52–54.

К. Киселівський, Українознавчі праці академіка Степана Смаль-Стоцького [Ukrainian Studies of Academician Stephan Smal-Stotskyi], in: "Записки НТШ. На пошану сторіччя народин Степана Смаль-Стоцького: зб. філолог. секції" [Notes of the Taras Shevchenko-Scientific Society. In honor of the centennial of the birth of Stephan Smal-Stotskyi: a collection of the philological section], Т. 172, Нью-Йорк-Париж-Сідней-Торонто, 1960, С. 28-66.; В Бузинська, Г. Максимчук, Професор С. Смаль-Стоцький і розвиток літературної мови у Галичині та Буковині [The Professor S. Smal-Stotskyi and the development of the literary language in Galicia and Bukovina], іп: "Українська філологія: школи, постаті, проблеми" [The Ukrainian philology: schools, figures, problems], Львів, 1999, Ч. 2, С. 7-9.

of which the corresponding Ukrainian scientific centers prepared their proposals. In December 1891, the "Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society" (TSSS) in Lviv appealed to the Regional School Council with a statement on the need to introduce phonetic spelling. The results of the survey of the Ukrainian language showed that out of 84 teachers, 63 supported the phonetic spelling. During the special meeting of Regional School Board in Lviv, visited by professors O. Ohonovskyi, S. Smal-Stotskyi, father Oleksii Tronskyi, Anatol Vakhnianyn, Konstiantyn Luchakiyskyi, Ivan Verkhratskyi, Illarii Ohonoyskyi, father Onufrii Lepkyi, Theophil Hrushkevych, Omellian Partytskyi and regional school inspectors Ivan Levytskyi, Boleslav Baranovskyi, Severyn Dnestrovskyi, a decision has been made for schools to change the phonetical spelling based on the orthography of Panteleimon Kulish and E. Zhelekhivskyi²¹ (out of the 9 questions prepared for voting active discussions arose around the introduction of a new letter i ("for" voted 9 members, and "against" - 3)). At the same time such Old Slavonic letters: yor – ъ, yat – ѣ, us small – ѧ, yer – ы, also ô, ê, û with apron disappeared from Ukrainian orthography.

On the result of the discussion, the Regional School Board completed the coordination of a new orthography for educational institutions, on which in August 24, 1892, they successfully reported to Vienna. The revision of the spelling was assigned to S. Smal-Stotskyi, who in 1891–1893 co-authored by T. Gartner compiled the *Ruthenian spelling*. In addition, in 1893, the consolidated school textbook *Ruthenian Grammar*²² came out and survived, being edited 13 times. Linguist Vasilii Symovych noted that this textbook introduced many new terms into the morphology of the Ukrainian language. Part of the terms (s.a. noun, adjective, number, adverb, etc.) were introduced by S. Smal-Stotskyi and T. Gartner, and some were borrowed from other languages or formed as initials from German grammatical terms (verb, participle, gerund)²³. I. Ohienko wrote:

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²¹ Phonetic spelling based on *zhelehivka* in 1892–1922 was considered the official spelling of the Ukrainian language on the territory of Galicia and Bukovina. Up to 1940 some works had been published using this spelling in Transkarpatia, until the 1920–40's the etymological spelling was preserved, but later the *pankevychivka* was used, as a combined phonetic etymological spelling, established for schools in 1922 by Ivan Pankevich on the basis of *maxymovychivka*.

²² Ф. Ґартнер, С. Смаль-Стоцький, *Руська граматика* [The Grammar of the Ruthenian], Львів, 1893, 175 с. Its complete and modified version: S. Smal-Stockyj, T. Gartner, *Grammatik der ruthenischen (ukrainischen) Sprache*, Wien, 1913, 550 s.

²³ В. Сімович, *Степан Смаль-Стоцький як шкільний діяч і педагог* [Stephan Smal-Stotskyi as a school worker and teacher], Львів, 1939, С. 10.

"What concerns the terminology of Smal-Stotskyi, one must say that this is one of the best attempts to give scientific terminology derived from the national language"²⁴. At the same time, the philological department of TSSS prepared a multi-volume *Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary*²⁵, which additionally demonstrated the independence of the Ukrainian language. The active support of the spelling reform in Vienna led to the fact that the Russian government expressed its protest by opposing to the rejection of the etymological letter by Ukrainians²⁶. However, the spelling reform nevertheless accelerated the development of the Ukrainian literary language as a single language of the Ukrainian people, divided by the border between Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire.

PHONETIC ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN THE JURIDICAL SYSTEM

In addition to introducing phonetic spelling in schools, the Galician Ukrainians often raised the issue of the Ukrainian language rights in legal proceedings. July 30, 1892, the Ukrainophile political society "Narodna Rada" (People's Council) in Lviv asked the Austrian Ministry of Justice to introduce phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in all structures subordinate to it. The formal reason for such treatment was the systematic complaints of Ukrainian Seim and Parliamentary deputies about the violation by the Galician courts of the existing general orders of the ministries and instructions of the Ministry of Justice regarding the norms of using the Ukrainian language. They referred to the decision of the Imperial Court in Vienna as for April 25, 1882, according to which they wrote a complaint of the Russophile society "Narodnyi Dim" (The People's House) in Lviv about the violation of the national rights of the Ruthenians²⁷ as for March 16–17, 1882, Z. 23-24 / R. G. This complaint was initiated by the decision of the Galician vice-regency of September 5, 1881 Z. 38.343, confirmed by the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of February 12, 1882 Z. 17.683. The above-mentioned decisions were based on § 1 of the joint ministerial order of June 5, 1869 Z. 2354. This provision presupposed the

²⁴ Даниленко В, Добржанський О., Академік Степан Смаль-Стоцький..., С. 131.

²⁵ М. Уманець, А. Спілко, *Словарь росийсько-український: у 4-х томах* [The Russian-Ukrainian dictionary: in 4 volumes], Львів, 1893–1896.

²⁶ В. Старик, *Буковина на фронтах правописних* [The Bukovina on the fronts of the spelling], in: *Між націоналізмом і толерантністю* [Between nationalism and tolerance], Чернівці, 2009, С. 153–157.

²⁷ "Ruthenians" (German. Ruthenen) – the old fashioned name for Ukrainians.

introduction of the Polish language "into internal business management, authorities, services, to the Regional School Board, and to the language circulation between the regional non-military authorities, services and courts"²⁸ in Galicia. At the same time, the Galician vice-regency and the courts ignored § 5 of the above-mentioned order, which confirmed the already existing linguistic rights of national minorities: "Regulations on the language circulation between authorities, services and courts with parties …, corporations and communities remain according to this Order unchanged"²⁹.

According to the announcement of the Presidium of the Court of Appeal of January 16, 1849, in fulfilment of the order of the Ministry of Justice of January 8, 1849, employees of the Galicia courts were obliged to freely master three regional languages - Polish, Ukrainian and German, and in Bukovina - four, including Romanian. Thus, it was ensured that officials communicated "with the local population in their native language"30. In the end, p. 2 § 3 of the order of the Presidium of the High Regional Court (HRC) in Lviv as for August 19, 1869, Z. 8222 did not meet § 3 of the joint ministerial order of June 5, 1869. It presupposed the implementation of transcripts in court hearings, statements not only in Polish, but also in the language that one of the parties would note to produce their copy of court decision. Because of the intervention of the Ministry of Justice on October 8, 1869 the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv had to cancel this inadequate order³¹. However, in the future the already created set of all possible contradictory regulations were used by the courts to preserve confusion and carry out manipulations that were aimed at the realization of the exclusive status of the Polish language in government bodies and courts ignoring the linguistic rights of the Ukrainian and German national minorities in Galicia.

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²⁸ This order came into action on October 1, 1869, and the use of Polish instead of the German language was introduced over the next three years.

²⁹ Verordnung vom 5. Juni 1869 der Minister des Innern, des Cultus und Unterrichts, der Justiz, der Finanzen, des Handels und Ackerbaues, dann der Landes-Vertheidigung und öffentlichen Sicherheit, betreffend die Amtssprache der Behörden, Aemter und Gerichte im inneren Dienste und im Verkehre mit anderen Behörden, in: "Landesgesetz und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Großherzogsthume Krakau", Jahrgang 1869, Stück IX, Nr. 24, S. 69–70.

³⁰ Kundmachung vom 16. Jänner 1849 des Appellazionsgerichts-Präsidiums, womit alle Gerichtsbeamten aufgefordert werden, sich die vollkommene Kenntniß der landesüblichen Sprachen in möglichst kürzester Frist zu erwerben, in: Ibid., Jahrgang 1849, Nr. 188, S. 50.

³¹ ÖStA, AVA, JM I–HI/4, K. 907, Ordner Nr. 15.373/1976 vom 3. Oktober 1882.

The explanatory decision of the Imperial Court stated that according to the order of the State Ministry as for April 10, 1861, Z. 2025 all authorities in Galicia are obliged to adhere to the Cyrillic alphabet. The point was that: |...Cyrillic letters can be used in the conduct of Ruthenian protocols in court proceedings or when issuing Ruthenian decisions, in general – to use Cyrillic letters and make records; employees assume the obligation to freely use the knowledge of Cyrillic written characters within the limits that they can read"³². This statement could not be interpreted otherwise referring to § 1 of the general ministerial order of June 5, 1869. In general, the explanatory decision also concerned the use of a Cyrillic letter in Bukovina.

Considering all this, the Minister of Justice, based on repeated appeals of Ukrainian politicians, sent a note to the office of the Austrian minister-president in early August 1892 about the need to introduce a phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and Bukovina. On the instructions of the head of government, the spelling was settled in a separate abstract of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and simultaneously studied in the Ministry of Religions and Education. According to the order of the Ministry of Religions and Education as for November 25, 1892, Z. 23.131, the phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language was officially introduced in the schools of Galicia and Bukovina. The relevant orders were promulgated for Galicia on January 5, 1893, Z. 25.266 (ex. 1892), and for Bukovina – on May 11, 1894, Z. 9780. It was noted that "these provisions are valid for educational institutions, Subordinate to the educational ministry", that is, for all educational institutions in Galicia and Bukovina, including universities in Lviv and Czernowitz, as well as for the relevant Regional School Councils. At the same time, the new spelling was immediately implemented by the editors of the Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt (The Letter of Imperial Laws), which, based on the imperial rescript as for December 7, 1849, was published in ten regional languages, including Ruthenian³³. Published in the pamphlet Ruthenian spelling, the new spelling rules were introduced in the educational process of secondary schools in Galicia, with the Ukrainian language of instruction according to its order as for January 30, 1894 Z. 28.971 (ex. 1893). During 1893–1894, the phonetic spelling was introduced to the public schools of Bukovina, and from 1895–1896 academic year, after repeated appeals of the Ukrainian society to "Ruska shkola" (Ruthenian

³² Ibid., Ordner Nr. 568/2093 vom 7./10. Oktober 1869.

³³ Ibid., Ordner Nr.13.095 vom 28. Juni 1894 (Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, vom 13. Juni 1894, Z. 669).

School) in Czernowitz and in the secondary schools of the region³⁴.

After the report of Galician deputy governor Kazimierz Badeni to Vienna on the successful introduction of phonetic spelling in schools and regional authorities, Austrian officials got the false impression that the issue has been finally solved. In fact, innovations were ignored by the Polish bureaucracy and the Russophile environment. In this regard, on June 16, 1894, the Ministry of Religions and Education recommended that the Regional School Council once again explain to the Galician teachers the new spelling of the Ukrainian language. However, the situation in the Galician justice bodies - the courts and the prosecutor's office was unfavourable. Also new spelling rules did not expand to records in metric and soil books. Due to repeated complaints of the Ukrainophile direction of Kost Levitskyi on the limited scope of new spelling, the Ministry of Religions and Education initiated an appeal to the Ministry of Justice to introduce innovations according to the principle of analogy into the structures subordinate to it - the HRC and the prosecutor's office in Lviv. On April 23, 1894, the Ministry of Justice demanded immediate reports from the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv and the Galician deputy, on the real condition of this matter.

Demonstrating the policy of the Polish administrative elite loyal to Vienna, K. Badeni informed on May 1, 1894 about the unconditional fulfilment of the requirements of the central ministries in Galicia, and noted that he had already addressed to the justice bodies with such instruction. However, the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv, for its justification, put forward the statement that not all Galician Ukrainians are positive about the new spelling. The Ukrainian-speaking personnel of the Galician courts refused to use the rules of the "Ruthenian spelling", since the chairmen of the courts, Polish by nationality, selected only Old Ruthenians for employment, who maintained the etymological spelling existing in the Russian language. Based on this, the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv put forward a demand for additional consideration of this issue in the Ministry of Justice and on its adoption of a separate individual decision, which was also supported by the Ministry of Religions and Education³⁵.

Based on the adoption of the new spelling of the Ukrainian language in schools of Galicia and Bukovina, the Ministry of Justice decided on June 28, 1894, to introduce innovations separately into the courts of Eastern Galicia, that is, in

³⁵ ÖStA, AVA, JM I–HI/4, K. 907, Ordner Nr. 9.780/546 vom 1/7. Mai 1894 (Einführung der phonetischen Schrift der ruthenischen Sprache in der Geschäftsführung der galizischen Gerichte).

³⁴ В. Бурдуланюк, *Українське мовознавство...*, С. 370–383.

the territory of the HRC authority in Lviv with the entire system of district and county courts subordinate to it. According to the instruction of the above-mentioned ministry as for June 9, 1891, Z. 6.033 only here the rules of the Ukrainian language in communication (input correspondence, keeping records of statements on criminal cases, receiving applications, explanations, etc.) were used and on compulsory transfer of a court decision, which was supposed to take place in the request of the representative party of the national minority³⁶.

At the same time, to eliminate misunderstandings during technical translations of court decisions in the Ministry of Justice, the question of introducing a new German-Ukrainian vocabulary of state and legal terminology into the work of the HRC in Lviv, with the phonetic spelling of K. Levytskyi was considered. In the end, a well-known Lviv lawyer addressed the central ministries to support this publication financially so that every court in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina received a copy of it. However, the Ministry of Religions and Education provided information to the Ministry of Justice that the board of professors of the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of Lviv University in their conclusion as for July 21, 1893 Z. 1.117 negatively assessed the lexicographical work of K. Levytskyi³⁷.

The formal basis for this decision was the address to the abovementioned commission of the relative of K. Levytskyi, the well-known Russophile publicist Orest Avdikovskii, accusing that he (K. Levytskyi) embezzled the unfinished work of the late doctor of law Alexander Ohonovskyi*, who worked in the Ukrainian department of Austrian civil law at the University of Lviv and in the late 1880's and headed the Faculty of Law. A. Ohonovsky decided to compile a new dictionary based on phonetic spelling after the publication in 1887 of a similar Czech lexicographic work³⁸. At the same time, K. Levytskyi claimed that he had worked

³⁶ Ibid., Ordner Nr. 13.095 vom 13/18. Juni 1894 (Einführung der neuen Schriftregeln im Oberlandesgericht (OLG) in Lemberg).

³⁷ Ibid., Ordner Nr. 22.414 vom 10. November 1892.

^{*} His brother, the famous philologist Omelyan Ohonovskyi in the 1870's headed the chair of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) literature in Lviv University.

³⁸І. Даценко, Дві пам'ятки української юридичної лексикографії – словник "Juridischpolitische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Oesterreichs. Deutsch-ruthenische
Separat-Ausgabe" та "Німецко-руский словар висловів правничих і
адміністрацийних" К. Левицького [Two sights of Ukrainian legal lexicography – a
dictionary Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Oesterreichs.
Deutsch-ruthenische Separat-Ausgabe and The German-Ruthenian dictionary оf
expressions of legal and administrative by K. Levytskyi], in: "Лексикографічний

independently on the publication for about ten years and completed it in 1892³⁹. In the end, the officials of the Ministry of Religions and Education estimated the conclusion of Lviv professors as tendentious, and K. Levytskyi managed to avoid an official charge of plagiarism.

Supporting the demands of Ukrainophiles, the Ministry of Justice sent an order to the HRC in Lviv on November 13, 1892, to publish the dictionary of K. Levytskyi. The document stated that the first German-Ukrainian dictionary of legal terminology⁴⁰, which in 1851 was published in Vienna at the state expense according to the order of the state ministry as for July 10, 1849, Z. 5.266, was now considered obsolete and incomplete. Due to the development of the legal science, the old dictionary no longer met the "scientific and practical requirements", because the German-language Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt used new legal concepts and terms that did not have Ukrainian equivalents. On this basis, the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv sent to the subordinate courts about 30 questionnaires in 1892 to question the opinion of experts on the appropriateness of using the dictionary of K. Levytskyi. Based on the collected information, the ministry's referee concluded: "The dictionary seems to me worthy of recommendation, since the chosen technical statements could correspond to the spirit of the Ruthenian language and at the same time very attractive borrowings from the Russian language, in my estimation, are carefully eliminated... However, in accordance with the circumstances, the dictionary could be recommended to the justice authorities in Eastern Galicia and Bukovina; temporarily its purchase is done for stationary means"41. The total cost of publishing a full-circulation dictionary in the Ministry was estimated at 1,500 gold guilders of Austrian currency, which was to be covered by the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv at their own expense.

Using the conditions of the Galician autonomy, the chauvinistically disposed Presidium of the HRC in Lviv implicitly supported the resistance of the Russophiles concerning the question of introducing phonetic spelling. On

бюлетень: зб. наук. пр." [The Lexicographic bulletin: a collection of scientific papers], Київ, 2009, Вип. 18, С. 62–73.

³⁹ ÖStA, AVA, JM I–HI/4, K. 907, Ordner Nr. 22.414 vom 10. November 1892.

⁴⁰ On the initiative of the government on August 1, 1849, a commission was set up in Vienna to develop the legal terminology of the Slavic languages for the translation of imperial laws, headed by Professor Pavel Josef Šafařík. Yakiv Golovatskyi, Grigory Shashkevich and Julian Vislobotskyi worked separately for the Ruthenian language of the V th Section, who prepared the publication *Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Oesterreichs. Deutsch-ruthenische Separat-Ausgabe*.

⁴¹ Ibid, Ordner Nr. 22.414 vom 10. November 1892.

December 15, 1892, he answered the abovementioned instruction of the ministry: "The letter and the question of language divided the national Ruthenians into two groups: The Old and the Young Ruthenians, who are fighting on this ground. Moreover, the Old Ruthenians firmly hold the position that the Ruthenian language should develop based on old written monuments, while the young wives in this speech see the shell for the further formation of the Ruthenian idiom"42. Old Ruthenians use etymological spelling, and Young Ruthenians - phonetic, which they try to introduce and distribute stating the victory of phonetic spelling, especially among the young generation". The Presidium of the HRC in Lviv nevertheless recognized the dictionary of K. Levytskyi as necessary: "The appearance of this dictionary will not lose relevance for the Old Ruthenian circles when they prefer phonetics, especially if this book is recommended for service use and this language innovation will almost officially be authorized... Judging by the pilot notebook, the dictionary intended for publication could have been used for a long time"43. Since of the HRC in Lviv budget did not provide a separate article on the cost of lexicographical work, and the publication was intended to be distributed only to the territory of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina, the Polish authorities offered only 300-400 guilders to the author as if he gives a ready-made dictionary. Obviously, the difference should have been covered by the Ukrainian community or the author himself.

Taking its time to follow the instructions of the Ministry of Justice, on Jan. 5, 1893, the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv sent its arguments to Vienna, which only seemed logical at first glance, but in fact they aggravated the situation. The argument was in the following: 1) The regional school board introduced the phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language only for schools, and not for courts in Galicia; 2) Since the Ministry of Religions and Education did not provide the HRC with a brochure with new spelling rules, it is impossible to assess the Levytskyi's dictionary for consistency; 3) In addition, the Ministry of Justice should clarify such questions: what legislative norms does the Ministry of Religions and Enlightenment refer to by introducing a phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language; Has the Ministry of Internal Affairs already applied new rules to the publication of the *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt* in Ukrainian, taking into account that the Ministry of Justice's directive on the spelling of the Ruthenian letter as for 10 July 1849 for use in legislative collections was not separately cancelled⁴⁴? Presidium

⁴² Ibid, Ordner Nr. 25.266/1879 vom 15–21. Dezember 1892 / 18012.

⁴³ Ibid. Ordner Nr. 25.266/1879 vom 24. Dezember 1892 / 1892.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Ordner Nr. 25.266/1879 vom 15–21. Dezember 1892 / 18012.

HRC in Lviv was clearly lying, because in the continental system of law a new rule on this subject automatically cancels the previous one.

After a long correspondence with the Presidium of the HRC in Lviv, the central ministries on June 28, 1894 finally accepted that they would not force to finance the publication of a new terminological dictionary as an official publication, and the Galician court bodies would not be obliged to use it⁴⁵. Despite this, during 1892–1894 central ministries still managed to introduce phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in all Galician and Bukovinian regional authorities and institutions, as mandatory for use.

ORTHOGRAPHIC QUESTION AND UKRAINIAN GREEK-CATHOLIC CHURCH (UGCC)

It should be noted that the new orthography was adopted by the Greek-Catholic clergy in Galicia rather slowly. The analysis of correspondence of church institutions in Lviv, Przemysl and Stanislaviv with the Ministry of Religions and Education shows, that this process lasted about ten years. These circumstances could be explained by the autonomous status of the UGCC, the traditional conservatism of the clergy and the considerable prevalence of Russophile ideas in its surrounding. The question of spelling had turned into one of the main "stumbling blocks" between the clergy of the Ukrainophile and Russophile directions in Galicia. The Russophiles considered the phonetic spelling reform as an attack on the traditional, sanctified by God "church language", as a way to the inevitable latinization of the ritual and polonization of the Ruthenians⁴⁶. In the result of protest actions, some Greek Catholic parishes had turned into centres of signatures collection under the petitions of Russophile political society "Ruthenian Rada" (Ruthenian Council) in Lviv against the introduction of phonetic spelling in the Galician schools, which were massively sent to the Ministry of Religions and Education⁴⁷. As a rule, the names of the priests and their families

⁴⁶ Зборы общества им. Качковского [The Meeting of the Kachkovsky-Society], in: "Дѣло" [The Business], 1892, Ч. 194.; [Г.И.Т.], Старая исторія въ новомъ изданіи [The old story in the new edition], in: "Галицкая Русь" [The Galician Rus], 1892, № 215; Лемко изъ Завадки. Въ дълъ фонетическихъ затъй [In the case of phonetic ideas], in: Ibid., 1891, № 208; Мужаймося! [Let's be cheerful!], in: "Галичанинъ" [The Galician], 1894, Ч. 137.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Ordner Nr. 13.095 vom 13/18. Juni 1894 (Einführung der neuen Schriftregeln im Oberlandesgericht in Lemberg).

⁴⁷ Протесты противъ введенія фонетики [Protests against the introduction of phonetics], in: "Галицкая Русь" [The Galician Rus], 1892, № 47; Победа недругові Руси [The

headed these lists⁴⁸. Also, the Russophile priests initiated extra-curricular activities in schools, where they were taught to read church books with etymological spelling⁴⁹, conducted anti-phonetic agitation among the junior clergy⁵⁰, accused the Ukrainophile priests of not being dedicated pastors⁵¹. This behaviour of the Old Ruthenians was contrary to the order of the Regional School Council to introduce the phonetic spelling in the schools of Galicia. The emerging of conflict situations was perceived by the clergy as sufferance for the Church. In parishioner chancery was the Old Ruthenians to fill out state forms in Polish or German, ignoring those in Ukrainian with a new phonetic spelling⁵². Also, there were cases when individual priests in protest against spelling innovations sent their children to study in Polish gymnasiums⁵³.

Preserving church autonomy, the hierarchs of the UGCC reacted to the spelling initiatives of the Ministry of Religions and Education very carefully at first. Archbishops refused the Russophiles in episcopate interference into spelling battles, this was explained by saying that this issue does not belong to the competence of the religious authority. At the same time, they assured, that etymological spelling will continue to be used in church records management⁵⁴. However, the modernization processes nevertheless encouraged the clergy to switch to "phonetics", because it was considered compulsory in school and in communication with authorities. The new orthography gradually was introduced into the parable office, as the priests also performed certain state functions. They

Victory of the enemy of Rus], in: "Галичанинъ" [The Galician], 1893, Ч. 161; Эпилогъ протеста противъ фонетики [The Epilogue of protest against phonetics], in: Ibid., Ч. 101; Дописи "Дъла" [The correspondence of "The Business"], in: "Дъло" [The Business], 1892, Ч. 151.

⁴⁸ A. Zayarnyuk, *Mapping Identities: Popular Base of the Galician Russophilism in the 1890 s.*, in: "Austrian History Yearbook", Minnesota, 2010, Vol. 41, P. 130–131.

⁴⁹ Дописи [The correspondence], in: "Галичанинъ" [The Galician], 1899., Ч. 41.

^{50 [}Г.И.Т.], Старая історія..., № 215.

⁵¹ [B.C.K.], *Audiatur et altera pars*, in: "Душпастырь" [The Confessor], 1893, Ч. 23, С. 537–539; *Паденіе нашего церковного обряда* [The fall of our church rite], in: "Галичанинъ" [The Galician], 1896, Ч. 120.

⁵² Дописи "Дљла" [The correspondence of "The Business"], in: "Дѣло" [The Business], 1896, Ч. 151; Наші ренетати [Our renegades], in: "Руслан" [The Ruslan], 1899, Ч. 8.

 $^{^{53}}$ Винн \hat{u} – "обставины" [The circumstances" – are guilty], in: "Прапоръ" [The Flag], 1899, Ч. 8, С. 254.

⁵⁴ Въ справъ правописи въ народныхъ школахъ [In the case of spelling in public schools], in: "Дъло" [The Business], 1892, Ч. 32; Зъ Станиславова пишуть намъ [We write from Stanislavov to us], Ibid., Ч. 181.

kept the metric books and certificates of birth, marriage or death in the Ukrainian language⁵⁵. They were also required to assimilate the new spelling as teachers of the religion fundamentals in schools⁵⁶. As a result, all this led to the fact in the late 1890's, there were the calls in their surrounding about the need for the UGCC to refuse the etymological spelling and to give each priest the right to use the spelling, which was acceptable to him⁵⁷.

CONCLUSION

The process of introducing the phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and Bukovina was objective, legitimate, and consistent. It was determined by the need of the Ukrainian society to adapt the native language to the new requirements of life, which meant its free use in all spheres – in education and science, management, religion, culture. Leading Ukrainian linguists joined to solve this problem who worked on developing grammatical and spelling norms, on validating professional and technical terminology. In the 1860's, the Polish autonomy in Galicia significantly limited the scope of the Ukrainian language and by the beginning of the 1890's accumulated problems that hampered the development of the Ukrainian community. First, it was necessary to immediately eliminate the *latynka* and *iazychie* from the official language translation, and introduce "live" Ukrainian language with phonetic spelling.

The discussions of the problems of the Polish language standardization in Galicia pushed Ukrainian politicians to dynamic actions in the language field. They appealed for help to the Austrian government, which, based on scientific strength and public support, using the state apparatus, power mechanisms and the legal system, introduced phonetic spelling of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and Bukovina. Despite the resistance of the Polish administration in Galicia and Russophiles, the innovation assimilated in the XIXth – XXth centuries and brought its positive results: for younger generation – the process of education simplified,

⁵⁵ Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Львові (ЦДІАЛ) [The Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv], ф. 201 (Греко-католицька митрополича консисторія, м. Львів [The Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Consistory, Lviv]), оп. 1, спр. 4618, арк. 1–3.

⁵⁶ [Д-ръ І. Б.], *О тепертынной школть народной, еи хибахъ и способахъ направы* [But the present of folk school, its disadvantages and ways of correction], in: "Душпастырь" [The Confessor], 1893, Ч. 17, С. 385–392.

⁵⁷ Сьвященик, *Ще про фонетику в станиславівскій епархіи* [More about phonetics in the Stanislaviv diocese], in: "Руслан" [The Ruslan], 1898, Ч. 128.

as it was in their native language, scientific researches – became more popular, the results of which became public for the Ukrainian society. The official introduction of phonetic spelling positively affected the communicative and sociocultural spheres, contributed to the developing of the nation-oriented processes on the Ukrainian ethnic territory. Owing to all this, the innovation had a progressive and modernizing character, and the standardization of the Ukrainian language took place in the Western European cultural dimension.