

*Imre Szakál, Gabriella Mádi*

## **Official language use in Berehove in 1919-1920**

### **1. Introduction**

Transcarpathia experienced several changes of power in the 20th century, not only at the level of state structures but also on the state languages. All this happened in a traditionally colourful linguistic environment, where representatives of many ethnic groups lived and still live together. The changes of state usually brought alterations and a shift of dominance not only in terms of the official language, between the former and the new state languages, but they also affected the relationship between all the languages spoken in the region (Csernicskó 2015, p. 71-84). These phenomena were undeniably present in the region after the First World War.

The first Czechoslovak Republic was considered the most democratic state in Central and Eastern Europe between the two world wars. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the leadership of the Czechoslovak state wanted to build a nation-state on the basis of the Czech national idea. Accordingly, the term "Czechoslovak" was also created to symbolize the unity of the Czech and Slovak parts of the nation, or more precisely the belonging of the Slovak nation to the Czech nation. This kind of attitude was of course also manifested in the state's language policy efforts (Csernicskó 2013, p. 117-118).

Language rights were guaranteed by several documents in the country that was multi-ethnic in terms of its ethnic composition and considered a nation-state from the point of view of the state-makers. In the minority protection treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Lay, signed in September 1919, the newly created state committed itself to ensure that its citizens – also in the Treaty of Saint-Germain, Czechoslovakia undertook to recognize all former German, Austrian and Hungarian citizens who have citizenship or residence in its territory as its own citizens without reservation – are equal regardless of the language they spoke, they could use any language freely, practice their mother tongue and teach their children in their own language (Csernicskó 2013, p. 114). It is important to note here that the administrative unit created in the first Czechoslovak Republic under the name of Podkarpatska Rus was guaranteed the widest autonomy in the peace treaty as the territory of the Ruthenian people living south of the Carpathians".

Accordingly, the autonomous region should have decided on the language rights applied in its territory. On November 8, 1919, the military commander and head of the civil administration of the area issued the Generalný Statutum, which described the governance of Podkarpatska Rus. According to this, the official language of the area is the "vernacular" (read: Ruthenian), the education of which is compulsory. In addition, the document touched on ensuring the status of the Hungarian language and its education as well (Fedinec 2001, p. 58.). It is worth noting that the document did not provide for the linguistic rights of other ethnic groups living in the area. The rights guaranteed in the Treaty on the Protection of Minorities were also recorded in the Czechoslovak Constitution dated February 29, 1920. The application of language rights was regulated by the Language Act No. 122, which is part of the constitution. Both the Language Act and Government Decree No. 27 of 1924 regulating language use and the Executive Decree of the Language Act from 1926 provided relatively broad rights to speakers of minority languages (Csernicskó 2013, p. 121-122). Between the two world wars, the minorities in Czechoslovakia did not voice complaints against the regulation of language rights, but mainly against measures that indirectly influenced language use. These include various administrative reforms, the issue of granting Czechoslovak citizenship, or, for example, the creation of settler villages during the land reform.

The facts mentioned above will probably not provide new information to the majority of readers. Both the liberal regulation of language use and the accompanying nation-state aspirations were well-known features of the first Czechoslovak Republic. However, even before the signing of the peace treaty, the inhabitants of the later Podkarpatska Rus had to face the fact of Czechoslovak sovereignty. In this paper, we would like to present the practice of official language use from the military occupation of Czechoslovakia (July 1919) to the appearance of the legal regulation of language use (February 1920) using the example of Berehove. A kutatás folyamán arra törekedtünk, hogy elsődleges források alapján alkossunk képet a hivatali nyelvhasználat jellegzetességeiről. A hivatali nyelvhasználat vizsgálatára azért esett a választásunk, mivel az új államhatalom első katonai és civil szervei a még helykőn maradt régi aminsiztrációval léptek először kapcsolatba, így a nyelvhasználatot érintő új kihívások ezen a terepen érhetőek tetten a leginkább. Ezt a megközelítést erősítette a fennmaradt levéltári iratok típusa is. In the course of the research, we examined the documents of fund No. 108 of the State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region in Beregovo. The archival collection contains the documents of the Beregovo Town Council. In selecting the sources, the primary aim was to get as complete a picture as possible of the functioning of the town offices, so we examined documents from a wide range of subjects. We also aimed

to include in the research focus sources that reveal the relationship between the occupying authorities and the officials, thus helping to better understand the context of official language use. Through textual analysis of the sources, we have tried to reconstruct the characteristics of language use in the official environment.

The documents contain information primarily about the practice of official language use, mainly in two fields. On the one hand, correspondence between the town offices and the Czechoslovak military command, as well as the gradually emerging Czechoslovak civil administration, can be traced. On the other hand, the announcements, notices, and orders that were issued by one of the authorities listed above and published all over Berehove to inform the town's population have survived. As far as the framework of the study allowed, we wanted to present some examples of how the actors of the Berehove public administration tried to adapt to the newly created situation and the linguistic challenges that came with it. We did all this in the hope that we would be able to contribute to the history of the relationship between the local community and the newly formed military and civil administration.

## **2. Czechoslovakian occupation and the transitional public administration**

On June 29, 1918, the Entente powers recognized the Czechoslovak National Council as the political organization representing the future Czechoslovakia. The French representatives promised the new state independence within its "historical borders". Great Britain did the same on August 9, the United States of America on September 2, and Italy on October 24. This meant that the state was recognized before the formation of the actual country. On October 18, 1918, the Washington Declaration was published in Paris, signed by Tomas Garrigue Masaryk as Prime Minister, Edvard Beneš as Minister of Foreign and Interior Affairs, and Milan Rastislav Štefanik as Minister of National Defense, declaring the country's independence. Subsequently, on October 28, 1918, the establishment of the first Czechoslovak Republic was also announced in Prague (URL 3). In accordance with the territorial needs of the state, the acquisition of the future state territory began. Historiography calls the period of the republic from November 1918 to the spring of 1920 the period of the national dictatorship. In the territory of the later Podkarpatska Rus, the Czechoslovak period practically began on January 12, 1919, with the occupation of Uzhhorod by the Czechoslovak military. Parallel to the Czechoslovak military operations, the Romanian military occupation of the Upper Tysa region began. The subsequent occupation of the governor's centre by Italian uniformed legionnaires took place in accordance

with the demarcation line designated in the Entente list of December 23, 1918. On April 16, Romanian troops began operations against the Soviet Republic established on March 21, 1919, during which they occupied the entire left bank of the Tysa river by May 1 (Romsics 2004, p. 129-130), and Berehove on April 20-21 ( Fedinec 2002, p. 53). The Czechoslovak troops did not cross the demarcation line of December 1918 until April 26, joining the Romanian army's attack against the Soviet Republic launched ten days earlier. The peace conference approved the final Czechoslovak-Hungarian border on July 11, 1919, the decision, according to which Berehove also belonged to the territory of the first republic, was announced in a list two days later (Fedinec 2002, p. 54). Accordingly, on July 23, 1919, the town changed hands between Romanians and Czechoslovaks. By August, the legionnaires reached the line in the area of Berehove that marked the future Czechoslovak-Hungarian border (Fedinec 2002, p. 55). These territorial acquisitions were finalized by the Saint-Germain-en-Lay treaty signed on September 10, 1919, and then by the Trianon treaty of June 4, 1920.

The significance of Berehove in the period of the Czechoslovak occupation was primarily due to its administrative status. It was the centre of Bereg County, a town with an organized council, and a court of law. According to the 1910 census, its population was 12,933, of which 96.1% were registered as native speakers of Hungarian. This picture is somewhat shaded further by the fact that 2,770 of the total population were of the Israelite religion. (URL 1) According to the town administration in 1919, the population of Berehove at the end of the year exceeded 16,000 people (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 24). The period between the autumn of 1918 and the summer of 1919 was eventful in the life of the town. The Berehove National Council was founded on November 1, 1918, following the news of the Aster Revolution. During 1918-1919, there were several changes in the post of mayor. As a result of the retirement of mayor Zsigmond Gáthy at the end of 1918, Jenő Linner, a public administration councillor and deputy mayor, took over the management of the town, remaining in this position until the creation of the Soviet power. During the Soviet Republic, Mózes Simon led the Berehove directorate. At the beginning of the Romanian occupation, chief clerk Gyula Hunyady took over the management of the town, who served as a deputy mayor during the period of power change (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 24).

On July 22, 1919, two hundred Czech legionnaires led by Colonel Jan Hostas arrived in Berehove on a special train, and the town's community was informed by means of an appeal that "The military of the Czechoslovak Republic has occupied the town of Berehove. The troops came here at the will of the people, as friends and it is desirable to be seen as such. The culture of the Czecho-Slovak nation is sufficient to guarantee that every soldier will protect the honor,

property and life of the citizenry without distinction of class or religion. In the event of a violation committed by certain military personnel, the complainant should contact the town headquarters. A military dictatorship will come into effect in the entire area of Bereg County... All public officials who swear the oath to the Czechoslovak Republic will remain in office, but they will also have the same powers as they are legally entitled to, i.e. the official deputies are obliged to step back from being a replacement.” (URL 2) The Hungarian version of the appeal was posted all over the town in the days following the occupation (Image 1) (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 286).

**Image 1** Jan Hostas' appeal in Hungarian to the residents of Berehove (Source: SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 286.)

**HIRDETMÉNY.**

1. A Cs. sz. köztársaság katonai kirendeltsége Beregszász városát megszállotta. — A csapatok a nép akaratára jöttek ide mint barátok és kívánjuk, hogy annak tekintessenek.

A Cs. sz. nemzet kultúrája elég biztosíték ahhoz, hogy minden katonája a polgárság becsületét, vagyonát és életét osztály és valláskülömbég nélkül meg fogja védelmezni. Egyes katonák személyek által elkövetett kihágás esetén a városparancsnoksághoz forduljon.

**2. Beregvármegye egész területére**

**katonai diktatura**

**lép életbe,** vagyis ezen idő tartalmára az összes közhatalok a katonai parancsnokságnak vannak alárendelve. Minden bűncselekmény felett, amely a Cs. sz. köztársaság ellen irányul, a Katonai Hadbíróóság ítélkezik.

3. Minden közhatalnok, aki a Cs. sz. köztársaságnak a fogadalmat leteszi, megmarad hivatalában, de csakis oly hatáskörben, mint ahhoz korábban fel van jogosítva, vagyis a hivatalbeli helyettesek a helyettesítéstől visszafelé kötelesek.

4. Dr. Kaminsky József Beregvármegye zsupánja helyettesétl. dr. Nagy Ernőt nevezte ki.

5. Mindennemű katonai fegyvert, ismétlőpisztolyt és felszerelést a rendőrkapitány által f. hó 26-ig a katonai rendéséghez beszolgáltatandók. Elrejtés súlyos büntetést von maga után. Vadaszfégyverek és kézifegyverek ugyanezen időpontig nyugta ellenében a rendőrkapitányságnál elhelyezendők. A jegyzőkönyv vezetéséről és a fegyverek létszámáról a városparancsnok ismételtlen meg fog szöködni.

Ki ezen parancsot nem teljesíti, szigorú büntetésnek teszi ki magát.

6. A város közlelmzési hivatala köteles a Mukácson megállapított maximális élelmiszer árakat vendéglők, kávéházak és piac részére közhírré tenni.

7. A Cs. sz. köztársaság lepecsételt pénzét szabad forgalomban 60%, azaz szerint mindenki elfogadni köteles; 60 K. lepecsételt pénzben 100 K. lepecsétellen, vagy 100 K. lepecsételt egyenlő 166/66 K. lepecsétellen pénzben. Az Oszl.-Magyar bank a 200 K. és 25 K. fehér bankjegyeket bevállal, mindenké köteles azokat elfogadni. Adóhatalnok, városi pénztár a lebépénzt nem fogadja el. Az ugynevezett két pénzt az állampénztár és adóhivatal fizetések esetén 50% levonással fogadja el, vagyis 100 K. értéke egyenlő 50 K. pecsételt pénzben. Magánforgalomban a képzőművelés értékei, vagyis 100 K. egyenlő 100 K. és ezért szabály szerint a kereskedelmi forgalomban fentartatik.

8. 1918. évi dec. 31-ig le nem fizetett adók kéke pénzben egyszerre arányosan szerint fizetendők, 1919. év jan. hó 1-től az adó kéke pénzben dupla fizetendő, vagyis 100 K. egyenlő 50 K. lepecsételt pénzben.

9. Határon át való közlelmzés tilos. Utazások a Cs. sz. állam határain belül a rendőrkapitányság által sz. állított és a város katonai parancsnokságtól láttamoztatott engedéllyel szabad. — Kivételi engedélyt a polgármesteri hivatal utal ki, ezen engedélyt a város megérdemelt és a katonai városparancsnok felhívásgalja.

10. Ezen parancs ellen vétőktől az árú elköszortás és az illatok megköszortésnek. Aki a katonai parancsot elköszortja, 20 százalék jótalomsdíjban részesül, a többi érték a város javára esik.

11. Esti záróra 9 óra 30 perc, ezen időn túl az utcán igazolvány nélkül tartózkodni tilos.

12. A román csapatok, vagy más hivatalok által kiadott utazási, kiviteli és egyéb igazolványok érvénytelenek.

13. Amennyiben a városban eddigre nem létesült egy köztársasági hivatal, úgy egy olyan azonnal felállítandó vezetője egy hivatalnok legyen.

**Városparancsnok: Sztik Ambroz Stubnya, hivatala: Vármegyeháza.**  
Beregszász, 1919. július hó 22.

**Jan Hostas,**  
plukovník, velitel Munkács.

Képek az Egy. Magyarországi Királyságról.

The day after the arrival of the Czechoslovak troops, the town and county officials appeared before Hostas to take the oath, except one financial assistant secretary and one court clerk (URL 2). The teaching staff of the Berehove Hungarian High School, led by Principal Ferenc Schrüger, also participated in the swearing-in ceremony on July 23 (Benda 1990). It is important to note here that the oath taken in front of Hostas was not the same as the oath required under civil administration, the refusal of which caused several people to lose their offices. As Ernő Nagy, former high sheriff of Alsóverecke district, the deputy sublieutenant of Bereg county during the occupation, recounted in 1922, in the summer of 1919 it was necessary to verbally promise in front of the military commander that the officials would not leave their offices and maintain order. "The general mood was for everyone to stay in their seats [...] so that the empty seats would not be filled by strangers." - reported the deputy chief (URL 2).

In parallel with the military occupation, the reorganization of the civil administration also began. In the summer of 1919, the county administration, now called zhupa, was organized in Mukachevo, but not all county officials were willing to move their operations there. The first head of the zhupa (so-called župan) was József Kaminszky, who had previously worked as the secretary of Oreszt Szabó, Minister of the Ruska Krajna autonomous territory, and during the period of the Soviet Republic, as a political representative of Ruska Krajna (Fedinec 2002, p. 51., Fedinec 2003, p. 141.). And in Berehove, a branch of the head of the zhupa was established under the leadership of former ward councillor János Zseltvay (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 17). Therefore, several of the officials cooperated in maintaining the temporary public administration organization, which was largely based on the previous public administration. According to the accounts of the time, which are also confirmed by the literature dealing with the change of state, the local population, including the officials, saw the situation as a temporary one, which was also communicated by the military leaders of the occupying troops as such (Simon 2008). This discourse changed by the end of 1919 when the decree required officials to take an oath of allegiance to the Czechoslovak Republic. Some of the officials did not undertake this. After the Czechoslovak forces evacuated the area of Bereg County bordered by the line Beregsurány – Tarpa – Jánd – Ugornya – Barabás, the county officials, under the leadership of István Gulácsy, the former deputy of Bereg, transferred their operations to the territory of the twenty-five villages of Bereg that remained under Hungarian control (Németh 1982). Out of the seventeen teaching staff of the town's high school, only one person took the oath (Benda 1990, p. 16).

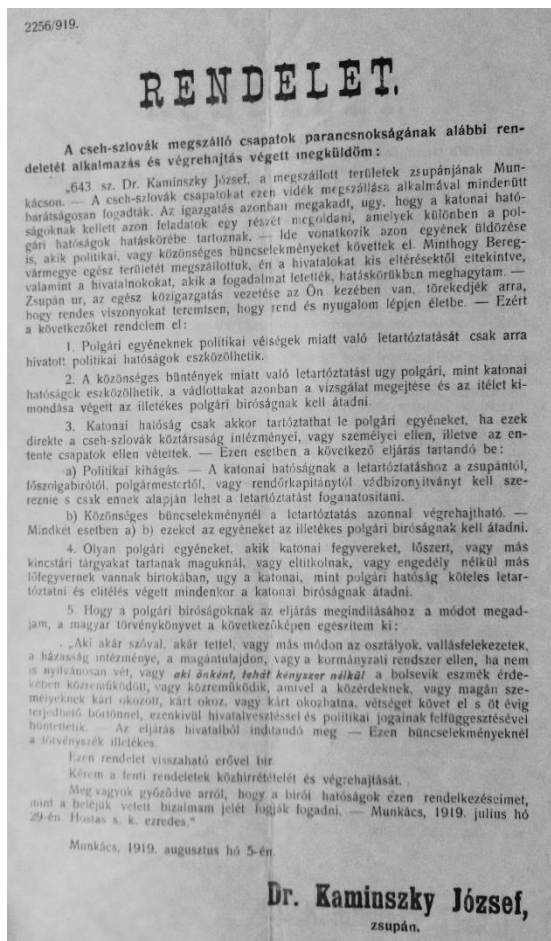
There were no significant personnel changes in the town administration between July and December 1919 (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 36). The management of the town until the establishment of the Czechoslovak civil administration, thus fell to the former officials, until December 1, 1919, under the laws of the Kingdom of Hungary (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 21). As can be seen from the above, the former offices, based on the county administrative system, remained more or less operational until December 1919, however, they were all subordinate bodies of the military administration introduced in the entire occupied territory - as it was called at the time: "military dictatorship". The head of the military administration was General Edmund Hencocq, the military leader of the Bereg zhupa was Jan Hostas, who also managed the occupation of Berehove, the garrison organized in Berehove was led by Jan Schauer together with the military gendarmerie, which was organized in the great hall of the Hungária hotel, and whose task was to maintain order in the town together with border control. During the Czech period, the Hungária Hotel operated under the name Slávia, and the rent was paid by the Reformed Church. After 1945, a consumer cooperative and later a district specialist's clinic were located here. After the regime change, the Reformed Church regained ownership, and the Transcarpathian Hungarian Teacher Training College operated in the building. Nowadays, it houses the János Kálvin Reformed Dormitory of Berehove (Zubánics 2011, p. 48 - 49.).

By the summer of 1919, the town of Berehove therefore found itself in a specific administrative structure. A military administration appeared, the Bereg zhupa began operating in Bereg county with a Mukachevo headquarters, and in Berehove, a zhupa branch office was established in addition to the still-functioning town council and its offices. In this complex system, the competencies were not completely clarified, and the relationship between the actors of the public administration was also complicated by language differences.

### **3. Examples of the practice of official language use**

The language of communication between the temporary civil administration and the management of the town of Berehove was primarily Hungarian. As can be seen in the 2nd photo, József Kaminszky, the zhupan of Bereg, issued a monolingual decree written in Hungarian in August 1919.

Image 2 The decree of Zhupan Kaminszky

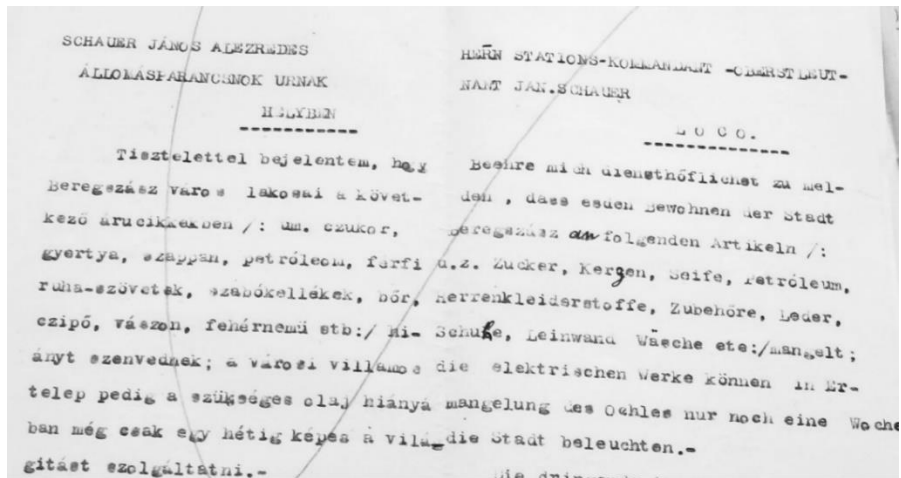


(Source: SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 2.)

Contact with the military command was somewhat more complicated. Both the town commander Ambroz Stubnya and the commander Jan Schauer were Czech nationals who could not speak Hungarian. However, communication with them was unavoidable, because, as we have already pointed out, not only border control but also the maintenance of urban order was part of their competence. In addition, the town management turned to them several times with the problem of the lack of public goods. The common language in these cases was German (Image 3). From the autumn of 1919, translators were also employed at the military headquarters, so the town council often wrote to the garrison in Hungarian, from which they sometimes received answers in Hungarian.



**Image 3** Letter from deputy mayor Gyula Hunyadi to station commander Jan Schauer



(Source: SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 15.)

However, from the fall of 1919, the situation had somewhat changed. After the peace of Saint-Germain-en-Lay was signed on September 10, 1919, the consolidation of the civil administration system began. Until then, the military occupation seemed to be a temporary state - and this was also stated by the army in some cases - but beginning in the autumn of 1919, it became more and more obvious that the local community had to face permanent changes. The appointment of Jan Brejcha was a kind of dividing line in terms of the consolidation of civil administration. Edmund Hennocque announced this event to the residents of the area in a proclamation written in Rusyn, Czech and Hungarian as follows: "Citizens of Carpathorussia! The Czechoslovak Republic keeps its promise. It wants to give you independent institutions that allow you to live a real life, preserving your individuality. For this purpose, Dr. Brejcha was sent to you as the head of the political administration of Carpathorussia in Uzhhorod. This appointment gives you a guarantee that you can freely develop your independence, your nationality, your language, your religion, your institutions and your national customs within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic, to which you are bound by the ties of Slavic blood. Dr. Brejcha's name is synonymous with patience, freedom, self-sacrifice, progress and truth. Citizens of Karpatorussia! Five years of terrible misery caused by the horrid war have passed. Now it is time to heal the still painful wounds and live in peace and work! True to the noble principles of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, which are also yours, it extends its hand to you with love: accept its words of confidence. So, get to

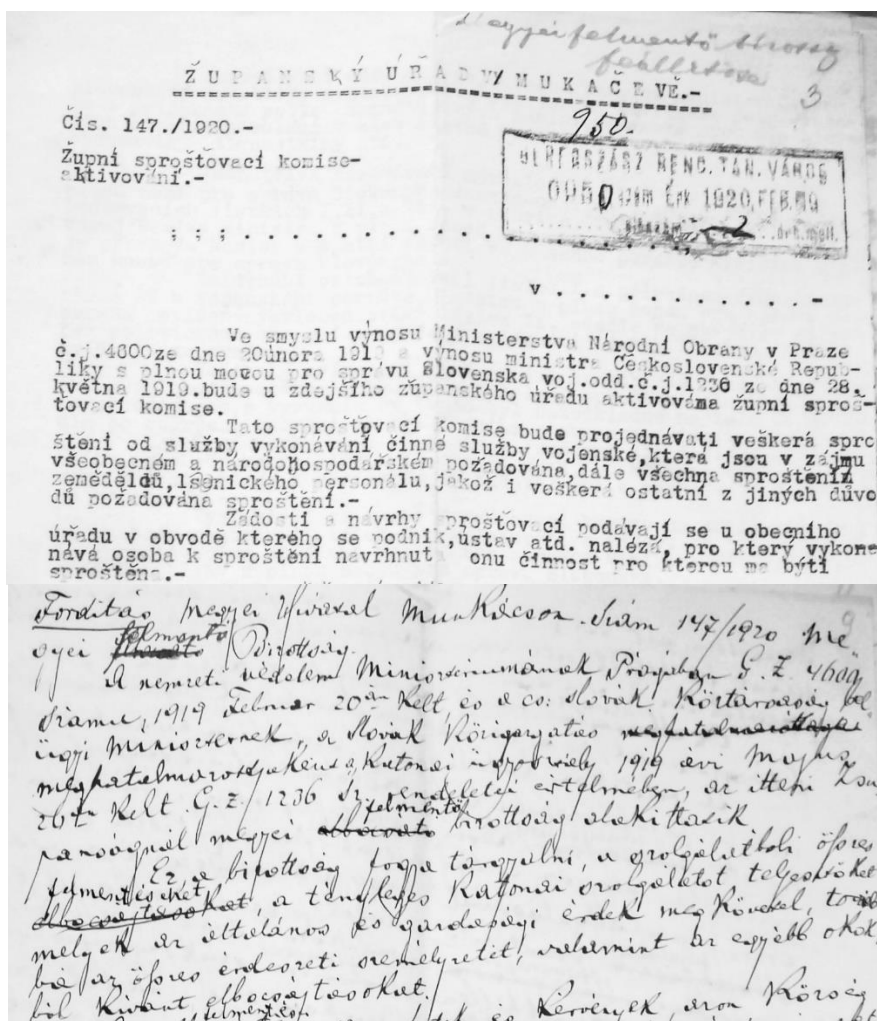
work in order and peace, for the greatest good of young nations!" (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 15) By the way, it is noteworthy and reflects the state of transition in the cited text that the name of the republic is still used in the form "Czecho-Slovak" and not "Czechoslovak", and we do not even come across the form "Podkarptska Rus" either. By the way, several forms of the name of the region were used in the documents created during the examined period. While in Ruthenian and Czech first the forms Карпатська Русь, Karpatská Rus and then Подкарпатська Русь and Podkarpatská Rus were used in documents, in Hungarian documents the reader could come across versions like Karpatorussia, Karpato-Russia, Kárpáto Russia, Podkarpato-Russia and Podkarpatská Rusz , even Ruszka Krajna.

From the point of view of our topic, what is more important about Brejcha's appointment is that after that, the construction of civil administration entered an intensive phase. From December 1, 1919, the administrative offices had to be operated in accordance with the legal system of the first Czechoslovak Republic. From this point on, the decrees regulating official language use appeared. On December 20, 1919, the Zhupan Branch of Berehove sent the following letter to the deputy mayor in Hungarian: "... for the sake of your consideration and understanding, I hereby inform you that only Ruthenian and Czech can be used in official communication and that if the Ruthenian language is used, Cyrillic and Latin letters are to be both accepted." (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 1) In a separate decree, it was also regulated that the stamps of all the town's offices should be made in Ruthenian in addition to Hungarian (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 37).

The town management partially adapted to the provisions. From 1920, translators and Czech and Ruthenian typists were involved in the administration of the office, and documents related to the organization of the town's life were prepared in Hungarian. From the turn of 1919-1920, official correspondence from higher-level public administration bodies was conducted almost exclusively in Czech, sometimes in Ruthenian. Initially, the Berehove town clerk organization handled this in a very specific way: in March 1920, the office of the Mukachevo county expressed its concerns regarding the fact that letters written in the Czech and Ruthenian languages were not being responded to in the town of Berehove, and according to information, they were placed in a file cabinet without administration after their arrival (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 86). The deputy mayor later informed the mayor in his letter that there is no further cause for concern, as interpreters in the mayor's office translate all incoming documents into Hungarian. At the same time, he also drew the attention of the employees of his office to ensure that the contested cases do not take place under any pretext (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 86).

As a result of the use of translators, almost all Czech or Ruthenian language documents received by the town council have been preserved in Hungarian with content extracts or complete translations (see image 4).

**Image 4** Detail of the document and its Hungarian translation sent from the zhupan office of the district of Mukachevo



(Source: SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 286)

As we alluded to, our sources also reveal information about communication between various levels of public administration bodies and the town's population. The town administration apparently used Hungarian to inform the population, the

Bereg county zhupan office and its branch office in Berehove published either bilingual (Czech and Hungarian, Ruthenian and Hungarian), but in most cases trilingual (Czech, Ruthenian and Hungarian) notices in the town (image 5).

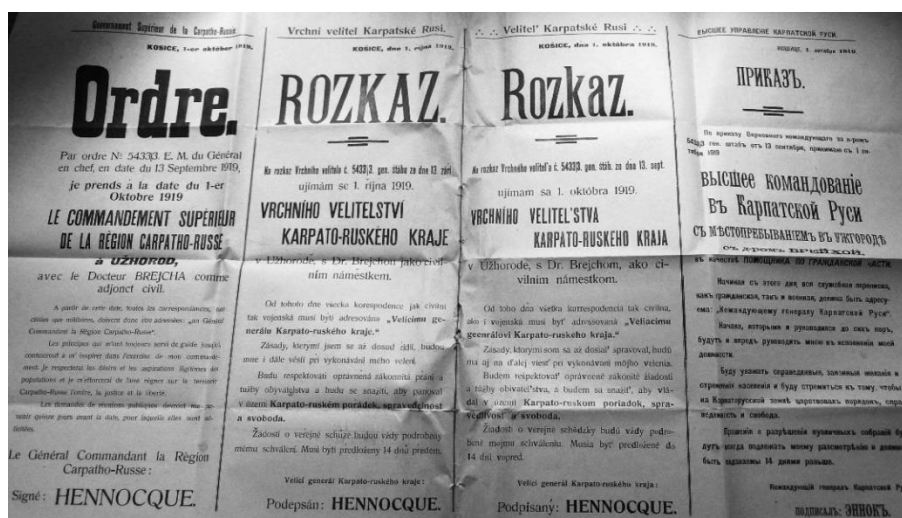
Image 5. Bilingual notice on the allocation of official rum



(Source: SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 286.)

The main military command of the occupied territories acted similarly in the majority of cases. However, it also happened that, based on the order of the named body, notices in French, Czech, Slovak and Ruthenian were published in the streets of Berehove (image 6).

Image 6. Edmund Hennocque's order from October 1919



(Source: SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 17)

During the examined period, as mentioned above, Hungarian officials remained in the administrative bodies of the town council. From January 1920, several resigned from their posts, as they did not wish to take the oath of loyalty to the Czechoslovak state. In January 1920, one of the deputy clerks vividly wrote about the reason for this: "Dear Mayor! According to decree 4505/1919 issued to the Beregszasz branch of the zhupan on December 17, 1919, all administrative officials and employees who do not take the oath of loyalty issued to the Czechoslovak state in accordance with the above-mentioned decree by January 4, 1920, the deadline set in the decree, will be deprived of the enjoyment of their employment and their salaries. I refused to take this oath of loyalty in a statement [thus] under the current conditions, according to the decree, my salaries will not be paid, and my employment will be terminated due to refusing to take the oath. Therefore, I respectfully declare that as long as I can no longer serve as a Hungarian official in accordance with my oath to the Hungarian state, I will not serve beginning from today." (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 17) The Czechoslovak authorities wanted to fill any vacant official positions with legionnaires, but Gyula Hunyadi tried to prevent this to the best of his ability. In the spring of 1920, after the resignation of several officials, he informed the zhupan office that there were no positions that could be filled by legionnaires. (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 147) Even in 1924, only two of the thirty-two clerks of the mayor's office were of Czech nationality, the military lecturer and the Czech typist (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 222). However, it should be noted here that in the composition of the zhupan branch office and, from 1921, in the composition of the police, there were different ethnic proportions (SATR, Fond 108, Archival List 7, Storage Unit 222). The residents of Beregszász who wanted to conduct official business at the town council probably did not encounter any language barriers. In 1919-1920, forms standardized in the Hungarian official procedure were still used, all applications received from the population were written in Hungarian.

After the publication of the constitutional letter in 1920, the use of minority languages was also regulated by law. As a result of the Language Act, multilingual official communication became established at various levels of public administration, which had already appeared in practice before the publication of the law.

#### **4. Summary**

From the beginning of the Czechoslovak military occupation to the consolidation of the civil administration of the new state, in many respects temporary solutions were created in Transcarpathia. In terms of language use, the practice was

determined by the relationship between the occupying army, the transitional public administration and the town leadership.

Immediately after taking power the Czechoslovak leadership aimed to maintain order in the territory and keep the functioning of the public administration, and this effort can be traced in the use of Hungarian in the top-down communication as well. However, following the consolidation of the new rule, bilingual and even multilingual language use became widespread in both bottom-up and top-down communication. Since the people of Transcarpathia lacked a single language in common, the combined use of different languages, which can be observed in multilingual language use, was also not uniform.

From the examples briefly presented above, it is clear that all parties tried to fulfil their duties in the new circumstances. The Czechoslovak authorities strove to stabilize the area and establish authority as quickly as possible, without resistance if possible. The local community presumably assessed that resistance or cooperation with the Czechoslovak military was wiser, and hoping that the situation would be temporary, they tried to avoid conflicts (Fedinec 2007, p. 104). Mihály Tamás in his novel *Két part közt fut a víz* [Water inbetween two shores], described the attitude towards the Czechoslovak occupation as follows: "The daze had begun to wear off, people began to look at the events with cold eyes, but no one believed that the situation would remain constant: everyone was expecting some sort of a miracle." (Tamás 1983, p. 42.). As a result, the initial phase of the change of state in Berehove took place without any particular conflict between the two parties. Examining the practice of official language use, it can be perceived that the parties wanted to communicate effectively with each other, looking for opportunities for this, and in the majority of cases they managed to find a common language.

## Література

1. Benda István – Orosz László szerk. 1990: A Beregszászi Magyar Gimnázium története 1864 - 1989. Budapest: Magyarorsággutató Intézet
2. Csernicskó István 2013: Államok, nyelvek, államnyelvek. Nyelvpolitika a mai Kárpátalja területén (1867-2010). Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó
3. Csernicskó István 2015: Nyelvek vetélkedése a nyelvi tájképben. Alkalmazott nyelvtudomány. 2015. XV.
4. SATR (Державний архів Закарпатської області), Fond 108. Берегівське міське нотарське управління, м. Берегове, 1919 – 1939
5. Fedinec Csilla 2001: Iratok a kárpátaljai magyarság történetéhez 1918-1944. Dunaszerdahely: Fórum Intézet – Lilium Aurum
6. Fedinec Csilla 2002: A kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918 – 1944. Galánta – Dunaszerdahely: Fórum Intézet – Lilium Aurum

7. Fedinec Csilla 2003: Állami és nemzeti kötődések a kárpátaljai regionális politikában. In: Bárdi Nándor – Fedinec Csilla szerk: Etnopolitika. A közösségi, magán- és nemzetközi érdekek viszonyrendszere Közép-Európában. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány
8. Fedinec Csilla 2007: Magyar pártok Kárpátalján a két világháború között. Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle, 2007/1. 104.
9. Németh Péterné 1982: Adatok az 1918–1919- évi forradalmak beregi történetéhez. Szabolcs-Szatmár megyei helytörténetírás, 3–4. Nyíregyháza
10. Romsics Ignác 2004: Magyarország története a XX. században. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó
11. Simon Attila 2008: A Csehszlovákiához került felvidéki magyarok (1918–1921). Impériumváltás és nemzetállamok 1918–1921. In: Fedinec Csilla – Bárdi Nándor – Szarka László szerk. Kisebbségi magyar közösségek a 20. században. Budapest: Gondolat, MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet
12. Tamás Mihály 1983: Két part közt fut a víz. Bratislava: Madách
13. URL 1 - Data from Hungarian censuses between 1784 and 1990. 1910. In: Census Digital Database - Library of the Central Statistical Office. [http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/ksh\\_neda\\_nepszamlalasok\\_1910](http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/ksh_neda_nepszamlalasok_1910)
14. URL 2 - Nemzetgyűlési napló, 1922. I. kötet [http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK\\_KN-1922\\_01/?pg=33&layout=s](http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK_KN-1922_01/?pg=33&layout=s)
15. URL 3 - Miroslav Michela: Csehszlovákia létrejötte és a szlovák kérdés 1918-1920. <http://www.modern-tortenelem.hu/clanek/csehszlovakia-letrejtote-es-a-szlovak-kerdes-1918-1920/>
16. Zubánics László 2011: Tájba írt történelem. Kultúrtörténeti időutazás Kárpátalja legmagyarabb városában és vonzáskörzetében. Uzhhorod – Budapest: Intermix Kiadó

## References

1. Benda István – Orosz László szerk. 1990: A Beregszászi Magyar Gimnázium története 1864 – 1989 [The History of the Hungarian Gymnasium in Beregszász 1864 – 1989]. Budapest: Magyarságkutató Intézet
2. Csernicskó István 2013: Államok, nyelvek, államnyelvek. Nyelvpolitika a mai Kárpátalja területén (1867-2010) [States, Languages, State Languages. Language Policy on the territory of Transcarpathia]. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó
3. Csernicskó István 2015: Nyelvek vetélkedése a nyelvi tájképben [Competing Languages in the Linguistic Landscape]. *Alkalmazott nyelvtudomány*. 2015. XV.
4. SATR (Державний архів Закарпатської області), Fond 108. Берегівське міське нотарське управління, м. Берегове, 1919 – 1939 [Town Notary Office of Berehove, 1919 – 1939]
5. Fedinec Csilla 2001: Iratok a kárpátaljai magyarság történetéhez 1918-1944. Dunaszerdahely: Fórum Intézet – Lilium Aurum
6. Fedinec Csilla 2002: A kárpátaljai magyarság történeti kronológiája 1918 – 1944 [Documents on the History of Transcarpathian Hungarians 1918-1944]. Galánta – Dunaszerdahely: Fórum Intézet – Lilium Aurum
7. Fedinec Csilla 2003: Állami és nemzeti kötődések a kárpátaljai regionális politikában [State and National Ties in Transcarpathian Regional Policy]. In: Bárdi Nándor –

- Fedinec Csilla szerk: Etnopolitika. A közösségi, magán- és nemzetközi érdekek viszonyrendszere Közép-Európában. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány
8. Fedinec Csilla 2007: Magyar pártok Kárpátalján a két világháború között [Hungarian parties in Transcarpathia between the Two World Wars]. Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle, 2007/1. 104.
  9. Németh Péterné 1982: Adatok az 1918–1919- évi forradalmak beregi történetéhez [Data on the history of the 1918-1919 revolutions in Bereg county]. Szabolcs-Szatmár megyei helytörténetírás, 3–4. Nyíregyháza
  10. Romsics Ignác 2004: Magyarország története a XX. században [History of Hungary in the 20th Century]. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó
  11. Simon Attila 2008: A Csehszlovákiához került felvidéki magyarok (1918–1921) [The Hungarians of Upper Hungary in Czechoslovakia (1918-1921)]. Impériumváltás és nemzetállamok 1918–1921. In: Fedinec Csilla – Bárdi Nándor – Szarka László szerk. Kisebbségi magyar közösségek a 20. században. Budapest: Gondolat, MTA Kisebbségkutató Intézet
  12. Tamás Mihály 1983: Két part közt fut a víz [Water inbetween two shores]. Bratislava: Madách
  13. URL 1 - Data from Hungarian censuses between 1784 and 1990. 1910. In: Census Digital Database - Library of the Central Statistical Office. [http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/ksh\\_neda\\_nepszamlalasok\\_1910](http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/ksh_neda_nepszamlalasok_1910)
  14. URL 2 - Nemzetgyűlési napló, 1922. I. kötet [http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK\\_KN-1922\\_01/?pg=33&layout=s](http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK_KN-1922_01/?pg=33&layout=s)
  15. URL 3 - Miroslav Michela: Csehszlovákia létrejötte és a szlovák kérdés 1918-1920 [The creation of Czechoslovakia and the Slovak question 1918-1920]. <http://www.modern-tortenelem.hu/clanek/csehszlovakia-letrejotte-es-a-szlovak-kerdes-1918-1920/>
  16. Zubánics László 2011: Tájba írt történelem. Kultúrtörténeti időutazás Kárpátalja legmagyarabb városában és vonzáskörzetében [History Written in Landscape. A Cultural and Historical Journey Through Time in the Most Hungarian Town of Transcarpathia and its Surroundings]. Uzhhorod – Budapest: Intermix Kiadó

### Official language use in Beregszász in 1919-1920

**Imre Szakál**, PhD. Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education, Department of History and Social Sciences, associate professor. [szakal.imre@kmf.org.ua](mailto:szakal.imre@kmf.org.ua), ORCID: 0000-0003-2017-3999.

**Gabriella Mádi**. Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education, Department of Philology, senior lecturer. [madi.gabriella@kmf.org.ua](mailto:madi.gabriella@kmf.org.ua), ORCID: 0000-0002-4520-7932.

The political map of East-Central Europe changed after the First World War. But this transformation also affected many different aspects of everyday life. In particular, the years of transition from the collapsing empires to the new republics offer rich research



opportunities. In this paper, we have tried to explore one aspect of this transition at the interface of history and sociolinguistics. In a peripheral small town in the Czechoslovak Republic, we have used archival sources to investigate the characteristics of the official language use at the beginning of the consolidation of the new state power. Our study also seeks to find answers to the question of what influenced the different language-speaking actors at different levels of the administration, and what bargains were struck in everyday life that might have determined other aspects of the transition.

**Keywords:** *Transcarpathia, Subcarpathian Rus, multilingualism, official language use*

### Використання офіційної мови в Берегові в 1919-1920 рр

**Імре Сакал**, доктор філософії, доцент, доцент кафедри історії та суспільних дисциплін Закарпатського угорського інституту імені Ференца Ракоці II, szakal.imre@kmf.org.ua, ORCID: 0000-0003-2017-3999

**Габрієлла Маді**, старший викладач кафедри філології Закарпатського угорського інституту імені Ференца Ракоці II, madi.gabriella@kmf.org.ua, ORCID: 0000-0002-4520-7932.

Політична карта Центрально-Східної Європи змінилася після Першої світової війни. Але ця трансформація також вплинула на багато різних аспектів повсякденного життя. Зокрема, роки переходу від імперій, що розпалися, до нових республік відкривають багаті можливості для досліджень. У цій статті ми спробували дослідити один з аспектів цього переходу на стику історії та соціолінгвістики. На прикладі невеликого периферійного містечка в Чехословацькій Республіці ми використали архівні джерела, щоб дослідити особливості використання офіційних мов на початку консолідації нової державної влади. Наше дослідження також прагне знайти відповіді на питання, що впливало на різних мовних акторів на різних рівнях адміністрації, і які угоди були укладені в повсякденному житті, що могли визначити інші аспекти перехідного періоду.

**Ключові слова:** *Закарпаття (Підкарпатська Русь), багатомовність, використання офіційної мови.*

### Hivatalos nyelvhasználat Beregszászban 1919-1920-ban

**Szakál Imre**, PhD, docens. II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola, Történelem- és Társadalomtudományi Tanszék, docens. szakal.imre@kmf.org.ua, ORCID: 0000-0003-2017-3999.

**Mádi Gabriella**, II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola, Filológia Tanszék, adjunktus. madi.gabriella@kmf.org.ua, ORCID: 0000-0002-4520-7932

Kelet-Közép-Európa politikai térképe az első világháború után megváltozott. Ez az átalakulás a mindennapi élet számos területét is érintette. Különösen az összeomló birodalmakból az új köztársaságokba való átmenet évei kínálnak gazdag kutatási lehetőségeket. Ebben a tanulmányban ennek az átmenetnek egy aspektusát igyekeztünk feltárni a történelem és a szociolingvisztika határterületén. A Csehszlovák Köztársaság egyik periférikus kisvárosa esetén vizsgáltuk levéltári források segítségével a hivatalos nyelvhasználat jellemzőit az új államhatalom megszilárdulásának kezdetén. Tanulmányunk arra is választ keres, hogy mi befolyásolta a különböző nyelveket beszélő szereplőket a közigazgatás különböző szintjein, milyen alkukat kötöttek a mindennapi életben, amelyek meghatározhatták az átmenet más mozzanatait.

**Kulcsszavak:** *Kárpátalja, Podkarpatszka Rusz, többnyelvűség, hivatalos nyelvhasználat*