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**THE REFLECTION OF THE IDEAS OF WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT  
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN  
LANGUAGE IN UKRAINE IN THE 19TH – BEGINNING OF THE 20TH  
CENTURIES**

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The Reflection of the Ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt in the Context of the Development of the Ukrainian Language in Ukraine in the 19<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

In the light of struggle for existence of national culture in Ukraine which has been going on since the eighteenth century, this paper outlines the question of the development of the Ukrainian language and linguistic education under difficult conditions of the policy of ethnic and cultural assimilation in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, as well as the influence of Wilhelm von Humboldt's ideas on the development of the Ukrainian language in the state in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century and the consciousness of Ukrainian intellectuals who fought for existence of the native language and national culture. In the context of this problem we are primarily interested in Humboldt's ethnolinguistic ideas, as since the eighteenth century the question of separateness of Ukrainian language from Russian and Polish was not simply a matter of independence of Ukrainian people but it was closely connected to the very existence of Ukrainian nation and Ukrainian culture.

*Key words:* Ukrainian, literary language, linguistic, Ukrainian nation, linguistic education, folk spirit.

Progressive ideas of the Enlightenment thinkers always will always be relevant because scientific reformers were able to overcome the narrow limits of their era, put the most important human questions, propose their own contradicting, sometimes paradoxical answers, and in this way realize inestimable contributions to the formation of eternal ideals. One of the most prominent culture representatives of the late XVIII – early XIX century was Wilhelm von Humboldt, who, thanks to the huge intellectual and cultural potential of the individuality, and various directions of

research interests managed to generate a significant amount of basic ideas in the field of state building, education, pedagogics, cultural studies and philology. In the context of the investigated problem we are primarily interested in the ethnolinguistic ideas of W. Humboldt, since from the beginning of XVIII century the question of separateness of Ukrainian from Russian and Polish was not simply a question of independence of Ukrainian people, but the question of struggle for survival of the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian culture as such. For over three hundred years, Ukraine is a geocultural and geopolitical bridgehead for a visual confirmation of German philosopher's concepts, notwithstanding the level of erudition as to these conceptions of Ukrainian defenders of the national idea, tries to resist the danger of the nation's transformation into ethnographic material.

To the history of the Ukrainian linguistics development and its scientific achievements in the XIXth – early XXth century to certain extent apply these Ukrainian researchers: M. A. Zhovtobruh [7] P. Bevzenko [1] P. Shteppa [18] A. Lototsky [11] F. Savchenko [16]. Also, in the frameworks of our research, we are interested in: V. M. Rusanivsky "History of the Ukrainian literary language" [15] and Yu. Shevel'ov "Chernihiv in the formation of new Ukrainian" [17].

Establishment and development problems of Ukrainian national school and national education in the second half of the XIX – early XX century, and related problems of language are covered in dissertationsof: N. M. Kolyada "The development of Sunday-school in Ukraine (the second half of XIX – XX centuries.)" [8] and O. A. Bieleckiy "The development of national education as to Government of Yekaterinoslav (the second half of XIX – early XX century)" [2].

The review of scientific studies of the development of Ukrainian and the situation of language education in the complex conditions of political separate of Western and Eastern Ukraine in the XIX – early XXth century gives reason to confirms that the problem wasn't examined by sientists from the perspective of its relationship with the philosophical, pedagogical and linguistic concepts of Humboldt.

In the light of the struggle for existence of Ukrainian nation and Ukrainian culture that have been since XVIII century, we will examine the development of

Ukrainian and the state of language education in difficult conditions of ethnocultural assimilation policy in XIXth – early XX century, and the impact question of ideas of the German thinker on the Ukrainian language in the state of XIXth – early XXth century, and on the consciousness of Ukrainian intellectuals who fought for the right of existence for the native language and national culture.

XIXth – early XXth century Ukraine, like Germany in the time of Humboldt, had no territorial-administrative integrity. Its territory was divided between Poland, Russia, Austria and Hungary during the XIX-th century, and on the border of XIXth – XXth centuries Ukrainian lands were subjected to Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire. However, these political-historical conditions maintained the unity of Ukrainian cultural space. As it's noted in historical and philosophical work "Essays on the history of our culture" (1954) by Ye. Malaniuk, "political boundaries of states become "variables", while the culture – is more or less "constant" and its borders, especially in our motherland are, in a sense immutable" [12, p. 9 – 10].

The Ukrainian history proves the truth of Humboldt's idea of direct connection of language, culture and "national spirit", because the integrity of Ukrainian national culture in very unfavorable to its development and preservation conditions have kept solely thanks to the energy of "national spirit", accumulated in language. This fact is confirmed by the appearance of extensive scientific work in 1911 about the history of Ukrainian literature from antiquity to the early XX th century, by a member of the Kyiv community, the future Academician and Vice President of VUAN (since 1922), S. Yefremov's "History of Ukrainian literature" as expressed in the introduction idea of its author, that organically flows out from Humboldt's understanding of language and culture, language and thinking: "So, only language with the written language remained with our people, with our calamities, it was and will be lively creature that jumped and trembled without stopping at the fallen people's body, showing that people are still alive, and they want to live , and they can live, and they will live" [6, p. 20].

Ukrainian lands were united by a common language, that had no social and political statuses in any named states. Now we are talking about killing language,

which the Ukrainian language suffered from all over cultural area of its ethnic territory. Linguistic genocide was a part of policy of ethnic and cultural assimilation, which was manifested in purposeful activities of social and governmental institutions, that limited functional spheres of the Ukrainian language. Functional inequality of the Ukrainian language mirrored and reflected class, social and economic property inequality of Ukrainian society, the higher layers of which have been consciously disowning mother tongue, freely waive their their ethnical and cultural rights. We are talking about impact of Poland and policy of russification like killing language.

We must pay special attention to the fact that in the policy of linguistic killing exceptional importance was given to activities in educational sphere. Thus, at the age of “enlightened monarchy” printing and usage of Ukrainian “ABC” was forbidden by the Russian Empress (1769). Just about this time, 1789, the Polish Sejm issued order to close Ukrainian church schools and prohibited the Ukrainian language in all other schools. At the educational institutions in Poland, Romania, Russia for the usage of the Ukrainian language students were humiliated and even punished. In 1808 Lviv’s “Rusynsky institute” was closed, where a number of subjects were taught in Ukrainian. And in 1817 there was issued a decree of teaching in schools only in Polish, because the language Rusyn people were speaking was proclaimed its dialect. In the over Dnieper Ukraine in 1862 there were closed free Ukrainian schools for adults. In 1863, inspired by the insults of Russian and Polish press, came out the secret decision of the Russian Minister of Internal Affairs P. Valuev, who claimed that the Ukrainian language “wasn’t, isn’t and cannot be”. According to Valuevskyi Circular it was prohibited the publication of any Ukrainian literature, except art works, which were variously limited. Additional restrictions to public use of the Ukrainian language were added in Enskyi act of 1876, which prohibited the importation of Ukrainian original and translated books abroad, printing of Ukrainian texts for musical compositions, theatrical performances and public reading of the Ukrainian language, teaching any subjects at school in Ukrainian; also it was forbidden to keep Ukrainian books at the school libraries. School teachers had to be checked. And everybody who was suspected in loving Ukrainian was dismissed from job. It was

advised to contract new teachers from Russians. Since 1881 it was prohibited teaching of the Ukrainian language in public schools and preaching in Russian Empire. And 1882 it was prohibited the translation from Russian into Ukrainian. These actions were also expanded on the Ukrainian lands that were outside of the state borders. In occupied in 1914 Galicia and Bucovina by Russian army it was prohibited printing of Ukrainian books, magazines and newspapers, Ukrainian schools and gymnasiums were closed.

In terms of language genocide policy, which was in series conducted on geographical and cultural Ukrainian space during the XVIIIth – XIXth centuries, the ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt became incredibly important because from philosophical and scientific point of view they gave basis to necessity and legitimacy, both moral and aesthetic, and natural, to assert right of the Ukrainian language not only to exist, but also to develop.

In Ukraine the first popularizers of Humboldt's ideas were P. Zhytetskyy, who wrote the study "Humboldt in history of philosophical linguistics" (1900), and the founder of psychological school O. Potebnya, who mastered a number of key concepts of the German philosopher, created his own philosophy of language. The key in the Potebnya's philosophy is questions of language and thinking, which appear in Humboldt's work "About the distinction of human language and its impact on intellectual development of humanity" (1907): "Language isn't the product of action (Ergon), it is the action (Energia). Its true definition can only be genetic. Language is a work of the spirit, that constantly renews, is aimed at making the sound that is articulated suitable for expression of thought" [3, p. 70]. O. O. Potebnya creatively developed the linguistic and philosophic view of W. von Humboldt, rose up to the present level of our people-centered approach to language and language world, formed statute of connection between language and nation, what is relevant today for the realization of civilized language policy in Ukraine.

In the 1840s, a new generation of Ukrainian intellectuals appeared, they were mostly pupils and employees of Kyiv and Kharkov Universities, which realized that people deprived of their faith, culture, history and language loses the common aim of

existence, spiritual, cultural and political guidelines, afterwards weakens, fades, scatters its welcoming and a culture creation power. In Kyiv in late 1845, by the efforts of Belozersky V., M. Hulak , M. Kostomarov, P. Kulish and O. Markiewicz there was organized Kyryl and Mephodius Brotherhood, which existed till the arrest of all the members in March, 1847. It was a secret Ukrainian cultural and political organization, which also consisted of G. Andruzky, O. Navrotsky, D. Pylchykov, I. Posyada, M. Savych, O. Tulub, T. Shevchenko.

In the first half of the XIX th century, according to well-aimed expression of V. M. Rusanovsky, the Ukrainian language is “reanimation instrument for national consciousness” [15, p. 146]. During this period the basis of the literary language has been formed in the works of I. Kotlyarevskyi, G. Kvitka-Osnovyanenko, E. Grebinka, P. Gulak-Artemovski, A Metlynsky, M. Kostomarov, T. Shevchenko, V. Zabily, P. Biletsky-Nosenko, M. Shashkevych, Ya. Holovatsky, I. Vahilevych and others. If the activity of members of Kyryl Methodian membership assured awareness of the right of nation to self-Ukrainian cultural and political development, the activity of eloquent writing proved the independence of development and considerable creativity potential of the Ukrainian language, whose existence during the XVIII th century was denied by the authorities, forcing her status, on the one hand, of Great Russian language dialect, and on the other – of Polish.

One of the factors separately confirming the presence of a particular language is the national lexicography that is collected and scientifically assimilated vocabulary of the language and the emergence of grammar as an attempt to explore and objectively describe the structure of language. The first grammar of public Ukrainian language is considered “Grammar of Malorossia dialect” (1818), written by a teacher of Nijin Lyceum Alexey Pavlovich Pavlovsky (1773 – 1826).

In this regard, important are consecutive and purposeful scientific and pedagogical activity of Pavel Biletsky-Nosenko (1774 – 1856), that started as an amateur , after his retirement from military service. The way of the pedagogical work, love for children and literature and a natural sense of language in a few years made a professional from an amateur who had no special training because Biletsky-

Nosenko received education in the St. Petersburg noble Overland Cadet kopusi. Agreeing with the ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt, he demanded from his students conscious understanding of what they have studied in the effort to educate harmony development and educated person.

As a lover of literature and language teacher Biletsky-Nosenko is ambued with problems of native word. In this context, he wrote his philological works “Grammar of half-Russian language” (1821), “The essential properties of poetry and rhetoric” (1821), “About half-Russian language” (1838), “The grammar of southern Russian Language” (1843), etc.

Biletsky-Nosenko concluded “Dictionary of hermeneutic, lingvo-historical, geographical, with a true meaning definition of old, archaism, that are in the chronicles of Russia, old laws and so on”. As noted by historians of Ukrainian lexicography, the work of P. P. Bielecki-Nosenko is the first complete dictionary of the Ukrainian language, the registry of which contains 20 000 vocables – such amount was exceeded only in 1980<sup>th</sup>. L. V. Pyrozhenko points to the fact that the copies that were made from the dictionary of his teacher M. A. Markovich, used Boris Grinchenko, composing 4-volume “Dictionary of the Ukrainian language” (published in 1906 – 1908) [13, p. 253 ].

Trying of P. Biletsky-Nosenko to make a new Ukrainian dictionary of Folk and literary language was not the only in the first half of the XIX th century. In this time Slavic-Russian literary language functioned in the Western Ukraine, supplemented by some local features. This fact confirms the appearance of “Grammar of Slovenian-Russian language” in 1823 written by Ivan Mogylnitskyi (1777 – 1831), founder and rector of the Deacon teaching University in Peremyshl. The appearance of this work is directly related to the first wave of national revival in Galicia, which was centered in Peremyshl, where around Peremyshl’s arhbishop – Bishop Myhayilo Levytsky rallied representatives of national responsible intellectuals – I Mogylnytskyy, J. Levitsky, J. Lozinsky, A. Dobriansky, I. Lavrivskyy, I. Snihurskyy. They paid a great interest to native history, people’s life, their language and oral folk arts, did a lot to raise the Ukrainian education by taking action to establish primary schools for

local people. In 1826, it was completed 6-volumes the Ukrainian language dictionary of I. Lavrovsky (1773 –1820) – Rector of the Lviv Greek Catholic seminary in Lviv that first begins to pronounce sermons in Galicia in the Ukrainian language, which has already been considered independent and distinct from other Slavic languages.

In Budyn (Budapest) in 1830 was published in Latin “Slavo-ruthena grammatira” (“The grammar of Slavic-Russian”) by Mikhail Mikhailovich Luchkay (1789 – 1843). For Ukrainian linguistics and Slavic studies, it was important in view of the detailed description of phonetic and grammar system of Zaccarpathians dialects of Ukrainian, it was used by well-known scientists of the XIX th century: V. Kopitar, Ya. Kollar, J. Shafaryk, I. Sreznevsky, F. Mikloshych, P. Yagyach who appreciated collected and added to the grammar folk material: tales, songs, sayings, proverbs, comparisons, riddles and spells. According to Humboldt’s principles, manual introduced in the scientific sphere alive Ukrainian language and objectively set the task of comparative historical study in relation with the dead portrait of Old Church Slavonic language. In 1834 was printed in German, first manual of Ukrainian grammar in Galicia “Grammatik der ruthenischen oder klein ruthenischen Sprache in Galicien” (“Russian or half-Russian grammar in Galicia”) Joseph Levitsky (1801 – 1860) where it was reasonably proved the unity of the Ukrainian language in the above regions of Dnieper and Dniester. And in 1849<sup>th</sup> year first published in Polish “Gramatyku jezyka matoruskiego” (“Russian grammar”) of Joseph Lozinski (1807 – 1889), who in 1834 started in Galicia so-called “elementary war”.

In 1830 begins the new wave of renaissance in Galicia related to the activity of group “Russian trinity” (1833 – 1837), whose members were M. Shashkevych, I. Vahylevych and J. Holovatsky, G. Ilkovich, M. Ustyjanovych, M. Kulchytsky etc. In 1849 in Lviv was published “Russian Grammar” by professor (1848 – 1867) and rector (1863 – 1864) of Lviv University – Yakov Fedorovich Golovatsky (1814 – 1888). Work contained rich material, taken mainly from the local national language. Another founder of the “Russian trinity” was Markiyan Semonovych Shashkevych (1811 – 1843), who actively defended the idea of literary language creation based on



native language, developed rules of phonetic spelling. In 1836 Shashkevych designed a “Reader” for public schools.

We have to call a number of important different factors, that directly or indirectly are related to actualization and expansion (of both ways: conscious and unconscious ) in 1850 – 1860 of linguistic and pedagogical ideas of Humboldt on the territory of Ukrain: 1) in 1859 in St. Petersburg was printed the translation of Humboldt’s work “About the difference of organisms of human language and the impact of this difference on the mental development of mankind” 2) from January 1861 to September 1862 in St. Petersburg Ukrainian loving magazine “Osnova” monthly was published 3) March 4, 1861 in the Dnieper, Ukraine abolished serfdom (in Galicia and Bukovina 1848) 4) March 10, 1861 in St. Petersburg, died T. Shevchenko, May 8, 1861 – the ashes of the poet was returned to motherland and his reburial - national rise begins; 5) in 1862, “Ministry of National Enlightenment Journal” as a series of articles published a work of O. O. Potebnya “Thought and Language”, which are subjected to thorough critical analysis of Wilhelm von Humboldt’s ideas and those of his followers G. Steintal and A. Schleicher; 6) from 1863 starts acting Valuevskyi Circular .

The renaissance of national intentions , reanimation factor of which is language, in cultural circles of Ukrainian ethnos in the first half of the XIX th century required the extension of next generation functional limits of the Ukrainian language. This idea in the context of national education clearly was formulated by M. Kostomarov in his article “About the southern Russian language teaching”, which was published in 1862 in May issue of “Osnova”. Describing the activities of Kostomarov in education, N. S. Pobirchenko noted that community and magazine “Osnova” played a major role in the educational movement throughout whole Ukraine, paying great attention to the introduction of Sunday schools and Ukrainians teaching language. In connection with this there was a lack of textbooks and books. In particular, it led T. Shevchenko to write a “ABC of Southern Russian language” (1861) and P. Kulish – “Grammar” (1857, 1861). Because of book’s lack, some from people saw way out in translating Russian books into Ukrainian. As Pobirchenko rightly noted,

M. I. Kostomarov followed a different view, that he has written in his article “Teaching of Southern Russian language” [14, p. 330]. We think that not only this induced Professor Kostomarov to write articles, the main goal – to identify and to prove the mainline program tasks and aims of new Ukrainian national movement. Kostomarov firstly, clearly defines the main aim, obviously, based on Humboldt’s postulate that Language is the main organ of people thoughts, that created it: “We need to teach people in our native language, teaching of science is for those who used not only to talk, using general Russian, but to think, about all languages, and those people whose native language is still the most convenient and easiest form of communication and expression thoughts. Instead of stories, comedies, and poetry scientific books are needed” [10, p. 310]. Secondly, justifies it, understanding language as a means of knowledge: “...until the southern language will not pass the knowledge, until this language becomes universal guide to education, all our writings in that language – a brilliant unfertile flower ...” [10, p. 309]. Third, he determine the specific tasks, that are the creation of teaching materials, that constitute the initial base, the foundation of national education : 1) ABC, and 2) the religious literature “short sacred and church history, catechism, passages from teachings of the saint fathers of the Church, the lives of people’s favorite saints and divine explanation” [10, p. 310], 3) the Natural cycle books: arithmetic, cosmography, geography, etc.; 4) native language grammar, according to which “people will get acquainted with the construction of human speech” [10, p. 311], 5) jurisprudential literature, that will acquaint people with the main reasons of their situation in the state and their juridical rights. Kostomarov characterizes them as “the plan of primary education” [10, p. 311].

As a separate question the functions of the state in this National Education project are discussed: “The state is a necessary external form of societies combination, and can consist of many nations, in the public sense, all together make up one body, but in the inner lives everybody is a distinctive whole. Not mixing with the people, the state should not prefer any of dependent people, and put itself above the other, however, equally to guard the way of their mutual relations, and not

interfere with the free development of each. For the government, that expresses the state beginning, customs and peculiarities of people should be equally legitimated and moral life demands of each of them shouldn't have obstacles" [10, p. 311]. As you can see, M. Kostomarov defends the principle of Humboldt, herewith basing on Humboldt's idea of unique world view of each nation and thus considerably extends its context.

Thus, to formulate Humboldt's principles of linguistic outlook, feasibility of combination of linguistic, historical, anthropological and ethno-psychological studies, there was prepared beneficial ground where they based and were accepted and deeply internalized by Ukrainian scientists and cultural figures at the beginning of the 1860<sup>s</sup>, in the context of immediate and urgent national problems, primarily related with the abolition of serfdom, nearly a century of whose domination on Ukrainian lands led to a decline in almost all spheres of national life.

For people, whose language suffered from language suicide and language killing, culture, language, history, territory that was divided into East and West, the idea of the outstanding German thinker – Wilhelm von Humboldt was vital and necessary. His idea of the uniqueness of each language as nation outlook armed national conscious of Ukrainian intellectuals in the competition for the right of native language existence and national culture, and among national linguists who fought for this right were those who sought for ideas of famous German philosopher and adapted them to the Ukrainian ground.

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Кришко А. Ю.

Відгук ідей Вільгельма фон Гумбольдта у контексті проблем розвитку української мови в Україні XIX – початку XX століття

У світлі боротьби за існування національної культури, що триває в Україні починаючи з XVIII століття, ми розглянемо питання розвитку української мови і стану мовної освіти в складних умовах політики етнокультурної асиміляції у XIX – на поч. XX ст., а також питання впливу ідей німецького мислителя на розвиток української мови в державі XIX – поч. XX ст., та на свідомість українських інтелігентів, які боролися за право на існування рідної мови й національної культури. У контексті досліджуваної проблеми нас насамперед цікавлять етнолінгвістичні ідеї В. Гумбольдта, оскільки, починаючи з XVIII століття, питання відрубності української мови від російської і польської стало не просто питанням самостійності українського народу, а питанням боротьби за існування української нації й української культури як такої.

*Ключові слова:* українська мова, літературна мова, лінгвоцид, українська нація, мовна освіта, народний дух.

Крышко А. Ю.

Отклик идей Вильгельма фон Гумбольдта в контексте проблем развития украинского языка в Украине XIX – начала XX века

В свете борьбы за существование национальной культуры, которая длится в Украине начиная с XVIII века, мы рассмотрим вопросы развития украинского языка и состояния языкового образования в сложных условиях политики этнокультурной ассимиляции в XIX – нач. XX века, а также вопросы влияния идей немецкого мислителя В. Гумбольдта на развитие украинского языка в государстве XIX – нач. XX века и на сознание украинских интеллигентов,

которые боролись за право на существование родного языка и национальной культуры. В контексте исследуемой проблемы нас прежде всего интересуют этнолингвистические идеи В. Гумбольдта, поскольку, начиная с XVIII века, вопрос обособленности украинского языка от русского и польского стал не просто вопросом независимости украинского народа, а вопросом борьбы за существование украинской нации и украинской культуры как таковой.

*Ключевые слова:* украинский язык, литературный язык, лингвоцид, украинская нация, языковое образование, народный дух.

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