OSVITA

Ukrainian Bilingual Education

Edited by MANOLY R. LUPUL

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THE ALBERTA LIBRARY IN UKRAINIAN CANADIAN STUDIES

A series of original works and reprints relating to Ukrainians in Canada, issued under the editorial supervision of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Cover photograph: Ukrainian Bilingual Classroom, St. Martin Separate
                     Elementary School, Edmonton, Alberta.

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Preface

This volume contains the proceedings of the first conference in Canada on research into Ukrainian-language education, especially English-Ukrainian bilingual education. The conference, organized by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, was held at the University of Alberta in November 1982.

The lot of teachers of second languages in Canada is not an enviable one. Because of North America's long heritage of neglect, indifference or outright hostility toward second-language learning, those who teach and those who learn second languages have always encountered tremendous difficulties. The North American environment has discouraged enrollment and the result has been an avalanche of problems that affects every aspect of the educational process—teacher education, teaching materials, transportation, the size of the support staff and the work of personnel in departments of education. Teachers who persevere therefore need all the help they can get, and this volume will hopefully assist them.

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies has always been close to Ukrainian-language education—especially to Ukrainian bilingual education—and a conference on Ukrainian education was therefore inevitable. The only question was its scope and form. Would it include the private *ridna-shkola* sector? Would it concentrate on language or attempt more? Would its orientation be practical, providing a kind of two-day inservice on the most successful classrooms, teaching techniques and teachers? Or would the

emphasis be on what has been learned about Ukrainian education
from graduate studies and other research at the university level? In
the end, the decision to hold a research-based conference was the
result of representations by Mrs. Olenka Bilash, Ukrainian
Language Consultant, Strathcona County Board of Education, and
Mr. John Sokolowski, Ukrainian Language Curricular Assistant,
Alberta Education, both of whom, along with Mrs. Patricia
Sembaliuk, Ukrainian Language Consultant, Edmonton Public
School Board, agreed to serve on the programme committee of the
conference. As committee chairman, I wish to thank them for their
invaluable assistance. In our discussions, it was evident early that
the stress would be on language education, with the focus on
bilingual classrooms, where most of the recent research has been
conducted.

The conference had three main purposes. First, it was concerned
to present the results of research about Ukrainian-language
education at the pre-university level. Secondly, it sought to provide
researchers into Ukrainian-language education with an opportunity
to interact—especially important since none of the researchers could
actually pursue *scholarly* careers in their areas of special interest.
And thirdly, the conference hopefully would indicate topics in
Ukrainian-language education that might be researched in the
future.

The conference was held on the campus of Alberta's oldest
university—a public institution of higher learning in a province
which almost seventy years earlier had cancelled the certificates of
teachers of Ukrainian in the large Ukrainian bloc settlement east of
Edmonton. How times have changed! The opportunities to provide
children with a bilingual and bicultural education are now
practically unlimited, thanks to an amendment to the provincial
school law in 1971. Ukrainian bilingual and bicultural education in
Alberta, reintroduced in 1974 by the Ukrainian community in
Edmonton, is on the verge of being surpassed by developments in
Manitoba since 1979, and there are encouraging signs that
Saskatoon's Catholic school system is about to join the movement
on the prairies. It is, however, the task of professionals to ensure
that the bilingual-bicultural experience is the best possible, and for

that it must be firmly rooted in facts rather than rhetoric. And even unpleasant facts, if certain, can be useful in effecting the changes needed to bring about improvement.

M.R. Lupul
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
December 1984

Contributors

Olenka Bilash	Ukrainian Language Consultant, Strathcona County Board of Education, Sherwood Park, Alberta.
Roma Chumak	Doctoral Candidate, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto.
Jim Cummins	Assistant Professor, Department of Curriculum, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto.
Donald J. Dawson	Doctoral Candidate, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, Edmonton.
Barbara De Reuyter	Researcher, Access Media Alberta, Edmonton.
Anna Eliuk	Former Language Curricular Assistant (Ukrainian), Alberta Education, Edmonton.
Eugene Ewanyshyn	Ukrainian Language Consultant, Edmonton Separate School Board.
Andrij Hornjatkevyč	Assistant Professor and Coordinator, Ukrainian Language Resource Centre, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton.
Wsevolod W. Isajiw	Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto.

Dmytro James Jacuta	Former Director, Summer Camp Osvita, Ukrainian Bilingual Association, Edmonton.
Olga Kuplowska	Manager, Office of Project Research, TV Ontario, Toronto.
Julian C. Megley-Blazuk	Language Arts/Drama Consultant, Edmonton Public School Board.
Mykola Pavliuc	Associate Professor, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Toronto.
Natalia Pylypiuk	Lecturer, Department of Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
Patricia Sembaliuk	Ukrainian Language Consultant, Edmonton Public School Board.
John (Iván) Sokolowski	Curricular Assistant (Ukrainian), Alberta Education, Edmonton.
Oleh Wolowyna	Population Laboratories, Department of Biostatics, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
Oksana A. Wynnyckyj	Teacher, Dufferin-Peel Separate School Board, Mississauga, Ontario.

Literary Ukrainian and Its Dialects

Mykola Pavliuc

This paper examines such age-old questions as 1) the meaning of "literary language," "dialect" and "dialect groups," 2) the mutual interaction and influence of literary language and dialects and 3) the language of students and teachers. Although the living language of Ukraine has a nation-wide basis common to all speakers (whether in or outside Ukraine), various localities create local variants of the national language, which are known as dialects. The latter do not necessarily transgress the mutual understanding and unity of Ukrainian as a national language—a unity which manifests itself in the higher form of literary Ukrainian—but local dialects can affect the use of the literary language.

Any literary language is a standardized form of popular speech which, in written and spoken forms, serves the cultural life of a nation. It is the language of government organizations, the press and other mass media, science, literature, education and theatre. It is formed over time through the works of prominent literary artists—authors, poets and critics. It is characterized by established grammatical rules for word usage, sentence structure and orthoepic and orthographic norms. A literary language consists of standardized grammatical forms, pronunciation and orthography that are obligatory for all who wish to be considered "educated" in that language. Even so, a literary language has both written and spoken varieties with differing styles and genres, which allows even popular or colloquial speech to enrich it.

The three types of dialect groupings in Ukrainian are:

1. *hovirka* (local dialect), which is the most narrow of the territorial language formations. It is the local language geographically of one or several villages;

2. *hovir* (regional dialect), which is a wider territorial language formation that incorporates a group of local dialects on the basis of common phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic features;

3. *narichchia* (a group of dialects), which is the largest dialect grouping formed on the basis of[1] common lexical, phonetic and grammatical characteristics.

Ukraine is commonly divided into three *narichchia*: Northern, Southwestern and Southeastern.[2] The Northern *narichchia* incorporates three territorial dialects: Eastern Polissian, Central Polissian and Western Polissian (which continues across the Polish border). The Southwestern *narichchia* incorporates eight territorial dialects: Volhynian (spilling into Poland), Middle Dniester River, Sian River, Northern Carpathian (Boiko), Transcarpathian (with some villages in Romania, near the river Tysa), West Carpathian (Lemko) (with groups in Czechoslovakia and Poland), Hutsul (with groups in Romania) and Bukovynian-Pokuttian (with some groups in Romania). The Southwestern dialects contain the most archaic characteristics of early periods in the development of Ukrainian at all levels—the lexical, phonetic and grammatical. The Southeastern *narichchia* encompasses the largest part of Ukraine (the central and eastern) and incorporates three territorial dialects: Middle Dnieper, Slobozhan and Steppe (with some groups in Romanian Dobrogea). The Southeastern dialects have the largest number of common features with the literary language in their phonetic system, grammatical structure and lexical components, and it is from them that the Ukrainian national language has been derived.

At first, however, the new Ukrainian language appeared in several variants: Eastern, Galician, Bukovynian and Transcarpathian.[3] In Eastern Ukraine its appearance was linked with the names of Ivan Kotliarevsky (1769–1838), Hryhorii Kvitka-Osnovianenko (1778–1843), Petro Hulak-Artemovsky (1790–1865), Ievhen Hrebinka (1812–1848) and Taras Shevchenko (1814–1865). In Galicia the literary language was based on the dialects of the Middle Dniester

region, and dated from the appearance in 1837 of the almanac *Rusalka Dnistrova* in Budapest, published by Markiian Shashkevych, Iakiv Holovatsky and Ivan Vahylevych. However, it was Ivan Franko (1856–1916) who probably did most to develop the new Ukrainian literary language in Western Ukraine. Even though he himself wrote in the Galician variant, he supported the unity of a language based on the Southeastern dialects of the Middle Dnieper region. In 1907 he wrote:

> Everyone who attempts to write in this language has to begin with Kotliarevsky, Kvitka, Shevchenko, Marko Vovchok, Nechui-Levytsky—has to see that here, in the language of these authors, lies the basis of that variety of the literary language which must become the literary standard for all Ukrainians.[4]

In Bukovyna and Transcarpathia a local variant of the literary language was based, on the one hand, on the local Bukovynian, Pokuttian, and Hutsul dialects, and on the Transcarpathian dialects, on the other. In works by Iurii Fedkovych (1838–1888) and Marko Cheremshyna (1874–1927), Hutsul and to some extent Bukovynian characteristics are reflected. The language in the works of Vasyl Stefanyk (1871–1936) reflects the Pokuttian dialect, whereas that of S. Iarychevsky (1871–1918) and Olha Kobylianska (1865–1942) is Bukovynian. In Transcarpathia, under the influence of the Russian literary language and the Carpathian dialects, the old Ukrainian language was transformed into a special variant that lasted until the 1940s, with the morphological principle of writing the etymological *ô, ê, î, û, ŷ* and *ъ* instead of the new **i** (in closed syllables) being kept until the Second World War, as in the works of Oleksander Dukhnovych (1803–1865) and Iulii Borshosh-Kumiatsky (1905–1978). Of course, it must be remembered that for long periods of time the populace and language in Ukraine were subjected to Russification in the east and to Polonization, Magyarization, Germanization and Romanization in the west, which greatly hampered the development of a literary language.

Thus today's Ukrainian literary language developed on the basis of local dialects and continues to interact with them. On the one hand, the literary language absorbs into itself the most typical features of living popular regional dialects, thus enriching and refining itself constantly. Examples in the works of Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky of regional words which today are widespread in literary Ukrainian

include: *полони́на* (mountain-valley), смере́ка (fir tree), *флоя́ра* (shepherd flute), *трембі́та* (trembita), *ле́ґінь* (young man), *криса́ня* (hat), *кепта́р* (short sleeveless fur vest worn by the Hutsuls), *че́рес* (wide belt). On the other hand, elements of the literary language are also constantly absorbed into the dialects, which gradually lose their importance and thus draw closer to the literary language.

Even though the process of erasing the differences between a literary language and its dialects is generally very complex and slow, archaic dialectical forms are gradually replaced by popular forms of speech. And so

> instead of the dialectical *штири* (four), the literary *чотири* is used;
>
> instead of *десік*—*десять* (ten);
>
> instead of *весіле*—*весілля* (wedding);
>
> instead of *кунь*—*кінь* (horse);
>
> instead of *стул*—*стіл* (table) and
>
> instead of *вул*—*віл* (ox).

Still, students continue to come to school with some of the peculiar dialectical features below, which the teacher must try to overcome:

1) In some students one hears the hard verb ending *-т* in the third person singular and plural:

> *Вона сиди́т* instead of the literary *Вона сидить* (She sits);
>
> *Він усе гово́рит* instead of *Він завжди говорить* (He is always talking);
>
> *Вони про́сят* instead of *Вони просять* (They ask).

2) Some students use neither the hard nor soft ending in the third person plural. For example:

> *Вони хо́де до української школи* instead of the literary *Вони ходять до української школи* (They go to Ukrainian school);
>
> *Вони про́се* instead of *Вони просять* (They ask).

The hard ending *-т* and the zero ending instead of the literary *-ть* is

especially evident in the language of students whose parents' language is derived from the Southwestern dialectical area.

3)   Very often in the endings of the dative and locative cases of adjectives, and in some pronouns and ordinal numerals of the feminine gender, students do not use the final *-й*:

> *На висо́кі горі́* instead of *На висо́кій горі́* (On a high mountain);
>
> *Я дав її́ книгу* instead of *Я дав їй книгу* (I gave her the book);
>
> *Зустрінемося о тре́ті годині* instead of *Зустрінемося о тре́тій годині* (We will meet at three o'clock).

Such forms are especially widespread in Hutsul and Bukovynian-Pokuttian dialects in the Southwestern group.

4)   From time to time one can hear the remains of the archaic analytical form of the future.

> *Я буду роби́в* instead of *Я буду роби́ти* (I will work);
>
> *Я буду ба́чив* instead of *Я буду бачити* (I will see);
>
> *Ми будемо сиді́ли (в)дома* instead of *Ми будемо сиді́ти вдома* (We will stay home).

Such forms are especially present in the language of older people whose dialects are derived from the Podillian and Middle Dnieper areas.

5)   Quite often students use the remains of the old dual form in feminine and neuter nouns. For example:

> *дві руці́* (two hands), *дві нозі́* (two feet);
>
> *дві сестрі́* (two sisters), *дві кни́жці* (two books);
>
> *дві відрі́* (two pails), *три кімна́ті* (three rooms).

This dialectical feature, widespread in Hutsul, Bukovynian-Pokuttian and Galician dialects, is completely absent among Southeastern and Northern dialects. And even though the Ukrainian orthography of 1929 permits dual forms, in practice contemporary literary Ukrainian has replaced the dual forms with plural forms but with the stress of the genetive case singular. For instance:

дві руки́ (two hands), *дві ноги́* (two feet);

дві сестри́ (two sisters), *дві кни́жки* (two books);

два відра́ (two pails), *три кімна́ти* (two rooms).

6) The next problem—construction with numerals—is found among students and adults, and even among some teachers. In Ukrainian, the numeral *один* (one) governs the nominative case of nouns in the singular. The numerals *два [дві]* (two), *три* (three), *чотири* (four) govern the nominative case plural, and numerals from *п'ять* (five) to *двадцять* (twenty) govern the genitive case plural. And so we have:

один стіл (one table), *один брат* (one brother), *один олівець* (one pencil);

одна рука (one hand), *одна голова* (one head), *одна сестра* (one sister), *одна учениця* (one female student);

одно село (one village), *одно перо* (one pen), *одно поле* (one field), *одно море* (one ocean);

два столи́ (two tables), *два олівці́* (two pencils), *два бра́ти* (two brothers), *два чоловіки* (two men);

дві руки́ (two hands), *дві голови́* (two heads), *дві сестри́* (two sisters), *дві учени́ці* (two female students);

три [чотири] столи́ (three [four] tables), *три олівці́* (three pencils), *три бра́ти* (three brothers);

чотири чоловіки (four men), *п'ять-двадцять братів* (five-twenty brothers), *п'ять сестер* (five sisters), *п'ять учени́ць* (five (f.) students).

In coping with these and similar numerical word combinations, one must keep in mind that with numerals *два (дві)*, *три* and *чотири* the nominative plural is used, with the stress of the genitive singular. With compound numerals—both cardinal and ordinal—the situation is more complex. How does one say 121, 222 or 325 in Ukrainian?

I am going with one hundred and twenty-one students (pl.) or

I am going with two hundred and twenty-two students (pl.) or

I am going with three hundred and twenty-five students (pl.).

Я йду зі **сто** *два́дцять одни́м студе́нтом* (m.I. sg.) or

Я йду зі **сто** *два́дцять одніє́ю студе́нткою* (f.I. sg.) or

Я йду з **дві́сті** *два́дцять двома́ студе́нтами* (I.pl.) or

Я йду з **три́ста** *два́дцять п'ятьма́* (or *п'ятьома́) студе́нт*ами (I.pl.)

Quite often, unfortunately, one can also hear the following numeric combinations:

Я маю два́дцять **оди́н** *тисяч "кеш"* (I have twenty-one thousand cash) or

Я дав два́дцять **два** *ти́сячі "кеш"* (I gave twenty-two thousand cash)

instead of the correct:

Я ма́ю двадцять **одну́** *ти́сячу* (f.A.sg.) or

Я дав [заплати́в] два́дцять **дві** *ти́сячі готі́вкою* (A.pl.).

To master the usage and declension of numerals, especially compound numerals, teachers and students should use numerals daily, especially the ordinals. One helpful suggestion is to refer to the birth or death date of an author:

Коли народився Тарас Шевченко? When was Taras Shevchenko born? or

В якому ро́ці народився Іван Франко? In what year was Ivan Franko born?

The answer can be stated in two ways:

Тарас Шевченко народився 9-го березня 1814 р. (... ти́сяча вісімсо́т чотирна́дцятого ро́ку) (m.G.sg.). (Taras Shevchenko was born on 9 March 1814.)

Іван Франко народився в 1856 р. (...в ти́сяча вісімсо́т п'ятдеся́т шо́стому ро́ці) (m.L.sg.). (Ivan Franko was born in 1856).

In the second example the preposition (**в**) governs the locative case and therefore the last digit number plus the noun **рік** (year) should

be used with the locative case. Students and at times even teachers like to use the first digit/number in the accusative case after the preposition (**в**) and the last digit number in the genitive case. And thus

> Shevchenko was born ...в *ти́сячу (A.sg.)* вісімсо́т *чотирна́дцятого ро́ку* (m.G.sg.) instead of the correct answer ...в *ти́сяча вісімсо́т* **чотирна́дцятому** *ро́ці* (m.L.sg.).

When using compound numerals, it is important to decline only the last digit number. Therefore, on posing the above question in a construction without a preposition *(Коли народився...?)*, the last digit number of the compound numeral should be used in the genitive case, having it agree in gender, number and case with the dependent noun **рік** (year), but in the preposition construction *(В* *якому* **ро́ці** *народився...?)*, the last digit number of the compound numeral should be used in the locative case, agreeing in gender, number and case with the noun **рік** (year).

Besides the above errors, which are basically influenced by the dialects of the children's parents or grandparents, there is a tendency in the English environment to use English words and English sentence structure:

> *Кинь папір у* **га́рбеч** (garbech). (Throw the paper into the garbage.)
>
> *Пішов до* **што́ру** (shtoru). (He went to the store.)
>
> *Стрінемося на* **ко́рнері** (korneri). (We'll meet on the corner.)

Sometimes the student translates directly from the English into Ukrainian. For example:

> **Відки** *ти прийшов* **з**? (Where did you come **from**?)

Some parents insist that students be taught the language spoken in the home, because the French in Quebec teach the colloquial form used in Quebec and not the language spoken in France. To accept this view is to negate everything that has been achieved to date in the standardization of literary Ukrainian.

How, then, does a teacher correct the students' language? Does one say: "Don't speak that way because it is incorrect. Say it thus..."? Generally speaking, there are two ways to proceed. One can either ignore the students' language and speak correctly all the time, using literary words and correct pronunciation with constant repetition until the students replace the dialectal forms with the appropriate literary language. Or one can correct the students' language immediately and continue doing so until they stop using the dialectal forms.

The first way works best in a Ukrainian environment where Ukrainian is spoken all day. In a non-Ukrainian environment, however, where children speak English most of the time and attend Ukrainian school only for brief periods, the second method is best, provided the correction is done in a tactful manner so as not to humiliate or embarrass the children in the eyes of their peers. And provided also that the teacher is not only fluent in the literary language, but also has a good knowledge of Ukrainian dialects and their basic features.

Finally, it is important to stress that teachers should not only teach the Ukrainian literary language in school, but they should maintain its purity by defending it against contamination by unnecessary words—dialectal as well as foreign.

Notes

1. F.T. Zhylko, *Narysy z dialektolohii ukrainskoi movy* (Outline of the Dialectology of the Ukrainian Language) (2nd ed.; Kiev 1966), 4.
2. Ibid., 52–62.
3. Ibid., 22–6.
4. I. Franko, "Literaturna mova i diialekty," *Tvory* ("Literary Language and Dialects," *Works*), vol. 16 (Kiev 1955), 337.

English Calques in Canadian Ukrainian

Andrij Hornjatkevyč

A calque may be defined as a copy of a phenomenon of one language in another language. Most commonly, calques are loan translations of which biblical phrases may be the best known examples. From the standpoint of English or Ukrainian it makes little sense to speak of a "holy of holies" or "canticle of canticles" (*sviataia sviatykh* or *pisnia pisen*); they are literal translations of Hebrew *qodeš qodašim* or *šir haširim.* In a bilingual environment it is not surprising that languages in contact tend to influence each other, and the situation of Ukrainian vis-à-vis English in Canada is therefore typical. Calques can be found in all traditional areas of the grammar of a language: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and stylistics, although the amount of interference may vary greatly from area to area, and indeed from speaker to speaker or situation to situation.

Phonology

Although there are areas of overlap between Ukrainian and English phonetic inventories, there seem to be even greater areas of divergence. To put it in rather impressionistic terms, Ukrainian and English sound very differently. As English speakers try to master the Ukrainian phonological inventory it is natural for them to substitute the closest English sound for the required Ukrainian one. The available English inventory of vowel phonemes is the following:

ᴛ ɪ ē ɛ æ ɑ ə ɒ ō ᴜ ū

The required Ukrainian phonetic inventory is:

i y   e   a o   u

Thus there may seem to be a correspondence between these two systems:

ᴛ ɪ ē ɛ æ ɑ ə ɒ ō ᴜ ū

i y   e   a o   u

Such a comparison, however, is misleading on two counts. In English, vowel length is phonemic (beat - bit [bīt] - [bit]), while in Ukrainian this feature does not apply to vowels. Secondly, the above scheme deals with phonemes that have strikingly different allophones in the language under discussion. This problem was first examined empirically by V. H. Shatukh, and although her measurements were made of a British variant of English (one that would play almost no role in Anglo-Ukrainian interference in Canada), her conclusions nevertheless are quite valid for our discussion. Her $F_1:F_2$ plots of Ukrainian vowel phonemes can be superimposed on similar plots of North American English, e.g., those of G. E. Peterson and H. L. Barney (1952). The results would clearly show that there is almost no area of overlap on such a plot between the vowel phonemes of both languages (Hornjatkevyč, 1976, 68). Both high vowels are raised, while the remaining ones are retracted.

Stressed vowels are perceived as long and are therefore diphthongized, and this process is particularly noticeable in word-final position (independent of stress). One may hear such forms as [ĺúʷbĺúʷ] or [xóʷčuʷ] instead of standard Ukrainian [ĺublú] or [xɔ́ču]. As in English, back vowels are pronounced with greater rounding than would be normal in Ukrainian.

In consonantal articulation the following shifts are observed:

a)   Word-initial prevocalic voiceless stops become aspirated: [pʰɒn], [tʰɒm] [kʰoʷmúʷ] for standard [pan], [tam] and [kɔmú].

b)   Alveolar articulation of obstruents that would have dental pronunciation in standard Ukrainian occurs. (This process is most pronounced with stops and nasals and less

with fricatives. The lateral also becomes more velarized.)

c) The rolled dental [r] is replaced by a voiced retroflex approximant [ɹ].

d) Palatal consonants ([č], [ʒ], [š] and [ž]) acquire a greater degree of palatalization than in standard Ukrainian.

e) Many speakers, though they seem to be in a minority, exhibit a syncretism of [h] and [x].

A more significant syncretism is the inability to distinguish between words ending in a high vowel, and those ending in a high vowel plus the homoorganic glide. Although such syncretisms raise few problems for the back vowel because ambiguities can be easily resolved from the context, the front-vowel situation presents numerous problems, particularly for the teacher who must teach the proper inflectional endings.

Lexicon

While some grammatical categories (conjunctions, prepositions) seem to be relatively immune from calques, others (verbs, adjectives and especially nouns) show evidence of their strong penetration. In the case of verbs the English root is almost always verbalized with the suffix- $\frac{y}{\text{ю}}$ ва-.That this particular suffix is used is hardly surprising; it is a very productive one and is used in most instances when a foreign verb is included in the standard language. Given the presence of *друкувати* (to print) or *нікелювати* (to cover with nickel) in literary Ukrainian, it is not surprising that **fiksuváty** (to repair) or **rajzuváty** (to raise) were calqued using the same suffix (Royick, 1965, 71, 90; Zhluktenko, 1964, 151).

Adjectival calques are not particularly numerous, but such as occur fall into two categories. In the first (as in the case of verbal borrowings), an adjectival suffix with a gender-number-case ending is added, e.g., **gubyrmán's'kyj** (governmental). In the other group, one finds a few adjectives that are used without the adjectival suffix (and ending), e.g., **sóri** (sorry) (Royick, 1965, 75, 93).

The greatest number of lexical calques can be found in the noun category. Here too the noun might not undergo modification during

the calquing process, but may be left intact and in actual practice behave as a masculine hard-stem noun. Such is the case with **kvódyr** (quarter), **májnyr** (miner) or **rent** (rent) (Royick, 1965, 83, 86, 90, Zhluktenko 1964, 129, 133, 141). If the original English noun were used mainly in the plural, the borrowing would also take the plural **-и** suffix, e.g., **róbury** (rubbers) and **štýcy** (United States) (Royick, 1965, 90, 96). Where the borrowed noun designated a female person, the ending **-a** would be added, as in **nórsa** (nurse) (Royick, 1965, 87; Zhluktenko, 1964, 136). Some nouns, however, acquire a feminine ending for no immediate reason: **májna** (mine) or **járda** (yard) (Royick, 1965: 86, 79; Zhluktenko, 1964, 133).

In recent times, internationalisms have been incorporated as calques and used with their English meanings. Some such borrowings have a different denotation in standard Ukrainian, e.g., *контрибуція* (for contribution) means "wartime indemnity," while *полюція* (for pollution) means "involuntary (nocturnal) emission of semen."

The next category of nouns are not calques in the sense above, but they are still part of the same process. As in all languages, there are many English words which are ambiguous, i.e., they have several shades of meaning. One is likely to mistranslate them when rendering them in Ukrainian in Canada. "To ask" can be translated either as *просити* or *(с)питати*, depending whether "to request" or "to enquire" is meant. As a result of this ambiguity in English, one may hear a Ukrainian sentence like

(1)   *Я спитала її дати мені книжку.*
Faulty statements of the type

(2)   *Фірма "Крайслер" згубила* NN *мільйонів долярів минулого року.*

are due to a mistranslation of "lose."

Morphology

The influence of English morphology can be seen in two areas. As some English nouns would be borrowed into Ukrainian, the plural suffix might be occluded during the calquing process, and then the Ukrainian plural ending might be added. This accounts for such

forms as **kúkisy** (cookies) or **štýcy** (United States) (Royick, 1965, 83, 96).

While both Ukrainian and English are inflecting languages, in the latter this process has been reduced to a minimum. It is not surprising, therefore, that certain Ukrainian endings tend to be dropped or that the noun is not declined. The area where this case-ending elimination process is most pronounced is in the vocative. Since there is no distinctive vocative in English, one frequently hears the nominative in place of the vocative in Ukrainian: *Іван!* instead of *Іване, Леся!* instead of *Лесю, Ніна!* instead of *Ніно* and *Олег!* instead of *Олегу.*

Another pattern seems to be establishing itself where toponyms are involved. Not only in conversational (colloquial) situations, but even on the pages of the press one can frequently find instances where local toponyms are left uninflected. This would be understandable with place-name endings in -u, -y, -i or even -e, which render them uninflectable in Ukrainian, but the process is extended even to names ending in -o or a consonant. Thus one hears (and reads) such forms as *з/до Вегревіл* rather than *з/до Вегревілю* (from/to Vegreville), *від Тандер-Бей* rather than *від Тандер-Бею* (from Thunder Bay) and even *в Торонто* rather than *в Торонті* (in Toronto) (meaning locative).

Syntax[2]

Many of the preceding calques could be considered minor. Foreign accents—whether from neighbouring or non-neighbouring languages—are widely known and, in some instances, even socially acceptable. A laissez-faire attitude to lexical and phraseological borrowings is taken when one searches for *le mot juste* to get *ad rem.*

The teacher, however, may frequently encounter children in the classroom who have a most acceptable pronunciation and command of morphology, but who will utter sentences like

(3)   *Це є двадцять п'ять долярів.*

(4)   (The price is twenty-five dollars.)

The individual words may be correct but the whole is wrong because English deep structure is used for Ukrainian surface

structure. Such syntactic calques take many shapes and they warrant extensive study. Here only a few representative types are examined.

Lexically conditioned syntactic calques. Often when one word is mistranslated the entire sentence acquires an incorrect structure. Let us examine two mistranslations of the verb "to get":

(5)   *Вона дістала простуду.* (She got a cold.)

This verb may indeed be translated by *дістати* (a transitive verb), but its direct object will usually be marked [+ material]. Consequently, a native speaker would have rephrased this sentence as:

(6)   *Вона простудилася.*

Another example can be the sentence:

(7)   *Він дістав дуже сердитий.* (He got very angry.)

The structure above is unacceptable because the verb requires a direct object, whether expressed or understood from context. It is ironic that the correct verb here has the same stem, only without the *до/ді-* prefix. This, however, is an inchoative verb which requires a complement in the instrumental case:

(8)   *Він став сердитим.*

As above, a still better structure would be purely verbal:

(9)   *Він розсердився.*

A political campaign letter had a similar error:

(10)   N *учив школу в Інісфрі.*

This is a verbatim translation from:

(11)   N taught school in Innisfree.

The English structure is shown in tree diagram (1), while the required Ukrainian structure is shown in diagram (2).

(1)   "N taught school in Innisfree"

```
                    S
        ┌───────────┴───────────────────┐
       NP                               VP
        │                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        N                   VP                     NP
        │              ┌─────┴─────┐          ┌─────┴─────┐
        N             Vₜ          Nₐ          P           N
        │              │           │          │           │
        N           taught      school        in      Innisfree
        N            учив        школу         в        Інісфрі
```

(2)   "N учив у школі в Інісфрі"
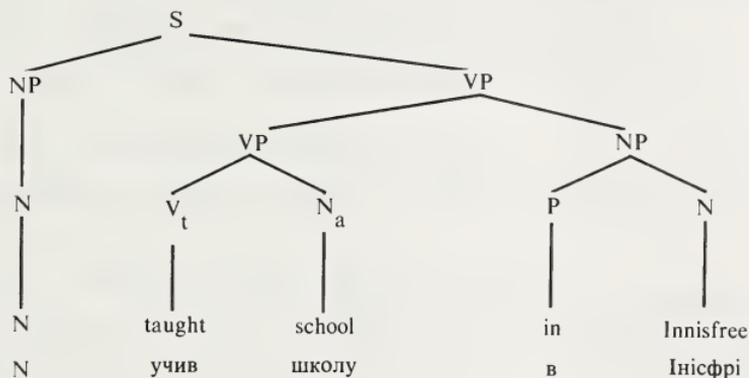
```
                    S
        ┌───────────┴──────────────────────────┐
       NP                                      VP
        │                    ┌──────────────────┴────────┐
        N                   VP                           NP
        │                    │          ┌────────────────┴────────┐
        N                   Vₜ         NP                         NP
        │                    │     ┌────┴────┐              ┌──────┴──────┐
        N                  учив    P         N              P             N
        │                         │          │              │             │
        N                  учив    у        школі           в          Інісфрі
```
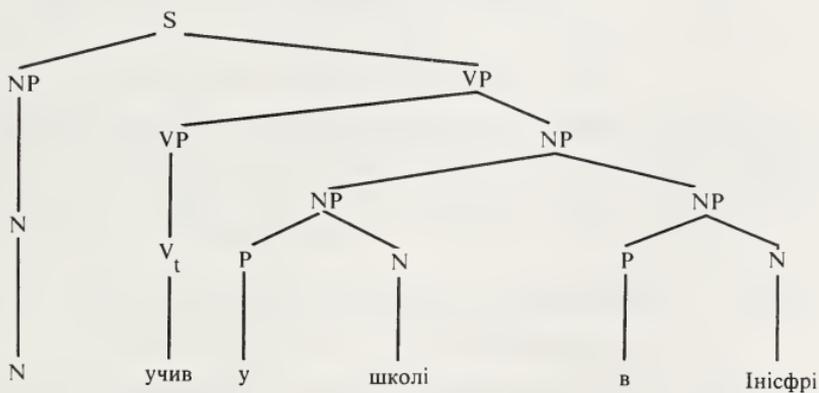
(3) "We had our pictures taken today"
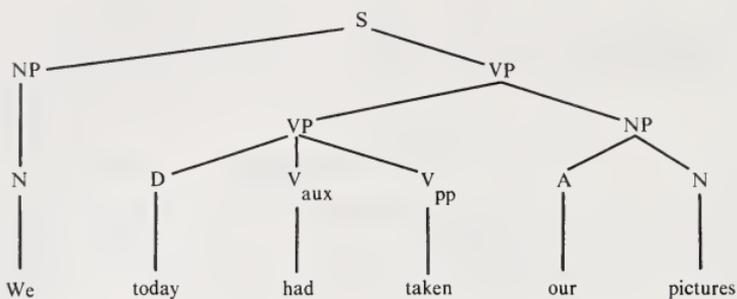
(4) "Ми мали наші фотографії зняті сьогодні."
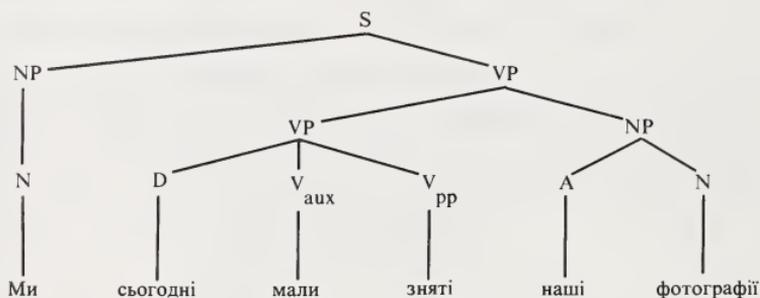
(5) "З нас сьогодні зняли фотогрфії."
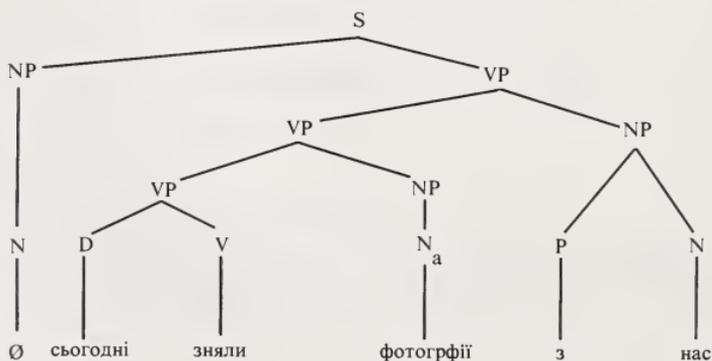
Passives. As the well-known saw *пасивний стан не вживається українською мовою* (the passive tense is not used in Ukrainian) implies, Ukrainian is much more reluctant to use the passive voice than is English. But when a speaker tries to follow an English passive pattern in Ukrainian, gross errors can result. The sentence

(12)   *Ми мали наші фотографії [зняті] сьогодні.*

is an almost word-for-word translation of

(13)   We had our pictures taken today.

It can be argued that this sentence is a transformation of

(14)   Someone took pictures of us today.

The structure of the first sentence is given in diagram (3) and of the Ukrainian in diagram (4). The similarity of both is immediately apparent. The thought, however, could be expressed in standard Ukrainian either in the impersonal sentence (cf. diagram (5)):

(15)   *З нас сьогодні зняли фотографії.*

or by means of the passive predicate in *-но/то-*:

(16)   *З нас сьогодні знято фотографії.*

Expressions of time. Many speakers (even with a fair degree of linguistic sophistication) experience difficulties with time expressions that in English use the preposition "on." This can be illustrated by the following phrase:

(17)   *Як ми приїхали до школи на перший день.* . . . (When we arrived at school on the first day. . . .)

Here "on" was translated verbatim (with what, in other circumstances, would have been a noun in the correct case), rather than the construction in the genitive case without a preposition:

(18)   *Як ми приїхали до школи першого дня.* . . .

The next calque is very frequent with dates. On the radio one may hear announcements like:

(19)   *Концерт відбудеться на сьомого листопада.* (The concert will take place on 7 November.)

Tree diagrams (6) and (7) are representations of the English and Ukrainian sentences respectively, and the similarity becomes quite noticeable. The correct Ukrainian form is:

(21)   *Концерт відбудеться сьомого листопада.* (cf. tree diagram (8))

Expressions of age. Closely related to time expressions are age expressions. Let us consider the following:

(22)   *Як він був двадцять років, він жив у Саскатуні.*

The first part of the sentence is clearly a calque of the English:

(23)   When he was twenty [years old] he lived in Saskatoon.

The virtual identity of the structures of these sentences can be seen in diagram (9). The only concession to a more Ukrainian form is that *років* has been added, while "old" was left untranslated. A native speaker of Ukrainian would have phrased it as follows:

(24)   *Як йому було двадцять років, він жив у Саскатуні.* (cf. diagram (10))

Instrumental/sociative constructions. Both the instrumental and sociative functions are expressed by the preposition "with" in English and by the instrumental case in Ukrainian. Although the matter is somewhat more complicated in Ukrainian, the noun in the instrumental case is or is not preceded by the preposition *з* depending on whether it is inanimate or animate. One frequently hears sentences of the type:

(25)   *Я то написала з пером.*

This is an obvious calque of English:

(26)   I wrote that *with* a pen.

The *з* is incorrect in Ukrainian because *перо*, an inanimate noun, is the instrument by means of which an action has been performed; in

(6) "The concert will take place on 7 November."
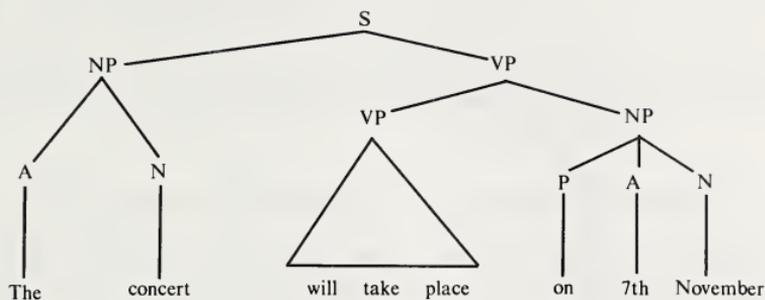
(7) "Концерт відбудеться на сьомого листопада."
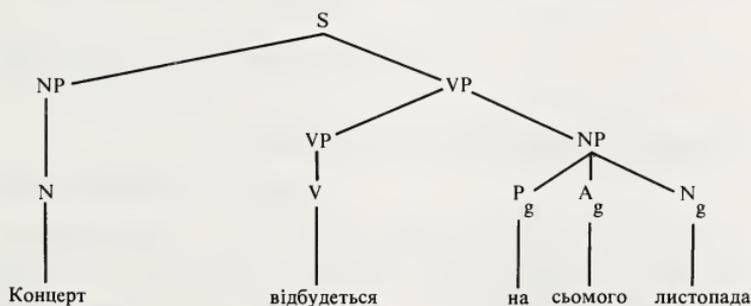
(8) "Концерт відбудеться сьомого листопада."
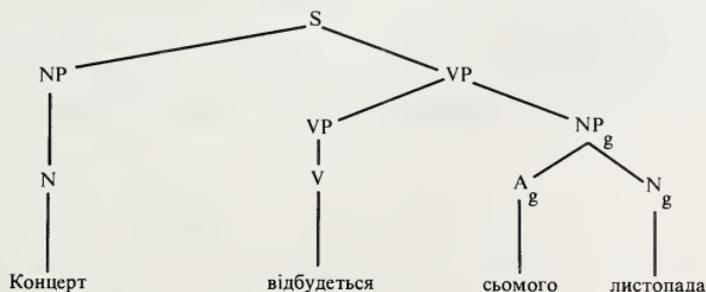
(9) "When he was twenty [years old] he lived in Saskatoon."

   "Як він був двадцять років, він жив у Саскатуні."

S
S
D   NP   VP
VP   NP
N
V
A   N   A
NP
N
VP   NP
V
P   N

When   he   was   20   (years old)   he   lived   in   Saskatoon

Як   він   був   20   років   Ø   він   жив   у   Саскатуні

(10) "Як йому було двадцять років, він жив у Саскатуні."

S
S   S
D   NP   VP   NP   VP
A   N   VP   NP
V N_d
N   VP   NP
V   P   N
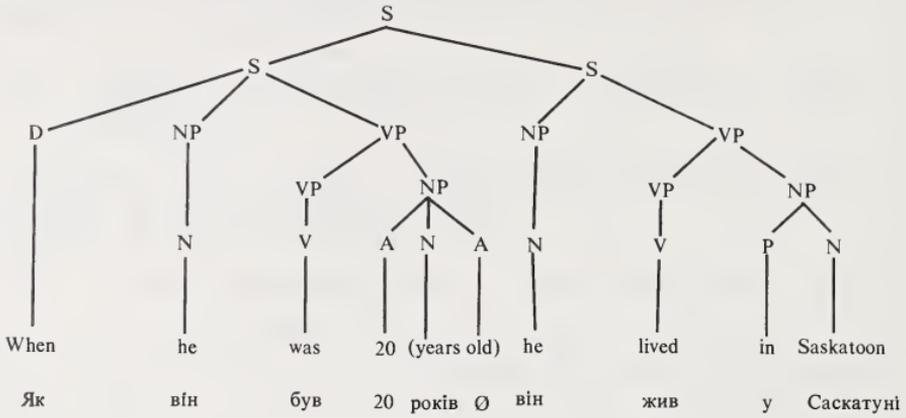
Як   20   років   було   йому   він   жив   у   Саскатуні
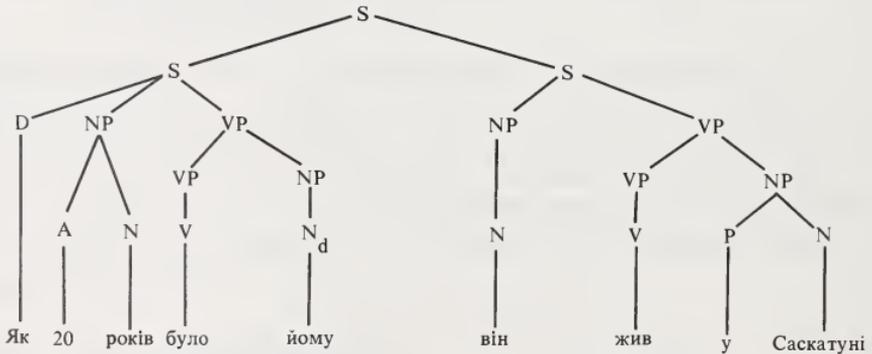
such instances, the noun is used in the instrumental case without a preposition.

(27)   *Я то написала пером.*

The preposition *з (із, зі) is* used in Ukrainian to govern a noun in the instrumental case when the noun performs a sociative function, as in

(28)   *Я то написала з Павлом.* (I wrote that with Paul.)

Prepositional constructions. In the preceding section one type of prepositional calque was examined. Although admittedly it is a difficult situation for an elementary school pupil, it represents only the tip of the iceberg. Both Ukrainian and English use prepositions to express certain relationships, but because of its atrophied inflectional system, English must place a far greater emphasis on prepositions. This may lead to calques of the type:

(30)   *Чи можемо слухати до* "*Кобзи*"?

That is

(31)   Can we listen to "Kobza"?

"Listen" is an intransitive verb, so the object must be preceded by the preposition "to." *Слухати* is transitive, so the object is direct, in the accusative case. Let us examine the VP components of both sentences (tree diagrams (11) and (12)). The standard Ukrainian form of this sentence would be

(32)   *Чи можемо слухати* "*Кобзу*"?

It is not possible to pursue this subject in greater detail in this paper. Its purpose was to highlight the problems that teachers of Ukrainian encounter. And, of course, the remedial methodology will vary with the circumstances and persons involved.

(11) Can we listen to "Kobza"?

Чи можемо слухати до "Кобзи"?
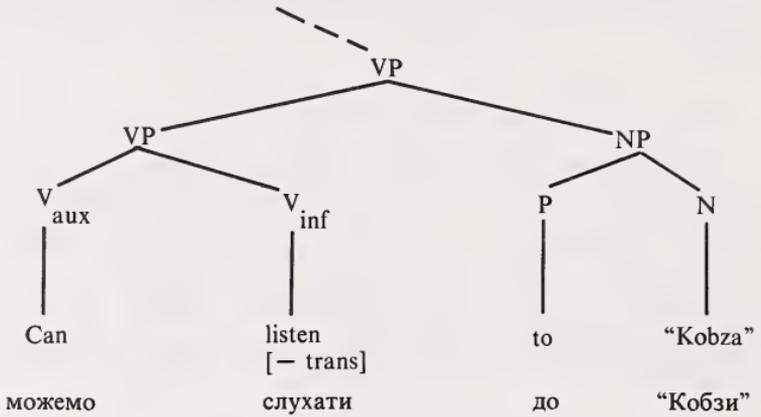
(12) Чи можемо слухати "Кобзу"?
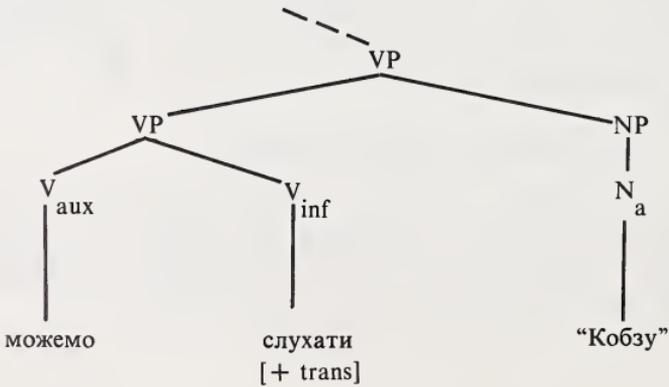
Notes

1. For a discussion of calques and loan translations, see Bloomfield (1933, 456); Gleason (1961, 397); Reformatsky (1967, 138–42); Bulakhovsky (1953, 110–30 and 1955, 99–116).
2. All examples in this section were heard or read by the author. The only modification was the omission of secondary words or phrases which did not affect the fundamental structure of a sentence.

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Ukrainian-Language Acquisition in the Immersion Classroom: Findings of a Preliminary Study

John (Iván) Sokolowski

Background to the Study

The last fifteen years have seen an expansion of second-language immersion programmes in Canada beginning with the implementation of the now famous St. Lambert experiment in 1965 (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). In Alberta this expansion has gone beyond French immersion classes to the establishment of programmes in Ukrainian, Hebrew, German and Cree. The Ukrainian bilingual programme is one of early partial immersion in which English and Ukrainian are used equally as languages of instruction.

While evaluation and documentation of French-language immersion programmes has been extensive, especially in eastern Canada (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Bruck *et al*, 1974; McInnis and Donoghue, 1976 and 1977; Swain and Lapkin, 1981), evaluation of Ukrainian immersion has been more limited (Muller *et al*, 1977; Lamont *et al*, 1978; Ewanyshyn, 1978; Chapman, 1981). The latter, moreover, have been rather wide-ranging and have not dealt specifically with the development of second-language skills, but such diverse aspects as the immersion students' English-language progress, the development of mathematics skills and attitudinal changes.

In Spanish and French immersion, other more limited individual studies in Canada and the United States have examined the development of specific aspects of second-language acquisition (Selinker *et al*, 1975; Cohen, 1976; Spilka, 1976; Plann, 1977; Connors *et al*, 1978; Politzer, 1980). In Ukrainian immersion, on the other hand, evaluations (Muller *et al*, 1977; Ewanyshyn, 1978; Lamont *et al*, 1978; Chapman, 1981) have not reported specifically on acquisition of phonology, syntax and morphology. Rather, they have limited themselves to an evaluation of progress in developing Ukrainian-language skills generally, as measured by an analysis of pretest and posttest scores on Ukrainian-language skills tests.

The importance for language teaching of individual studies where phonological, morphological and syntactic acquisition of a second language are concerned has been stressed by Tarone *et al* (1976). Until we possess a considerable body of research in these areas in a variety of second languages, we shall not be able to apply the findings confidently to classroom teaching. Indeed, by comparing child-language acquisition in various languages, Slobin (1973) has attempted to provide a set of universal principles for language acquisition from which more specific strategies might be derived, resulting finally in language-specific strategies for the acquisition of particular aspects of any given language.

Test Instrument

Testing for this study was carried out in the summer of 1981 using students of the Ukrainian bilingual programme and their parents. The test instrument consisted of twenty-five picture-stimuli, each accompanied by an oral question designed to elicit an answer in a specific grammatical case. Two separate questions, using two separate lexical items, were used to test for the development of each case ending, except for the nominative singular neuter, as explained below. The cases tested and the questions designed to elicit them are illustrated in Table 1.

All the case endings tested belong to the hard group of the first (feminine) and second (masculine and neuter) declensions. Nouns of the hard group have a stem ending in a hard (non-palatized) consonant. Soft group Ukrainian nouns have a stem ending in a palatized consonant, or jod, while the mixed group contains nouns whose stem ends in a sibilant. Data from Czech (Pačesová,

TABLE 1 Cases Tested

Case	Items	Ending
Nominative singular masculine (Nom Sg M)*	2, 11	-ø
Nominative singular feminine (Nom Sg F)	7, 24	-*a*
Nominative singular neuter (Nom Sg N)	5	-*o*
Nominative plural masculine (Nom Pl M)	13, 25	-*y*
Nominative plural feminine (Nom Pl F)	3, 8	-*y*
Nominative plural neuter (Nom Pl N)	1, 14	-*a*
Dative plural feminine (Dat Sg F)	10, 23	-*i*
Dative plural masculine (Dat Sg M)	12, 21	-*ovi*
Accusative singular feminine (Acc Sg F)	18, 22	-*u*
Accusative singular masculine—inanimate (Acc Sg M)	16, 20	-ø
Accusative singular masculine—animate (Acc Sg M)	4, 9	-*a*
Instrumental singular feminine (Ins Sg F)	15, 19	-*oju*
Instrumental singular masculine (Ins Sg M)	6, 17	-*om*

* In all other tables only the abbreviated names of the cases are given.

1979, 66) and Russian (Zakharova, 1973, 282) suggest that it is the hard group endings which are first acquired by Slavic children.

Choice of Cases to Be Tested

Nominative Singular. Questions eliciting an answer in the nominative singular case (items, 2, 11—masculine; 7, 24—feminine; 5—neuter) were included to determine whether the subjects did indeed control the nominative case of the first and second declensions. According to Zakharova, "experiments show that in order to produce forms correctly, it is very important for a child to assimilate the structure of the word in the nominative" (283). Only one neuter item was included, because it was difficult to find a second neuter lexeme of high frequency which would be familiar to the subjects from kindergarten up. As we shall see, the one neuter

item which was chosen was not all that satisfactory. Six nominative
plural forms are present, two of each gender—feminine, masculine
and neuter.

Accusative Singular. Four masculine accusative singular exam-
ples were included, two animate and two inanimate, as the two
classes of nouns are treated differently in Ukrainian. Inanimate
masculine nouns in the accusative case are generally marked by -ø,
while animates are always marked by -*a*.

Two forms of the feminine accusative singular, which take the
inflection -*u*, were also included, but no neuter accusative singular
was included, as its form is always identical to the nominative.

Instrumental Singular. No neuter instrumental was included. In
form it is identical to the masculine instrumental singular.
Moreover, it was decided that the construction with the preposition
z (with) would provide a more familiar and practical elicitation
frame for this case, the instrumental of accompaniment. The neuter
instrumental is rarely used in this sense for purely semantic reasons.

Other Cases. The other cases, nominative plural and dative
singular, were chosen to test for a hypothesized generalization by
children of the feminine -*i* ending (dative singular) and the
masculine and feminine -*y* ending (nominative plural).

Choice of Lexical Items

Care was taken to choose lexical items which children knew and
which could be easily illustrated. The items chosen are given in
Table 2.

An effort was also made to use the items in the forms most fa-
miliar to the children. Thus the diminutive forms *kotyk* (cat) and
pesyk (dog) were used, since they are more current in children's
vocabulary than the non-diminutive forms *pes* and *kit*. Moreover,
by using the diminutives we avoided the added complications of the
elliptic *e* in *pes*, which disappears in oblique cases, and the change
i--o in oblique cases of *kit* (for example, nominative—*kit*,
instrumental—*kotom*).

Although the usual ending for hard-stem masculine nouns in the
nominative singular is -ø (zero morpheme), some of the most
common masculine nouns have the ending -*o* in the nominative.
These include *tato* (dad), *batko* (father), dialectical *dido*
(grandfather), common Christian names like *Petro* (Peter), *Pavlo*

TABLE 2 Lexical Items

Question Number	Grammatical Case	Ending	Lexical Item
1	Nom Pl N	-a	avta
2	Nom Sg M	-ø	pesyk
3	Nom Pl F	-y	ryby
4	Acc Sg M (An)	-a	pesyka
5	Nom Sg N	-o	lizhko
6	Ins Sg M	-om	Sirkom
7	Nom Sg F	-a	ryba
8	Nom Pl F	-y	korovy
9	Acc Sg M (An)	-a	kotyka
10	Dat Sg F	-i	mami
11	Nom Sg M	-o	tato
12	Dat Sg M	-ovi	Burkovi
13	Nom Pl M	-y	kotyky
14	Nom Pl N	-a	lizhka
15	Ins Sg F	-oju	Oksanoiu
16	Acc Sg M (In)	-ø	podarunok
17	Ins Sg M	-om	Petrom
18	Acc Sg F	-u	rybu
19	Ins Sg F	-oju	mamoiu
20	Acc Sg M (In)	-ø	tort
21	Dat Sg M	-ovi	tatovi
22	Acc Sg F	-u	knyzhku
23	Dat Sg F	-i	babi
24	Nom Sg F	-a	korova
25	Nom Pl M	-y	pesyky

(Paul), and names for animal pets—*Sirko, Burko* (for dogs) and *Murko* (for cats). For this reason, one of the two nominative singular masculine forms used was an -*o* masculine (*tato*).

Pilot

The actual testing was preceded by a pilot which involved two children from each grade (kindergarten to grade seven) and two adults. The purposes of the pilot were:

1. to determine whether the questions were comprehensible to the younger students;

2. to determine whether the children would be able to respond to the questions posed;

3. to determine whether the test instrument could, in fact, elicit answers in the appropriate cases.

The results of the pilot indicated that:

1. the children understood the questions;
2. they were able to respond to the questions posed;
3. fluent speakers would, indeed, answer the questions using the appropriate grammatical form.

It was therefore decided that the test instrument could be used to test acquisition of noun endings in Ukrainian.

Subjects

The subjects consisted of fifty-eight children enrolled in the Ukrainian bilingual programme and thirty-one of their parents. Wherever possible, child subjects were chosen who had siblings in the same programme, so as to reduce the number of homes visited and parents tested. One parent of each child was tested, the one who, according to one's own estimate, spoke Ukrainian better.

Grade	Number of Subjects
K	6
1	7
2	7
3	9
4	8
5	8
6	6
7	7
	Total = 58

From personal knowledge of the language background of the subjects, the researcher was able to divide the child subjects into three groups according to their Ukrainian-language experience.

Type of Subject	Number of Subjects
Fluent native speakers	3
Non-fluent native speakers	2
Non-native speakers	53

The fluent native speakers had good comprehension of Ukrainian and used it with few grammatical errors. The non-fluent native speakers had learned Ukrainian at home and had good comprehension, but they made numerous mistakes when speaking. The non-native speakers came from English-speaking homes and were acquiring Ukrainian in the partial-immersion classroom.

Although most of the children were not native speakers acquiring their first language, it may be assumed that their acquisition patterns corresponded to those of native speakers in first language acquisition. Though the evidence is not conclusive, McLaughlin (1978, 211), after an extensive examination of the research, argued that a single acquisition system is utilized for both first- and second-language learning at all ages. More specifically, on the question of the acquisition of morphology, a study by Grass (1980, 135) showed that the nature of morphological marking in the learner's first language was not a significant factor in determining his morphological errors in the second language. Grass delineated three factors which played a role in determining second-language learning patterns: 1) universal factors, 2) specific facts about the learner's native language and 3) specific facts about the target language. Her study indicated that it is "the universal principles of language that play the leading role since they are dominant in determining the relative order of difficulty of certain structures" (140).

It must also be stressed that the children studied were enrolled in a programme which fosters language acquisition rather than language learning. Acquisition of a second language involves an unconscious construction of grammar rules, as opposed to the conscious attention to structure and verbalization of rules which are characteristic of formal language learning (Terrell *et al*, 1980, 155). According to the latter study, the most important condition for language acquisition is that "the learners must hear the language spoken in meaningful contexts and must be able to understand the message conveyed by the language they hear" (160, n. 1). This prerequisite is met by the Ukrainian bilingual programme and by the other immersion programmes, following Roy's (1980) description of their basic language development strategy.

Socio-economic status, I.Q. and academic achievement were not considered in the study. All the parents knew Ukrainian natively from childhood. None had learned it as a second language, though

some had taken language courses. There was a considerable range of fluency within the parent sample, as the findings will show.

Administering the Test

The test was administered orally in the homes of the subjects and answers were recorded by hand. For all child subjects the name, age, sex and grade completed were recorded at the top of the answer sheet. Only the name and sex of the adults were recorded. The order of administering questions was reversed for every second subject and the order employed noted at the top of the answer sheet. The entire testing was carried out over a period of three weeks in the summer 1981. In the actual administration of the test the subject was shown the picture-stimulus and then orally questioned about it. The answer was recorded by hand on the answer sheet. All testing was done by the researcher. Subjects that seemed uncertain about the correctness of their reply were allowed a second try. The correct answer was always accepted over alternative responses.

Scoring the Data

Responses were marked as *correct, wrong* or *no response*.

No response. The no-response category was of significance only where the student was asked to provide the lexical item on his own (2, 5, 7, 11, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24). Because no response for lack of vocabulary did not necessarily indicate a lack of grammatical knowledge, the percentage correct for each case was calculated by dividing the number of correct responses by the total number of actual responses. Generally, vocabulary was not a serious problem except in the case of some of the kindergarten subjects.

Correct responses. Only one response was accepted as correct with the following exception:

    i)   *-i* was accepted as a valid phonological variant of *-y* in items 3, 8 (nominative plural feminine) and 13, 25 (nominative plural masculine). This is a phonological feature characteristic of certain southwestern Ukrainian dialects (Zhylko, 1955, 122; Matviias, 1969, 113).

ii) *-ovy* was accepted as a valid dialectical variant of the masculine dative ending *-ovi* in items 12 and 21. The dative ending *-ovy* is the usual form in almost all southwestern Ukrainian dialects (Zhylko, 1955, 96). Most Ukrainian immigration to Canada was from the southwestern dialectal region.

iii) Three forms were accepted as correct for items 15 and 19 (instrumental singular feminine):

a) *-oiu*—the approved form in modern standard Ukrainian;

b) *-ov*—a dialectal form (pronounced [-oṷ] or [-ow]), widespread in the southwestern dialects (Zhylko, 1955, 95; Matviias, 1969, 24);

c) *-om*—a dialectal feature characteristic of a certain part of the southwestern dialects (Zhylko, 1958, 55), including those of the Lemko region (Stieber, 1964, map 355), Sian River (Zhylko, 1958, 90) and a small area in the Ternopil region (Dejna, 1957, 95–6, map VII; Matviias, 1965, 25) and Drohobych (Matviias, 1969, 25).

iv) The expected response to item 20 was *tort* (cake). This was the only response which the children gave. However, seven of the parents replied using the Ukrainian Canadian form *kek* or *keik*. This reply was accepted as correct, since *kek* and *tort*, both masculine nouns, require the same zero ending (-ø) in the accusative singular. When they were questioned after the testing about the word *kek*, it turned out that some of these seven parents were indeed familiar with the word *tort* but associated it with a central European type of cake, rather than ordinary Canadian cake.

The percentage of correct responses for each item was calculated for the child group and the adult group separately. Initially there were twenty-five questions, two for each morphological ending tested (except for the nominative singular neuter, which was represented by one question). With the order of the questions randomized for test administration, it was necessary to recombine items to determine performance in a given morphological category. Before recombining, however, it was decided to exclude items 1 and

16. The remaining twenty-three items were then condensed into thirteen case categories. The percentage of correct responses for each case ending was determined separately for children and adults. For both groups the cases were ranked according to the children's performance from highest to lowest. The findings are presented in Tables 3, 4 and 5 and are analyzed below.

Exclusion of Individual Items

After preliminary analysis, two items—1 and 16—were excluded from the results. Item 16, the accusative masculine singular form of the word *podarunok* (gift), was dropped because it was questionable whether the majority of the children really were familiar with its nominative singular form. Only 45 per cent of the children used *podarunok* in the correct accusative form with the null inflection (-ø). On the other hand, all of the responses were correct for item 20, the other example for the same morphological category. Items 16 and 20 were both testing the use of the null inflection (-ø) to mark the category of inanimate masculine singular accusative.

An initial analysis of the data showed that 26 per cent of the children used the word *podarunka*, the -a ending being a marker for animate nouns in the masculine accusative case. This suggested that in the accusative case, the children treated this inanimate noun as an animate, a tendency which is not unknown in Ukrainian (Brytsyn *et al*, 1978, 114) and one which has also been noted in Czech language acquisition (Pačesová, 1979, 68).

However, an analysis of performance on item 16 by performance groups, presented in Table 3, suggests a more plausible reason for

TABLE 3 Item 16 *Podarunok* Accusative Singular Masculine (Inanimate)

Group	No Response (Percentage)	Ø	-A	-Y
1	54.54	9.09	18.18	18.18
2	7.89	42.10	34.21	13.15
3	0	88.88	11.11	0

the poor performance. Fifty-five per cent of Group 1, the lowest performance group, did not respond to item 16 for lack of vocabulary. Of those who replied, two out of eleven (18 per cent)

answered in the plural, while in Group 2 five of the children (13 per cent) did the same. Performance greatly improved in Group 3, where all but one responded correctly with the -ø ending.

From this, it seems that the word *podarunok* is acquired late by children in the Ukrainian bilingual programme. The first form which they likely encounter in discussions about Christmas and birthdays is the nominative or accusative plural *podarunky*. Since the plural -*y* marks both masculine and feminine nouns, the young child can only guess at a suitable singular form. The result is the feminine singular nominative back formation *podarunka*, which is used as an unmarked accusative.

With feminine nouns being the most numerous group in Ukrainian, their frequency may in part explain a feminine back formation. It is also a fact that Ukrainian is characterized by a tendency to feminize foreign words (Ilarion, 1969, 46). Modern literary Ukrainian has the forms *zalia* (hall), *adresa* (address) and *vizyta* (visit), all foreign words given a feminine ending. Ukrainian Canadian neologisms, based on English borrowings, which show the same tendency include *gara* (car), *baksa* (box) and (*zadna*) *laina* ((back) line), really "back alley").

Thus item 16 was excluded because it was not validly measuring the children's knowledge of the accusative singular masculine case. Item 1, the nominative plural neuter form *avta* (cars) was eliminated, in turn, because of the great discrepancy between adult performance on it (42 per cent correct) and on item 14 (71 per cent correct). With both questions testing for the same case, a vocabulary deficiency (as with item 16) was undoubtedly the problem. Because the Ukrainian Canadian word for car is *gara*, a feminine noun, many of the adults were unfamiliar with *avto*, 35 per cent refusing to decline it at all even though all parents marked item 14, the other neuter plural, with a plural marker.

It is of interest that the colloquial word for car in Ukraine is *mashyna*, and that *avto*, according to Soviet Ukrainian usage, is indeclinable. Indeclinability is a characteristic of a certain class of Ukrainian nouns of foreign origin (Bilodid, 1969, 123). On the other hand, in standard Ukrainian émigré usage, the common word for car is *avto*, and it is declined as a regular neuter noun of the second declension. The top adult performance group handled it perfectly.

TABLE 4 Child Performance By Grade (Percentages)

Case	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Group
Acc Sg M	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Nom Sg F	100.00	92.85	100.00	100.00	93.75	100.00	100.00	100.00	98.23
Nom Sg M	91.66	92.85	100.00	100.00	100.00	93.25	91.66	100.00	96.55
Nom Sg N	100.00	80.00	20.00	88.88	87.50	85.71	83.33	71.42	78.00
Nom Pl F	25.00	50.00	64.28	66.66	93.75	56.25	100.00	92.85	68.96
Nom Pl M	8.33	50.00	42.85	55.55	81.25	56.25	83.33	92.85	59.48
Acc Sg F	0	42.85	7.14	11.11	43.75	25.00	16.66	14.28	21.05
Ins Sg M	0	21.42	7.14	0	12.50	25.00	33.33	28.57	15.52
Acc Sg M (An)	0	14.28	7.14	0	6.25	43.75	8.33	14.28	12.70
Ins Sg F	0	14.28	0	0	12.50	18.75	16.66	7.14	8.62
Nom Pl N	0	14.28	0	0	12.50	25.00	0	14.28	8.62
Dat Sg F	0	14.28	0	0	12.50	18.75	0	7.14	6.90
Dat Sg M	0	7.14	0	0	12.50	12.50	0	21.42	6.90
Average	32.69	45.71	34.50	40.16	51.44	50.82	48.72	51.09	44.74
Number	6	7	7	9	8	8	6	7	Total = 58
Mean Age (in years)	5.50		7.14	8.44	9.38	10.25	11.17	12.43	

Performance by Grade

The children were divided into eight groups according to grade completed (K–7), and performance on each case ending was determined for each grade (Table 4). The fact that a clear developmental pattern across grades was not discernible suggests that there is little linear correlation between amount of exposure to the language (years in the programme) and the acquisition of morphology. Moreover, the developmental picture is somewhat distorted by the presence of fluent native speakers in grades one, four and five, and non-fluent native speakers in grades four and seven. Thus the relatively high performance on the oblique (non-nominative) cases by the grade one sample is traceable, for the most part, to the performance of the native speaker in that group.

Two developments, however, are discernible from the raw data. First, performance on the neuter nominative singular and nominative plural lags behind that on the feminine and masculine nominative cases. The high performance in the kindergarten group (100 per cent) on the nominative singular neuter is somewhat misleading, as only 50 per cent of this group responded to the question. An equally poor performance on the neuter category is evident in the lowest adult performance group (Table 6). A second discernible development is the great improvement in marking the nominative plural (masculine and feminine) between kindergarten and grade one. After grade one, however, no consistent development pattern for marking this category can be noted.

Results by Performance Groups (Tables 5, 6)

Since an analysis of the data according to grade offered so little indication of developmental patterns, it was decided to divide the children and parents into performance groups. Of the three child performance groups, Group 1 included all children who answered

Child Performance Groups			
Group	Parameters of Group (items correct)	Population	Mean Age
1	0–6	11	6.64 years
2	7–11	38	9.15 years
3	12–23	9	10.55 years

approximately one-quarter of the items correctly, Group 2 responded correctly to more than one-quarter but less than half the items and Group 3, with all the fluent and non-fluent native speakers among its members, provided the correct endings for more than half the items. Child results are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5 Child Performance Groups (Percentages)

Case	Item	1	2	3	Total Group
Acc Sg M (In)	20	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Nom Sg F	24, 7	100.00	97.36	100.00	98.23
Nom Sg M	2, 11	95.45	96.05	100.00	96.55
Nom Sg N	5	60.00	75.00	100.00	78.00
Nom Pl F	3, 8	9.09	78.94	100.00	68.96
Nom Pl M	13, 25	0	67.10	100.00	59.48
Acc Sg F	18, 22	0	15.78	66.66	21.05
Ins Sg M	6, 17	4.54	7.89	61.11	15.52
Acc Sg M (An)	4, 9	0	6.57	50.00	12.70
Ins Sg F	15, 19	0	1.31	50.00	8.62
Nom Pl N	14	0	2.63	44.44	8.62
Dat Sg F	10, 23	0	1.31	38.88	6.90
Dat Sg M	12, 21	0	2.63	33.33	6.90
Group Average		28.39	42.50	72.65	44.74
Number		11	38	9	
Mean Age (in years)		6.64	9.15	10.55	
Group Parameters in Items Correct		0–6	7–11	12–23	

When the data are analyzed in terms of the above groups, a clearer developmental pattern becomes discernible. There is a gradual progress in acquiring the masculine and feminine nominative plural ending -*y*, culminating in 100 per cent control in Group 3. However, nominative plural neuter is not acquired, the comparatively high performance on it in Group 3 (44 per cent) being attributable to the native speakers. There is also little progress in the acquisition of the oblique cases, but it is significant that the order of difficulty is roughly the same for Groups 1 and 2 (the non-native speakers) and Group 3, which includes five native speakers of varying fluency.

In order to analyze adult performance on individual items, adult subgroups were also formed. Overall adult performance (87 per cent) was very much higher than child performance (45 per cent). To examine more closely the language of the most fluent adults—the results of which will not be discussed here—all parents who had answered all twenty-three questions correctly were

	Adult Performance Groups	
Group	Parameters of Group (items correct)	Population
Adult A	0–15	7
Adult B	16–22	7
Adult C	23	17

placed in Group C. A middle performance group (Group B) included all who had answered more than 65 per cent of the questions correctly. Group A included those who had scored 65 per cent or less. The adult results are presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6 Adult Performance (Percentages)

Case	Adult A	Adult B	Adult C	Total Group	Children
Acc Sg M (In)	83.33	100.00	100.00	96.66	100.00
Nom Sg F	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	98.23
Nom Sg M	92.85	100.00	100.00	98.38	96.55
Nom Sg N	42.85	85.71	100.00	83.87	78.00
Nom Pl F	100.00	85.71	100.00	96.77	68.96
Nom Pl M	85.71	92.85	100.00	95.16	59.48
Acc Sg F	7.14	100.00	100.00	79.03	21.05
In Sg M	42.85	100.00	100.00	87.09	15.52
Acc Sg M (An)	28.57	71.42	100.00	77.42	12.70
In Sg F	42.85	100.00	100.00	87.09	8.62
Nom Pl N	14.28	57.14	100.00	70.98	8.62
Dat Sg F	7.14	100.00	100.00	72.58	6.90
Dat Sg M	0	78.57	100.00	79.03	6.90
Average	49.81	90.10	100.00	86.47	44.74
Number	7	7	17		
Group Parameters in Items Correct	0–15	16–22	23		

A comparison of the child data from Table 5 with the data for Adult A, the lowest adult performance group, shows the following interesting similarities:

1. poorer performance on the nominative singular neuter (Adult A 43 per cent, Child 84 per cent), compared to the nominative singular feminine (Adult A 100 per cent, Child 98 per cent) and masculine (Adult A 93 per cent, Child 97 per cent);

2. relatively high performance on the nominative plural, both feminine (Adult A 100 per cent, Child 69 per cent) and masculine (Adult A 86 per cent, Child 59 per cent);

3. poor performance on the nominative plural neuter (Adult A 14 per cent, Child 9 per cent);

4. poor performance on oblique case morphology, compared to nominative case, singular and plural (-*y* ending). Except for the accusative masculine singular (inanimate), on no oblique case does the performance reach more than 43 per cent for Adult A and 21 per cent for the children. Because the accusative masculine singular (inanimate) and the nominative masculine singular (inanimate) are identical in form—they both take the -ø ending—the high performance of the Adult A group (83 per cent) and of the children (100 per cent) on this item may be attributable to this fact.

Thus, because there are many performance similarities in the language of adults who acquired Ukrainian in a "natural" setting and of children who acquire it in the partial-immersion classroom, one might conclude that the variables which influence the acquisition of various Ukrainian morphological endings are not directly a result of the setting where the language is being acquired. In fact, despite large differences between child and adult scores there is a significant correlation ($r = .82$, $p < .01$) in the rank order of difficulty of items for the two groups.

Implications for Immersion-Language Learning

The contrast is striking between the pattern of Ukrainian-language morphological development revealed in this study and first-language acquisition in other highly inflected languages. According to Voznyi (1967), investigators of Russian, Polish, Slovak, Bulgarian, German and Latvian child-language development note that it is around the age of three that the child begins to make practical use of the declensional system. Similarly, Dingwall and Tuniks (1973, 147), in testing for the mastery of singular noun endings in Russian discovered that the upper third of their sample (children ranging in age from 3, 7, 3 to 7, 6, 2) experienced virtually no difficulty in attaining perfect scores. Even in this study, the youngest native speaker, a grade one student, made only one mistake (an overgeneralized masculine dative ending was used with a feminine noun).

Does the lack of oblique case development in the sample studied indicate a developmental stage, a temporary overgeneralization of the nominative which will be eradicated in time, or does it show the development of a non-standard language? Obviously, it is too early to tell using the data from one study of a programme in its developmental stages, but recent studies suggest that inherent in the immersion-classroom setting is the danger of acquiring a non-standard language (Cohen, 1976; Plann, 1977; Connors *et al*, 1978; Politzer, 1980; Swain and Lapkin, 1981).

If a non-standard or pidginized language is, in fact, developing in the Ukrainian bilingual classroom, the factors responsible may well be similar to those identified by Plann (1977) as impeding progress in morpheme acquisition in the Spanish immersion classroom she studied. The fossilization of errors may be the result of

1. the learner's attitudes and motivation, where the target language enjoys low prestige in the community;
2. the learner's needs in the classroom, where communication rather than language mastery is emphasized;
3. limited exposure to the language outside the classroom;
4. pressure to speak like one's peers.

In these circumstances, "children develop and reinforce their own classroom dialect. The fossilizatioin of forms, particularly at the morphological level where semantic power is low, is perhaps an inevitable by-product of acquiring a second language in an immersion classroom" (Plann, 1977, 223).

Perhaps the lack of oblique case development among the Ukrainian partial-immersion students is the result of fossilized use of the nominative in all oblique case functions. Selinker *et al* (1975, 149) noted a generalization of the infinitive by French-immersion students and termed it a form of simplification, the use of one form in all instances. That the structure of English might reinforce such simplification of Ukrainian structure is entirely possible. English structure, for example, might be reinforcing the marking of the plural category, which the Ukrainian immersion students acquire quite readily. It would be interesting to test the immersion students on the development of the possessive genitive in Ukrainian nouns, since this category is also marked in English, and with the same ending as the plural. Such a study

might help to identify the reasons for the morphological developments observed.

Perhaps also some of Plann's other factors may be involved. The Ukrainian immersion students may have little motivation to develop their Ukrainian for use outside the classroom. The opportunities to use it outside the classroom are limited and the attitudes toward its use are ambivalent at best. Although most of the pupils are of Ukrainian origin, with few exceptions they come from English-speaking homes. This is not surprising. According to 1971 census data, although 40 per cent of Canadian-born Ukrainians in Edmonton at the time knew Ukrainian, only 8 per cent claimed it as the language most often used at home (Driedger, 1980, 125).

On the other hand, commitment to the maintenance of the language is high, as the very existence of the Ukrainian bilingual programme itself indicates. Strong commitment to Ukrainian language and rapid language loss are, moreover, not unique to Edmonton. They are characteristic of the position of the Ukrainian language in Canadian cities in general (Reitz and Ashton, 1980). Such an equivocal attitude to the language on the part of native speakers, aptly characterized by Fishman (1972, 143) as an "attitudinal haloization unaccompanied by increased usage," can hardly motivate others to learn Ukrainian. More importantly, it severely limits opportunities for language use outside the classroom. Hayden (1966, 199), in a study of the dynamics of language maintenance, concluded that

> desire to preserve the ethnic mother tongue, even though expressed as highly favourable attitudes, contributes but little toward language mastery when the language is no longer used in the home.

Two evaluations of the Ukrainian bilingual programme (Muller *et al*, 1977; Ewanyshyn, 1978) found a significant correlation between the use of Ukrainian in the home and classroom achievement in Ukrainian.

A detailed examination of the reasons for the non-use of Ukrainian in the home is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the adult sample of this study may provide some insight into the problem. From the poor command of basic structures by Adult A, the lowest adult performance group, it is clear that a certain percentage of the parents would have great difficulty using

Ukrainian. Moreover, from incidental conversations during the testing, it became apparent that many of the parents had a negative attitude toward their own Ukrainian-language abilities (this was especially true of the two lower adult performance groups). Some parents underestimated their knowledge (as revealed by the testing) and assumed that they spoke some form of debased dialect, rather than "the real Ukrainian taught in school." Similarly, Kuplowska (1980) found that, when she asked a sample of first-, second- and third-generation Ukrainian speakers to rate themselves on fluency, only 19 per cent of the second generation and almost none (.7 per cent) of the third generation claimed fluency. She then pointedly noted,

> Although there may be certain flaws in such self-reports, still they have an advantage, since "perceived" levels of fluency can also be influential factors in attitudes toward language and other cultural issues (138).

At the same time, some of the parents in the study rather naively overestimated their children's Ukrainian-language abilities, and even suggested that their children spoke better Ukrainian than they did. However, the test findings indicated that in the vast majority of cases this was not true. Perhaps the illusion of child superiority is the result of the children's comparative fluency in reading Ukrainian and their use of such "exotic" vocabulary items as *avto*. Such complacent parental attitudes may in the long run be detrimental to the children's language development. Where parents accept a non-standard language, there will be little need to perfect it.

Even within the Ukrainian immersion classroom, the children have little need to perfect their knowledge of Ukrainian. As in all immersion programmes, emphasis is on communication. The children's comprehension and vocabulary development are such that they are able to communicate with the teacher and their classmates without worrying about the niceties of grammar. Once children in French immersion reach a point in their language development where they can make themselves understood, they too have been reported to show no strong social incentive to develop further toward native-speaker norms (Swain and Lapkin, 1981, 77).

Social incentive for language normalization in natural language acquisition is provided by the peer group, as has been noted by sev-

eral researchers (Spilka, 1976; Dulay and Burt, 1977; Politzer, 1980; Swain and Lapkin, 1981). Indeed, Dulay and Burt (102) suggest that one of the factors delimiting linguistic input for the language learner is a preference for certain input models, specifically peer models, rather than teacher or parent models. The pupil will be motivated to develop toward the norms of peer-group speakers while the teacher model may not be able to provide the social motivation necessary for language normalization.

Ukrainian-speaking peer-language models are almost entirely lacking in the Ukrainian bilingual classroom. In most cases the sole source of Ukrainian language input is the teacher. The few native-speaking students may provide Ukrainian input in formal classroom situations, but they interact with the other children in English. The langauge of peer-group interaction is definitely English, and English is the language of the "real world" outside the classroom as well.

One group of researchers has stated that "the fundamental limitation on what immersion can do arises from its restriction to the classroom" (Connors *et al*, 1978, 71). In their view the classroom restricts linguistic input both stylistically and situationally, and does not provide the learner with the same input a native receives. The language presented in the textbooks may be artificial, and non-native-speaker teachers, though competent, may be using "a more conservative and stylistically underdifferentiated grammar" (ibid., 70) than would a fluent native speaker. Furthermore, certain types of linguistic input may be totally absent for immersion students, since they do not meet the target language in ordinary social circumstances.

In addition, the language demands on the student in immersion may in part be responsible for the language that is developed. The immersion students' French-language usage has been characterized as "reactive" rather than active, as students rarely initiate it themselves and respond only to others, acquiring what are essentially non-native productive language skills (Swain and Lapkin, 1981, 82, 127, 129). What is needed is an immersion programme that will ensure more opportunities to use the target language outside the classroom and the most intensive exposure possible in the school. What is needed is total rather than partial immersion, and also the establishment of immersion in schools where there is no regular English programme. Absence of the latter will facilitate wider use

of the target language throughout the school and produce better language-learning results (ibid., 128).

The lack of curriculum incentives for language normalization can also contribute to non-standard language development. The prime goal of Ukrainian immersion, like that of all immersion programmes, is the development of communication skills. As a result, the development of morphology and other formal aspects of language is not planned systematically or evaluated by the teachers and administrators. Little information is available about what actually happens in the Ukrainian immersion classroom, but in French the teaching of grammar and structure are gradually incorporated into the immersion curriculum (Swain and Lapkin, 1981, 9). Whether grammar in immersion programmes facilitates normal language development is a moot point. Politzer (1980, 297) insists that second-language techniques are a natural ally to bilingual (immersion) teaching. Cohen (1976, 543), while suggesting formal classroom drills to counteract overgeneralization, stresses the importance of "peer communication in the language."

At this point one can only speculate about the ultimate type of Ukrainian-language development which will take place in the immersion classroom. However, the limited data on morphological development in this study, the learning situation in the immersion classroom and the situation of Ukrainian outside the classroom, all point to the strong possibility that a non-standard language might be developing.

Notes

1. The italicized forms denote a transliteration of the Ukrainian orthography which is more or less phonemic and adequate for our purposes.

2. A similar generalization of masculine forms has been observed among French immersion students (Spilka, 1976, 551).

3. Indeed, it appears that even among Canadian-born young adults who can speak Ukrainian, the language of peer-group interaction is mainly English. Ukrainian is reserved for use with elders and certain select groups, such as academics and clergy. The present researcher has observed that conversations among the young often have a ritualized Ukrainian introduction, followed by a quick switch into English. This pattern of language usage may even be characteristic of some of the Ukrainian bilingual teachers themselves.

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Form-Classes (Parts-of-Speech) and Their Frequency in Canadian Children's Ukrainian: A Comparison of Four Speech Styles*

Oksana A. Wynnyckyj

Introduction

It has been logically supposed that if frequently occurring elements in a language could be identified and emphasis placed on them in a classroom, students would learn to communicate very quickly (Taylor, 1976, 149). The hypothesis was wrong because the elements of language that occur most frequently are function words which act as the cement between the bricks that carry content or convey meaning. Examples of function words are conjunctions and prepositions: and, but, to, with, on, above (in Ukrainian *i, ale, do, z, na, nad*) (French *et al*, 1930, 294; Thorndike and Lorge, 1944; Kučera and Francis, 1967). With the frequency of individual content words varying from topic to topic, the investigator eliminated the function vs. content problem by bypassing the examination of individual lexical items and concentrating on the parts-of-speech or form-classes for frequency of usage. Speech styles in classroom situations were also examined to see whether the types

of form-classes occurred with the same frequency in all speech situations.

Methodology

The speech of twenty children—ten boys and ten girls with an average age of eight years and ten months in attendance at Ukrainian summer camps outside Toronto and Montreal—was taped, transcribed and analyzed. A questionnaire developed and administered by the investigator showed that all children came from middle to high socio-economic backgrounds. The language of communication in the home was Ukrainian and a certain amount of the children's daily or weekly schooling was in Ukrainian. A Ukrainian standardization and normalization test developed by the Edmonton Public School Board was administered at one grade level above the children's chronological age, with all children scoring 85 per cent correct.

Four styles of speech were elicited during the recording sessions, and for purposes of analysis style for the spoken words was not determined by each utterance but by the entire context in which it was spoken. The four resulting speech styles follow:

1) Egocentric Speech Style: recorded while the children were putting together a series of puzzles, where the speech produced is "as though he (the child) were thinking out loud" (Piaget, 1959).

2) Narrative Speech Style: recorded when the children were asked to relate something frightening and something funny. The elicited samples were lengthy, descriptive, monologue-type passages.

3) Question-and-Answer Speech Style: recorded during the writing of the standardization and normalization test. The children's speech consisted of a series of questions and answers concerning the test.

4) Discussion Speech Style: recorded when the children were asked what they liked most and least about the camp. The children interacted verbally among themselves and with the investigator. This style had elements of both the Narrative and the Question-and-Answer speech styles.

The data were analyzed according to form-classes in the *Slovnyk ukrainskoi movy* (Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language). The following form-classes were examined: adjective, adverb, conjunction, interjection, noun, numeral, particle, preposition, pronoun and verb. The category of proper noun was also included since the investigator felt that geographical terms and names of persons might provide additional insight. A category of English was established to accommodate words which were uttered with an English pronunciation or were of non-Ukrainian origin. All geographical terms were excluded from the proper-noun category, and no exhaustive analysis of the English words was attempted.

To determine whether there was any statistically significant difference in the frequency of occurrence of individual form-classes, a multiple chi-square test was run.

Results

The data from the twenty children were pooled together and analyzed according to the frequency of occurrence of form-classes across the four styles of speech. Table 1 indicates the frequency with which each form-class occurred in each speech style. A total of the number of words in each speech style is also provided.

TABLE 1 **Frequency of Form-Classes Across Four Speech Styles**

Form-Classes	Egocentric	Narrative	Question-and-Answer	Discussion
Adjective	158	56	32	87
Adverb	405	238	118	348
Conjunction	235	313	70	360
English	185	51	332	61
Interjection	174	12	26	28
Noun	206	327	134	523
Numeral	184	47	25	89
Particle	478	125	100	209
Preposition	58	123	51	198
Pronoun	1,328	582	281	690
Proper Noun	86	26	32	107
Verb	1,146	536	269	750
Total	4,643	2,436	1,170	3,450

Frequency Distribution of Form-Class As a Function of the Significant Difference in Frequency Between the Egocentric Speech Style and Other Styles

	Egocentric	Narrative	Question-and-Answer	Discussion
Adjective				
Adverb				
Conjunction		▓		
English		▒	▒	▒
Interjection				
Noun		▓	▓	▓
Numeral				
Particle				
Preposition		▓	▓	▓
Pronoun		▒		
Proper Noun			▓	▓
Verb				

▒ Form-classes which occurred significantly more frequently in the speech style compared to other speech styles.

▓ Form-classes which occurred significantly less frequently in the speech style compared to other speech styles.
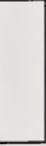
☐ Indicates no significant difference in frequency.

Frequency Distribution of Form-Class As a Function of the Significant Difference in Frequency Between the Narrative Speech Style and Other Styles

	Egocentric	Narrative	Question-and-Answer	Discussion
Adjective				
Adverb				
Conjunction	▓		▓	▓
English	▓			
Interjection			▓	
Noun	▓			
Numeral	▓			
Particle	▓		▓	
Preposition	▓			
Pronoun	▓			▓
Proper Noun	▓		▓	▓
Verb				

Frequency Distribution of Form-Class As a Function of the Significant Difference in Frequency Between the Question-and-Answer Speech Style and Other Styles

	Egocentric	Narrative	Question-and-Answer	Discussion
Adjective				
Adverb				
Conjunction	▓	▓		▓
English	▓			▓
Interjection	▓			▓
Noun	▓			▓
Numeral	▓			
Particle				
Preposition	▓	▓		▓
Pronoun	▓			▓
Proper Noun				
Verb				

Frequency Distribution of Form-Class As a Function of the Significant Difference in Frequency Between the Discussion Speech Style and Other Styles

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	Egocentric	Narrative	Question-and-Answer	Discussion
Adjective				
Adverb				
Conjunction		▓	░	
English	▓			
Interjection	▓		▓	
Noun	░		░	
Numeral				
Particle	░		▓	
Preposition	░			
Pronoun	░	▓	▓	
Proper Noun		░		
Verb				

Discussion

In explaining the differences in form-class frequencies across the various speech styles, the form-classes will be examined in alphabetical order. Most explanations will be based on the investigator's impressions of the children's linguistic behaviour during the various recording sessions.

Adjectives. There were no significant differences in the frequency of use of adjectives among the four styles. This is interesting, because there are significantly fewer nouns in the Egocentric Speech Style than in other styles. It appears that many of the adjectives used in that style occurred without the corresponding noun.

| 90 | 11SL | 20* | *Slavku! Ia vzhe—Ia zrobyv* **naitiazhche**. |
| | | | Slavko! I already—I did the most difficult. |

| 703 | 210M | 20 | *Sestrychko! Tse ie* **trudne**. |
| | | | Sister! This is difficult. |

Adverbs. There were no significant differences in the frequency of usage of adverbs among the three styles. According to Boder (1939), Rosenberg, *et al* (1966), Perebyinis and Kadomtseva (1968), there is a close relationship among verbs, adjectives and adverbs in their frequency of usage. It should not be surprising, therefore, that all three of these categories behaved the same way in frequency of occurrence. There was no significant difference in any of their usage across styles.

Conjunctions. There were significantly more conjunctions in the Narrative Speech Style than in any other style. The children began many of their sentences with a conjunction resulting in its overwhelming use in this style. The use of a conjunction at the beginning of a sentence is often characteristic of oral narration:

| 1082 | 11SL | 10 | *Mii tovarysh i ia lovyly rybu.* |
| | | | My friend and I were catching fish. |

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* The numbers preceding the examples from the data are reference numbers. The first digit locates the line number, the second digit identifies the speakers and the third digit signifies the style.

1083   I *todi ia nekhotiachy stav vzad i vin vpav v vodu.*
        And then I stepped back unexpectedly and fell into the water.

1084   I *vsio ioho ubrannia bulo mokre.*
        And all his clothes were wet.

1085   To *vin ne mav nichoho perebratysia.*
        Then he had nothing to change into.

1086   To *vin musiv v khati sydity reshta dnia.*
        Then he had to stay in the house the rest of the day.

73 21LS 10 *Vona skazala ne podyvytsia nazad.*
            She said not to look back.

74   A *ia podyvylasia.*
      But I looked.

75   I *tam buly dvi sestrychky* i *vony buly tak iak dukhy.*
      And since there were two sisters and they were just like spirits.

76   I *iak my pishly do ozera, tam buly dvi sestrychky.*
      And when we went to the river, there were two sisters.

77   I *vony buly tak iak chortyky.*
      And they were just like devils.

78   I *vony nam kazaly sisty.*
      And they told us to sit down.

79   I *ia skazala—"Ni".*
                            And I said—"No."

Conjunctions at the beginning of sentences were evident also in the
Discussion Speech Style when the children indicated what had
transpired at camp. The individual incidents in the events were
linked together through the use of conjunctions:

> 11AK   30   *Ia vse kydav na nykh, shapky, bo vony*
>   *buly taki z* foil.
>   I always threw on them—caps, because
>   they were of foil.
>   I *vono bulo take dosyt ostre.*
>   And it was really rather sharp.
>   *Ne ostre, ale take* bumpy.
>   Not sharp, but really bumpy.
>   I *vono vse triskalo na ikh shapkakh.*
>   And it always burst on their caps.
>   I *vony buly mokri.*
>   And they were wet.

> 499   12JK   30   *My ishly na skhodyny z sestrychkoiu*
>   *Zoieiu.*
>   We went on the ice with sister Zoia.

> 500   I *my khotily skakaty shnurkom.*
>   And we went to skip rope.

> 501   I vona skazala—"Dobre".
>   And she said—"Good."

> 502   *My skakaly, skakaly.*
>   We skipped and skipped.

> 503   I *ia, ia ne mih skakaty.*
>   And I—I could not skip.

> 504   I *mii brat naibilshe skakav.*
>   And my brother skipped the most.

The Discussion Speech Style, however, was not entirely composed of narration, and it therefore had fewer conjunctions than the Narrative Style, though more than the Question-and-Answer Style. The Egocentric and Question-and-Answer styles did not have narration and they showed a significantly lower use of conjunctions than either the Narrative or Discussion styles.

English. Significantly more English words were used in the Egocentric Speech Style than in any other. This is not surprising, since this is the style in which children likely concentrate least on their speech and therefore on using Ukrainian in the Ukrainian environment. One of the children even started to sing a tune in English:

245	21BK	20	We don't need no education.
246			We don't need no mind control.

A large portion of the English words used in all styles were nouns, which often appeared in the middle of a sentence that was otherwise constructed in Ukrainian. Three explanations are possible. First, the particular English word may have been more easily accessible in memory than its Ukrainian counterpart. Secondly, no Ukrainian equivalent may have existed in the children's active vocabulary:

450	21LK	70	*Koly vin buv* caterpillar.
			When he was a caterpillar.

Thirdly, the English words used by the children had no direct Ukrainian equivalents:

989	22ZK	30	*Nu bo to ie duzhe* fun *kazaty*—"O *siohodniie*".
			Well, because it is good fun to say—"O today is."

The pronouns, adjectives and verbs that occurred in English were usually part of a phrase that was formed entirely in English. Such

phrases tended to be idiomatic and not directly translatable into Ukrainian:

| 482 | 21LS | 70 | How about *odyn tut?* |
| | | | How about one here |

| 559 | 21LH | 70 | *O ia.* It's in there. |

Interjections. There were significantly more interjections in the Egocentric Speech Style than in any other. The Question-and-Answer also had significantly more interjections than the Narrative and Discussion but fewer than the Egocentric. Both the Egocentric and Question-and-Answer were related to the children's doing some type of work while speaking. The interjections were used as exclamations to comment on how their work was progressing:

| 137 | 12JK | | **O**, *tse ie vzhe problema.* |
| | | | O, this is already a problem. |

| 1173 | 210M | 20 | **Hey** *ia. Okei, diakuiu, to vzhe dosyt.* |
| | | | Hey. Okay, thanks, that's already enough. |

In the Narrative and Discussion speech styles, the children conveyed previously unknown information to the investigator. The Egocentric and Question-and-Answer styles were characteristic of the children thinking out loud.

Nouns. There were significantly fewer nouns in the Egocentric Speech Style than in any other. As will be seen, this was also the style that had significantly more pronouns. Because the children's conversation here was largely concerned with their immediate physical environment, they had little use for nouns. They had only to point at objects or to pick them up to have others understand a pronoun's reference. There was little reference in this style to displaced objects that required a higher use of nouns, as with the Narrative and Discussion styles.

Numerals. There were significantly more numerals in the Egocentric Speech Style than in any other. The majority were cardinal numbers, directly related to counting the pieces of the puzzle the children were assembling:

158	12JK	20	*O shche* **chotyry** *kusky*—**shist, visim, dva** *i* **piat.**
			About four pieces yet—six, eight, two and five.

241	110B	20	**Raz, dva, try, chotyry.**
			One, two, three, four.

242			**Raz, dva, try, chotyry, piat, shist, sim, visim.**
			One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight.

701	21LH	20	Ia maiu **odyn, dva, try, chotyry, piat, shist, sim** *kusnykiv.*
			I have one, two, three, four, five, six, seven pieces.

702			**Raz, dva, try, chotyry.**
			One, two, three, four.

Particles: There were significantly more particles in the Egocentric and Question-and-Answer styles than in the Narrative and Discussion styles. It was obvious during the recording of the Egocentric style that the children found the puzzles difficult and used the negative particle frequently to express frustration in not being able to complete the puzzle quickly:

	12MV	20	*Ia* **ne** *znaiu, iak tse zrobyty.*
			I do not know how to do this.

963	21LK	20	*Ta ia vzhe to robyla, ale ia* **ne** *mohla.*
			And I already did that, but I could not.

838	21TS	20	*Ia* **ne** *rozumiiu.*
			I do not understand.

Prepositions. There were significantly fewer prepositions in the Egocentric style than in any other. The following is an alphabetical listing of all the prepositions used by the children: *cherez* (over, because of); *dlia* (for); *do* (to); *kolo* (beside); *na* (on); *o* (about, around); *pislia* (after); *po* (in, on); *pro* (about); *pry* (beside); *v* (in); *vid* (from); *z* (from, out of, with); *za* (behind); *zamist* (instead of).

Pronouns. There were significantly more pronouns in the Egocentric style than in any other. These pronouns were not anaphoric, referring to some previously mentioned noun, but demonstrative, referring to the objects, situations and people at hand:

| 185 | 12MV | 20 | *Todi* **tse-***vo tut.* |
| | | | Then that is here. |

| 202 | 12JK | 20 | *O* **to—to** *do moho ie tut.* |
| | | | O that—that to mine is here. |

| 209 | 110B | 20 | *Ia khochu* **tsi** *sprobuvaty.* |
| | | | I want to try these. |

| 1083 | 210M | 20 | **Tse.** *Ni, ne* **to.** |
| | | | This. No, not that. |

Previous research has shown that the speech of lower socio-economic class children is characterized by a higher use of pronouns compared to nouns when referring to visible objects. In this study even children of middle to high socio-economic class used an overabundance of pronouns in certain styles of speech. In situations which demanded little information on anything except what is immediately present, as in the Egocentric style, the use of pronouns was high. There were significantly fewer pronouns in the Discussion style than in any other because that style had many one-and two-word answers to the question, "What do you like and dislike about camp?" The answers were usually formed by nouns and conveyed new information:

| 484 | 11AK | 30 | *Vohnyky.* |
| | | | Bonfires. |

498	110B	30	*Kydaty balony.*
			To throw baloney.

The high use of nouns and low use of pronouns is interrelated in the four speech styles.

Proper Nouns. There were significantly fewer proper nouns in the Narrative style than in any other. In that style, children used the personal pronoun and, in particular, the first person pronoun very frequently, and they also referred frequently to their family members by title rather than name:

21	12JK	10	*Nu,* **ia** *odyn raz spav.*
			Well, I once was sleeping.

22			*I* **ia** *spav i klykav* **mamu.**
			And I slept and called my mother.

23			**Mama** *pryishla.*
			Mother came.

24			*I* **mama** *skazala—"Shcho ie"?*
			And mother said—"What's the matter?"

41	11AK	10	*I mii* **kuzyn—vin** *mav ity do universytetu.*
			And my cousin—he had to go to the university.

42			*I* **vin** *ne pishov.*
			And he did not go.

43			*I* **vin** *dyvyvsia na vohon.*
			And he looked at the fire.

The Discussion style was characterized by significantly more proper nouns than either the Narrative or Egocentric. In it, the children called each other by name when interrupting to comment on some camp event. They also referred to their friends by name when retelling what had happened at camp:

438   12JS   30   *Odyn raz my kupalysia i ia, i* **Marko Kryvoruchko** *buly odna druzhyna.*
Once we were bathing and I and Marko Kryvoruchko were one pair.

439   *A* **Boryslav Kit** *i* **Andrij Fedak** *buly druha druzhyna.*
And Boryslav Kit and Andrii Fedak were another pair.

440   *Ia* **Markovi** *siv na plechi.*
I sat on Marko's shoulders.

441   *I* **Boryslav** *siv na plechi.*
And Boryslav sat on Andrij's shoulders.

442   *I my pochaly bytysia tak.*
And we began to fight, so.

443   *I khto to vpade pershe v vodu.*
And who will fall first into the water.

444   *A todi* **Marko Mykytiuk** *i* **Adriian** *pryishly i sily na plechi i pochaly nas.*
And then Marko Mykytiuk and Adriian came and sat on the shoulders and began.

1023   11SL   30   *I meni podobalosia, iak* **Slavko** *nis take vidro z piskom i vodoiu.*
And I liked the way Slavko carried that pail with sand and water.

1024   *Tam* **Andrii** *kynuv pisok i bratchyk kynuv vse na nioho samoho, na* **Slavka**.
Andrii threw the sand there and his brother threw everything on him alone, on Slavko.

Verbs. There was no significant difference in the frequency of verb usage compared to other form-classes within the four styles.

Generally, in this study the statistics on form-classes in children's speech showed that pronouns constituted 24.83 per cent of all words used, with verbs at 23.14 per cent and nouns at 10.39 per cent. Thus almost 60 per cent of the children's oral vocabulary consisted of pronouns, verbs and nouns.

Summary and Conclusions

For the present study, data were collected from twenty fluently bilingual, Ukrainian-speaking children at a Ukrainian-language summer camp. Their speech was divided into styles according to the taping circumstances. The Egocentric style was recorded when the children talked to themselves, the Narrative when they told a story (a series of sentences spoken by one child at a time about one topic), the Question-and-Answer when the children answered questions and commented about their work and the Discussion when one- and two-word answers and narrative portions were mixed. The four speech styles were compared and contrasted according to frequency-of-usage of form-classes. A chi-square test was run to establish significant differences among the styles according to form-classes.

The count and analysis of words spoken by children had two problems: 1) the definition of and distinction between different styles of speech, and 2) the definition of form-classes and assignment of words to them. It is difficult to say whether the styles of speech in this study are valid, there being no guidelines to establish style. However, the number of statistically significant differences that emerged indicates that the styles were not without foundation. The Egocentric Speech Style is unique and different from the other styles. It deserves further study, particularly when applied to the theories that claim that Egocentric Speech mirrors the thought processes of the mind (Piaget, 1959; Vygotsky, 1962). The Narrative style also deserves further study. Earlier studies of speech have concentrated on it, for it is the style most encouraged by teachers in the retelling of stories and by most parents of higher socio-economic clas when encouraging children to relate the day's

events. The Question-and-Answer style, predominantly questions posed by children, is a daily activity of children and requires further attention. It is, however, a very difficult style to elicit. The Discussion style, as a combination of Narrative and Question-and-Answer, probably mirrors most closely the daily speech activities of children and adults, and as such is definitely worthy of further study.

The assigning of words to form-classes may at times be quite arbitrary. Many linguists dispute the number of form-classes that exist and to which categories certain words belong. For this reason, a standard dictionary was followed. As a result, in any future comparative studies, the comparisons may be invalid where the definitions of the form-classes are different.

This study has established several interesting distinctions and similarities:

1. The relative frequency of adjectives, adverbs and verbs is the same across all four styles of speech.

2. The Egocentric Speech Style is most distinguished from other speech styles, being characterized by a high use of pronouns, interjections and English words and a low use of nouns and prepositions.

3. The Narrative Speech Style is characterized by a high use of conjunctions and a low use of proper nouns.

4. The Question-and-Answer Speech Style is characterized by a high use of interjections and particles and a low use of conjunctions.

5. The Discussion Speech Style is characterized by a high use of conjunctions, nouns and proper nouns and a low use of pronouns.

While a great deal of variance is present in children's speech, it is also true that a very important commonality characterizes the four speech styles, namely, the consistent relative frequency of adjectives, verbs and adverbs in each style. In previous work (Boder, 1939; Fairbanks, 1944; Mann, 1944; De Vito, 1967), the ratio of adjectives to verbs (the adjective-verb quotient) was consistent over several samples of an individual's speech, though changing across subjects. This study further emphasizes the stability of this quotient

across speech styles within subjects. But it also furnishes new information: the relative frequency of the other form-classes varies across speech styles within the same group of subjects, though it remains to be seen just how consistent is this variance.

The present study provides a frequency count of the speech of fluent Ukrainian-speaking children born in Canada into middle to high socio-economic families, in which much emphasis is placed on the retention of mother tongue. One of the study's major findings is the apparent distinction in the usage of form-classes in the different functional styles of speech. For the language teacher, this suggests that the emphasis placed on various grammatical facets of second-language teaching should be sensitive to the ultimate stylistic goals of communication in the target language. In the future, it would be interesting to compare this study's count with the completed frequency dictionary of literary Ukrainian being compiled in the Soviet Union.

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Language and Canadian Multiculturalism: Research and Politics

Jim Cummins

Introduction

My return to Edmonton for the Osvita conference is of special significance not only because my graduate studies were at the University of Alberta, but because I have continually pointed to Edmonton's Ukrainian-English bilingual programme as a rare example of both rationality and vision in Canadian education. Its rationality stems from the fact that both school board and provincial government personnel examined the original proposal from the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club in the light of community aspirations and emerging research findings on bilingual education and saw that despite its (at the time) radical nature, it was feasible from all aspects—the educational, financial and political.

Much of the groundwork for the success of the programme, however, must be attributed to the vision of academics and other members of the Ukrainian community who perceived the opportunities presented by national and provincial educational and political developments to institute an effective programme of Ukrainian-language and -literacy acquisition. In this regard, it is, I believe, especially appropriate to pay tribute to the late Professor Metro Gulutsan whose undergraduate and graduate courses on bilingualism and second-language learning at the University of

Alberta were among the first in Canada. Several of the school board administrators and provincial government officials, who were later to play important roles in facilitating the implementation and continuation of the bilingual programme (myself included), first became aware of the enrichment possibilities of bilingual (and trilingual) schooling as a result of Professor Gulutsan's teaching and writing (Gulutsan, 1976, 1977).

The purpose of this paper is to place the Ukrainian bilingual programme into the broader Canadian context and to discuss both the potential and limitations of research findings in affecting educational policy in the light of the impact of the programme on heritage-language teaching in other provinces. The focus will be on the two contexts where the programme has had considerable impact, namely, in the other Prairie provinces (especially Manitoba) and in Ontario. Although educators elsewhere have taken note of the programme's success, its influence has been minimal. For example, in Nova Scotia, Shaw has proposed a similar educational model for the revival of Gaelic:

> Within Canada, the successful English-Ukrainian bilingual programs in areas of Manitoba and Alberta have provided a most encouraging and instructive example which should be followed in Cape Breton (1983, 75).

But it remains to be seen whether the suggestion will have any impact on policy.

To understand the ways in which the Ukrainian programme has influenced policy in other parts of Canada, it is necessary to describe briefly both the historical and current contexts of the role of heritage languages in education. The vehement opposition to heritage-language instruction in Ontario, for example, must be understood in the context of the long tradition of intolerance of ethnic diversity in Canadian society.

Socio-historical Context

The prevailing attitude toward ethnic diversity in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century has been termed "Anglo-conformity." It was assumed that all ethnic groups would give up their language and culture and become assimilated into the dominant British culture. Harney and Troper quote a speaker at the

1913 Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Toronto:

> The problem is simply this: take all the different nationalities, German, French, Italian, Russian and all the others that are sending their surplus into Canada; mix them with the Anglo-Saxon stock and produce a uniform race wherein the Anglo-Saxon peculiarities shall prevail (1975, 110).

Surveys of the views of Canadian educators in the early part of the century (Anderson, 1918; Black, 1913; Sissons, 1917) emphasized the desirability of rapid assimilation and the necessity to eradicate the first language of students so as to facilitate the learning of English and the acquisition of "Canadian" values (Lenskyj, 1981). Black, for example, concluded that

> Generally speaking ... it is evident that the wisest method of teaching English will aim at eliminating for the time being from the learner's consciousness all memory or thought of his vernacular tongue (1913, 106).

Overtly racist attitudes about the superiority of certain groups (specifically, northern Europeans) over others (notably, southern Europeans and Asians) were evident among many North American educators (Kamin, 1974; Lenskyj, 1981). Lenskyj points out that educators tended to associate "low" social or racial origins with "low" morals and habits and to prescribe hard work as an effective antidote:

> Translated to the classroom, this belief was expressed by several of Black's respondents, who were totally opposed to the use of the mother tongue in schools on the grounds that it made the learning of English *too easy*. They claimed that immigrant students would not put forth sufficient "mental effort" if teachers knew and used their mother tongue. However, this danger of mental sloth apparently did not threaten students who already understood English and were spared the task of mastering a new language! (3–4)

Although overt racism has been virtually eradicated from public policy, there is still a significant ethnocentric residue among many Anglo-Celtic Canadians, which finds expression whenever the linguistic implications of multiculturalism are discussed. Although multiculturalism in its inoffensive manifestations (ethnic food and

dance) is supported by most Canadians (Berry and Kalin, 1979), the implicit expectations of the majority anglophone group are violated by "ethnic demands" for heritage-language teaching. These implicit expectations are that ethnic groups should either assimilate and "disappear" socially and politically or withdraw and pursue their linguistic and cultural goals "quietly" outside the mainstream. These expectations were especially apparent in the recent debate in Toronto about heritage-language programmes.

Multiculturalism and Heritage Languages in Toronto

Although multiculturalism has been vaunted as "a policy of cultural democracy as opposed to a policy of cultural imperialism" (Bhatnager, 1981, 81), it has also been severely criticized because of its "persistent ambiguities" regarding the status of heritage-language promotion vis-à-vis French-English bilingualism (Lupul, 1982). The rhetoric about heritage-language teaching has usually been positive, but it has been qualified with respect to feasibility, cost and the primacy of French as a second language for "English Canada" outside Quebec. For example, Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism recommended that "the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme, where there is sufficient demand for such classes" (1970, 141). However, the report also noted the practical difficulties of heritage-language learning at the elementary school level and cautioned that other languages should not be taught at the expense of English or French.

The Heritage Languages Program (HLP) announced by the Ontario government in the spring 1977 represented a carefully considered attempt to accommodate the persistent "ethnic demands" while minimizing the backlash from opponents of publicly supported heritage-language teaching. Under the HLP, the Department of Education covered virtually all operating costs, based on a per-pupil formula for two hours of instruction per week to school boards who agreed to implement a programme at the request of community groups. Thus the initiative lay with communities, and school boards were under no obligation to accede to community requests. In fact, in several cases boards have resisted implementing a programme despite strong ethnic community pressure. Classes could be on

weekends, after the regular five-hour school day or integrated into a school day extended by one-half hour. The latter option has been the most common with the Metropolitan Separate Board, which has operated the largest HLP by far.

Because the HLP was funded under the Continuing Education Program, instructors did not need Ontario certificates and could be paid lower rates than regular certified teachers. Because the programme was offered outside regular school hours, the Education Act did not have to be changed. Thus the programme appeared as a reasonable compromise, accommodating the concerns of ethnic communities without excessively alienating other community sectors. Even so, the reaction of those opposed to the programme was initially very hostile. A departmental official informed the writer that the phone rang steadily for three weeks with people voicing their disapproval.

It appears that the department was caught off-guard by the demand for the programme. Costs for 1977–8 had been estimated at a maximum of $1,500,000 but actually totalled about five million and have risen appreciably every year since then with increased enrollment (Burke, 1982). The size of the HLP can be gauged from its enrollment, which at almost 82,000 pupils in 1982–3 is larger than that in the various French immersion programmes across Canada. One can safely assume that the department in Ontario is acutely aware of the financial and political costs of accommodating "ethnic demands" further, yet the demands did not end with the implementation of the HLP.

Dissatisfied with the implication that heritage-language teaching was not a legitimate part of "regular" education, the Ukrainian and Armenian communities requested in the spring 1980 that the public school board in Toronto establish "Alternative Language Schools"—essentially magnet schools open to students outside immediate school areas, in which not only would a heritage language be taught for one-half hour during an extended school day, but school announcements and incidental "non-instructional" conversation would be in the same language. The proposals evoked a public outcry of "ghettoization" and "balkanization" and were savaged by the press.

In June 1980 the board referred the whole question of third-language instruction to a work group. After extensive

community consultation and visits to Edmonton and Winnipeg to review and discuss the Ukrainian bilingual programme, the group recommended in March 1982 that the heritage-language programme be gradually integrated into a regular extended school day and that the board's long-term strategy be to implement bilingual and trilingual programmes for heritage languages. Meanwhile, the board was advised to press the ministry to adopt permissive legislation with respect to languages of instruction (Toronto Board of Education, 1982).

The ensuing debate was bitter and divisive. A large proportion of the ethnocultural communities strongly supported the recommendations, with opposition coming mainly from the anglophone communities, joined occasionally by a few individuals from minority backgrounds. Almost two hundred oral submissions to the board approved the report on 5 May 1982. The *Toronto Star* (4 May) summed up the debate well:

> In essence, it seems to be a battle over the Canadian identity: Are we stronger because of our cultural diversity, or weakened by institutionalizing it?
>
> It's been marred at times by charges of racism on one side and misrepresentation on the other, invective catcalls and telephoned threats to trustees. Callers also have harrassed board staff.

The basic arguments were not very different from earlier debates in Toronto, though the pitch and level of community involvement appeared to be higher. Supporters of the report stressed the reality of language and culture loss among their children and cited the report's research findings in favour of heritage-language teaching generally and bilingual and trilingual programmes in particular. The validity of bilingualism and trilingualism as *educational* goals for their children was emphasized. Thus the 1982 recommendations appeared to have stronger empirical and community-experiential (e.g., language loss) bases than did those in 1975 on heritage-language education (Toronto Board of Education, 1975).

Opponents tended to focus on the presumed financial and social consequences of implementing the report. A letter to the *Globe and Mail* (17 April 1982) by Trustee Michael Walker made the consequences explicit:

If this report is passed, it would probably result in the segregation of children along linguistic and cultural lines, the busing of children on a major scale across the city, using linguistic and cultural quotas to staff schools with teachers and very large additional costs to the taxpayer.... the recommendations of this report will guarantee second-class status to any student attending a third language school and be of great disservice to the community at large. I also believe it will ultimately tear the public school system apart in Toronto.

A letter by Barbara Stuart (*Toronto Star*, 20 May) made the usual appeal to "priorities." "If so much as a single dollar extra can be found in any budget for the implementation of the Third Language Report, should that dollar not be spent on the more urgent of our problems?" Another letter by Steve Gurian, (*Toronto Star*, 20 May) asked, "How are these ethnic children ever going to integrate and assimilate into the Canadian culture stream if they do not possess English?"

It is clear that the debate escalated far beyond the merits of the report's specific proposals. Nor were the concerns of opponents diminished by the presence of almost 30,000 students in integrated heritage-language classes of the Metropolitan Separate School Board, conducted at no extra cost to taxpayers and with no hint of ghettoization or academic difficulties.

Several aspects of this debate are worth highlighting. It is clear that, despite the veneer of multiculturalism, Anglo-conformity is still alive and well in Canadian society. But it is also clear that ethnolinguistic groups have a greater consciousness of their cultural and linguistic interests, and their demographic strength and increased economic security have caused them to reject the dominant group's two options: 1) to give up their languages and cultures and become invisible and inaudible through assimilation, or 2) to maintain their languages and cultures "quietly" and at their own expense without in any way affecting the linguistic and cultural status quo. Rather, the ethnic communities are no longer afraid to articulate *their* priorities as *Canadian* taxpayers and to fight for them in the political arena.

In the debate the role of research findings, especially within the context of the Alberta and Manitoba Ukrainian programmes, was crucial. Both the work group report and other supporters of heritage-language learning repeatedly stressed the positive research

results that pointed to the cognitive and academic advantages of proficient bilingualism. In fact, the work group's recommendations were based solely on the research findings. Their opponents, in turn, insisted that there was practically no research on the effects of teaching *subjects* utilizing heritage languages, and it was wrong to generalize from the results of the Ukrainian programme.

Even though the arguments based in research failed to impress the opponents of the heritage-language programmes, the research findings did help to defuse the "scare tactics" used by opponents in earlier debates. Where earlier it was common for teachers and letter writers to warn ethnic parents that teaching heritage languages would interfere with their children's acquisition of English and impede academic progress, the "enrichment" aspect of language was now documented in research, and the resolve of ethnolinguistic communities for integrated heritage-language programmes was more difficult to shake.

But as important as it is to communicate research findings to ethnolinguistic groups, it is equally important to ensure that the findings are *understood*. In French immersion programmes, countless evaluations were carried out to reassure parents and educators that the learning of English would not suffer. The skepticism was profound. How could less instruction in English actually result in better developed English academic skills (Swain and Lapkin, 1982)? With many parents from ethnolinguistic groups sharing similar concerns it is well to explore the remarkably consistent pattern of findings observed in such bilingual programmes as the Ukrainian one in Manitoba.

The Manitoba English-Ukrainian Programme Evaluation

In September 1979 an English-Ukrainian bilingual programme was begun in three grade one classes in three different school divisions in Manitoba. Based on the Edmonton model, the programme spread rapidly and was evaluated by the Manitoba Department of Education (Chapman, 1981). The scores of 262 students in kindergarten and grades one and two were compared to those of regular programme students in the same schools. The Metropolitan Readiness Test scores of kindergarten students who subsequently entered either the bilingual or regular grade one programmes showed no significant differences, suggesting that the programme

students were representative of the general school population. Of the parental respondents (N=203), 88 per cent reported that their children were of Ukrainian descent and 23 per cent indicated that Ukrainian was spoken in the home at least half of the time, with 76 per cent of the children regularly interacting with Ukrainian-speakers, a background similar to that of the children in Edmonton's programme.

Comparison of students who attended English-language kindergarens and those conducted about 70 per cent in Ukrainian revealed no group differences on English "readiness" skills. Although possible preprogramme differences were not controlled in these kindergarten comparisons, the acquisition of adequate English readiness skills is consistent with comparison students in other bilingual programmes at grade one and two levels, even though comparison students receive approximately twice as much instructional time in English.

Almost all parents and teachers felt that students had developed a greater awareness of the Ukrainian cultural heritage as a result of the programme. In addition, some parents reported that their child had become more enthusiastic about learning other languages (60 per cent) and other cultures (45 per cent). In general, the bilingual programme teachers felt integrated with other teachers in the school (12 of 13), and all were satisfied with their level of integration with other teachers. Also, almost all (7 of 8) of the principals stated that they were "very satisfied" with the programme.

In summary, the evaluation of this "enrichment" bilingual programme shows that students acquire satisfactory levels of Ukrainian skills and an appreciation of Ukrainian culture at no cost to achievement in English and other academic subjects. Student affective outcomes, as viewed by parents, teachers and principals, also appear to be positive. Similar patterns have emerged for bilingual programme evaluations of both minority and majority students all over the world (Cummins, 1981). How does one explain that students taught through a minority language for all or part of the day perform at least as well in majority-language academic skills as those taught exclusively through the majority language?

Understanding Bilingual Academic Development: The Common Underlying Proficiency

The fact that there is little relationship between the amount of instructional time through the majority language and academic achievement in that language strongly suggests that L1 and L2 academic skills are interdependent, i.e., manifestations of a common underlying proficiency. The interdependence hypothesis has been stated formally as follows (Cummins, 1980):

> To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly.

In concrete terms, what this hypothesis means is that in Ukrainian bilingual programmes, for example, instruction which develops Ukrainian reading skills is not just developing *Ukrainian* skills; it is also developing a deeper conceptual and linguistic proficiency which is strongly related to the development of *English* literacy and general academic skills. In other words, although the surface aspects (e.g., pronunciation, fluency) of Ukrainian and English or French and English are clearly separate, there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency which is common across languages. This "common underlying proficiency" makes possible the transfer of conceptual or literacy-related skills across languages. This model of bilingual proficiency is illustrated in Figure 1.

Surface Features of L1   Surface Features of L2

Common Underlying Proficiency
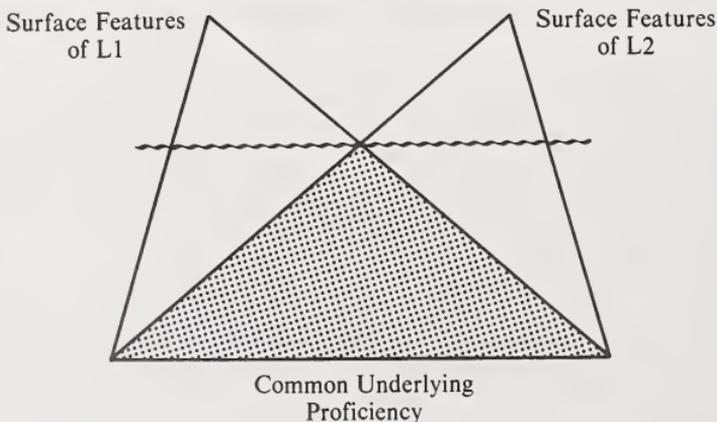
FIGURE 1
The "Dual-Iceberg" Representation of Bilingual Proficiency

The point is a very obvious one, but its implications have not been realized generally in the policy debates on heritage-language education. In terms of Figure 1, academic achievement in English directly related to how well students' common underlying proficiency is developed, whether in L1 or L2. However, those who argue that L1 instruction will impede English acquisition fail to realize that experience or instruction in *either* language can promote development of the proficiency underlying *both* languages, given adequate motivation and exposure to both either in school or in the wider environment.

The existence of a common underlying proficiency explains why students in bilingual education programmes acquire academic skills in the majority language which are at least as well-developed as those of students in monolingual programmes, despite much less instructional time in the majority language. It also explains why children who use a heritage language predominantly in the preschool years are no more likely to experience academic difficulties than those whose experience is exclusively in the school language (i.e., English). What is important for academic achievement is not which language is used in the home but the quality of adult-child interaction and the extent to which the child has been exposed to literacy-related activities (Wells, 1981). Thus parents who wish their child to become bilingual should interact with their child in Ukrainian as much as possible with the knowledge that the underlying skills and abilities that are being developed through that interaction will transfer readily to English in school.

Conclusion

Knowledge of the research findings and an understanding of the theory which accounts for them is an important precondition for community action designed to institute educationally effective heritage-language programmes, whether bilingual or otherwise. The research shows that there is a proven remedy to offset at least partially the rapid language loss among ethnolinguistic communities. A major impediment to the institution of such programmes, however, is the Anglo-conformity which emerges with particular vehemence whenever certain sectors of the society feel threatened by "ethnic demands." The greater concentration of

minority groups in Toronto as compared to the Prairie provinces is clearly a factor in accounting for the intensity of the Toronto debate.

Research findings have become a major factor in political struggles, insofar as they permit ethnolinguistic communities to document the educational validity and viability of their claims. Increasing sophistication among the ethnolinguistic communities with regard to the research has also made it more difficult for opponents to deflect community demands by means of scare tactics about the potential damage to children's English acquisition.

However, the research is clearly only one component of a complex socio-political situation which is still in a state of flux. The outcome of this continuing debate will very likely define what "multiculturalism" really means in the Canadian context. In this regard, the Edmonton Ukrainian bilingual programme is having a major influence in helping to promote a substantive rather than a trivial form of multiculturalism.

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Measures of Ukrainian Classroom Verbal Processes and Products

Patricia Sembaliuk

Nature of the Study

This paper discusses the results of an analysis of the effect of verbal teaching patterns on individual pupil behaviour in Edmonton's Ukrainian bilingual programme.

The study was concerned 1) to describe teacher-pupil interaction in a Ukrainian bilingual classroom by means of an observational instrument; 2) to administer a pre- and posttest as an indicator of pupil achievement; and 3) to relate observationally derived variables to pupil achievement. The study sought to answer the following specific questions:

1. What is the distribution of frequencies and percentages among the process variables?

2. What is the rate of instruction for each class?

3. What is the proportion of teacher talk, pupil talk and non-verbal interaction?

4. What is the total teacher talk in Ukrainian and English?

5. What is the distribution of Ukrainian teacher talk variables?

6. What is the total pupil talk in Ukrainian and English?

7. What is the distribution of Ukrainian pupil talk variables?

8. What is the teacher question ratio (TQR), the teacher response ratio (TRR) and the pupil initiation ratio (PIR)?

9. What is the total dyadic our coupled interaction in each class and the disbursement of dyadic frequencies among pupils?

10. What are the pre-post achievement test scores and the gains which occurred between the two tests?

11. What is the relationship between the total mean gain scores, mean subskill gains and teacher process variables for each class?

The Sample

The research sample consisted of seventy-nine pupils in three split classes (grades three and four) and one grade three heterogeneous English-Ukrainian bilingual class in four Edmonton schools (see Table 1). The grades were selected on the assumption that by

TABLE 1 Distribution of Pupils Among Classes

Class	Grade 3	Grade 4	Total
1	4	8	12
2	10	9	19
3	13	10	23
4	25		25
Total			79

grades three and four pupils reach a level of oral production in Ukrainian which is past the labelling stage and that verbalization includes instances of initiation as well as response. The study deals only with the relationship between classroom processes and grade three product measures. Table 2 indicates the type of lessons observed.

Although the collected data are an accurate representation of observed verbal behaviour, it is important to recognize that the

TABLE 2 Lesson Types Among Teachers

Teacher	Grammatical Structure	New Material	Reading
1	x	x (2 sessions)	
2		x (2 sessions)	x
3	x	x (2 sessions)	
4		x	x (2 sessions)

study takes into account only a small portion of the interacting forces which produce some measurable teacher effect. Moreover, because only four classes and four teachers were involved, the study is essentially exploratory in nature. The presence of an observer in the classroom also raises the possibility of atypical pupil-teacher verbal interaction patterns, and is a third limiting factor.

Collection and Preparation of Data

The responses to the problem in each classroom are divided into three parts: process variables, product variables and the relationship between the two.

Process variables. A modified interaction analysis system (Moskowitz, 1971) was used to collect the process data. Categories 1 to 7 designate teacher talk, 8 to 9 designate pupil talk and 10 designates non-verbal interaction (Figure 1).

Each classroom interaction was coded onto a coding sheet on which each individual pupil was identified. The sessions were also taped to facilitate coding. To establish a quantitative baseline for discussion, frequencies for each variable were tallied and converted to percentages. Table 3 gives the individual class and the means results for these interactions. Patterns of interaction were identified from the raw data, and the number of times each teacher interacted with each pupil was also calculated (Table 4).

To establish a more parsimonious concept of classroom processes, combinations of frequencies were calculated to determine the amount of teacher talk, pupil talk and non-verbal interaction in each classroom (Table 3), and the variables were tabulated in Table 5.

FIGURE 1
The McEwen 12P System: Verbal Functions(1976)
(As modified by the researcher)

1. *Acknowledgement of feelings:* In a non-threatening way, accepting, reflecting, discussing, referring to, identifying with or communicating, past, present or future feelings of the students.

2. *Praise or encouragement:* Praising or encouraging student verbalization or behaviour; joking at no one's expense.

2r. *Repetitive praise:* Repeating verbatim the correct answer given by student.

3. *Reiteration of student ideas:* Rephrasing student ideas while recognizing student contributions.

3c. *Clarification of student ideas:* Asking for further clarification, probing for more information or trying to get students to focus their ideas.

3x. *Extension of student ideas*: Getting the students to develop or extend their ideas. Teacher extension of an idea may be included when in the context of a student's original idea.

4. *Convergent question*: Asking a factual question to have student produce a predetermined answer.

4i. Teacher names pupil, then asks question.

4d. *Divergent question*: Asking broad, open questions that require students to formulate own responses. As the teacher makes use of the responses, moves to categories 3, 3c, 3x.

4p. *Personal question:* Asking students about own personal experiences; relating content under discussion to personal life of students.

5. *Gives information:* Giving information about content, culture, grammar.

5b. *Belief or opinion*: Relating opinions, beliefs or anecdotes to students.

5c. *Correcting:* Correcting an incorrect student response without rejection.

5p. *Procedure*: Presenting information about procedure. No student verbalization anticipated.

6. *Verbal direction:* Giving directions, commands or requests for verbal participation.

6a. Request for choral response.

6b.   *Behavioural direction:* Giving commands or requests for behavioural participation.

7.   *Verbal criticism*: Criticizing student response.

7b.   *Behavioural criticism*: Criticizing student behaviour.

8.   *Convergent response*: Students have little or no choice in responses, since the answer is predictable from the question asked.

8a.   Choral response.

8q.   *Convergent question:* Asking a question as directed by the teacher.

8r.   *Pupil* reads.

9.   *Divergent response*: Students respond to teacher or initiate communication; students express own opinions, reactions or feelings.

9q.   *Divergent question:* Teacher asks a question which students initiate or for which they have the choice of selection.

9c.   *Student-to-student assistance:* Assisting another student with verbalization.

9E.   *Comment in English*: Making a comment in English which may or may not be disruptive to the class.

10.   *Non-verbal activity:* Pauses in the interaction, laughter and periods in which non-verbal interaction occurs.

10i. Pauses in the interaction.

10w. Teacher writes on the board.

10t. Pupil tasks.

10l. Laughter.

10p. Teacher shows picture.

10m. Teacher mimes.

10c. Confusion.

A subscript (E) was added after each category if it occurred in English.

TABLE 3 Selected Teacher Process Variables

		Class			
		1	2	3	4
4-6-8-3	(Question answer)	x	x	x	x
4-6a-8a	(Request for and choral response)	x			
6-8q-8	(Directed discourse)	x			
5	(Discussion of content)			x	
5c	(Pronunciation corrected)		x		
4d	(Divergent question)			x	
6b	(Request for behavioural response)				x
7b	(Behaviour criticized)		x		
8r	(Reading)				x
8q	(Convergent question)	x			
9	(Initiation of communication)			x	
9q	(Divergent question)	x			
TTT	(Total teacher talk)			x	
PT	(Total pupil talk)		x		
Dyadic	(Dyadic interaction)		x		
TQR	(Teacher question ratio)				x
TRR	(Teacher response ratio)				x
PIR	(Pupil initiation ratio)			x	
TTUK	(Teacher talk Ukrainian)				x
PTUK	(Pupil talk Ukrainian)				x

TABLE 4 Range Totals of Dyadic Interaction

Interaction	1	2	3	Class 4
Minimum	32	34	0	3
Maximum	182	128	150	130
Total frequencies	981	1,246	719	982
Percentage dyadic	43	76	44	57
Percentage group	57	24	56	43

TABLE 5 **Teacher-Pupil Interaction in Per Cent**

Class	1	2	3	4	$\bar{X}\%$	Reg. Class
Teacher Talk Ukrainian	94	94	98	98	96	
Pupil Talk Ukrainian	85	92	82	97	90	
Teacher Question Ratio	54	48	51	57	53	25
Teacher Response Ratio	61	60	58	66	61	50
Pupil Initiation Ratio	32	12	35	3	20	33

The quantitative data revealed a consistent 4–6–8–3 question-answer pattern in all four classes; teachers were otherwise quite diverse in their behaviour. Table 5 indicates which teacher had the highest percentage in each variable.

Product variables. A pre-post Ukrainian Language Skills Achievement Test (ULSAT) was administered to each class. The test is divided into five skill areas: Review, Listening, Reading, Writing and Oral Production. Figure 2 indicates the pre-post test achievement and gain scores made in each grade three class. Figure 3 indicates the achievement and gains made in each subskill.

Product-process relationships by class. For class 1, Figure 3 indicates that gains made in the review of previously taught material and listening were not significant. The most gains were made in reading and writing. Although reading and writing were not observed in the study, informal discussion with the teacher indicated that these two skills had been stressed during the year. The gains in oral production were slightly less than in class 3 and more than those in class 2.

The predominant processes which emerged from class 1 were audiolingual habit formation in the form of directed discourse (6–8q–8) and requests for choral response (4–6a–8a). Both processes were used to provide drill in pronoun-verb agreement. Some picture-stimulated pupil dialogue occurred which brought considerable pauses in the interaction and some pupil-initiated divergent questions. The teacher purposely created situations for pupils to talk. Although the pupil divergent questions were short, they gave some indication that pupils were in the initial stages of bridging the gap between *basic skills* and communication.

SUB-SKILL GAIN SCORES GRADE THREE

Possible Total — 135
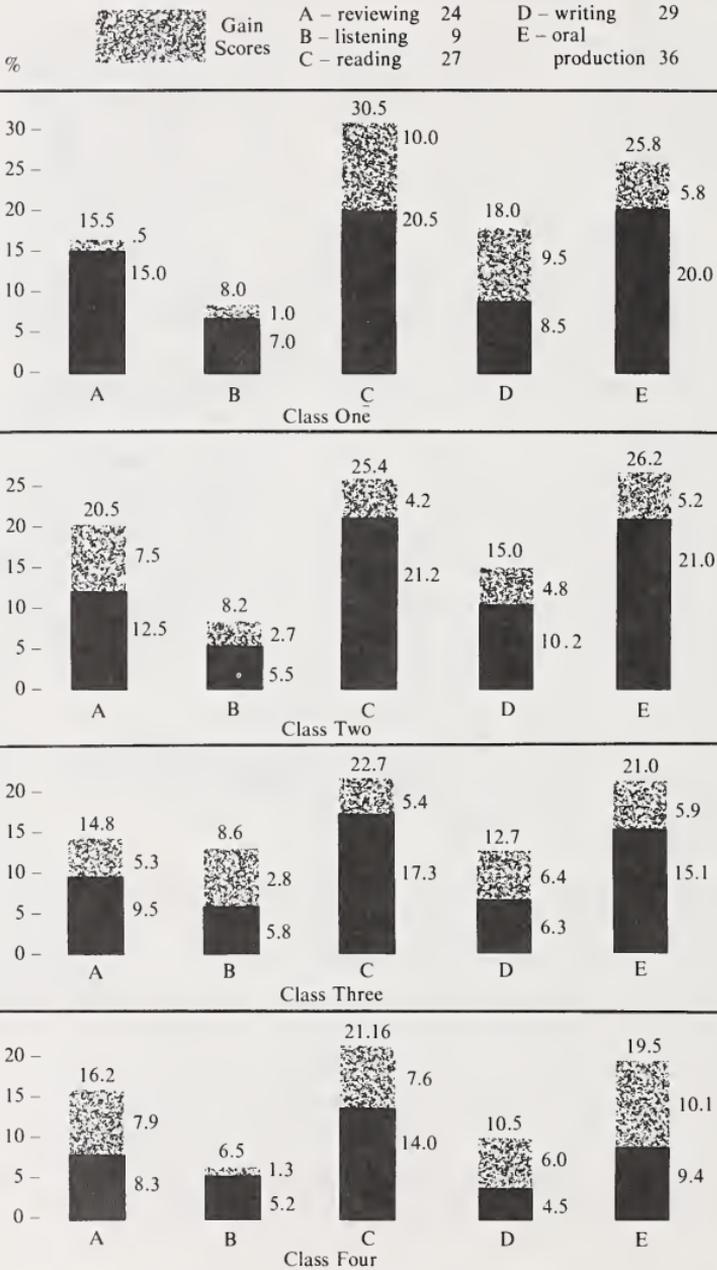
FIGURE 2
Pre-post Test Mean Achievement Scores and Mean Gain Scores for Grade Three
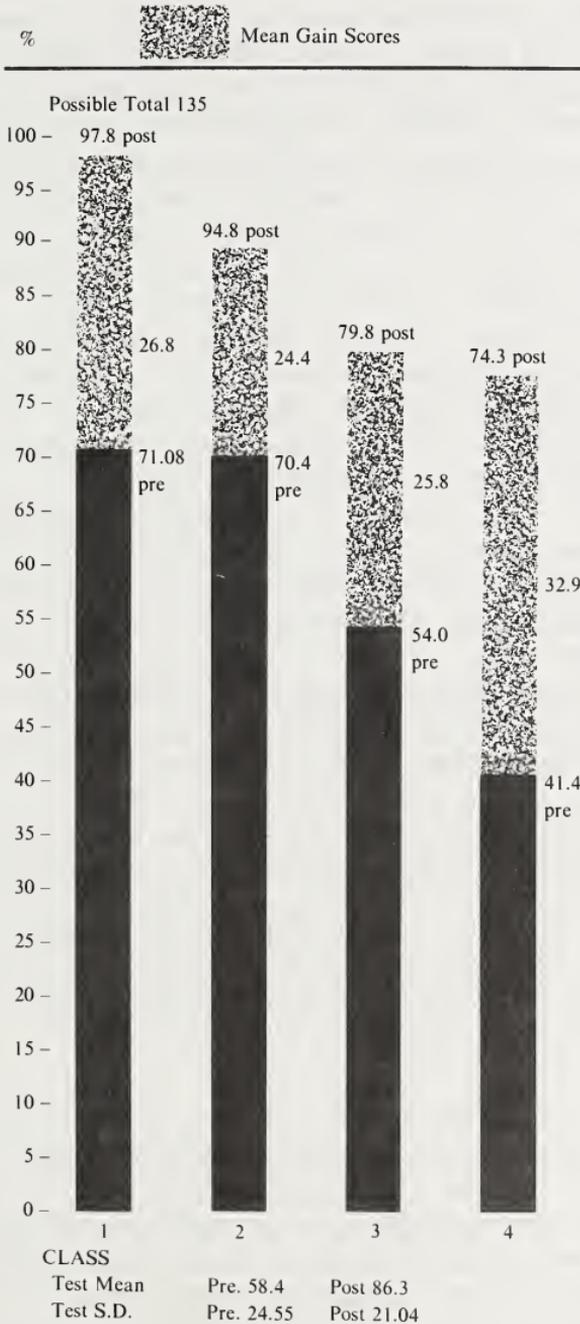
FIGURE 3
Subskill Gain Scores for Grade Three

As for the relationship between processes and product, the audiolingual habit formation drills of directed discourse and choral response in this class did not affect oral production to any great extent. However, evidence of pupil-initiated convergent and divergent questions and pupil-to-pupil contact does imply that a few individuals responded to the particular process. There was also transfer from the oral drills to reading and writing. The results supported the position of Carroll (1970) that "pupils tend to learn what they are taught" through one modality or another.

For class 2, Figure 3 indicates that the most gains were in the review of previously learned materials, while the gains in reading and oral production were not significant. Although the pretest achievement scores were high (Figure 2), the total gains were the lowest. High dyadic interaction, a predominant convergent question-answer response pattern, correction for pronunciation and some behavioural criticism were evident in the class. It appeared that basic skills and material familiar to high achievers were being stressed. Implied is the use of a restricted code with a limited language model.

In terms of the relationship between processes and product, it appears that the stress on basic skills was not the optimum teacher procedure for high achievers. This is supported by an examination of individual pupil gain scores, which reveal a loss of two marks for the high achievers and a gain of 83 for the lower achievers. The concept of optimal teaching is stated by Brophy and Evertson:

> The higher the ability and knowledge of the student, the more difficult and challenging the task can become without losing effectiveness. Conversely, less able or knowledgeable students will need material presented in smaller chunks in greater redundancy (1976, 65).

The lower-order question-answer pattern used in this class did not necessarily challenge the high achievers. Another reason for the low pupil gains may be that increment in achievement often decreases with the level of class quality, i.e., the higher the achievement, the fewer the gains. This is indicated by the pretest mean achievement score of 70.4, which was considerably higher than the pretest mean of 58.4.

In class 3, Figure 3 indicates that the gains were similar and significant across all five subskills, which may mean that all five skills

were emphasized equally. The emerging processes of high teacher talk were characterized by discussion of content (5) and divergent questions. This provided an elaborate code model for the class. During question-answer discourse, the teacher did not focus directly on the pupil to correct pronunciation but reiterated or clarified the response by using a correct language model. Such an approach to error correction tends to sharpen sensitivity to the target language and helps students to become more acutely aware of what is acceptable (Stanislawczyk and Yavener, 1969). Little choral response was found in this class and the higher percentage in behavioural response (6B) resulted from coding such statements as "Think about it carefully" into this category. The high PIR resulted from the dyadic interaction with one pupil. To extend the teacher profile, the examination of non-verbal variables showed that the teacher engaged in miming more than others.

In terms of the relationship between processes and product, it appears that qualitative teacher talk plus a humanistic approach to pronunciation-error correction coupled with dramatization or physical action are processes which contribute to positive pupil gains.

Figure 2 indicates that the highest total gains were made in class 4, and from Figure 3 it is clear that the gains in all subskills were significant and those in oral production were the highest of all four classes.

Emerging process variables of high talk by both teacher and pupils in Ukrainian, as well as high TRR and TQR indicate that most interaction consisted of question-answer discourse. Writing on the blackboard, a visual reinforcement, was also evident. High frequencies in requests for behavioural response (6b) resulted from the teacher asking pupils to "raise their hand" or to "look closely at the picture." Limited divergent questioning occurred when pupils were asked to make inferences about a picture. The high frequencies in reading (8r) occurred as a result of lesson content. In this class, then, lower-order questions were prevalent with the stress on basic listening and speaking skills through the use of a question-answer technique, all integrated into the reading lesson. The high gains imply that the lower-order question-answer discourse with reading reinforcement was optimum procedure for this class. In addition, the non-split organization, where the teacher could spend more time on one grade, may have contributed to the higher pupil gains.

Summary of Findings

1. Each of the four classes engaged in a fairly rapid question-answer discourse which resulted in a predominant 4–6–8–3 pattern of interaction. This was reflected in both a high teacher question ratio and a slightly higher teacher response ratio, as well as higher pupil talk, than is found in regular classrooms. The slightly higher teacher response ratio indicates that clarifying pupils' ideas was slightly more prevalent than asking questions. The rapidity of interchange also indicates that clarifications were short and use of an elaborate code was minimal.

2. The nature of non-verbal behaviour was diverse and a result of teacher preference for implementing lesson content.

3. Both teachers and pupils spoke primarily in Ukrainian. Teacher talk in English was minimal and was used primarily to clarify meaning. Pupils used English mainly for convergent responses, indicating that comprehension precedes production.

4. The findings for teacher variables (Table 6) indicate that there was almost no reference to pupil feelings, little expression of teacher beliefs, few requests for choral responses and little criticism. Differences among teachers for similar variables did occur, however, and were identified as use of divergent question (8q), class clarification of content (3), correction for pronunciation (2), choral response (6a), request for behavioural response (6) and behavioural criticism (7b). The differences were primarily a result of individual teaching style and were not used to meet a specific objective. An exception was the emerging 6–8q–8 (directed discourse) pattern in class 1 which indicated that the teacher deliberately set objectives for oral production and pronunciation and used directed discourse and choral response to achieve them.

5. Findings for pupil variables were found in reading (a result of lesson content) and convergent and divergent questions (a result of the directed discourse in class 1). The high initiation of conversation in class 3 was a result of the dyadic interaction of one pupil fluent in the target language and did not indicate the typical verbal behaviour of that class. This supports the position of Good, Biddle and Brophy (1975).

6. The pupil initiation ratio (Table 5) indicated that pupils in classes 2 and 4 did not speak out spontaneously or express their own

TABLE 6 Total Interaction Frequencies in Each Category

Category Number	Class Number								X%
	1		2		3		4		
1 Feelings	2	.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	.02
2 Praise	107	4.72	70	4.23	69	4.16	82	4.72	4.50
2r Repeats	67	2.95	28	1.69	36	2.17	41	2.36	2.35
2E Praise	2	.08	1	.06	3	.18	1	.05	.09
2rE Repeats	11	.48	0	0	0	0	0	0	.15
3 Clarification	248	10.94	194	11.75	244	14.79	285	16.40	13.29*
3E Clarification	37	1.63	23	1.39	11	.66	4	.23	1.02
4 Convergent question	115	5.07	109	6.60	167	10.12	130	7.48	7.13*
4E Convergent question	2	.08	8	.48	2	.12	2	.11	.19
4d Divergent question	10	.44	11	.66	45	2.71	18	1.03	1.15
4dE Divergent question	0	0	0	0	1	.06	1	.05	.03
4i Pupil question	69	3.04	65	3.93	49	2.96	72	4.14	3.49
4pE Pupil question	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 Gives information	37	1.63	23	1.39	194	11.72	98	5.64	4.80
5E Gives information	8	.35	3	.18	0	0	9	.51	.27
5b Gives belief	4	.17	4	.24	8	.48	0	0	.22
5c Correction	83	3.66	155	9.38	26	1.50	35	2.01	4.09
5cE Correction	5	.22	2	.12	0	0	0	0	.09
5p Procedure	40	1.76	12	.72	22	1.32	32	1.84	1.45
5pE Procedure	0	0	13	.78	0	0	0	0	.19
6 Request for response	151	6.66	118	7.15	160	9.70	92	5.29	7.13*
6a Choral response	73	3.22	40	2.24	17	1.02	17	1.97	2.01*
6b Behavioural response	32	1.41	16	.96	67	4.04	92	5.29	2.83*

TABLE 6 Total Interaction Frequencies in Each Category (Cont.)

6bE	Behavioural response	0	0	1	.06	0	0	0	0	.01
7	Verbal criticism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7b	Behavioural criticism	9	.39	23	1.39	4	.24	6	.34	.57
7bE	Behavioural criticism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Convergent response	199	8.78	322	19.50	123	7.43	184	10.59	11.33*
8a	Choral response	136	6.00	52	3.14	35	2.11	38	3.35	3.57
8q	Convergent question	13	.57	0	0	0	0	0	0	.17
8r	Reading	71	3.13	68	4.11	7	.42	111	6.39	3.52
8E	Convergent response	79	3.48	15	.90	38	2.29	10	.57	1.89
9	Divergent response	136	6.00	53	3.21	89	5.37	7	.40	3.90
9E	Divergent response	29	1.27	14	.84	12	.72	1	.05	.76
9c	Pupil to pupil	10	1.44	7	.42	2	.12	2	.11	.28
9cE	Pupil to pupil	3	.13	5	.30	3	.18	0	0	.15
9qE	Divergent question	2	.08	8	.35	0	0	0	0	.13
9q	Divergent question	53	2.33	2	.12	0	0	0	0	.75
10i	Pauses	341	15.05	148	8.96	119	7.21	230	13.24	11.47*
10w	Writes on blackboard	3	.13	0	0	14	.84	76	4.37	1.27
10t	Pupil task	15	.66	0	0	72	4.35	45	2.59	1.80
10l	Laughter	19	.83	21	1.27	0	0	0	0	.54
10p	Picture	8	.35	11	.66	0	0	12	0	.42
m	Mime	9	.39	6	.36	11	.66	4	.23	.41
10c	Confusion	28	1.23	0	0	0	0	0	0	.38

* Highest frequencies and percentages

opinions while those in classes 1 and 3 were more inclined to do so. Wragg (1970) notes that presumably only when children are sufficiently confident and feel competent will they engage in larger amounts of spontaneous talk in the target language.

7. Teacher contact with the individual pupils revealed an unequal distribution of contacts with a high range of 0 to 20 per cent for class 3, and 2 to 10 per cent for class 1.

8. The possible total for the grade three ULSAT test was 135 marks. Posttest mean achievement scores were 97.8, 94.8, 79.8 and 74.8 for classes 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively. Pre-post test mean gains were 26.8, 24.4, 25.8 and 32.9 respectively.

9. Stress on basic listening and speaking skills using a question-answer technique appeared to have a positive effect through the gains in all subskills, but particularly in class 4. The process was not optimal for class 2, which had the highest achievement scores but smallest gains.

10. While the habit formation drills which emerged as a process in class 1 did not reflect higher gains in oral production, the considerable gains in reading and writing suggest a transfer from one modality of expression to another and that listening, speaking, reading and writing are integrated proceses.

11. High teacher talk in Ukrainian appeared to have a positive effect on all four classes despite the disparity of gain scores in the subskills.

12. Results of informal discussions with the teachers revealed concern with the quality and quantity of verbal behaviour both for themselves and their pupils. In some instances, teachers rationalized particular behaviours: teacher 3 corrected pronunciation indirectly because she felt it was more humanistic to provide a model; teacher 4 used the blackboard a great deal because she viewed visual display as a type of reinforcement; teacher 1 attributed higher gains in reading and writing to the emphasis given these activities in the absence of time to prepare oral production exercises. However, it was also felt that contextual variables such as split classes, which resulted in a lack of time to focus on particular skills such as oral production, and lack of materials, which limited the opportunity for small-group or individualized instruction, affected teaching as much as verbal interaction.

Conclusions

The data suggest that the mode of communication in all four classes was primarily lower-order questions and answers. Lesson content was concerned with the development of vocabulary and pronunciation. The primary objective of the teachers was to develop a basic knowledge of the language in a formal way before moving to situations where the target language could be used for functional communications. From the product data, it is clear that this technique achieved gains for lower-level pupils, but not for high achievers. This suggests that optimal teacher behaviour requires adjusting the curriculum to the student's level of knowledge and ability by creating either two streams of instruction or small-group learning centres, depending on the availability of materials and teacher organizational skills.

In determining process-product relationships by means of an interaction-analysis system, contextual variables such as split classes and availability of materials must also be taken into account.

The role of the second-language teacher is most demanding. In inculcating habits, attitudes and knowledge, teachers of other disciplines use a medium that is already familiar to the students. The second-language teacher, on the other hand, must endeavour to bring about the same changes through a strange target language, which requires additional physiological, attitudinal and cognitive development on the part of the pupil.

Implications for Teacher Education and Further Research

Teacher education. The minimal initiation of student talk and the focus on lower-order questions and answers indicates that interaction is primarily a function of teacher behaviour. In teacher education students must become aware of the vertical articulation of language development and how language skills applicable to each level of learning may be integrated, providing thereby a basis for second-language experiences that lead pupils beyond the basic dialogue into functional communication. Because many bilingual classes are split, teacher educators must provide students with models for classroom organization.

Since, according to teachers, the lack of materials limits the organization of learning centres and the provision of individualized instruction, a portion of teacher education should consist of projects

to meet this need. Besides providing a model for future project development, the materials themselves could be gathered with an eye to publication.

Further research. A replication of this study, using a larger sample where there is evidence of a higher level of second-language proficiency, might reveal the use of different techniques and patterns to achieve objectives for each skill area. To obviate the fact that group data often mask the quality and quantity of pupil-teacher interaction, another area of research might be classroom studies which use data collected on individual students to obtain information about teaching.

Characteristics of Outstanding Second-Language Teachers

1. The target language dominates the classroom interaction, whether the teacher or the students are speaking.

2. The teachers have an excellent command of the target language.

3. Even in first-level classes, very little English is used.

4. The teachers have few verbal tics.

5. Students use the second language to raise questions.

6. The amount of teacher talk is less.

7. The teachers are active non-verbally and use many more hand gestures.

8. The teachers are more expressive and animated.

9. The teachers move around the classroom a great deal.

10. The teachers use more indirect behaviours (those which encourage and reinforce student participation), whether communicating in the second language, English or non-verbally.

11. The teachers give students more immediate feedback which is indirect.

12. The climate is warm and accepting.

13. The teachers often smile, praise and joke.

14. Their praise is longer, more varied, and they use more non-verbal praise.

15. There is more laughter in their classes.

16. The teachers personalize the content more.

17. The students are "with" the teacher, rather than being apathetic or flippant.

18. The students exhibit more outward signs of enthusiasm to participate.

19. Student behaviour is criticized very little.

20. Less classroom time is devoted to students doing silent reading and written tasks.

21. There is less writing on the board by the teacher.

22. Students speak to the teachers before and after class.

23. The teachers greet students before the class formally starts.

24. There are more warm-up questions, review and focusing on the skill of speaking.

25. There is a greater number of different activities per lesson.

26. The pace of the lessons is generally more rapid.

27. Drills are conducted rapidly.

28. The teachers have excellent classroom control.

29. The teachers exhibit patience.

30. When correcting student behaviour, the teachers tend to joke or to maintain eye contact with students.

31. When correcting student errors, the teachers do so gently.

32. Students assist the teacher more in setting up and running equipment.

(Source: Moskowitz, 1976, 156–7)

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Story Theatre and Ukrainian-Language Learning

Julia C. Megley-Blazuk

The plays that I saw on Friday were very nice. I liked all of the plays. I enjoy listening to people in Ukrainian. When I listen to people talk in Ukrainian I learn more words in Ukrainian. I will remember the plays for a long time. The plays were funny, too.

> Jackie, Grade 4
> Peter Svarich School
> Vegreville, Alberta, 1982.

I liked the show and the audience liked it too.

> Brian, Grade 7
> Brentwood School
> Sherwood Park, Alberta, 1982.

The above are two examples of the response generated by Ukrainian Story Theatre presentations, which have entertained and educated children from the ages of two to eighty. The response has been the same from all, only the style of expression has differed. The theatre experience is invaluable to the Ukrainian-language student, and there is much need to examine such art experiences at a time when budgetary restraints are affecting programme development and more than ever the arts are seen as a frill.

The role of the arts in the development of a child has been established by many (Bloom, 1975; Frost, 1976; Davis, 1981). Eisner

(1981) states that "the arts are not mere diversions from the important business of education; they are essential resources [because] education in the arts cultivates sensitive perception, develops insights, fosters imagination, and places a premium on well-crafted form." The arts involve more than the affective; they involve the intellect and the social being as well (Davis, 1981; Eisner, 1981). But the theatre experience is special even among the arts. Stanistreet described the theatre and its effect on the child:

> Of all art forms theatre is the most natural for a child. He understands the medium because it is his own. He dramatizes from the time he talks. It is instinctive for him to adopt many roles. It is one of the happy ways he can learn of life, its values, its relationships. Because of the complete immersion or projection of self in the play, and the fact that mind, emotion, body are exerted, theatre becomes a meaningful experience and a source for future translation or expression in individual terms. The child lives in the play (1955, 135).

Art experiences are, of course, difficult to evaluate because "learning in the arts does not always result in such simple and measurable outcomes, and the central issue—evaluating what actually happens to values, attitudes and understandings of children, teachers, administrators, and the community at large—remains elusive" (Bloom, 1975, 4). Nevertheless, through analytical description and data gathering, this investigator made the attempt and the results are summarized below.

What Is Story Theatre?

As an art form, story theatre is unique. It is the dramatization of narratives, the acting out of a story as it is read or told. Literature, adapted prose or poetry, is the message, and a combination of storytelling and theatre techniques is the medium by which the message is communicated. The place (setting), objects (properties), characters (actors) and events (action) are narrated and/or represented as the story unfolds. Story theatre is a narrative that comes to life.

The Values of Story Theatre

Story theatre draws from both storytelling and children's theatre, combining the features of both into a unique form. In the literature, the values of story theatre are discussed under five categories:

1. Linguistic
   - extends vocabulary
   - encourages listening, where the listener creates and gives life to words
   - fosters enjoyment of sound and rhythm
   - encourages the audience to develop its own communicative skills
   - encourages students to hear and see language in its natural setting

2. Literary
   - an alternative way to introduce literature
   - fosters literary and language appreciation
   - prepares students to read
   - motivates students to read
   - draws from literary works
   - can present content from schooling
   - functions as a communal art

3. Cultural
   - presents cultural heritage
   - creates future adult audiences for "Culture"

4. Imaginative
   - encourages use of imagination to create images
   - fosters vicarious involvement
   - stimulates the imagination to create images after some are presented
   - provides opportunity for more active involvement and participation

5. Enjoyment/Attitude
   - provides for intimate contact between teller and listener
   - communicates through the senses to affect the emotions.

Linguistic

"In the theatre, much of the play's meaning is picked up by the content in which the line is uttered. . . . children have a far larger 'listening' vocabulary than a written one" (Doolittle, 1982, 6). This observation, made in discussing "English" children's theatre, has been confirmed by children's theatre in "other languages," which is equally effective in communicating meaning to the audience. *Neighbours* by Gloria Sawai of the Alberta Theatre Projects of Calgary portrays a Scandinavian boy and French Canadian girl who tell each other stories in their native tongues. "Child audiences loved the scene, although few 'understood' the actual words" (ibid.). Green Thumb, a children's theatre troupe in Vancouver, produced *Immigrant Children* where the "Canadian kids" speak gibberish and the newcomer and his mother speak English. "By the play's end everyone is bilingual along with Nick, the immigrant kid from Homeland" (Davidson, 1982, 12). Kaleidoscope Story Theatre in Victoria incorporated two versions of *The Three Billy Goats Gruff* in their 1981–2 story-theatre presentation. The second version of the folk tale was told from the troll's point of view—in gibberish! The children loved it.

These examples illustrate that the actual word or script does not constitute the total theatre experience. The latter is made up of several factors: words uttered in particular ways; actors who use gestures, movements and facial expressions; and theatre embellishments such as lights, sound, music, sets and properties. All serve to underscore or reinforce the words, and the final result is language in action.

Above all, because a play is coming, there is a real need to learn vocabulary prior to the experience—and so a vocabulary is built up. This is confirmed by teachers who cite examples of students mimicking words and phrases used in story-theatre presentations. A vocabulary acquired and reinforced by movement, expression and repetition is also retained longer.

Students in bilingual classrooms need to hear the target language spoken by various models, by other persons and other voices in differing contexts and perhaps even in different styles. Such listening practice in a purposeful listening activity is important in language acquisition (Allen and Valette, 1977, 56).

Literary

"Theatre draws upon the great works of literature" (Davis, 1981, 148). A theatre presentation is an alternative method to introducing or experiencing literature. As the visual accompanies the word dramatically, it reinforces the literary experience. Students in bilingual classrooms should have practice in listening to stories in the second language. Even if they do not understand much of what they hear, they will catch a few words and get a feel for the language. In presenting such stories, teachers are advised to use visuals, illustrated books, gestures and to read aloud (Allen and Valette, 1977, 195). But whatever the mode of exposure to literature, the potential linguistic and developmental benefits invariably justify the time and effort expended (Huck, 1976; Bettelheim, 1976).

Cultural

> The cultural goals of the language class may be divided into four major categories: increasing student awareness of the target culture; stimulating student interest in foreign language study; developing the ability to function in the target culture; and establishing an understanding of linguistic cultural referents, cultural values, and attitudes (Allen and Valette, 1977, 326).

The story-theatre performance reinforces the target culture. Through the folklore, which reflects the culture from which it originates, cultural referents are illustrated in a graphic way. Moreover, students can compare the folk tales presented with those that are more familiar to them.

Imaginative

"Good theatre provides them [the children] the 'shock of recognition' in theme. It also provides the protagonist with which to identify" (Davis, 1981, 151). By identifying with the characters and making connections to their own lives, children can examine concerns on the conscious and subconscious levels.

Story theatre in bilingual classrooms stimulates students to use their imaginations in identification and in filling in visual details. In story theatre, only representative, selective visual aids—sets, costumes and props—are used. The audience is given only an idea.

In discussing drama in the second-language classroom, Allen and Valette (1977, 180) declared that the "students fail to enjoy plays because they cannot visualize the story." By providing a starting point, story theatre encourages students to engage in active imaginative experiences—in role playing and dramatization. This is especially true of students whose teachers are involved in the cast of the story theatre; they are particularly enthusiastic to try out an activity which appears to be such fun.

Enjoyment/Attitude

In describing student responses to story-theatre presentations, the following terms appear repeatedly: entertaining, happy, joy, interesting, fun, enjoyment, fantasy, escape, pleasure, enthusiasm. Mitchell (1961, 41) writes that entertainment arises from a strong story line which builds to a strong climax, with action, strong characters, humour, beauty, fun, fantasy, music and dance.

The pleasure should also be lasting: "Good theatre should be delightful but not just a passing delight. If a play is to be considered fully entertaining, delight must linger on after the final curtain call, must have lasting effects" (Graham, 1961, 27).

Story theatre in bilingual classrooms increases the enjoyment and improves the attitude toward learning a second language. Students become proud of themselves and their heritage on viewing the show and are motivated to learn. Where language is practical through an artistic event, emotions are involved and learning is enhanced.

Ukrainian Story Theatre Presentations

The three Ukrainian Story Theatre programmes, *Stories of the Fox*, *Animal Tales—Tails, Horns* and *Paws* and *When Feathers Flew*, were staged from 1979 to 1982. *Stories of the Fox* included the following stories: "The Gingerbread Boy," "The Sly Godmother" by Ivan Franko, "A Cunning Thief," "The Rabbit and the Fox" and "The Cat and the Rooster." *Animal Tales—Tails, Horns and Paws* included "Two Billy Goats and Two Nanny Goats," "When the Wolf Wanted Kids for Breakfast," "The Mitten," "The Billy Goat and the Ram," "The Hedgehog and the Rabbit" and "Mr. Catskyj." *When Feathers Flew* consisted of "Live and Learn" by Lesia Ukrainka, "The Rooster and the Hen" and "The Fox and the Crane" by Natalia Zabila and "The Wren and the Bear" by Ivan Franko.

Notwithstanding the variations, the following characterized the three shows:

a) *Objectives*:

   1. To provide children with an enjoyable theatrical experience to enhance their imaginative, social, intellectual and affective development;

   2. To illustrate that a second language can be a viable communicative medium;

   3. To introduce folklore in an entertaining experiential manner;

   4. To provide Ukrainian-language students with an extension to their formal schooling;

   5. To focus the Ukrainian community on the need to provide children with enjoyable, quality performances so that they might experience the language they are learning;

   6. To provide those directly involved (actors, director) with an opportunity to practise to improve formal communication, to be introduced to folklore and to do research.

b) *Personnel:*

   1. All participants were young second-generation, Ukrainian Canadian adults who had experience working with children;

   2. All the actors, mainly teachers in the Ukrainian bilingual programme in Edmonton's public schools, had extensive Ukrainian dancing experience, with three active members of Shumka, a semiprofessional Ukrainian dance troupe;

   3. The director possessed training and experience in children's theatre and drama;

   4. The language consultant/story adapter was a teacher and consultant of Ukrainian on leave from the Edmonton Public School District;

   5. The other members were chosen by the director for their particular expertise.

c) *Story Characteristics:*

   1. The stories had simple plots with repetition or refrains, much action and strong characters with distinguishable qualities;

   2. Each story had to be adapted so that it could be dramatized by the available actors with a minimum of theatrical embellishments.

d) *Actor Responsibilities*:

   1. As well as portraying characters, the actors often symbolized set pieces or properties.

e) *Theatrical Embellishments:*

   1. Actors wore basic Ukrainian costumes, changed single articles when changing characters and added "ear pieces" or vests to distinguish the different animals portrayed;

   2. Representative set pieces (rostra boxes, benches and ladders) were rearranged for each new story to symbolize representative sets;

   3. Selected, representational properties, stored in trunks or rostra boxes, were used as required;

   4. Puppets were often incorporated to suggest extra characters;

   5. Dance characterized by traditional Ukrainian dance was incorporated whenever possible;

   6. A large storybook was placed just outside the action, and its pages were turned to signal the beginning of a new story.

f) *Printed Programmes:*

   1. The audience received well-illustrated, printed bilingual programmes to reinforce the speaking and listening with the reading and writing.

f) *Presentations:*

   1. Time: Each show lasted between forty-five and fifty-five minutes and was presented over a period of approximately four months.

2. Number: Each show was staged about twenty times and played to an average of 2,500 children and adults.

3. The last two shows were entered in the Alberta Multicultural Theatre Festival, whose adjudicators recommended that both represent Alberta in the two annual national festivals. The National Multicultural Theatre Association Festival, however, only accepts entries in English or French, and the Ukrainian Story Theatre was not included until the 1982 National Festival in Regina.

The Study

To demonstrate that the Ukrainian Story Theatre experience was valuable to the Ukrainian bilingual programme in the Edmonton schools, the following areas were researched and the findings applied to story theatre: children's theatre, literature (folk tales) in education, storytelling and the theatre in second-language learning. Data from the field was then gathered by interviewing twenty educators, teachers and consultative personnel, each of whom had seen at least one show.

Research Summaries

Children's theatre. The literature from several countries over many years reiterated a common concern: theatre for children had to be of the highest quality. Everyone applauded anyone who showed sincere concern for the child, and Stanislavsky's response to the question "What is good theatre for children?" was paraphrased many times: "'The same as for adults only still better'" (Stanistreet, 1950, 36; Goldberg, 1974, 23; Pogonat, 1978, 37).

As a result, unique forms constantly emerge as children's theatre practitioners search for the best way to involve children. The amount and quality of child participation defines the ideal children's theatre experience, with active participation which contributes to the plot's forward action considered the most positive feature.

The investigator could find only one direct reference in the literature on children's theatre to the use of story theatre, though it was implied as a useful technique in many children's theatre productions. "The story theatre form is a particularly effective way

of introducing young people to the great literature of folk tales"
(Davis, 1981, 148).

Literature (folk tales) in education. Folk tales, as the basis of
literature, have evolved and survived in most countries through the
art of storytelling (Pellowski, 1977). Even though developments in
one country may parallel another, cultural influences make each
tale unique, and folk tales are therefore useful in the study of
countries. In transmitting a cultural heritage, literature helps
children to solve their concerns within a particular milieu, assisting
them thereby to build their own identities. But no matter what
mode is chosen to present the folk tale, it is always an important
and influential content, useful to the child's psychological and
educational development.

Storytelling. In the literature, the art of storytelling is examined
by looking at its history and discussing the suitability and
preparation of stories, along with the presenter and delivery.
"Storytelling is the oldest form of literature" (Chambers, 1970, 3).
Passing on literature through storytelling has been practiced in
every culture since the beginning of time (Pellowski, 1977).
Continued through text and technological media, its appeal cannot
be questioned. Anything so lasting must have enjoyable and useful
qualities that are indelible.

The theatre in second-language learning. The literature and
resources on the theatre in second-language learning were limited.
They included a direct reference "Attending Professional
Performances," a report of a conference on the teaching of foreign
languages (Uzan, 1978); studies on the effects of television viewing
as part of second-language learning programmes; a review of
theatre development for Mexican Americans (Serrano, 1972) and
an interview with and review of the principal material of
S. Lagace-Aubin of Boite à Popicos, a professional French
children's theatre company founded in Edmonton in 1979. That
children gain from the experience of theatre in a second language is
recognized but not proven in formal studies. The literature in the
field is minimal. The experience is uncommon and its effects have
still to be formally evaluated.

Results of Study

The data from the Ukrainian Story Theatre field study confirmed the story-theatre values discussed in the literature. Interviewees expressed opinions and volunteered examples to support their view that the Ukrainian Story Theatre performance was valuable to the Ukrainian bilingual programme. The response of students to the Ukrainian Story Theatre productions stimulated cognitive and social learning and development, and the enjoyment motivated learning in the linguistic, literary, cultural and imaginative areas.

Thus students had a real reason to learn the second language. They took advantage of seeing the language in action and of hearing it from another source to increase their awareness and proficiency, as evidenced in the learning and retention of vocabulary and in improved comprehension skills. Motivated into other expressive modes, the students entered into discussions and undertook art work, written work and dramatizations, each providing increased opportunities to practise the second language. Although the discussions and other experiences were not always in Ukrainian, the latter benefited as students parroted phrases, identified character or described events related to the performance.

But the linguistic area was not without controversy. One interviewee felt that there was no need to incorporate the English language into the presentations. It was the teacher's responsibility to help students to understand the language and the context of the stories. Other bilingual teachers disagreed, maintaining that the limited knowledge of Ukrainian, particularly in the younger grades, rendered the experience too demanding and therefore less enjoyable. The issue is basic and looms over each story dramatization as it is prepared. By using English narration in some stories, is the spirit of the story lost? Because translation is always a problem, is the amount of English used really necessary? Would not the staging, voice tones and action alone be sufficient? Are not the second-language learner's listening and comprehension skills being underestimated? The questions illustrate the complexity of the issue, and there unfortunately is no definite answer: each production, story, cast and audience must be considered separately.

The language issue aside, the Ukrainian Story Theatre as a means of fostering literary and language appreciation was very successful. Students were attracted to other literary resources. They

wanted to read the original texts of the dramatized folk tales, and thus became interested in folklore. The folk tale, in turn, presented moral issues which could be explored. Furthermore, the classical idiom in the folklore enhanced the vernacular and even the English-language educational programme. Some respondents even suggested that the folk tales be extended to include modern themes and stories. They saw no reason why a form so successful in presenting one type of literature, could not present another as effectively—particularly that in the English-language curriculum.

Another suggestion recommended that only stories and themes suited to a particular age level be included in a particular show. This echoes the view of children's theatre experts, but it is difficult to implement because the Ukrainian Story Theatre would then have to prepare at least two performances, if all elementary students were to see at least one show each year. As an amateur troupe which prepares and rehearses outside regular working hours, the added assignment might well be too demanding.

Not only did the folk tales illustrate such elements of culture as music, costumes, typical characters and stories, but the children were introduced to theatre as a form of art. Children who normally viewed only television productions were given the opportunity to interact with live theatre, which demanded that the viewer participate. Being more personal and immediate, it was more influential. The students responded by using their imagination, and the creative responses found their way into other expressive modes: discussion, writing, visual-arts projects, role-playing and dramatizations.

The teachers too were affected. Their beliefs about experiential learning were reinforced. The productions stimulated them to incorporate not only new or forgotten folk tales into their programmes, but more dramatic techniques into their repertoire of teaching strategies, and the more enjoyable, informal classroom atmosphere improved student/teacher rapport. Because of the novel style of presentation, teachers confessed to applying the form in other classroom work. Simple presentations incorporating curriculum stories were substituted for grand-scale theatrical productions, and drama began to be seen as a process not a product.

A few teacher interviewees requested that the presentations be structured to allow for more student participation to enhance both

enjoyment and learning. All indicated there was a need for more and better pre- and postperformance material. With better preparation and follow-up, the students would gain much more from the productions. As a result, the Story Theatre group provided assistance to teachers who requested it. Differing teaching styles and philosophical beliefs gave rise to contradictory recommendations. Some teachers thought that the themes and content could be modernized; others felt that the folk tales should continue. Some felt that the productions should be entirely in Ukrainian; others that the stories needed further simplification. All agreed, however, that the artistic and linguistic quality of the productions had to be maintained.

The performances reminded some teachers of other Ukrainian folklore that could be incorporated into the bilingual programme as literary study. Some felt that the experience not only made them aware of other drama forms, but enabled them to structure drama experiences in the classroom because the students were enthusiastic about participating.

Unfortunately, however, the majority of interviewees equated drama with theatre. Perhaps more such workshops as that organized by the Boîte à Popicos are needed to clarify the difference between classroom drama and theatre.

Most affected by the experience were the teacher/actors. Through their more intensive involvement, they practised the second language, improved communication skills and acquired a greater awareness of the variety of theatre forms and exercises that could be used in the classroom.

Summary

The primary aim of this investigation was to identify and confirm the values of the Ukrainian Story Theatre for Children for the English-Ukrainain bilingual programme in Edmonton's public school classrooms. Through analytical description, the values were first identified and then verified by educators working in the programme. The Ukrainian Story Theatre for Children was confirmed as aesthetically and educationally valuable to the programme, for it did indeed provide for the realization of objectives in the cognitive, affective and social areas. Teachers observed student development and growth in the areas of linguistic

learning, literary and cultural awareness, the stimulation of the imagination and overall enjoyment. By admitting that classroom instruction was made more interesting and effective, they recognized the influence it had had on their own teaching.

> The way you acted told the story better than the script. I also liked the singing and the way you played the *bandura* and guitar.
>
> Doug, Grade 4
> Peter Svarich School
> Vegreville, Alberta, 1982.

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Television: A Tool for Ukrainian-Language Acquisition

Olenka Bilash and Barbara De Reuyter

Introduction

This paper reports the findings of the formative evaluation of the pilot programme *Ukrainian for Young Learners*, a television series developed and produced by the Alberta Educational Communications Corporation (ACCESS) not only to teach basic Ukrainian vocabulary and sentence patterns to children from five to seven years of age in the Ukrainian bilingual programme, but also to present various aspects of Ukrainian culture. The series utilized animation, songs and puppets to increase the appeal to younger elementary students.

The evaluation examined the acquisition of the linguistic content outlined for the programme; the viewing/participatory characteristics of the target audience; the interest of the target audience in main and secondary characters; and teacher reactions to the programme and guide book. The purpose of the evaluation was to provide recommendations to the production team regarding the rest of the programmes in the series. Nine kindergarten and grade one classrooms in rural and urban Alberta participated in the evaluation. More in-depth pre- and posttesting was carried out individually with a random sample of eighty-nine children, including a control group of ten grade one students. In this paper only the major findings are presented.

Background

A Ukrainian-language television series for unilingual anglophone children in the Ukrainian bilingual programme in Alberta was proposed in late 1978, and a development document for thirteen fifteen-minute programmes was prepared early in 1980. A team approach to scripting was used because there were no experienced television writers familiar with primary child development, second-language acquisition and teaching Ukrainian. Several scripts for the two pilot programmes were written before a magazine format was approved and the main characters and their roles identified. The original proposal called for a formative evaluation of the scripts and a summative evaluation of the series. In the end, the uniqueness of the project resulted in a formative evaluation of only the pilot programme.

The initial review of the research available revealed that the project was unique. Two points need to be underlined. First, the members of the project team, although experienced in producing children's television programmes, were new to producing a series dealing with second-language acquisition. Secondly, research on the series would take place at the completion of the pilot production rather than at the beginning. As a result, research-based discussion on how the programmes were to develop listening skills, use humour, maintain the attention of the target audience and encourage participatory responses was not possible at the initial development stage. The programmes need to be modified in the light of the research findings obtained during the field testing with children.

Programme Description

The programme shown to the children was slightly over twelve minutes long. Of the original thirteen segments, two animated parts (2:35) were not finished at the time of evaluation. Within the tested segments there are three main characters, two children (Halia and Ivan) and a robot (Romko Robot). The rest of the cast consists of four puppet cabbages (treated as one character); a family of puppets (grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, brother, sister and baby); two adult clowns (male and female); two animated characters (fox and rooster); and two real-life families, including two

sets of grandparents, parents and siblings. The programme is tightly paced and includes various production techniques (studio scenes, filmed location footage, animated graphics and special effects).

There are two major settings for the main characters. Ivan and Romko work out of the former's treehouse. Halia and the cabbages reside in a greenhouse. The family of puppets appears on a small theatre stage. The clowns perform in near mime in the studio with only essential props. The real-life families are filmed in home situations. A setting in which a numeral pops out of a cabbage is repeated three times for numerals one, two and three. In addition, several independent sequences, mainly aimed at number content, are animated.

Because the linguistic content of the programme consists of "family members," the programme's theme is a birthday party, selected to provide an opportunity for a family gathering at which the viewing audience meets the members of the two families.

Project Design

The series, together with a teacher's guide, is designed to teach elementary Ukrainian vocabulary and phrases. The linguistic content of the pilot programme includes the following: the names of the major characters: Halia, Ivan, Romko Robot; the names of the minor characters: Lysychka (fox), Pivnyk (rooster), Kapusty (cabbages); the names of family members: Baba (grandmother), Dido (grandfather), Mama (mother), Tato (father), Brat (brother), Sestra (sister) and Dytyna (baby); salutations: *Dobryden* (Good day), *Do pobachennia* (Good bye), *Iak ty nazyvaieshsia?* (What's your name?), *Ya nazyvaiusia* .... (My name is ....); and numbers: *odyn* (one), *dva* (two) and *try* (three).

It was assumed that children viewing each programme would have been exposed to the Ukrainian language in at least a classroom environment and that teachers had conducted some of the previewing activities suggested in the teacher's guide book. Pre- and posttesting was conducted with a random sample of eighty-nine children (thirty-nine in kindergarten and fifty in grade one) from nine classrooms, including a control group consisting of ten grade one students. From the total sample of eighty-nine children, forty-eight were from urban schools and forty-one from rural ones; forty-three were females and forty-six males. The pre- and

posttesting was designed to measure the linguistic acquisition of the combined package—the television programme and teacher's guide. Only one child was considered "fluent" in Ukrainian, while five others heard Ukrainian spoken regularly at home. To complement the bilingual/immersion approach of the classroom, the series was also designed to involve the children actively. The effects of various production techniques on children's viewing behaviour were evaluated by trained observers in line with studies completed by Lesser (1972), Levin and Anderson (1976), Anderson and Levin (1976), Anderson *et al* (1981) and TV Ontario (1981).

Research Design

A four-member research team collected data on the viewing behaviour patterns of all the children in each of the nine classrooms in order to measure the relative appeal of each segment and of the programme as a whole.

Children and their classroom teachers were accompanied to an open area (e.g., school gymnasium) by the pretest examiner whom the children had met earlier. The open area, which included a television set at eye level, was selected because it was less formal and structured (e.g., no desks) than the traditional classroom, thereby encouraging the children to be more open in their reactions to the programme, especially since the children usually watched audiovisual presentations there.

The research team recorded its observations of children's viewing behaviour on a segment-by-segment basis. In addition to the direct observation method, each child was given a computerized hand-held unit.[1] Subjects were requested to press any button on the unit whenever they "liked" a sequence in the programme. The observations and hand-held unit data were to be used as complementary data sets for analysis. However, it was observed that the subjects either became so involved in the programme that the hand-held unit was forgotten (this being the case for the majority of children) or button pressing was treated as a competition (especially among males). For these reasons, viewing behaviour patterns are based on observational data only.[2]

The pre- and posttesting consisted of posing questions about programme content to each child individually to ascertain whether children could understand and/or verbalize the correct response.

Picture cues, games, multiple-choice oral questions and general discussion were used to elicit responses. The researcher initiated questions in Ukrainian and resorted to English only if no response was received. Every attempt was made to determine the level of a child's comprehension and speaking abilities in Ukrainian. There were no time limits or misleading questions. Student responses for each word/phrase are recorded in Table 1. The word count indicates how many times each word or phrase was repeated during the programme.

Analysis of retention by number of syllables (Maccoby, 1967), retention of words/phrases in association with the characters which used them, and the type of sequences in which they occurred (humorous, incongruous, dominated by music) was not possible since the linguistic content of the programme, with the exception of phrases, was quickly mastered by the target audience. In fact, the only thing that can be said is that the overall attention to the programme was positive. This might be attributed to the novelty of watching "Ukrainian" television, the attraction of a "Ukrainian" robot or the overall sophistication of the programme. It was clear from the audience's participation that the student viewers comprehended the sequences globally and liked them.

Programme Format

Teachers and students responded favourably to the magazine format. It is suitable for this age group and lends itself well to variety and expansion. Teachers suggested that more emphasis be placed on a thematic or "storyline" approach in future programmes and suggested themes that are an integral part of their curriculum. One must be cautious about the storyline approach. Although it provides a context for the second language, Meline (1976) has pointed out that children at this age usually cannot understand plots and causal sequences on television, while Lesser (1972) suggests that such an approach does not necessarily sustain attention in this age group. The rest of the programme content may need to be revised to include more "general" information and skill development appropriate to this age group.[3] Although the primary emphasis of the series is acquisition of the second language, the content must still be challenging to the target audience.

TABLE 1 Recall of Main Linguistic Content by Grade for Pre- and Posttesting

	Word Count	Kindergarten Pretest			Kindergarten Posttest			Grade 1 Pretest			Grade 1 Posttest		
		%N.R.[1]	%Prompt[2]	%C.R.[3]	%N.R.	%Prompt	%C.R.	%N.R.	%Prompt	%C.R.	%N.R.	%Prompt	%C.R.
Family Members													
Mother	9	8	38	54	7	24	69	0	35	65	0	15	85
Father	6	11	43	46	8	34	58	0	39	61	0	22	78
Grandmother	9	7	21	72	4	13	83	0	15	85	0	7	93
Grandfather	9	14	44	42	10	37	53	10	37	53	6	23	71
Sister	8	67	18	15	32	34	34	41	22	37	2	26	72
Brother	5	74	16	10	38	34	28	55	14	31	9	30	61
Baby	5	77	10	13	59	24	17	56	22	22	30	34	36
Phrases													
What's your name?	11	87	5	8	83	7	10	61	31	8	49	21	30
My name is	16	92	5	3	83	10	7	73	18	9	51	23	26
Numbers													
One	8	25	25	50	21	3	76	12	6	82	6	0	94
Two	8	28	20	52	14	7	79	6	12	82	4	2	94
Three	9	36	20	44	21	3	76	10	14	76	6	0	94
Salutations													
Hello	45	23	8	69	0	7	93	16	8	76	6	0	44
Goodbye	9	26	21	53	0	24	76	16	18	65	4	4	92

[1] N.R., no response or incorrect response.

[2] Prompt, correct response with prompting from the examiner.

[3] C.R., correct response without prompting from the examiner.

The teachers themselves thought that the content was too simple, and Table 1 supports this idea in reference to isolated words. The phrases, however, were not so easily mastered. Since phrases provide the essential building blocks of language, more emphasis is needed here.

Animation

The target audience stated that their favourite animated programmes were *The Smurfs*, *Pacman* and *Hercules*. All of these cartoon programmes employ simple animation, "where only the eyes and mouth of the characters move. This is much less expensive and quicker to produce than full animation" (Kaye, 1974, 34). The simple backgrounds also ensure that the children focus on the intended message (Noble, 1975). Since Ukrainian is a second language to the target audience, it is important that the audio and visual tracks be synchronized and that non-essential background sounds and visuals be avoided (Lesser, 1972; Lorch *et al*, 1979). Because of the expense of even simple animation and its appeal to young children, it is advisable that animation be used when introducing new materials, especially phrases, or for long review dialogues.

Characters

Children responded favourably to the major and minor characters. In fact, some of the characters (e.g., cabbages) identified as "minor" were so well received that they should have larger roles in future programmes. Most of the children recalled the names and antics of Romko the Robot and Ivan, though a few children attached opposite names to each. This is not surprising since these two characters were always together. On the other hand, 96.5 per cent of the kindergarten and all of the grade one children could not recall the name of the major female character, Halia, even with prompting. This may be the result of several factors. First, although Halia appeared early in the programme, she was not "introduced" to the audience until the half-way point—perhaps too late. Secondly, Halia had little contact with the robot, whom the children liked or "recalled" the most often and who was the character who best matched the position of the target audience (i.e., a learner of Ukrainian). Thirdly, Halia was often in the presence of

adults and so attracted less audience attention. "Children generally prefer watching and listening to other children rather than adults" (Lesser, 1972, 267). Finally, the actress who played Halia was older than Ivan and the target audience. Since children identify closely with characters of their own age and sex (Feilitzen and Linne, 1975; Noble, 1975), both Ivan and Halia must be seen as Romko's teachers and friends.

In general, new characters or guests should be introduced early in each programme and one at a time in order to allow for character development. Adult characters, especially females (Lesser, 1972; Morris, 1971), who are perceived as friends, knowledgeable and helpful can be well received by children.

Audience Participation

As the programme was viewed by each classroom, the researchers recorded (segment-by-segment) the verbal responses and physical activity of children in direct reaction to programme content. Examples of reactions included a child's smile, laugh, oral responses in English and/or Ukrainian and pointing to the television screen.

The target audience participated most when viewing the following types of scenes: 1) scene with off-screen voices, 2) scene in which a character speaks directly to the camera, 3) scene in which characters are engaged in solving problems, 4) sequences of a predictable nature and 5) scenes which include songs.

Off-screen voices were used during the puppet scenes to introduce characters and number/numeral scenes. Dialogues such as the following were designed to provide verbal cues to the target audience:

DIDO PUPPET:
Dobryden! Ia nazyvaiusia Dido!
(Hello! My name is Grandfather!)

CHILDREN: (voice-over)
Dobryden, Didu!
(Hello, Grandfather!)

DIDO PUPPET:
A tse Baba.
(And that is Grandmother.)

BABA PUPPET:

Dobryden!
(Hello!)

CHILDREN: (voice-over)
Dobryden, Babo!
(Hello, Grandmother!)

BABA PUPPET AND DIDO PUPPET:
Do pobachennia!
(Good bye!)

CHILDREN: (voice-over)
Do pobachennia!
(Good bye!)

Matched with attractive visuals and a natural pause in the dialogue, these scenes elicited considerable response from the children.

The male clown, who carried out his actions in near mime form, spoke directly to the camera in simple dialogue and paused after his commentary (long enough to respond, but not so long as to appear unnatural). This sequence was rated very highly for audience participation. Similar camera shots and dialogue sequences (including questions and intonation) occurred in two other scenes of the programme but failed to elicit audience participation. This failure might be attributed to any one of a number of factors which characterized these sequences: the pauses were shorter, there was more visual activity in the background and, in both cases, the characters on screen were female. Moreover, female characters do not elicit audience response as well as male characters with this age group (Dohrmann, 1975; Davidson *et al*, 1979).

The use of problem-solving situations in which the target audience can assist the onscreen characters has been used as an effective tool to elicit audience participation (TV Ontario, 1981; Lesser, 1972; Anderson and Levin, 1976; Anderson *et al* 1981). When the male clown attempted at length to open a door which locked behind him, the child viewers shouted a variety of suggestions to assist him. The audience participation, however, could have been enhanced further had the clown pretended to hear the audience's reactions and used the input to solve the problem (e.g., cupping one's ear toward the screen and using the appropriate vocabulary and exaggerated gestures). Because of its success, this

technique is recommended to reinforce new key words and phrases rather than merely to entertain.

"Format cues" (Lesser, 1972) or the predictability of events and vocabulary combined with suspense, pauses and spacing are an effective means of increasing participation. In the pilot programme a numeral popped out of a cabbage on three isolated occasions. The same setting and background music were used in each. After the number "one" popped out of a cabbage in the first sequence, the target audience shouted "dva" (two) prior to the number popping out of the cabbage the second time, and "try" (three) the third time. Students also confirmed their successful prediction with comments such as "I told you! I told you!"

Music is an appropriate method of encouraging participation in the target audience (Lesser, 1972). The song which was designed to teach two major phrases was very successful. Seventy-three per cent of kindergarten and 85 per cent of grade one children could sing the song at the end of the viewing session with minimal assistance (88 per cent of the girls and 63 per cent of the boys). Lesser (1972), McGhee (1976), and Noble (1975) have also reported that girls have a higher interest level in songs than boys. The poor comprehension level of the song's content (Table 1) can be explained in two ways. First, even with acquisition of the mother tongue, specific words or phrases of verses and songs learned orally and in a rote way do not take on meaning until they are seen in print. The print somehow makes meaningful words out of what is learned almost as nonsense syllables. Secondly, the global comprehension of these verses and songs is not affected by the inability to comprehend every word. The target audience's language level in Ukrainian in this study was still at a stage of global comprehension.

Other successful participatory techniques with this age group include picture reading, quizzes, guessing games and questions directed at the viewer through voice-over or character dialogue (e.g., *Today's Special*, produced by TV Ontario).

Audio and Visual Attention

In any television programme, visual attention is an important measure of appeal. When television is used to teach a second language, the audio component becomes most important (Lockard, 1977). Visual attention can be measured by observing children looking at the screen. Audio attention is more difficult to measure. Normally, postviewing comprehension questions can be used to measure audio attention, but in the pilot programme, it was difficult to ascertain whether an incorrectly answered question implied lack of language comprehension or inattentiveness. No specific tools were designed to examine such variables.

Humour

Research (Lesser, 1972; Halloran and Noble, 1969; McGhee, 1976; Groch, 1974) has shown that children of the age of the target audience find the physical more humorous than the verbal. Slapstick humour (e.g., a chef falling with cakes and pies), trickery, incongruous situations, suspense in a predictable situation and puppets are all successful comical devices. With this age group, repetition, alliteration, rhyming and nonsense words succeeded as verbal humour while puns did not. In the pilot programme the audience was delighted by clowns who engaged in slapstick humour. Numerals on wheels and those popping out of cabbages were incongruous situations that the children found amusing. Techniques which the audience did not find humorous were Romko patting himself on the head when he correctly answered a question or the uncontrollable throb of his heart upon meeting Halia. The symbolic understanding to appreciate these situations was too advanced for the age group.

Lesser (1972) states that humour is a tool used to attract the viewer's attention. In the pilot programme verbal humour will have to be delayed until children have a better grasp of Ukrainian. While doses of subtle humour (putting a cup of salt in a cake dough) might challenge the target audience, Halloran and Noble (1969, 71) also noted that American audiences are much slower at picking up subtle humour than are Europeans. While children's "liking" of a television programme was based on both humour and new information, for five- to six-year olds "new knowledge appears to be more important than humour." Not every scene needs to be "funny."

Other studies on children and humour in the media suggest that preferences are sex related (Noble, 1975; Morris, 1971; Groch, 1974; McGhee, 1976). Groch (1974) found that girls appreciated humour in incongruous or surprising events, amusing behaviour, verbal jokes, stories or songs and the antics of animals, while hostile joking, ridicule through name calling and defying an adult appealed to boys. In the pilot programme the girls laughed more than the boys at the singing cabbages (incongruous, music) and stated that it was their favourite segment. The boys liked the robot's "crash" landing into Ivan's treehouse and laughed/reacted most boisterously to the scene.

Music

Music is an important technique in the pilot programme. It is used to gain the attention of the audience and provides an important cultural component. Songs are well-established tools for teaching second languages. They make "repetition of vocabulary pleasant by factors such as rhythm and melody" (Gatti-Taylor, 1980).

The large number of students who were able to sing the major song in the pilot programme with minimal or no assistance from the examiner during the posttesting indicated that the song was an effective method of teaching the language. Closer observation showed that this high success rate in recalling the song did not mean that children actually understood what they were singing. This is illustrated by the limited change from pre- to posttesting (Table 1) in comprehension of the question "WHAT IS YOUR NAME?" (repeated eleven times in the programme) and the response "MY NAME IS .... (repeated sixteen times in the programme). The examiner found that a number of children believed that the two phrases meant "HELLO." A possible reason for the confusion might be that the question and answer were always used in conjunction with the word "hello." To eliminate the possibility of confusion, words and phrases should be introduced in individual segments prior to being combined in a song. More importantly, traditional Ukrainian songs and melodies rather than modern creations should be used whenever possible (Hickey, 1980). Pictures, actions and sound effects must be directly related to the words sung in order to reduce the possibility of confusion among members of the target audience. For example, during the "DOBRYDEN" song Ivan was

shaking the robot's hand while singing "WHAT IS YOUR NAME?" rather than "HELLO." However, as already noted, immediate translation-like comprehension of songs is not essential to second-language acquistion.

Conclusion

The value of formative evaluations to the production of educational television programmes cannot be overstated (Palmer and Dorr, 1980; Morris, 1971; Noble 1975). They provide insights about programme format, pace, humour and characters in relation to the target audience, as well as much information about techniques for eliciting audience participation. The fact that teachers found the programme's language too easy and the content not advanced enough conceptually calls for a re-examination of the linguistic content of future programmes. Overall, however, the main advantage of the *Ukrainian for Young Learners* series might be legitimization of the Ukrainian language. Not only do children in the Ukrainian bilingual programme have no occasion to watch professionally produced television in Ukrainian, but they could never imagine meeting a Ukrainian-speaking robot!

Notes

1. The computerized hand-held units, which resemble a calculator, were developed by TV Ontario. The subjects understood that right-and-wrong answers did not exist and that their opinions were important. They had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the button-pressing activity and to ask questions before the programme began.

2. It is suggested that computerized hand-held units not be used in this way with children under the age of nine.

3. From the curriculum development for *Sesame Street*, one can assume that children five to seven are interested in and gain from shapes, letters, numbers, body parts and their functions, relational terms, classification, matching and sorting. E.L. Palmer, Y. Chen and G.S. Lesser, "Sesame Street: Patterns of International Adaptation," *Journal of Communication* 26 (1976): 109–23.

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Evaluation of the Ukrainian Bilingual Programme in the Edmonton Catholic School District, 1974–9

Eugene Ewanyshyn

Introduction

This paper will review the results of the evaluation of the Ukrainian bilingual programme in the Edmonton Catholic School District during the years 1974 through 1979 in co-operation with Alberta Education. It will also comment on the development and implementation of the programme. The programme is currently offered in six Alberta school jurisdictions: the Edmonton Catholic School District, the Edmonton Public School District, the County of Minburn (Vegreville), the County of Lamont, the County of Strathcona and the Sherwood Park Catholic School District. In September 1982 about 1,300 students were enrolled in the programme from early childhood (kindergarten) through grade nine, with 592 in the Edmonton Catholic School District.

Evaluation can be either formative, leading to the further development or refinement of an educational programme, or summative, leading to a decision about a programme's continuation or abandonment. On balance, the evaluation of the Ukrainian bilingual programme could be termed formative, for it would have been politically difficult to discontinue or abandon the programme during any one of the first five years.

In evaluating the programme, two questions were basic. First, could the objectives of the regular English-language curriculum be met through the programme? Secondly, could the objectives of the Ukrainian-language curriculum be met through the same programme?

Objectives of the Ukrainian Bilingual Programme

The main objectives of the Ukrainian bilingual programme are:

1. To develop effective communication skills in both English and Ukrainian;

2. To develop an understanding and appreciation of the Ukrainian cultural heritage in the Canadian context;

3. To develop positive attitudes toward learning other languages and understanding other cultures.

Description of the Ukrainian Bilingual Programme

To achieve the above objectives, a "50–50" programme was introduced in which children receive regular instruction in English in core subject areas for 50 per cent of the school day and instruction in Ukrainian in cultural subject areas for the balance of the day. In early childhood (kindergarten) and grade one, emphasis is on the development of Ukrainian listening, comprehension and speaking skills. The Ukrainian component is entirely oral in kindergarten and grade one, with no attempt to develop reading and writing skills in Ukrainian. Although the Ukrainian alphabet is usually displayed in the classroom, Ukrainian language and culture are introduced through numerous other learning resources (picture books, records, charts, story books, pictures, posters) and a wide variety of activities (storytelling, games, action songs, show and tell, picture stories, choral work, dramatization, puppetry).

In kindergarten at least 50 per cent of the class time (usually two and one-half hours each day) is spent in the use of the Ukrainian language. However, the introduction to Ukrainian is gradual because many students frequently have very little or no background in the language. By December about 50 per cent of the instruction is usually in Ukrainian, with the amount increasing as students become more fluent.

In grade one, English is used as the language of instruction in reading, language arts, arithmetic and science. Oral Ukrainian is used in language arts, social studies, physical education, art, music, health and religion (the latter in the Catholic system only). In grade two, besides the use of English and Ukrainian as indicated above, a developmental reading programme in Ukrainian is introduced, along with instruction in practical and creative writing. The reading programme is based on a reading series developed by Alberta Education and published with funds obtained from the Multiculturalism Directorate, Secretary of State, by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation. A French programme (largely oral) is offered daily to all Ukrainian bilingual students in grades four through six, and may be selected as an option from grades seven through twelve.

Comparison With Other Bilingual Programmes

As indicated in the 1976–7 evaluation report, the Ukrainian bilingual programme model closely resembles the third alternative suggested by Lambert and Tucker (1972). On balance, English and Ukrainian are used about equally, and Ukrainian does not receive the high priority that French does in immersion programmes. In the Ukrainian bilingual programme, first- and second-language skills are developed concurrently, and no attempt is made to achieve functional communication first in Ukrainian.

Parental questionnaires indicated that the majority of students in the programme had learned English as their first language or had more experience in the home with English than Ukrainian. Students beginning grade one, on the other hand, usually had considerable contact with Ukrainian either through the school's kindergarten programme or through the parochial play-school programmes (*sadochky*) and cultural and religious celebrations and activities in the parish or home. Only a small minority entering grade one had more experience with Ukrainian than English, and Ukrainian was therefore the dominant language for very few.

Evaluation Studies

Evaluation studies were carried out annually after the programme's introduction in 1974. Initially, Alberta Education had approved the Ukrainian bilingual programme as a three-year pilot project, with continuation subject to evaluation. In all, five evaluation studies were conducted.

The Problem. Each study probed the consequences associated with the implementation and operation of the bilingual programme. To establish an adequate data base, the following subproblems were addressed:

1. Pupil academic achievement: How did the performance of the Ukrainian bilingual programme students in English language arts and mathematics compare with other students? What progress had students made in learning Ukrainian-language skills in the course of one school year?

2. Cultural appreciation: What effect did the programme have on students' appreciation of Ukrainian culture, including an understanding of the Ukrainian Catholic rite?

3. Attitudes of relevant groups: How appropriate were the programme objectives? How well were they being achieved and how effective was the programme's operation—all as perceived by parents, teachers and principals? According to teachers, how adequate were the curricular and instructional materials and what inservice training was required? What special administrative arrangements at the school level did the programme require?

Methodology. In each study bilingual programme students were matched with a control group in the regular school programme. In 1978–9, the most recent study, achievement test scores were compared for students paired to form matched samples in grades two, three, four and five. The experimental groups of students in three Edmonton Catholic schools—St. Bernadette, St. Martin and St. Matthew—came from various parts of the city. The control groups at each grade level were selected from the regular classes at the same schools or from neighbouring schools of relatively similar socio-economic status. To increase the internal validity of the

project design (Campbell and Stanley, 1972), the groups were matched according to grade, sex, age, Primary Mental Ability score and socio-economic status. To measure student achievement, the following tests were used: Canadian Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), Gates-MacGinitie Reading (Vocabulary and Comprehension), Science Research Associates (SRA) Arithmetic Test, School System Spelling and Ukrainian-Language Skills tests. To obtain information about perceptions, questionnaires were developed separately for parents, teachers and principals.

Results, 1974–7. The 1974–5 evaluation in the Edmonton Catholic schools revealed that students in the Ukrainian bilingual programme achieved as well in English-language skills and mathematics as regular programme students on both individually administered and group standardized tests (Tomko, 1975). Although conclusive statements could not be made about student progress in the acquisition of Ukrainian-language skills, the attitudes of pupils, parents, teachers and administrators were positive toward the programme.

The 1975–6 evaluation revealed comparable results, with considerable progress indicated in student achievement of Ukrainian-language skills and in the appreciation of cultural and religious values (Ewanyshyn, 1976). Moreover, part of an earlier study on cognitive development by a team of researchers from the University of Alberta (Bain, 1976) found no significant differences between test score results on the Conservation and Embedded Figures tests administered to grade one Ukrainian bilingual and regular programme students.

The results of the 1976–7 evaluation, although more complex, were generally consistent with previous findings (Ewanyshyn, 1978). The means on the grade three vocabulary and comprehension tests for the bilingual students were significantly higher than the means for the regular programme students. Although no significant differences in reading achievement, were evident in grades one and two, the means on the arithmetic tests for the bilingual students were significantly higher than the means for the regular programme students. There was no significant mean difference, however, in grade three. No significant mean differences were also evident in the spelling results in grades two and three.

Significant differences between the pre- and posttest results in Ukrainian-language skills were evident in grades one, two and three, indicating that students made significant progress in Ukrainian-language acquisition during the school year. Moreover, the attitudes of grade three bilingual students toward Ukrainian language and cultural activities as indicated on the student questionnaire were highly positive.

On the basis of the first three evaluations, it was clear that the objectives of the regular English-language curriculum were being met through the Ukrainian bilingual programme and that the latter was also meeting the objectives of the Ukrainian-language curriculum. In reading and arithmetic, bilingual students were doing as well as or, in some instances, better than students in the regular programme, with good progress also in acquiring Ukrainian-language skills. Moreover, there were no detrimental effects for the bilingual students. Not surprisingly, after the first two evaluations, Alberta Education, in April 1977, approved the extension of the programme to grade six. With the pilot project successful, the summative aspect of the evaluation studies was complete. Subsequent evaluations were formative, leading to further programme refinement and development.

Results, 1977–9. The 1977–8 study (Ewanyshyn, 1978) indicated that the means on English-language comprehension tests for bilingual students in grades one, two and four were significantly higher than the means for students in the regular programme. These results, along with those in grade three on vocabulary and comprehension tests in 1976–7, suggest that a second language of instruction may lead to an improvement of comprehension skills in the first language (English). A transfer of learning may occur that leads to a better understanding of the first language in the process of learning a second. No significant difference, however, was evident on the comprehension test in grade two, nor at any grade level on the vocabulary tests.

The 1977–8 study did not indicate any significant mean differences on the SRA Arithmetic tests in grades one, three and four, although the mean for regular programme students in grade two was significantly higher, a finding which proved to be an exception. The means on the spelling tests in grades two and four were significantly higher for the bilingual students, but no significant

mean difference was evident in grade three. Significant differences between pre- and posttest results in Ukrainian-language skills were evident at various grade levels, indicating that students made significant progress in the acquisition of Ukrainian during the school year.

The next study in 1978–9 (Ewanyshyn, 1980), showed no significant mean differences in grades two, three and five on the vocabulary tests. In grade four the mean for the regular programme students was significantly higher. On the comprehension tests, no significant mean differences were evident in grades three, four and five. In grade two the mean for the bilingual programme students was significantly higher. The overall results, however, were generally consistent with previous studies that evaluated reading achievement in grades one, two, three and four.

No significant mean differences were evident on the Mathematics Concepts tests at grades four and five and on the arithmetic test in grade three. In grade two the means on the arithmetic test and in grade five the means on the Mathematics Concepts test were significantly higher for the bilingual programme students. No significant mean differences, however, were evident on the arithmetic test at grade three and the Mathematics Concepts test in grade four. For the most part, the arithmetic results were consistent with earlier findings. The significant differences in favour of bilingual students on the arithmetic tests in the 1976–7 and 1978–9 studies may be due to student perception skills being enhanced as a result of learning two symbol systems, the English and the Ukrainian alphabets.

On spelling tests, no significant mean differences were evident in grades three, four and five, but in grade two the mean for the bilingual students was significantly higher. The significant differences between pre- and posttest results on Ukrainian-language skills in grades two, three, four and five would indicate continued progress in language-skill acquisition.

In 1977–8 and 1978–9 parents, teachers and principals again rated the appropriateness of the programme's objectives very highly and expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the programme's operation. In 1978–9 the teachers, for the first time, noted a need for additional curricular and instructional materials and inservice training, and the principals indicated that, besides special timetabling considerations, special budgetary arrangements at the school level were also needed.

Implications of the Evaluation Studies

The results of evaluating the Ukrainian bilingual programme were generally consistent with recent evaluations of other bilingual programmes. Bilingual programmes at the elementary school level have positive consequences for the academic achievement of pupils. Bilingual students achieve as well as or, in some instances, better than students in regular programmes. Thus participation in a bilingual programme does not hinder academic progress in the first language of instruction and significant progress is made in learning a second language.

The positive attitudes of students, parents and teachers toward learning Ukrainian is also consistent with earlier findings. The studies suggest that participation in the Ukrainian bilingual programme may affect the cultural appreciation of students generally as well as develop a new, specific interest in the Ukrainian cultural heritage.

Three major implications of an administrative nature emerge:

a) Not only did parents express very high expectations for religious instruction in the Ukrainian Catholic rite, but 81 per cent preferred that instruction to be largely in Ukrainian. Since only 60 per cent of the teachers reported such religious instruction in Ukrainian, strategies will have to be developed to close the gap between parental expectations and current practice.

b) With teachers identifying a need for more curricular and instructional materials and inservice training, such materials and inservice training will have to be increased, if the bilingual programme is to improve.

c) Special budgetary arrangements at the school level will be needed to operate the bilingual programme effectively.

Suggestions for Further Study

Because the subjects who participated in the evaluation studies from 1974 to 1979 were only in grades one to five, it would be important to examine the consequences of the Ukrainian bilingual programme on academic achievement, cultural appreciation and student attitudes at the junior and senior high school levels.

Since the programme attracts students of wide-ranging abilities and backgrounds, studies of the learning activities that would best challenge gifted students are needed. Perhaps programmes to develop Ukrainian oral skills further, similar to the French monitor programme, could be developed. Further study is also needed to determine ways (perhaps through a resource-room programme) to assist students experiencing reading difficulties in Ukrainian.

A study is also needed to determine the reasons why students leave the Ukrainian bilingual programme.

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             Edmonton Catholic School System.

The Teacher in Edmonton's Ukrainian Bilingual Programme

James Dmytro Jacuta

Introduction

The inception in 1974 of the English-Ukrainian bilingual programme in Edmonton marked a new and significant development in second-language instruction in Alberta, if not in Canada. For the first time, pupils could receive their education in a language other than English or French during regular hours of instruction and in publicly funded classrooms (Lupul, 1976). The programme has undergone several evaluations to gauge pupil learning and its relationship to psychological and sociological factors. Generally, the bilingual teacher has not been noted in these studies (Campbell *et al*, 1973). This paper reports on a study of the teachers in this unique and expanding programme.

Research Format

The study was descriptive in nature and used an open-ended, focus-type interview technique (Merton *et al*, 1956). In addition to the interviews, each teacher in the Ukrainian bilingual programme was asked to provide a demographic profile and to complete a questionnaire indicating attitudes toward language.

The questionnaire utilized a semantic testing technique on a dichotomous scale. The scale ranged from an "instrumental" attitude toward the acquisition of a second language to an

"affective" one, the first referring to language acquired for practical and business opportunities, the second to its intrinsic value and enjoyment. The questionnaire was modified from earlier scales used to assess parental attitudes toward language in the St. Lambert English-French programme (Gardner and Lambert, 1959; Lambert and Tucker, 1972).

In the 1978–9 academic year there were thirty-three teachers in the Ukrainian bilingual programme in Edmonton. With the number small, the problem of choosing a statistical sample was avoided. Interviews were conducted in March 1979 and all teachers were interviewed except for four who were unavailable because of illness or other reasons.

Discussion of Findings

The most common finding was the need to defend the Ukrainian programme from external criticism. The bilingual teachers indicated that many other teachers, school administrators, non-academic staff and central administrators were negative toward the programme, with the general feeling one of "waiting for the damn thing to fold [any day, next year, or after the experimental period] (case 9)." The programme's implementation faced many problems. In one school, the principal knew nothing about it until after the teacher had arrived to begin classes. As a result, bilingual teachers identified sympathetic individuals within the administration and relied on them for active support in resolving problems.

For some teachers, the programme enhanced ethnic identity. The following were typical: "I am much more Ukrainian" (case 2), "I'm much more enthusiastic about being Ukrainian" (case 4), "I've learned a lot about [Ukrainian] culture; at the beginning I was afraid of it" (case 8). This enhancement may have resulted from teachers internalizing attitudes conveyed in the teaching materials or by other teachers in the programme. The generally negative attitude of non-bilingual teachers may also have been a factor. Many bilingual teachers reported prejudice and subtle discrimination directed toward the programme, though not necessarily toward themselves.

Some teachers used avoidance techniques to deal with incidents of prejudice and discrimination, especially in the early stages of the programme when there was only one bilingual teacher in each

school. "I tended to run when I saw any of the other teachers, for the whole first year" (case 14).

Another effect of the programme was the formation of group cohesiveness among the bilingual teachers. The longer one taught in the programme, the more one identified with the group. Teachers who had taught in the programme's experimental and implementation stages were most cohesive. The development of this group dynamic can be related to a number of factors. The complete absence of developed instructional materials, including textbooks, workbooks, curriculum guides and audiovisual materials, forced teachers to develop and exchange materials. Other elements were the social boundary between the programme and non-programme teachers, as well as peer pressure to have the programme succeed when there were few standards against which to measure success.

Some teachers reported that their experience engendered self-development and they became more self-reliant. They gained confidence as individuals and externalized criticisms of the programme: "I was prepared for the programme, but the schoolboard wasn't." In discussing qualifications for teaching in the programme, many declared their willingness to take methodology courses for teaching Ukrainian and regretted that such courses were not available.

The Language Orientation Questionnaire showed a strongly affective orientation toward Ukrainian, as measured by "what was a good reason for their students to learn the language." Although their attitude toward English was not clearly instrumental, from Tables 1 and 2 it is clear that it was more so than to Ukrainian. Some research has shown that those who hold affective attitudes toward a language can better transmit its skills (particularly conversational skills) to others (Gardiner and Lambert, 1959). Cross-tabulations of responses on the questionnaire indicate differences between teachers one or two years in the programme and those in it longer. On the question "It will help them preserve their own culture," over 96 per cent of the teachers answered that this was a "good" or "very good reason" for learning Ukrainian. New teachers to the programme, however, were more hesitant to answer "very good reason" than were the veterans. This supports the view that the affective attitude of teachers toward the language is enhanced by the length of time they are in the programme.

TABLE 1 Frequency of Responses on Language Orientation Questionnaire—Ukrainian

Is this a *Good Reason* for your students to learn Ukrainian?	1 Very Good Reason	2 Good Reason	3 Neither Good Nor Bad	4 Bad Reason	5 Very Bad Reason	Group Mean
1. Helps to preserve their own culture.	20	6	1	0	0	1.3
2. Useful some day in getting a job.	3	9	12	2	2	2.6
3. Enables them to maintain friendship among Ukrainian Canadians.	7	12	8	0	1	2.1
4. Enables them to think and behave as true Ukrainian Canadians.	6	6	14	0	2	2.5
5. No one is really educated unless they learn a language other than English.	8	6	4	8	2	2.6
6. No one is really educated unless they learn Ukrainian.	1	1	6	10	10	4.0
7. Allows them to meet and converse with more and varied people.	11	16	1	0	0	1.6
8. Need it for some specific educational or business goals.	7	5	14	2	0	2.4

TABLE 2 Frequency of Responses on Language Orientation Questionnaire—English

Is this a *Good Reason* for your students to learn English?	Very Good Reason	Good Reason	Neither Good Nor Bad	Bad Reason	Very Bad Reason	Group Mean
1. Enables them to make friends with Anglos.	11	6	7	2	1	2.1
2. Useful some day in getting a job.	21	5	2	0	0	1.3
3. A good knowledge of English needed to be respected in Canada.	11	7	7	2	1	2.1
4. Enables them to think and behave as Anglos.	1	4	6	6	7	3.6
5. No one is really educated unless they are fluent in English.	3	7	8	3	7	3.1
6. Allows them to meet and converse with more and varied people.	9	13	2	2	2	2.1
8. Need it for some specific educational or business goals.	18	6	4	0	0	1.5

The question with the highest degree of group ambivalence was learning Ukrainian to enable students "to think and behave as true Ukrainian Canadians." As shown in Table 3, none of the more

TABLE 3 Cross-Tabulation of Number of Years in Programme By Language Orientation Question on Identity

Is this a *good reason* for your students to learn Ukrainian?

Enables them to think and behave as true Ukrainian Canadians.

Number of Years in Programme	Very Good Reason	Good Reason	Neither Good Nor Bad	Bad Reason	Very Bad Reason
1	0	2	4	0	1
2	0	0	3	0	1
3	3	1	3	0	0
4	2	1	2	0	0
5	1	2	2	0	0
Total	6	6	14	0	2

experienced teachers thought it a "bad" or "very bad reason," while the majority of unambivalent respondents saw it as a "very good reason." Some of the newer teachers, however, saw it as a "very bad reason." This may reflect a difference between new teachers to the programme and veterans, but further study is needed to test the proposition that the attitudes of the first teachers were unique because of their experience in the introductory stage of the programme.

Demographically, the study showed that most of the teachers were second-generation Ukrainian Canadians, born in Alberta with parents born in Ukraine. Most teachers had resided in Edmonton for nine or more years. The parents of most were ethnically Ukrainian and the teachers saw themselves as being ethnically Ukrainian. All of the married teachers had spouses who were ethnically Ukrainian. Most thought they spoke Ukrainian "very well," with some in their first, second or third teaching year opting for "well." Thirteen teachers reported their father's education as "over thirteen years," while nine reported "seven years or less." None reported more than seven but less than thirteen years education. Seven of the teachers refused to answer this question.

The possibility that the latter were in the "less than seven years" category would reinforce the dichotomy in "father's education." The questionnaire found no apparent relationship between father's education and attitude toward language orientation, although the substantial dichotomy in father's education would support a tendency toward polarization of teacher's attitudes on critical programme objectives.

Summary

The data reveal that the Ukrainian bilingual programme enhances the teachers' ethnic attitude and identity, the longer they are associated with it. It also affects their attitude toward Ukrainian by enhancing affective language orientations. The genesis and continued development of a group consciousness among the teachers may also be attributed to the programme. Co-operative effort as a group arose out of the benefits to be derived from co-operating on course material preparation, the existence of an unfavourable perception by other teachers and the need to vent tension and anxiety through sympathetic others. Individually, the programme ensured personality and psychological developments such as self-actualization and externalization. Acceptance, avoidance and assertion of legitimacy were some of the ways in which teachers reacted to prejudice. Despite the programme's apparent academic success, it is marked by an unfavourable perception by others close to it that may be attributable, in part, to administrative disruptions the programme has caused in such matters as staff composition.

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Parental Expectations of the Ukrainian Bilingual Programme

Anna Eliuk

This study, the first of its kind, used clients of the Ukrainian bilingual programme to reveal needs and assess the quality of education desired with respect to content (topics, activities and perspectives) and skills (scope and depth or proficiency levels). The study revealed significant differences among parents of three ethnic backgrounds across five generations with respect to language skills, curricular content and bilingual/bicultural education.

From the opinions of the respondents, it is clear that a heterogenous group of parents in terms of ethnic background, Canadian status and family size is involved in the Ukrainian bilingual programme (Figures 1 and 2 respectively). The majority, sixty-six or 39.3 per cent of the respondents, are of "mixed" ethnic background (Ukrainian and other). With respect to the total respondent sample, the public status of the programme attracted fifty-eight families (34.5 per cent) who spoke English only. The number of respondents where both parents were of Ukrainian ethnic background was forty-four (26.2 per cent).

Secondly, while parents have high achievement expectations in Ukrainian language, the amount of parental support within the home for listening and speaking skills and for cultural experiences is not high (Figure 3 and Tables 1 and 2 respectively). Out of 167 respondents, 19.8 per cent indicated that Ukrainian was spoken in the home from 50–100 per cent of the time. Nearly the same
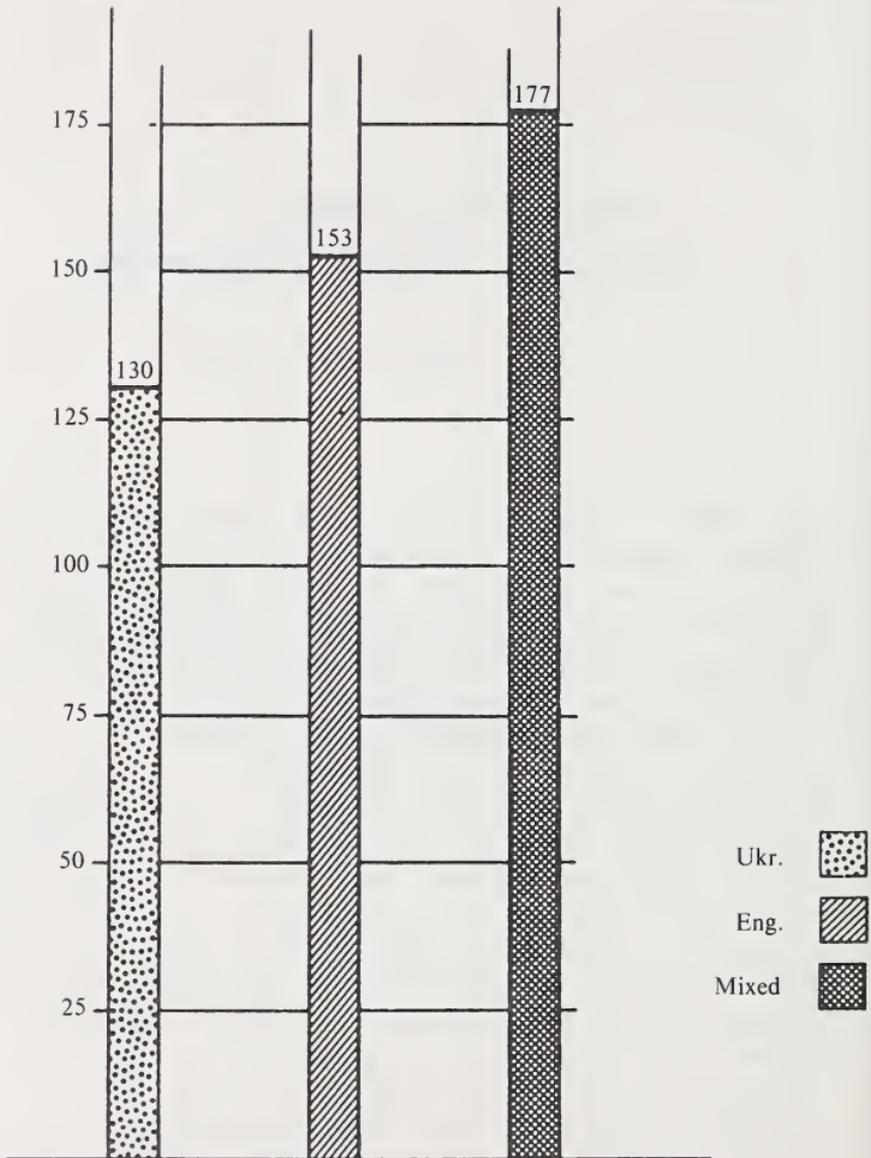
FIGURE 1
Family Size* and Ethnic Background

* Using four children as maximum family size (answer to "4 or more")
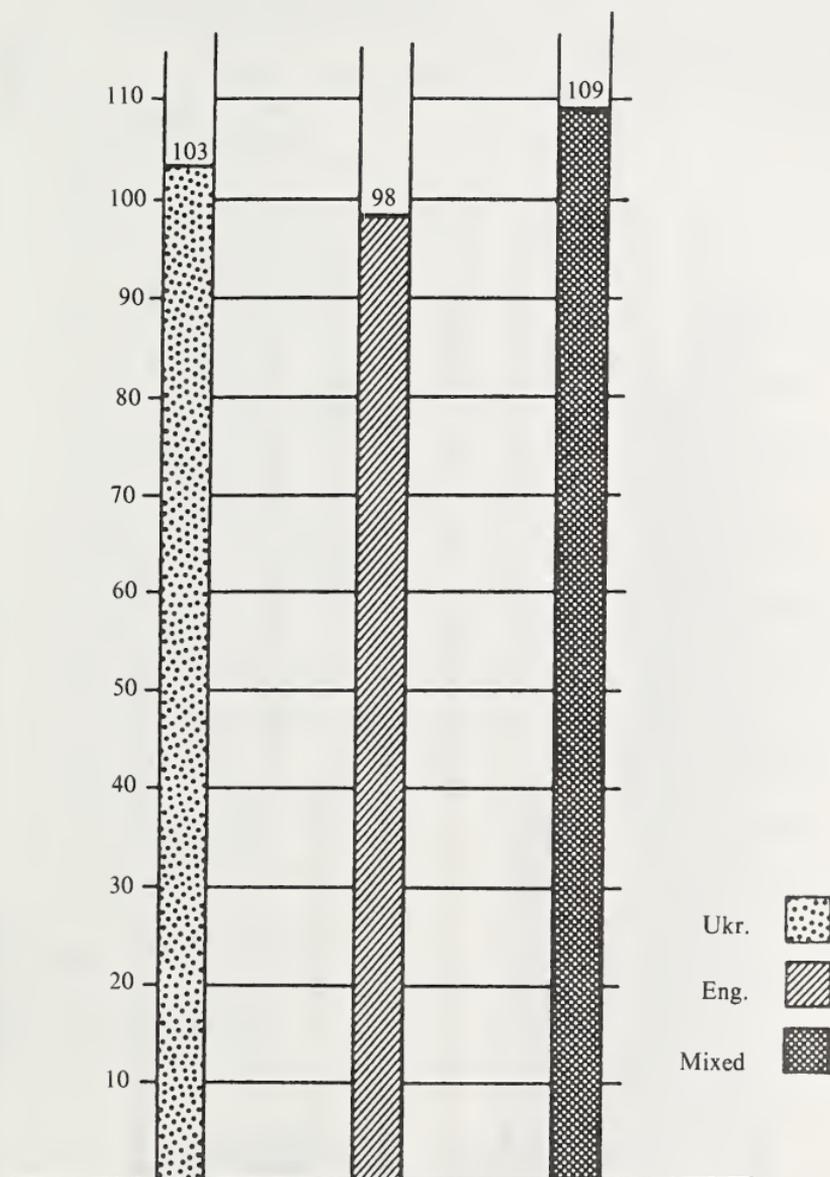
FIGURE 2
Number* of Children in Programme Versus Ethnic Background

* Using four children as maximum family size (answer to "4 or more")
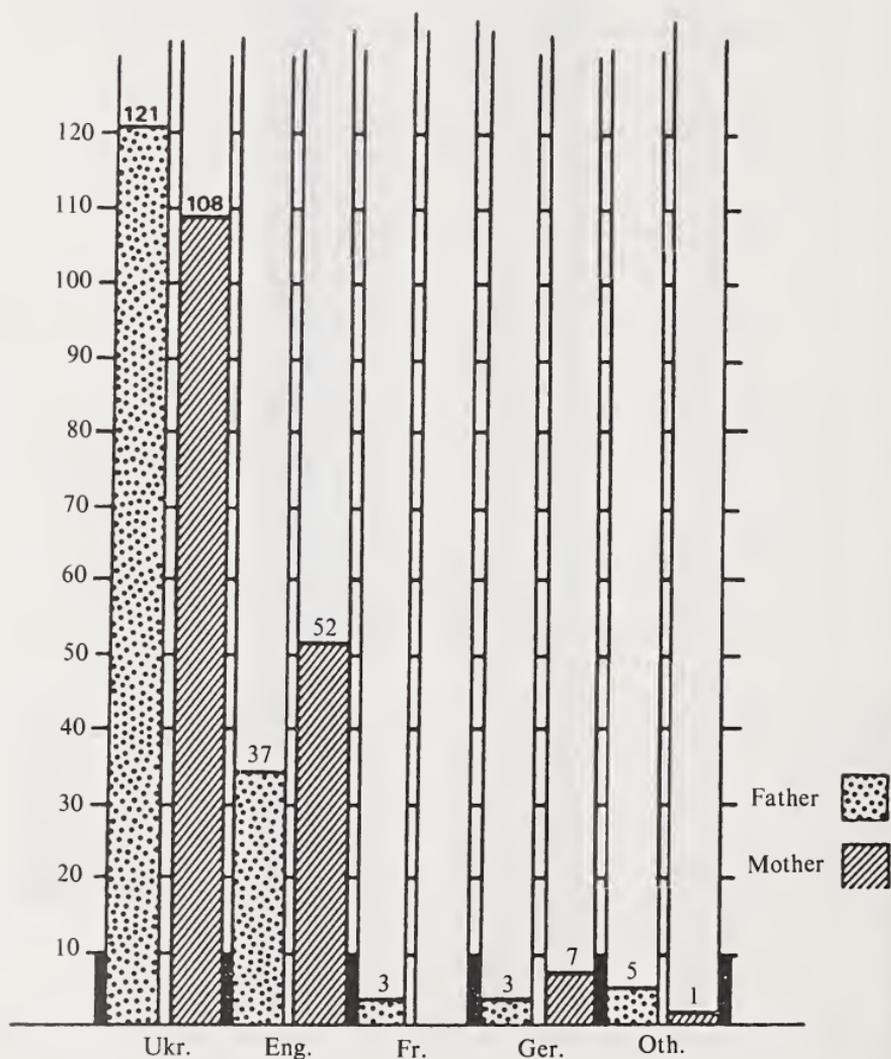
FIGURE 3
Ethnic Language of Father Versus Mother

TABLE 1 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Bilingual/Bicultural Expectations (Category P2, P3)

Item No.	Expectation	N*	Rating in Per Cent				
			SA	A	N	D	SD
1.	Ukr. bilingual programme should serve language and cultural needs of Ukr. speaking families in Edmonton.	167	37.7	41.9	13.8	6.6	—
2.	Ukr. bilingual programme should provide students from non-Ukr. speaking groups an opportunity to understand the Ukr. speaking community.	165	23.6	50.9	23.6	1.8	—
3.	Ukr. bilingual programme should provide students opportunities to participate and become a part of the Ukr. speaking community.	167	31.7	50.9	17.4	—	—
4.	Students graduating from schools offering the Ukr. bilingual programme should be able to assume a meaningful role in any Ukr. speaking community in Canada.	167	30.5	47.9	19.2	2.4	—
5.	Students attending Ukr. bilingual programme should be encouraged to participate in Ukr. linguistic and cultural contests.	167	22.2	49.1	23.4	4.8	.6
6.	Students attending Ukr. bilingual programmes should be invited to participate with other Ukr. Can. groups and organizations outside of school activities.	166	34.3	50.6	13.3	1.8	—
7.	Ukr. bilingual programmes should strive to make students bicultural.	166	38.6	50.6	10.2	.6	—
8.	The student graduating from the Ukr. bilingual programme should be fully bilingual.	165	43.6	41.2	9.7	4.8	—

*N = no. of valid cases

TABLE 2 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Oral Skills (Category P4)

Item	Skills	N*	VI	I	SI	NI
				Rating in Per Cent		
a	Participate in public debates	147	14.3	21.8	42.9	21.1
b	Prepare/deliver effective speeches	151	21.2	39.7	31.1	7.9
c	Participate in drama/fine arts	153	16.3	35.9	34.0	13.7
d	Narrate second-hand information	150	32.7	41.3	21.3	4.7

*N = no. of valid cases
VI = Very Interested; I = Interested; SI = Slightly Interested; NI = Not Interested

TABLE 3 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Out-of-Home Activities (Category P2, P3)

Item No.	Activity	N*	Very Often	Often	Rarely	Never
				Rating in Per Cent		
2	Eaten at a Ukr./Can. restaurant	167	2.4	8.4	47.3	41.9
4	Seen a Ukr. film (with Eng. sub-titles)?	167	1.2	2.4	22.2	74.3
5	Been to the Ukr. cultural or youth centres?	165	11.5	26.7	38.2	23.6
8	Attended a Ukr. celebration?	167	35.3	35.3	25.1	4.2
9	Seen/heard a Ukr. opera or ensemble?	165	11.5	23.0	38.8	26.7
10	Purchased Ukr. literature (books or magazines) for home use?	167	9.6	26.9	40.1	23.4
12	Seen a statue or monument which commemorates the Ukr. pioneers in Canada?	166	9.0	23.5	50.6	16.9
14	Been to a Ukr./Can. rural settlement?	165	9.1	29.1	43.0	18.8
15	Been to the Ukr. bookstore?	167	13.8	44.9	32.9	8.4
16	Purchased Ukr. records for home use?	167	16.2	31.7	38.9	13.2
17	Asked for Ukr. books at the public library?	167	3.6	15.0	29.3	52.1
21	Visited a Ukr. speaking senior citizen?	166	27.7	33.1	27.1	12.0
22	Seen performances presented by pupils in the Ukr. bilingual programme?	167	29.3	55.7	15.0	—

*N = no. of valid cases

TABLE 4 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Content (Category P4)

			Rating in Per Cent			
Item	Content	N*	VI	I	SI	NI
a	Reading a lot of Ukr. classical literature (e.g., Franko, Shevchenko, Ukrainka)	150	8.7	26.0	40.0	25.3
b	Reading western Can. literature depicting contemporary scenes/experiences	150	23.3	40.0	32.0	4.7
c	Reading Ukr. stories about Can. pioneers	152	29.6	41.4	25.7	3.3
d	Reading all forms of literature written or translated in Ukr.	158	29.2	29.1	27.8	13.3

*N = no. of valid cases

TABLE 5 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Skills (Category P4)

			Rating in Per Cent			
Item	Skills	N*	VI	I	SI	NI
a	Determine parts of speech	151	45.7	39.1	13.2	2.0
b	Place sentences in sequence	154	54.5	37.7	5.8	1.9
c	Think critically, detect persuasions	143	14.0	37.8	40.6	7.7
d	Recognize various kinds of letters written in Ukr.	143	9.8	27.3	39.9	23.1

*N = no. of valid cases

TABLE 6 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Content (Category P4)

			Rating in Per Cent			
Item	Content	N*	VI	I	SI	NI
a	Ancient history of Ukraine before 988 A.D.	143	7.7	20.3	37.1	35.0
b	History of Ukraine before 20th century	153	21.6	34.6	26.8	17.0
c	Only Ukr./Can. history	144	19.4	34.7	33.3	12.5
d	History about the immigration of Ukr. peoples	155	40.6	41.3	16.1	1.9
e	Same content as in Eng. without emphasizing a Ukr. point of view	139	18.0	25.9	27.3	28.8

*N = no. of valid cases

proportion (20.4 per cent) indicated that no Ukrainian was spoken in the home. The majority of the respondents (48.5 per cent) indicated that Ukrainian was spoken at home for 25 per cent of the time. For the majority of respondents, cultural support in the home often entails "out-of-home activities" and involves small "c" cultural activities that require little expense and low language skills (Table 3). Parents also desire an academically oriented bilingual programme in a contemporary Ukrainian Canadian context whose subject matter consists of psychomotor, cognitive and affective activities from a Ukrainian perspective, from the early twentieth century to the present (Tables 4, 5, 6, 7 respectively).

TABLE 7 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Content (Category P4)

| | | | Rating in Per Cent | | | |
Item	Content	N*	VI	I	SI	NI
a	Values first Ukr. pioneers brought to Canada	158	39.2	39.9	19.6	1.3
b	Meaning of Ukrainian Independence Day	149	16.8	34.9	25.5	22.8
c	Symbolic meaning of colours, patterns, designs (Ukr. architecture, embroidery, ceramics)	150	26.7	45.3	25.3	2.7
d	Historic influence of the Byzantine church on Ukr. people's lifestyle	152	23.0	40.1	28.3	8.6

*N = no. of valid cases

Statistically significant differences (PL.05) were found among respondents from three ethnic backgrounds across five generations on a majority of items dealing with the nature of language support (Table 8). The landed-immigrant and the third and subsequent generations recorded significant differences on one quarter of the items concerning curricular content for music, physical education and art (Table 9). The position of the first- and second-generation Canadians toward particular social studies content and literature differed significantly from all other groups in the high degree of positiveness (Table 10).

The study confirmed that the Ukrainian bilingual programme is attempting to meet the needs of a heterogeneous population, whose expectations vary significantly. Some of the expectations are similar to those of the landed immigrant; others are those of Ukrainians of

TABLE 8   Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Home Support Activities of Three Ethnic Backgrounds (Category P2)

Item No.	Activities	N*			χ^2	P
		1	2	3		
P1, Q11	Encourage child to speak Ukr. at home	44	58	66	22.64	<.0001
P1, Q12	Encourage child to listen to Ukr. broadcasts	44	57	66	30.79	<.0001
P2, Q1	Heard Ukr. spoken for more than one hour	43	56	65	34.19	<.0001
P2, Q5	Been to Ukr. cultural or youth centre	44	57	64	15.28	<.02
P2, Q8	Attended a Ukr. celebration	44	57	66	28.02	<.0001
P2, Q9	Seen or heard a Ukr. opera	44	55	66	3.86	.70
P2, Q15	Been to the Ukr. bookstore	44	57	66	16.96	<.01
P2, Q10	Purchased Ukr. literature	44	56	66	11.68	.07
P2, Q16	Purchased Ukr. records for home use	44	57	66	29.09	<.0001
P2, Q13	Read Ukr. lifestyle or history in Canada	44	57	66	5.79	.45
P2, Q17	Asked for Ukr. books at public library	44	57	66	20.16	<.003
P2, Q18	Used a Ukr. typewriter with Ukr. keyboard	44	57	66	6.02	.26
P2, Q19	Sang a Ukr. song	44	57	66	33.17	<.0001
P2, Q21	Visited a Ukr.-speaking senior citizen	43	57	66	14.14	<.03
P2, Q22	Seen performance by pupils of Ukr. programme	44	57	66	9.37	.05
P2, Q23	Read Ukr. programme newsletter	44	57	65	7.81	.25
P2, Q24	Watched Ukr. programme T.V. broadcast	44	57	66	25.23	<.0003
P2, Q25	Listened to radio broadcast in Ukr.	44	57	66	22.73	<.001

N1 = no. of valid cases, Ukr.

N2 = no. of valid cases, Eng.

N3 = no. of valid cases, Mixed

TABLE 9 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Curricular Expectations of Ukrainian/Mixed Parents (Category P4 c, d)

Item No.	Skill/Content	N*					x^2	P
		1	2	3	4	5		
P4, Q2a	Language arts should include Ukr. classical literature	19	31	47	5	—	8.47	.49
P4, Q6b	Recognize literature by Ukr. authors	20	31	47	4	—	11.85	.22
P4, Q8a	Enjoy music of famous Ukr. composers	20	29	47	5	—	11.36	.25
P4, Q8c	Sing traditional Christmas carols after programme	20	31	48	5	—	21.80	<.01
P4, Q8d	Understand history of songs	21	29	50	5	—	15.48	.08
P4, Q9a	Should study ancient history of Ukraine before 988 A.D.	19	27	47	5	—	19.39	<.02
P4, Q9b	Should study history of Ukraine before 20th century	20	30	49	5	—	22.23	<.01
P4, Q10a	Should study values brought by Ukrs.	21	30	49	5	—	8.84	.45
P4, Q10b	Should study meaning of Ukrainian Independence Day	19	28	48	5	—	9.67	.38
P4, Q10c	Should study symbolic meaning of colour, patterns, designs	20	30	47	5	—	18.62	<.03
P4, Q10d	Should study historic influence of church or Byzantine rite	19	29	50	5	—	12.70	.18
P4, Q11a	Stress Ukr. folklore	20	28	50	5	—	9.32	.41
P4, Q11b	Stress Ukr. literature/short stories	21	30	48	5	—	10.05	.35

P4, Q12a	Design Ukr. ceramics after Ukr. programme	20	29	47	5	—	20.19	<.02
P4, Q12b	Design Ukr. Easter eggs after Ukr. programme	21	31	49	5	—	6.88	.65
P4, Q12b	Do Ukr. dancing after Ukr. programmes	20	30	47	5	—	19.14	<.02
P4, Q12d	Make simple wood sculptures after Ukr. programme	19	29	47	5	—	14.16	.12
P4, Q12e	Play Ukr. instruments after Ukr. programme	20	29	46	5	—	11.29	.26
P4, Q12f	Paint ikons and murals after Ukr. programme	19	28	47	5	—	4.37	.89
P4, Q13c	Pass on Ukr. recipes after Ukr. programme	21	30	46	5	—	15.31	.08
P4, Q13d	Pass on Ukr. diet patterns	20	29	47	4	—	11.37	.25
P4, Q14e	Pass on Ukr. embroidery and weaving	18	28	47	5	—	6.37	.70
P4, Q14f	Pass on Ukr. cooking to children	19	29	47	5	—	8.87	.45
P4, Q14g	Pass on Ukr. arts and crafts to children	18	28	45	5	—	19.34	<.02
P4, Q2b	Language arts should include western Can. literature	18	30	49	5	—	18.43	<.03
P4, Q2c	Language arts should include Ukr. pioneer studies	19	31	48	5	—	16.58	.06
P4, Q2d	Language arts should include literature (translated)	21	31	49	5	—	6.09	.73

		N1	N2	N3	N4	N5		
P4, Q8b	Recognize various Ukr. music after Ukr. programme	20	29	49	5	—	7.22	.61
P4, Q8e	Participate in songs after Ukr. programme	19	31	50	5	—	8.86	.45
P4, Q9c	Should study only Can. Ukr. history	18	26	47	5	—	13.87	.13
P4, Q9b	Should study history of Ukr. immigrants	20	31	50	6	—	13.51	.14
P4, Q9e	Should study same content as Eng. programme	17	28	42	5	—	7.65	.57
P4, Q11c	Stress Ukr. literature (plays)	19	29	47	5	—	14.65	.10
P4, Q6c	Recognize literature by non-Ukr. authors (translated)	20	28	45	4	—	4.17	.90

N1 = no. of landed immigrant respondents

N2 = no. of first generation respondents

N3 = no. of second generation respondents

N4 = no. of third generation respondents

N5 = no. of fourth generation respondents

TABLE 10 Items from Parent Questionnaire Concerning Curricular Expectations of Ukrainian/Mixed Parents across Five Generations (Category P4 c, d)

Item No.	Skill/Content	1	2	N*3.	4	5	x^2	P
P4, Q2a	Language arts should include Ukr. classical literature	15	10	12	4	—	14.28	.11
P4, Q6b	Recognize literature by Ukr. authors	16	10	11	3	—	18.41	<.03
P4, Q8a	Enjoy music of famous Ukr. composers	16	9	12	4	—	9.51	.39
P4, Q8c	Sing traditional Christmas carols after Ukr. programme	16	10	12	4	—	23.31	<.01
P4, Q8d	Understand history of songs	17	9	13	4	—	13.84	.13
P4, Q9a	Should study ancient history of Ukraine before 988 A.D.	15	9	12	4	—	12.16	.21
P4, Q9b	Should study history of Ukraine before 20th century	16	10	12	4	—	12.72	.18
P4, Q10a	Should study values brought by Ukrs.	17	9	12	4	—	5.40	.80
P4, Q10b	Should study meaning of Ukrainian Independence Day	15	8	13	4	—	6.33	.71
P4, Q10c	Should study symbolic meaning of colour, patterns, designs	16	9	12	4	—	12.99	.16
P4, Q10d	Should study historic influence of church	15	8	12	4	—	13.78	.13

P4, Q11a	Stress Ukr. folklore	16	8	13	4	—	4.21	.90
P4, Q11b	Stress Ukr. literature/short stories	17	9	12	4	—	11.68	.23
P4, Q12a	Design Ukr. ceramics after Ukr. programme	16	8	12	4	—	8.59	.48
P4, Q12b	Design Ukr. Easter eggs after Ukr. programme	17	9	12	4	—	6.39	.70
P4, Q12b	Do Ukr. dancing after Ukr. programmes	16	9	12	4	—	13.56	.14
P4, Q12d	Make simple wood sculptures after Ukr. programme	15	8	13	4	—	7.28	.61
P4, Q12e	Play Ukr. instruments after Ukr. programme	16	8	12	4	—	12.22	.20
P4, Q12f	Paint ikons and murals after Ukr. programme	15	8	12	4	—	13.49	<.04
P4, Q13b	Pass on Ukr. children's games after Ukr. programme	15	8	12	4	—	6.90	.65
P4, Q13c	Pass on Ukr. recipes after Ukr. programme	17	8	12	4	—	19.78	<.02
P4, Q13d	Pass on Ukr. diet patterns	16	8	13	3	—	12.33	.19
P4, Q14e	Pass on Ukr. embroidery and weaving	14	8	12	4	—	8.54	.48
P4, Q14f	Pass on Ukr. cooking to children	15	8	12	4	—	7.51	.58
P4, Q14g	Pass on Ukr. arts and crafts to children	14	8	12	4	—	19.22	.02
P4, Q2b	Language arts should include western Can. literature	14	9	12	4	—	13.83	.12
P4, Q2c	Language arts should include Ukr. pioneer studies	15	10	13	4	—	7.72	.56

P4, Q2d	Language arts should include literature (translated)	17	9	12	4	—	7.12	.62
P4, Q8b	Recognize various Ukr. music after Ukr. programme	16	9	12	4	—	6.73	.66
P4, Q8e	Participate in songs after Ukr. programme	15	10	12	4	—	7.62	.57
P4, Q9c	Should study only Can. Ukr. history	14	9	13	4	—	18.95	<.03
P4, Q9b	Should study history of Ukr. immigrants	16	10	12	4	—	9.84	.36
P4, Q9e	Should study same content as Eng. programme	13	9	12	4	—	11.95	.21
P4, Q11c	Stress Ukr. literature (plays)	15	8	12	4	—	17.71	<.04
P4, Q6c	Recognize literature by non-Ukr. authors (translated)	16	9	11	3	—	7.55	.58

N1 = no. of landed-immigrant generation Ukr.

N2 = no. of first-generation Ukr.

N3 = no. of second-generation Ukr.

N4 = no. of third-generation Ukr.

N5 = no. of fourth-generation Ukr.

mixed background. Skills involving content that relates to the history, music and literature of the prevailing Ukrainian Canadian culture are deemed more "important" than content which includes dance and crafts of Ukraine, the ancient history of Ukraine and classical Ukrainian music and literature. To the third and subsequent generations, important also are such elements of Ukrainian culture as traditional Ukrainian carols and other skills threatened by the forces of assimilation. Parents expect their children to be fully bilingual and bicultural after completing nine years of the programme.

Language Behaviour in the Ukrainian Home: An Interactional Perspective

Roma Chumak

In this study, language behaviour means language use—the kinds of things that are done with language. What parents and children say to each other in the home is one significant aspect of interaction among family members. Included are language decisions, language strategies, literary behaviours— book behaviour—the kind of language used and how much language is spoken by members of the family.

The home context in the study consisted of Ukrainian families in Toronto where both parents spoke Ukrainian, both were born in Europe and came to Canada as young children, both described the language of the home as "Ukrainian only" and both could be described as being of "high" ethnic identity with a keen interest in preserving and maintaining the use of Ukrainian in the home. Such homes may be termed ideal Ukrainian-language environments.

In each family there were two children—a preschooler between the ages of three and five and a school-age child. The latter was enrolled in several Ukrainian clubs or organizations, where the activities were usually conducted in Ukrainian. Before the activities began or during breaks, it was not unusual for the children to switch into English. The activities of clubs consisted of Saturday school classes, religion classes, Plast, SUM, choirs and dancing and music lessons. The families in the study represented one specific section of the Ukrainian community in Toronto and were not representative of the "average" Ukrainian home.

Differences in the linguistic exchanges between Ukrainian parents and their younger or preschool age children and their older school-age children in the home context can be seen in the following areas:

a) Parental language use: Ukrainian parents in the families studied encouraged their younger children to verbalize and to use Ukrainian far more than their older children;

b) Amount of speech: Ukrainian parents in the above families used more language with their younger children than with their older;

c) Parental attitudes: Ukrainian parental attitudes toward their children's use of the mother tongue in the home was very different with their younger than with their older children;

d) Feedback strategies or response behaviours: Ukrainian parents adopted different feedback strategies with their younger than with their older children;

e) Literary behaviour: Ukrainian parents exposed their younger children to more books and printed materials, stories, poems and picture books than their older siblings;

f) Distribution of Ukrainian and English: Ukrainian parents used Ukrainian only when addressing their younger children; both Ukrainian and English were used with the older children;

g) Language contexts: With younger children Ukrainian was used in the majority of situations, with English used only occasionally.

The children's language can be described in the following terms:

a) Amount of spontaneous verbalization: Younger children verbalized spontaneously in Ukrainian more often than did their older siblings;

b) Response to parental verbalization: While younger children used only Ukrainian when spoken to in Ukrainian by their parents, the older siblings used Ukrainian and/or English when responding to parental Ukrainian verbalization;

c) Language preference: When given a choice, young children opted for Ukrainian more often than did their older siblings.

From the above differences in language behaviour in the home, it clear that the use and development of the mother tongue by Ukrainian children undergoes a change in direction or orientation. In the early interactive support system in high ethnic identity families in Toronto, young children are totally immersed in a Ukrainian environment. They have a linguistic system, which though not fully developed, consists of the phondime system of the Ukrainian language, the principles of Ukrainian grammar and their application and an active vocabulary of approximately 2,000 words. It can be said therefore that the young child eagerly and anxiously participates in linguistic exchanges with members of the family. The young preschool child is exposed to many book experiences. Little children are read to much in the high ethnic identity Ukrainian homes, and much of the reading material is poetry.

In the later interactive support system school-age children between the ages of seven and ten were examined rather than six-year olds. The children participated in the English environment and had friends at school. They brought some home for lunch or played with them on Saturdays or invited them to birthday parties. All participated in Ukrainian community clubs and organizations, with the result that the linguistic system developed in the early years was not continued with older school-age children. It is almost as if the responsibility for continuing or further developing the linguistic system was passed on to the community. It appeared that parents who had made all the efforts described in the early interactive system now felt that they had done their job and wished to pass their children on to the Ukrainian community. Another characteristic of the later interactive support system was that the school-age children were not exposed to as much reading material in the home because they could read for themselves and were not read to by the parents.

In the early interactive support system parents made continuous efforts to engage the young child in verbal exchanges and to assist in the child's language acquisition and development. Parents encouraged their children to verbalize. They asked them to repeat, to try different utterances, to experiment with language. The

parents were very tolerant with young children learning a language. They were almost entertained by the children's experiments or errors with language. Parents had very positive attitudes toward their young children's linguistic efforts. The same children had limited exposure to the English environment. Young children in high ethnic identity homes were presented with a well organized, simple, basic and familiar context-bound level of Ukrainian. It was something they could handle, something they could respond to, something that helped them to learn the language.

At the later interactive system, parents used less language with older children. This was not just a characteristic of Ukrainian high ethnic identity families; it was a universal phenomenon. Older children who were in school all day and had more activities outside the home were spoken to less, and language responsibilities were gradually passed on to the community. As the early interactive support system was gradually discontinued in the home, the level of Ukrainian addressed to children of school age was very often simple and familiar, with most of the verbalization around what had to be done, family schedules, family routines and discipline. For the school-age child, Ukrainian or Ukrainianism took on a part-time importance.

By applying the recent research of interactionists such as Nelson and Cross, and especially Gordon Wells in England, to the Ukrainian context, this study showed that home-language behaviour critically determines and affects child-language growth and development. The interactionists dealt only with a monolingual situation. In their homes the language was the same as the language of the environment. The Ukrainian situation is obviously very different and very special, with the Ukrainian child mismatched where the language of the home and the environment is concerned. It is therefore important that the early language home experiences in the minority language in the Ukrainian context be continued in the school years. Unlike the English-speaking child in Toronto, whose home activities are often continued in the school, the child of Ukrainian-speaking parents must experience a higher, not lower, level of exposure to Ukrainian if the language is to grow and develop.

The NOL Study:
Implications for Ukrainian-Language Teaching

Olga M. Kuplowska

Until recently, the teaching of Ukrainian to successive generations of Ukrainian Canadians was mainly in the homes and in Ukrainian schools (*ridni shkoly*). Various sociological, political and historical factors contributed to the survival of such language transmission. There is evidence that the usefulness of both institutions has peaked and neither is any longer as effective. Ukrainians who can express themselves well in Ukrainian are decreasing and enrollments in the *ridni shkoly* are declining. The appearance of various types of Ukrainian-language programmes in recent years suggests that other means of language transmission are being sought. A reassessment of the situation is therefore in order.

This paper will address the more current views of Ukrainian Canadians on the subject of Ukrainian-language teaching through the following questions:

- What are the attitudes of parents toward their children learning Ukrainian?
- Who should be primarily responsible for teaching Ukrainian?
- What should be the source of financial support for such language instruction?
- What form should the instruction take?

The statistics in this paper are drawn from a national study in 1973 on the knowledge and use of ethnic languages and the support

for their retention within ten large ethnic communities in five Canadian urban centres. The Ukrainian community was one of the ten groups surveyed. Today the political adoption of multicultural policies, the creation of the Ukrainian bilingual programmes in the West, the establishment of advisory councils on multiculturalism and of such institutions as the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies would likely spur different responses, and the 1973 snapshot is probably a conservative image of the current situation.

What were the main characteristics of the Ukrainian sample? A large majority claimed Ukrainian as their mother tongue and 89 per cent reported having at least some knowledge of Ukrainian. Those fluent in the language tended to be of the first generation, with percentages dropping off rather sharply in the second generation. Not surprisingly, the fluent speakers used Ukrainian often or everyday; the others used it less frequently.

Overall, use of Ukrainian was pretty well limited to family, close friends and clergy—more so by the fluent than by those with some knowledge. While the levels of language knowledge and use were quite moderate, especially with generation increase, the overall support for the retention of Ukrainian was very favourable. Even among those with no knowledge of Ukrainian, over two-thirds expressed a favourable position toward the maintenance of the language.

1. *What are the attitudes of Ukrainian Canadian parents toward their children learning Ukrainian?*

The findings show that parents generally support their children learning Ukrainian, but their views are closely tied to their general attitudes toward the retention of Ukrainian. In other words, those generally indifferent toward Ukrainian language retention tend to have similar ambivalent feelings about their children learning the language, and those with strong feelings about the retention of Ukrainian, strongly favour their children acquiring it. An interesting observation is that even among those generally indifferent to language retention, about one-third expressed support for their children learning it. These could be persuaded to adopt a more positive attitude toward Ukrainian-language retention. One thing is certain, language transmission is by no means a dead issue.

TABLE 1 Selected Characteristics of the Ukrainian Sample in the NOL Study

1) *Reported mother tongue* (Table 4.1*)	(Percentage)		
Ukrainian	72.4		
English	26.5		
2) *Reported knowledge of Ukrainian* (Table 4.3)			
Fluent	30.7		
Some knowledge	58.1		
No knowledge	11.2		
3) *Reported fluency across generations* (Table 4.5)			
First (immigrant) generation	63.6		
Second generation	18.9		
Third generation	0.7		

4) *Frequency of use of Ukrainian* (Tables 4.16 to 4.18)

	Total Sample	Fluent	Some Knowledge
Everyday	35.2	78.1	19.3
Often	13.8	14.3	16.2
Occasionally	14.3	5.3	21.8
Rarely/Never	11.9	2.2	19.2
Insufficient knowledge	22.6	0.0	19.6
(N)	(181,656)	(55,757)	(105,561)

5) *Reported context of use of Ukrainian* (Tables 4.24 to 4.26)

	Total Sample	Fluent	Some Knowledge
Family	66.5	94.3	31.9
Close friends	40.5	86.1	39.3
Clergy	40.9	84.6	61.4
Grocer	8.2	18.6	7.3
Doctor	13.9	38.0	27.4
Classmates/Coworkers	16.3	37.4	11.0
(N)	(181,656)	(55,757)	(105,561)

6) *Reported support for retention of Ukrainian* (Tables 4.36 to 4.37)

Very desirable	30.3
Somewhat desirable	45.8
Indifferent	19.8
Somewhat/Very undesirable	4.1

* Refers to tables in NOL report from which percentages drawn.

TABLE 2   Attitudes of Ukrainian Parents Toward Ukrainian-Language Retention by Their Own Children, by General Attitude Toward Ukrainian-Language Retention in Per Cent

General Attitude Toward Ukrainian-Language Retention	Attitude Toward Ukrainian-Language Retention by Own Children				(N)
	Strongly in Favour	Somewhat in Favour	Indifferent	Somewhat or Strongly Opposed	
Very desirable	67.3	23.7	9.0	0.0	(36,714)
Somewhat desirable	22.4	43.5	32.5	0.0	(62,508)
Indifferent	10.9	21.8	59.7	2.0	(24,430)
Total	31.3	33.3	30.1	3.9	(123,652)

TABLE 3   Percentage of Ukrainian Parents Giving Various Reasons for Favouring Ukrainian-Language Retention by Their Own Children, by General Attitude Toward Ukrainian-Language Retention

General Attitude Toward Ukrainian-Language Retention	Reasons for Ukrainian-Language Retention by Own Children					(N)
	Keep up Customs and Traditions	Communication with Others	Useful as Second Language	Other Reason	No Reason	
Very desirable	40.8	10.5	31.6	12.1	5.1	(36,714)
Somewhat desirable	19.7	12.1	39.5	6.1	20.5	(62,508)

2. Why do parents favour the retention of Ukrainian by their children?

The reasons for learning Ukrainian vary according to the level of parental support for Ukrainian-language retention. Strong supporters of retention cited the maintenance of customs and traditions, while those only generally supportive focused on the usefulness of Ukrainian as a second language. The latter also showed an increase in the "no reason" category. Given that the level of support is tied to generation, one may extrapolate that second-language usefulness will increase in importance as a factor in support of Ukrainian-language retention.

TABLE 4 **Percentage of Ukrainians Assigning Primary Responsibility to Different Agents for Teaching Ukrainian History, Language and Culture to Ukrainian Children (N = 181,656)**

Parents	36.6
Schools in Ukrainian area, otherwise parents	33.4
Schools across Canada	24.3
Other	3.3
Don't know	2.0

3. Who should be the primary agent responsible for teaching Ukrainian children their history, language and culture?

In the study, the teaching of Ukrainian to children is no longer the exclusive responsibility of parents but a shared responsibility with the public schools, a fact which may partially account for the growing interest in and demand for Ukrainian language programmes in such schools. Among the schools to furnish such programmes, primary and secondary public schools were preferred. The preference was strongest among first- and second-generation Ukrainians, although close to 50 per cent of the third generation felt the same way. There is a slight tendency in later generations to assign greater responsibility to "ethnic schools."

TABLE 5 Percentage of Ukrainians Assigning Primary Responsibility to Each Type of School (Assuming Schools Are Used) for Teaching Ukrainian History, Language and Culture, by Generation

Generation	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Type of School Ukrainian Schools (Ethnic Schools)	Church Schools	Colleges and Universities	Other	Don't Know	(N)
First (immigrant) generation	41.8	18.5	10.2	5.2	11.6	2.9	9.8	(63,378)
Second generation	36.6	22.7	13.5	8.9	9.1	4.2	3.6	(80,423)
Third generation	29.0	20.9	26.0	12.9	5.7	5.4	—	(36,126)
Total	36.9	20.9	14.8	8.4	9.3	4.0	5.1	(179,927)

TABLE 6 Percentage of Ukrainians Assigning Costs to Different Sources for the Instruction of the Ukrainian Language, History and Culture to Ukrainian Children, by Generation

Generation	Parents	Source of Financial Support Ukrainian Community	Canadian Taxpayers	Other	Don't Know	(N)
First (immigrant) generation	31.8	14.1	49.5	2.7	0.9	(63,378)
Second generation	33.9	14.7	45.8	1.6	3.9	(80,423)
Third generation	30.0	18.4	47.2	1.0	2.6	(36,125)
Total	32.4	15.2	47.4	1.9	2.6	(179,926)

4. *Who should pay for the teaching of Ukrainian?*

All generations felt that both taxpayers and parents should finance such instruction—one of the few items on which there was a high degree of consensus. Less than one-fifth of each generation indicated the community itself as the prime supporter.

5. *What form(s) should this instruction take?*

Language can be taught as a subject of study and as a language of instruction. Heritage-language programmes exemplify the first approach and bilingual or immersion programmes the second.

Parents indicated they would at least encourage (if not insist) that their children take Ukrainian-language courses. The level of encouragement was slightly higher among the first-generation parents, but over 70 per cent of the second- and third-generation parents felt the same way. This was true for either type of language programme. The study did not ascertain the conditions under which such attitudes would prevail (for example, parents were not asked what other school activities they were prepared to forego to enrol their children in Ukrainian-language programmes). This is important, for in setting up a language programme the latter should not be seen as being in competition with other subjects ranked by parents as highly important for their children.

What conclusions can be drawn from these responses and what implications do they have for Ukrainian-language teaching? First, support was strong for the regular school system to teach Ukrainian. Both parents and non-parents felt that some form of external support was warranted. Significantly, the usefulness of Ukrainian was becoming the main reason for learning Ukrainian. However, this perception could disappear in later generations, if the language finds no place in mainstream educational institutions and is confined to the *ridni shkoly*. Encouraging the perception is very important, however, as recent studies suggest that traditions and customs alone do not necessarily ensure the survival of an ethnic community.

The study shows wide support, even among third-generation Ukrainians, for Ukrainian as a language of instruction. Over 60 per cent of the third generation indicated they would at least encourage their children to take such courses, a definite nod in the

TABLE 7   Attitudes of Ukrainian Parents Toward Their Own Children Taking Ukrainian-Language Courses Were They Available in Local Public and Secondary Schools, by Generation

| | Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses | | | | |
Generation	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	(N)
First (immigrant) generation	35.9	51.9	10.3	0.7	(47,153)
Second generation	15.4	61.2	19.4	0.0	(60,076)
Third generation	13.3	59.1	22.0	1.9	(22,542)

TABLE 8   Attitudes of Ukrainian Parents Toward Their Own Children Taking Courses in Which Ukrainian Was the Language of Instruction, by Generation

| | Attitude Toward Children Taking Courses | | | | |
Generation	Insist	Encourage	Don't Care	Discourage	(N)
First (immigrant) generation	38.8	44.1	15.1	0.7	(47,153)
Second generation	15.5	55.0	23.7	2.1	(60,076)
Third generation	11.1	60.1	22.0	1.9	(22,542)

direction of Ukrainian bilingual schools. In short, the findings of the NOL study make very clear that the teaching of Ukrainian to children is seen by most as highly desirable, and those concerned to see the continued development of Ukrainian in Canada should capitalize on this fact.

Notes

1. K.G. O'Bryan, J.G. Reitz and O.M. Kuplowska, *Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (Ottawa 1976).

The Effects of Intermarriage on Bilingual Education Among Ukrainian Canadians

Oleh Wolowyna

Intermarriage is one of the strongest indicators of ethnic assimilation. Because marriage is enduring and intimate, it is of fundamental importance as a measure of social distance and structural assimilation (Gordon, 1964), with wide ramifications for such social processes as linguistic assimilation, personal networks of ethnically intermarried individuals and the future of the latter's children (Alba, 1976). Although the problem's importance has been long recognized in the Ukrainian community, discussions have been based on fragmentary and subjective perceptions, with little attention to well-grounded statistics.

The Canadian census is a good base for studying intermarriage among Ukrainians. It includes not only Ukrainians who are active in the community, but also the large number of persons of Ukrainian origin with no affiliation to existing Ukrainian organizations and churches. This paper analyzes historical trends of male and female endogamy, i.e., the percentage of men and women with spouses of the same ethnic origin or mother tongue for Ukrainian and other ethnic groups in Canada. Using the 1971 census data, it also examines some determinants of intermarriage for the same groups. Because a one per cent sample file of the 1971 census is available, it is possible to explore in great detail the determinants and consequences of intermarriage among Ukrainians in Canada. As a result, this paper discusses the demographic and

socio-economic characteristics of "pure" and mixed Ukrainian couples, the patterns of religious intermarriage, and the effect of ethnic, linguistic and religious intermarriage on the process of language assimilation. To avoid duplication, only the results for males or females are often analyzed, as in most cases the patterns are very similar. At the end, the paper estimates the likely effect of intermarriage on language assimilation among small children.

As this is the first study of its kind, the analysis is primarily descriptive. No hypotheses are formulated and tested, the objective being to assess the situation and formulate suggestions for future research. Further work with the 1971 and 1981 census data will provide answers to some of the questions raised in this preliminary analysis of ethnic intermarriage and the concomitant process of religious intermarriage and language assimilation.

Levels and Trends of Endogamy

From the ethnic origin question in the 1951, 1961 and 1971 Canadian censuses, one can measure trends in male and female endogamy ratios for Ukrainians and other major ethnic groups. Figure 1 indicates the male endogamy ratios for the eight major ethnic groups in Canada between 1941 and 1971, with the 1941 data derived from birth registrations.

The highest endogamy ratios are for the British and French, and they have declined only slightly with time. This reflects the general principle that, everything else being equal, the larger the group the higher the probability of marriage within the group, as the choice of suitable partners is greater. The high values in endogamy ratios for Italians in 1961 and 1971 are the result of their large immigration to Canada after the Second World War. A similar large immigration in 1951–3 is responsible for the high Dutch endogamy ratios between 1951 and 1961. Excluding 1941 data, which may not be comparable with the census data for later years, the endogamy ratios for other ethnic groups between 1951 and 1971 declined 1.5 per cent per year for Scandinavians, Polish and Ukrainians. Should the trend continue, the percentage of Ukrainian males with Ukrainian wives will drop from 54 in 1971 to 37 in 2001; the percentage for Poles and Scandinavians would decline from 43 to 29 and 27 to 17 respectively. On the other hand, the decline for Germans would be much less, from 49 to 41 per cent.
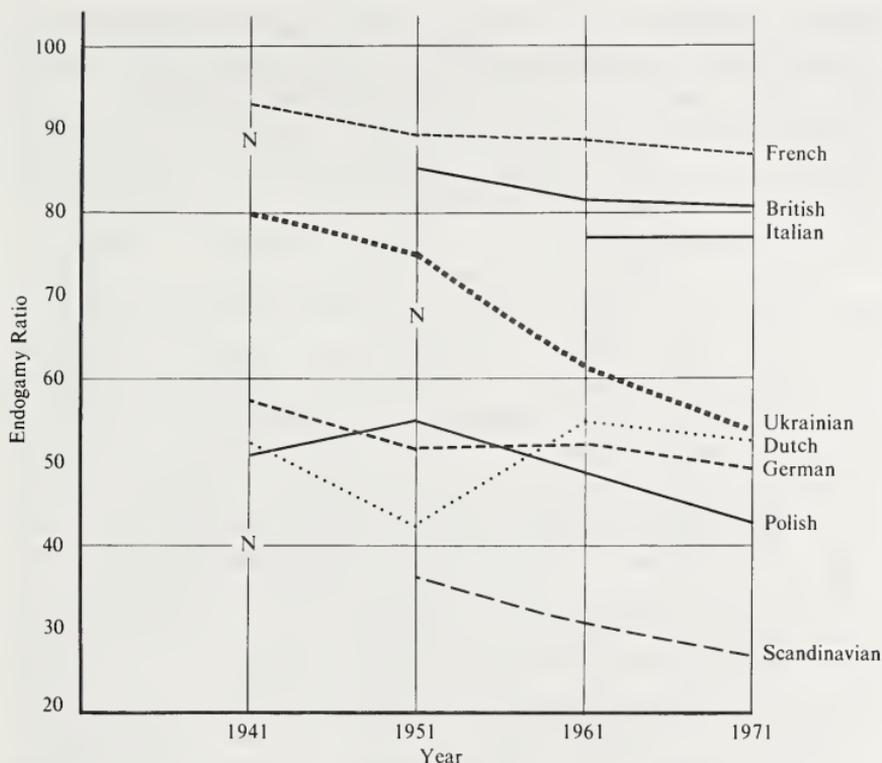
FIGURE 1
Ratios of Endogamy* for Males, Selected Ethnic Groups,
Canada 1941, 1951, 1961 and 1971

* Per cent of married men with wife of same ethnicity. N = no data available.
SOURCE: Table A1 in Appendix A of this paper.

The above projections likely underestimate future endogamy ratios, as the rate of decrease is likely to slow down with time. It is the less ethnically conscious that tend to marry out of the group first. These projections assume that there will be no major influx of new immigrants for any of the groups and that efforts will not be made to change the process of mate selection within each group.

However, ethnic origin, as measured by the census, is not a good measure of a person's commitment to the cultural values of one's

ancestors. Mother tongue is a much more satisfactory measure, its connection with linguistic exposure in earlier years being clearer. One might expect therefore that endogamy ratios defined by mother tongue would be higher than endogamy ratios defined by ethnic origin. In other words, a person of Ukrainian mother tongue is more likely to have a spouse with Ukrainian mother tongue than one of Ukrainian ethnic origin is to have a spouse of Ukrainian origin.

The relative differences between the two types of endogamy ratios (ethnic and mother tongue) were relatively small for British, French and Italian females, and significantly larger for females of other groups (third column of Table 1). The similarity of the two ratios for Italians is the result of the magnitude of post-Second World War in-migration and therefore of the large proportion of foreign-born among Italians in Canada, with most persons of Italian origin also having Italian as their mother tongue. More than 90 per cent of females with English or French mother tongue had husbands with the same mother tongue, and this proportion is about 10 to 20 per cent higher than when ethnic origin criteria are used. These results reflect the multicultural character of Canadian society: even among females with English or French mother tongue a notable percentage have husbands with a different mother tongue, and this percentage is 10 to 20 points higher when the ethnic origin criterion is used.

For the other groups the process of language assimilation has taken a heavy toll on intermarriage patterns: the endogamy ratio using the mother tongue criterion is about one-third higher than when the ethnic origin criterion is used. Ukrainian females have had the second highest level of mother tongue endogamy, with 70 per cent having husbands with Ukrainian mother tongue, a percentage about 10 points higher than for Polish females. This would seem to indicate that the rapid historical decline in ethnic endogamy ratios for Ukrainians is related to the language assimilation process. Where the language is retained, then the possibility of Ukrainians marrying within the group is as high as for Germans, although, as Figure 1 shows, the historical rate of decline in endogamy ratios among Ukrainians is much higher than among Germans.

Nativity is an important factor determining intermarriage, with the foreign-born expected to have higher endogamy ratios than the

TABLE 1 Ratios of Endogamy in Per Cent for *Females* by Ethnic Origin and
Mother Tongue, Canada, 1971

Ethnic/Mother-Tongue Group	Ethnic Origin (1)	Mother Tongue (2)	(2)/(1)
British	79.5	93.9	1.18
French	84.4	92.8	1.10
Italian	83.5	85.3	1.02
Dutch	56.0	72.4	1.26
Ukrainian	54.5	68.6	1.29
German	51.1	68.4	1.34
Polish	45.5	60.3	1.33
Scandinavian	28.5	37.7	1.32

SOURCE: J. de Vries and I.G. Vallee, *Language Use in Canada* (Ottawa 1980), 155, 164.

TABLE 2 Percentage of Husbands Married to Wives with the Same Mother
Tongue, by Mother Tongue and Place of Birth of Husband, All
Husband-Wife Families, Canada, 1971

Mother Tongue	Canadian-born (1)	Foreign-born (2)	100 (1)/(2) (3)
Dutch	70.1	72.6	97
German	62.1	71.8	86
Ukrainian	60.5	81.8	74
Scandinavian	26.1	41.9	62
Polish	37.8	67.6	56
Italian	48.1	88.1	55

SOURCE: De Vries and Vallee, 166.

Canadian-born. As this factor is of marginal interest to the British
and French groups, data on them were excluded from Table 2.
Among foreign-born males, the mother tongue endogamy ratio was
82 for Ukrainians, the second highest after Italians. Among
Canadian-born males, the percentage with Ukrainian mother tongue
wives, 60.5, was surpassed by the Dutch and Germans, but it was
higher than for the other three linguistic groups.

Characteristics of Ukrainian Couples

This and the following sections analyze in greater depth
intermarriage patterns among Ukrainians in 1971. The data are
from the one per cent census family file, and the population
analyzed are all husband-wife families with at least one spouse of
Ukrainian ethnic origin, 204,100 couples in all.

In terms of the ethnicity of each spouse, three types of couples emerge: both spouses Ukrainian (U—U), husband Ukrainian and wife non-Ukrainian (U—N) and husband non-Ukrainian and wife Ukrainian (N—U). The 204,100 families distributed themselves almost equally among the three categories, which means that in 1971 there were only 72,455 couples with both spouses of Ukrainian origin (Figure 2). When considering the mother tongue of each
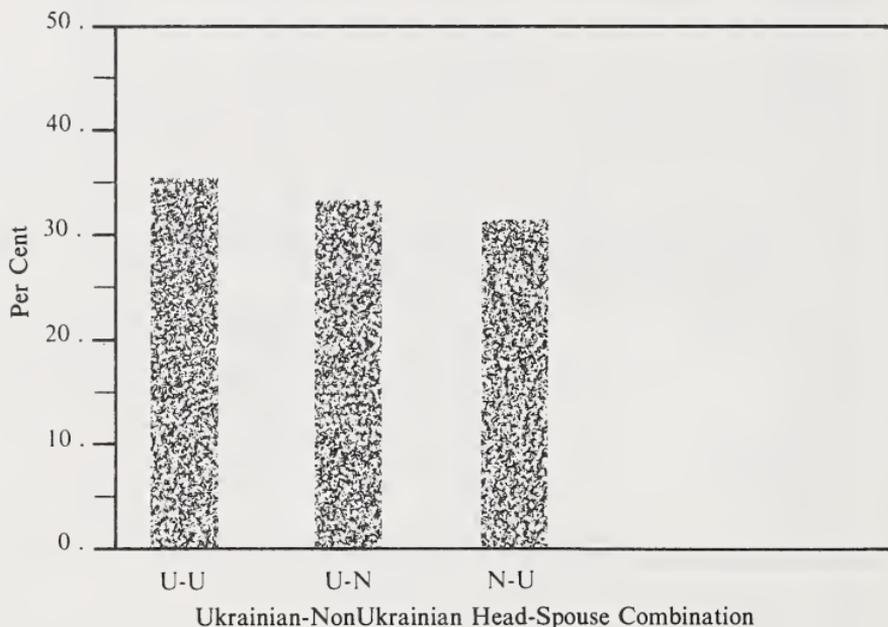

FIGURE 2
Distribution of Couples by Ethnic Origin Combination, for Couples with One or Both Spouses of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin, 1971

spouse, a fourth category of couples emerges, where neither of the spouses has Ukrainian as the mother tongue (N—N). Consisting of linguistically assimilated families (the terms couples and families are used interchangeably), the N—N type constitutes almost one-half of all families (42.5 per cent); there were only 61,638 U—U couples (30.2 per cent) with spouses where both had Ukrainian as their mother tongue. The U—N couples (15 per cent) were slightly more numerous than the N—U couples (12 per cent), which seems to support the widely held perception in the Ukrainian

community that males rather than females are more likely to marry non-Ukrainians (Figure 3).
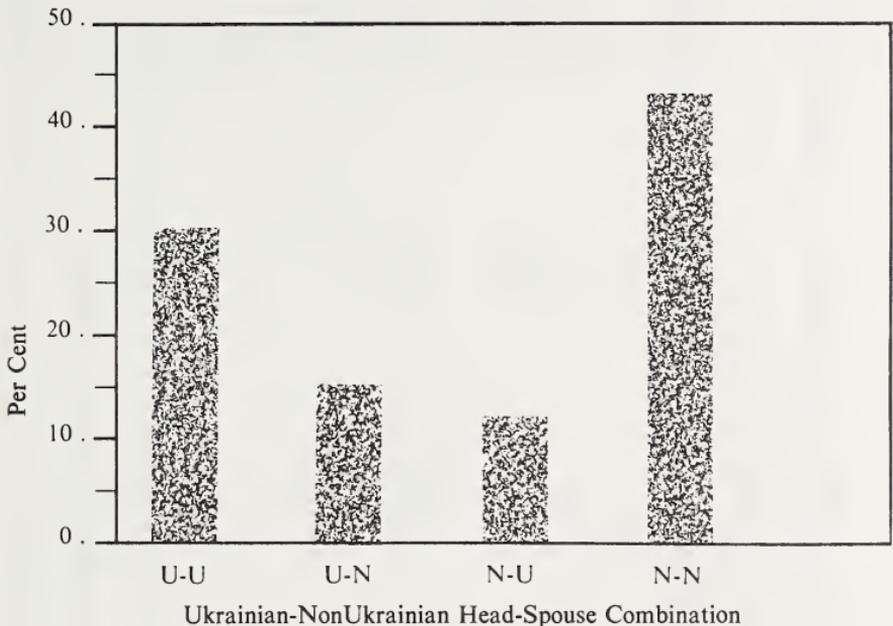
FIGURE 3
Distribution of Couples by Mother Tongue Combination, for Couples with One or Both Spouses of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin, 1971

Tables 3 and 4 present selected characteristics of the four types of couples defined by Ukrainian/non-Ukrainian mother tongue. While three-quarters of all families lived in urban areas, proportionately more U—U couples lived in rural areas (31 per cent), with the great majority of N—N couples living in urban areas (81 per cent). (For each type of couple and characteristic, the percentages above those for all couples are bold in Tables 3 and 4). Two-thirds of all couples lived in western Canada, while about 30 per cent lived in Ontario and Quebec. The couples with at least one spouse with Ukrainian mother tongue were more likely to live in western Canada, while N—N couples were more likely to live in Ontario, Quebec and other non-western provinces. Thus Ukrainian couples were more likely to live in rural areas and in western Canada, while mixed and linguistically assimilated families were more likely to live in urban areas and in the non-western provinces.

TABLE 3 Distribution of Ukrainian-NonUkrainian Mother Tongue Husband-Wife Family Combinations by Various Characteristics, Canada, 1971

Characteristic	Total	Mother Tongue Husband-Wife Combination			
		Ukrainian-Ukrainian	Ukrainian-NonUkrainian	NonUkrainian-Ukrainian	NonUkrainian-NonUkrainian
Residence:					
Urban	75.5	69.0	72.8	76.2	80.9
Rural	24.5	31.0	27.2	23.8	19.1
Ontario/Quebec	28.8	24.5	28.5	24.2	33.3
West[1]	67.5	72.4	68.3	73.4	62.1
Other[2]	3.7	3.1	3.2	2.5	4.6
Age of Head:					
15–34	29.0	8.9	24.4	28.3	45.2
35–64	60.9	68.4	70.5	62.7	51.5
65+	10.1	22.7	5.1	9.0	3.3
Mean	44.4	53.6	43.5	43.7	38.3
Nativity of Head:					
Canada-born	75.6	55.8	80.4	77.0	87.6
Immigrant	24.4	44.2	19.6	23.0	12.4
Pre-WWII	13.6	26.7	11.2	12.3	5.5
Post-WWII	10.8	17.5	8.3	10.7	6.9

[1] Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, British Columbia.

[2] Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick (Prince Edward Island and the Northwest Territories were excluded from the Census Tapes).

Note: Data on couples with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ethnicity.

SOURCE: 1971 Canadian Census Public Use Sample File Tape, Province-Family File.

TABLE 4 Distribution of Ukrainian-NonUkrainian Mother Tongue Husband-Wife Family Combinations by Various Characteristics, Canada, 1971

Characteristic	Total	Ukrainian-Ukrainian	Mother Tongue Husband-Wife Combination		
			Ukrainian-NonUkrainian	NonUkrainian-Ukrainian	NonUkrainian-NonUkrainian
Home:					
Owner	76.3	**88.8**	**77.9**	76.3	67.3
Rent	23.7	11.2	22.1	23.7	**32.7**
Education of Wife:					
0-4 grade	8.1	**19.6**	2.6	7.8	2.0
5-13 grade	84.4	74.6	70.7	84.0	**89.2**
College	7.5	5.8	6.7	8.2	**8.9**
Median	10.2	7.3	10.3	10.3	**10.8**
Median Family Income:	8,851	7,221	8,911	8,711	**9,651**
Median Head's Income[1]	7,528	6,381	7,860	7,720	**8,000**
Median Spouse's Income[1]	3,270	2,915	3,005	2,915	**3,500**
Head's Occupation[2]:					
Upper[3]	14.6	9.5	**16.1**	14.7	**17.0**
White Collar[4]	26.9	22.1	22.1	**34.9**	29.3
Primary[5]	14.2	**23.3**	**16.1**	12.4	8.6
Blue Collar[6]	44.3	**45.2**	**45.6**	38.1	**45.1**

[1] Excluded: Persons not in labour force, looking for work and working in unpaid family work.

[2] Excluded: Persons who did not work since 1 January 1970.

[3] Managerial and administrative; teaching; medicine and health; technological; social; religious; artistic.

[4] Clerical; sales; service.

[5] Farm and other primary.

[6] Processing; machining; product fabrication; assembling and repairing; construction; transport; other.

Note: Data on couples with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ethnicity.

SOURCE: Same as Table 3.

There was a strong relationship between age of family head and intermarriage: the mean age of U—U family heads being fifty-four years, with the mean age of N—N family heads being only thirty-eight. Close to half the N—N heads were under thirty-five, while 23 per cent of U—U heads were sixty-five or older.

Only one-quarter of heads of all families were foreign-born, while close to half the U—U families and only 20 per cent or less of the other types of couples were foreign-born. As expected, pre-Second World War immigrants were more likely to have intermarried than post-Second World War immigrants.

Table 4 presents selected socio-economic characteristics of Ukrainian (U—U) couples. While slightly over three-quarters of all couples owned the house they lived in, the percentage was higher for U—U couples, with the percentage for N—N couples being 67. Half of all the wives had ten or more years of education (a median of 10.2); the median for U—U couples was 7.3 years. While about 20 per cent of U—U wives had less than five years of schooling, the percentage was only 2 for N—N wives. U—U families had lower family income than mixed families, with N—N couples having the highest income in all three income categories: family, husband and wife. A higher proportion of heads in the upper and white-collar occupations were characterized by intermarriage and language assimilation, while U—U heads were still heavily concentrated in the primary (mainly farm) occupations.

The general picture that emerges is that U—U families are more rural and more likely to live in the western provinces, with both spouses older and less likely to be Canadian-born, with lower education and income levels, and with the husbands highly concentrated in primary and blue-collar occupations; on the other hand, a higher proportion of them are home owners. Marriage within the group is not necessarily related to lower socio-economic status, even though living in rural areas and being foreign-born and older are all characteristics usually associated with lower socio-economic status. To determine whether intermarriage has any effect on the socio-economic status of spouses, it would be necessary to control for such factors through a multivariate-type of analysis, which is beyond the scope of this study.

Finally, Table 5 shows whom Ukrainian men and women were likely to marry. First, slightly more Ukrainian women were married

TABLE 5 Distribution of Wife's (Husband's) Mother Tongue, for Husbands (Wives) with Ukrainian Mother Tongue, Canada, 1971

Spouse	Ukrainian	English	French	German	Italian	Other	Total	N
Husband	66.4	18.4	3.4	3.2	0.4*	8.1	99.9	929
Wife	71.7	15.3	1.5	3.4	0.5*	7.3	100.0	861
Husband/Wife	0.93	1.20	2.27	0.94	—ᵃ	1.11		

* Less than 10 cases.

ᵃ Not significant.

Note: Couples with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ethnicity.

SOURCE: Same as Table 3.

to Ukrainian men than vice versa, which again supports the impression that males are more likely to marry outside the group. The largest percentage of non-Ukrainian wives had English and French mother tongues. In spite of their smaller number, spouses for women with German mother tongue are more prevalent than spouses with French mother tongue. Among Ukrainian mixed marriages, English-speaking spouses are slightly more prevalent among Ukrainian males than among Ukrainian females, and the proportion of Ukrainian males with French-speaking wives is much higher than the proportion of Ukrainian females with French-speaking husbands.

Religious Intermarriage

Unlike the census in the United States, the Canadian census provides information on the religious denomination of each person, which facilitates the study of patterns of religious intermarriage among ethnic and linguistic groups. To simplify the analysis for Ukrainians, all religious denominations are divided into four categories: the two major Ukrainian groups (Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox), Roman Catholic and the residual category "Other," which also includes persons who do not belong to any religious denomination.

Of the 204,100 husband-wife families with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ancestry, 61,000 (or 30 per cent) belonged to one of the two major Ukrainian religious groups (first box in Table 6),

TABLE 6 **Per Cent Distribution of Couples by Religion of Husband and Wife, for Persons with Ukrainian Mother Tongue, Canada, 1971**

| Husband's Religion | Wife's Religion | | | |
	Ukrainian Orthodox	Ukrainian Catholic	Roman Catholic	Other
Ukrainian Orthodox	11.8	0.5	1.2	3.2
	29.2		10.4	
Ukrainian Catholic	0.5	17.1	3.2	2.8
Roman Catholic	0.8	1.4	14.6	2.4
Other	1.8	2.4	2.5	33.6
		N = 2,041		

Note: Couples with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ethnicity.
SOURCE: Same as Table 3.

while in 21,000 cases (10 per cent) one of the spouses was Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox (second box in Table 6). This means that in 60 per cent of the families both spouses were either Roman Catholic, belonged to one of the Protestant denominations or were some combination of both. Of the 61,000 couples which belonged to the two major Ukrainian religious groups, about 35,000 were families where both spouses were Ukrainian Catholic (17 per cent), 24,000 were families with both spouses Ukrainian Orthodox (12 per cent) and 2,000 were Ukrainian Catholic-Ukrainian Orthodox couples (1 per cent).

Of mixed couples, where one of the spouses belonged to one of the two major Ukrainian religious groups and the other spouse was Roman Catholic or "Other," there were 13,500 or 6.6 per cent (1.2 + 3.2 + 0.8 + 1.4) of the first type and 20,000 or 10.2 per cent (3.2 + 2.8 + 1.8 + 2.4) of the second. Proportionately more Ukrainian men than women married outside the two traditional groups. For example, 6,500 (3.2 per cent) Ukrainian Catholic men married Roman Catholic women, while only 2,850 (1.4 per cent) Ukrainian Catholic women married Roman Catholic men.

TABLE 7 Per Cent Husbands (Wives) with Spouses of the Same Religion, for Spouses with Ukrainian Mother Tongue and Heads Speaking Ukrainian, Canada, 1971

Type of Spouse	Ukrainian Orthodox	Ukrainian Catholic	Roman Catholic	Other
Husbands with Ukrainian mother tongue	75.7	79.4	87.3	93.2
Wives with Ukrainian mother tongue	85.2	85.1	83.3	93.5
Head speaks Ukrainian at home	93.3	93.6	87.5	85.7

Note: Couples with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ethnicity.
SOURCE: Same as Table 3.

That Ukrainian women are more likely to marry Ukrainian men of their own religion is further supported by Table 7. Of Ukrainian Orthodox women with Ukrainian mother tongue, 85 per cent had husbands of the same religion, while the equivalent percentage for men was 76. A similar relationship was found among Ukrainian

Catholic women. Among Roman Catholics, however, a higher percentage of men than women with Ukrainian mother tongue had spouses of the same religion (87 vs. 83). Retention of Ukrainian in the home reduces significantly marriage outside the two major Ukrainian religious groups. Among Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox husbands who speak Ukrainian, more than 93 per cent were married to women of the same religion.

Ukrainian Catholic males are more likely to marry Roman Catholic or Protestant than Ukrainian Orthodox women. The higher percentage of Ukrainian Orthodox women with Ukrainian Catholic husbands seems, in turn, to indicate that Ukrainian women of the two major Ukrainian religious groups are less inclined to marry Roman Catholic or Protestant men. The point is made in another way in Table 8: only 1 per cent of Ukrainian Catholic men had Ukrainian Orthodox wives, while the percentage for female Ukrainian Catholic women was 17. Similarly, 9 per cent of Ukrainian Orthodox men had Ukrainian Catholic wives, while 24 per cent of Orthodox women had Ukrainian Catholic husbands. Interestingly, persons with Ukrainian mother tongue who did not belong to one of the two major Ukrainian religious groups, still tended to have Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox spouses in great proportions. This was especially true for persons in the "Other" category, where more than two-thirds had spouses from the two major Ukrainian religious groups, the result no doubt of the fact that many belonged to Ukrainian Protestant churches and were more likely to marry Ukrainian Catholics or Ukrainian Orthodox than Roman Catholics.

Table 9 illustrates the effect of linguistic intermarriage on religious intermarriage. Among couples where both spouses had Ukrainian as their mother tongue, about 80 per cent belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic-Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox-Ukrainian Orthodox (30 + 47), while the percentage dropped to 13 or less for the linguistically mixed-marriage types. Couples where the husband rather than the wife had Ukrainian as the mother tongue were more likely to belong to the Ukrainian religious groups: 13 vs. 5 percent respectively. An important research project in the future might consider the implications of two diverse trends: even though Ukrainian males rather than Ukrainian females are more likely to intermarry—ethnically, linguistically and

TABLE 8 Per Cent Distribution of Spouse's Religion, Among Husbands (Wives) with Ukrainian Mother Tongue and with Spouse of Different Religion, Canada, 1971

With Ukrainian Mother Tongue	Per Cent Spouse's Religion				Total	N
	Ukrainian Orthodox	Ukrainian Catholic	Roman Catholic	Other		
Husband:						
Ukrainian Orthodox	—	9*	26	65	100	68
Ukrainian Catholic	11*	—	55	34*	100	80
Roman Catholic	20*	10*	—	70*	100	10
Other	38	31	31	—	100	181
Wife:						
Ukrainian Orthodox	—	24*	17*	59	100	34
Ukrainian Catholic	17*	—	38*	45	100	51
Roman Catholic	5*	34*	—	61*	100	15
Other	46	38	15	—	100	187

* Less than 10 Cases.

Note: Couples with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ethnicity.

SOURCE: Same as Table 3.

TABLE 9 Per Cent Distribution of Couples by Religious Intermarriage, for Husband-Wife Ukrainian/NonUkrainian Mother Tongue Categories, Canada, 1971

Husband-Wife Mother Tongue Combination	Ukrainian Orthodox/ Ukrainian Orthodox	Ukrainian Catholic/ Ukrainian Catholic	Roman Catholic/ Roman Catholic	Ukrainian Catholic/ Roman Catholic	Other/ Other	Total	N
Total	12	17	15	5	51	100	2,041
Ukrainian/ Ukrainian	30	47	4	—*	18	100	617
Ukrainian/ NonUkrainian	6	7	14	13	60	100	312
NonUkrainian/ Ukrainian	5	—*	20	8	67	100	244
NonUkrainian/ NonUkrainian	3	4	21	3	69	100	868

* Less than 10 cases.
Note: Couples with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ethnicity.
SOURCE: Same as Table 3.

religiously—intermarried couples where the husband is Ukrainian are more likely to retain aspects of Ukrainian culture than where the wife is Ukrainian.

Intermarriage and Linguistic Assimilation

Intermarriage is bound to affect the use of Ukrainian at home. Learning a new language is very difficult for most adults and strong motivation is required for non-Ukrainian adults to learn and use Ukrainian regularly. Even though the 1971 census family file only contains data on the language spoken at home by husbands, it is safe to assume that where the husband speaks Ukrainian at home, in most instances the wife does so also. In only 18 per cent of families with at least one spouse Ukrainian was the language spoken regularly. Where both spouses were of Ukrainian origin, the percentage increased to 45, dropping to 4 where only the husband was Ukrainian and to less than 2 where the wife was of Ukrainian origin (Figure 4).

Ukrainian-NonUkrainian Head-Spouse Combination
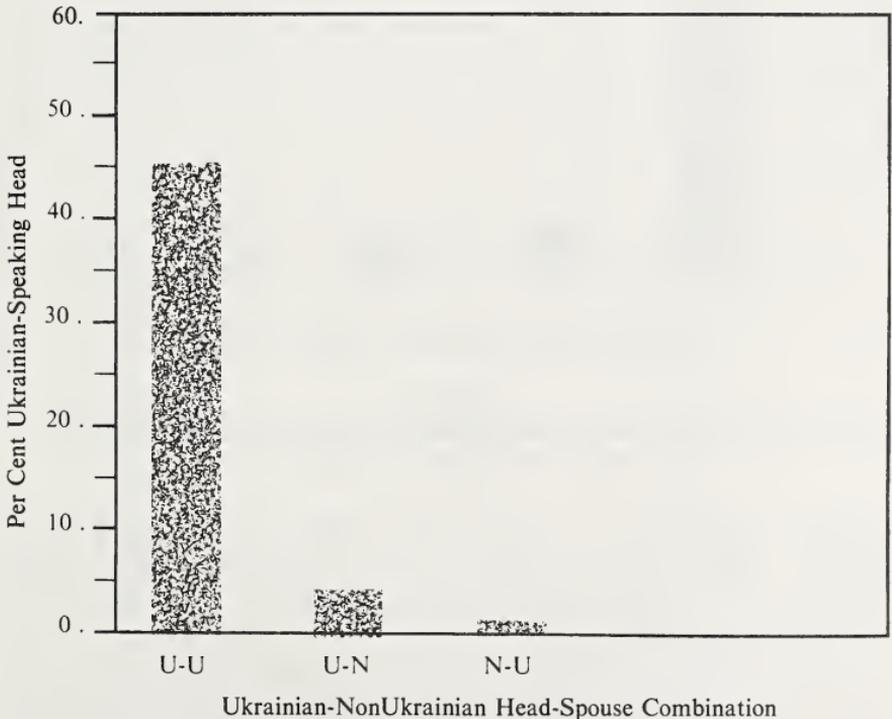
FIGURE 4
Per Cent of Families with Ukrainian-Speaking Head, by Head-Spouse Ethnic-Origin Combination, Canada, 1971

Where the mother tongue of both spouses was Ukrainian, the percentage speaking Ukrainian was higher than where both spouses were of Ukrainian origin, but the difference was slight: 53 and 45 respectively. Where only the husband had Ukrainian as his mother tongue the percentage dropped from 45 to 5; it was only 3 where only the wife had Ukrainian as her mother tongue (Figure 5). Thus
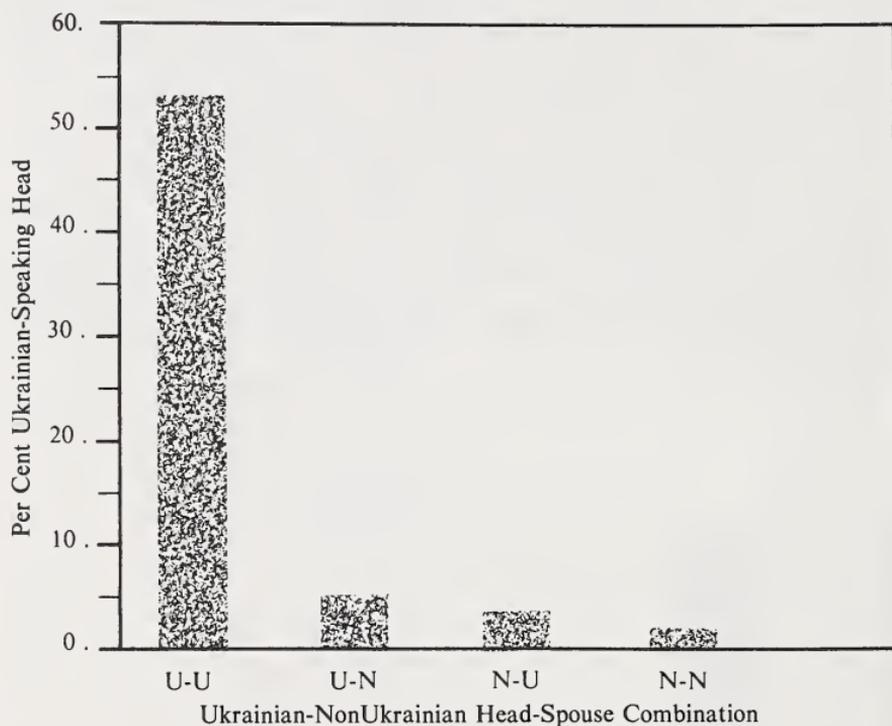
FIGURE 5
Per Cent of Families with Ukrainian-Speaking Head, by Head-Spouse Mother Tongue Combination, Canada, 1971

a higher percentage of mixed couples spoke Ukrainian where the husband rather than the wife was of Ukrainian origin or had Ukrainian as a mother tongue, thereby confirming the hypothesis in the previous section.

The impact of intermarriage on linguistic assimilation can also be indicated in terms of absolute numbers. Among the 204,100 couples with at least one Ukrainian spouse, 37,000 of the 72,500 couples with both spouses Ukrainian spoke Ukrainian regularly at home,

TABLE 10 Per Cent Heads of Households Speaking Ukrainian at Home, by Husband-Wife Ukrainian/NonUkrainian Mother Tongue and Religion Combinations, Canada, 1971

Religion Husband-Wife Combination[1]	Total	Ukrainian-Ukrainian	Mother Tongue Husband-Wife Combination		
			Ukrainian-NonUkrainian	NonUkrainian-Ukrainian	NonUkrainian-NonUkrainian
Total	51.0	52.8	5.1	3.2	2.0
Ukrainian/ Ukrainian		60.1	21.4	21.1*	11.9*
Ukrainian/ NonUkrainian	5.2	18.8*	4.4*	0.0*	3.6*
NonUkrainian/ Ukrainian	3.8	30.0*	0.0*	3.4*	0.0*
NonUkrainian/ NonUkrainian	3.6	27.1	1.3*	1.2*	0.9*

* Less than 10 cases.

[1] Ukrainian = Ukrainian Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox
NonUkrainian = All other religions
Note: Couples with at least one spouse of Ukrainian ethnicity.
SOURCE: Same as Table 3.

compared to only 7,500 out of the 131,500 mixed marriages who did the same. With few exceptions, it is clear that intermarriage is associated with the loss of Ukrainian as the home language. From Table 10, it is also clear that religious intermarriage has an additional effect on language loss, according to the categories that have already been established: the four types of couples determined both by the Ukrainian/non-Ukrainian mother tongue of each spouse and the Ukrainian/non-Ukrainian religion of each spouse, where Ukrainian religion is defined as Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox.

Among all U—U mother-tongue couples, 53 per cent spoke Ukrainian at home. The percentage increased to 60 where both spouses professed a Ukrainian religion, but decreased to 30 or less where one of the spouses belonged to a non-Ukrainian religious group. The effect of religious intermarriage was even more dramatic among linguistically mixed marriages. Among U—NU mother-tongue couples, only 5 per cent spoke Ukrainian at home and only 4 per cent did so where at least one spouse belonged to a non-Ukrainian religious group. However, when both spouses belonged to a Ukrainian religious group, the percentage rose to 21.

Thus both linguistic and religious intermarriage affects the process of language assimilation. For any of the four types of mother-tongue couples, membership by both spouses in either of the two major Ukrainian religious groups increased significantly the chances of Ukrainian being spoken at home; conversely, among the four types of marriages defined by the religion of each spouse, where the mother tongue of both spouses was Ukrainian, a significant proportion spoke Ukrainian at home. On the other hand, among interreligious couples very few spoke the language where at least one spouse did not have Ukrainian as the mother tongue.

An Application

Given the rates of language retention presented above, it is now possible to provide a rough estimate of how linguistic intermarriage will likely affect the number of children who will grow up in homes where Ukrainian is not spoken. Although the calculations are very simplistic and there are many problems with the methodology, the effort may illustrate both the magnitude of the problem and the usefulness of the approach for providing more precise estimates in

TABLE 11 Estimate of Potential Number of Children with One or Both Parents with Ukrainian Mother Tongue and Mothers Aged 20–9 Years Who Are Likely Not to be Exposed to the Ukrainian Language at Home

Head-Spouse Mother Tongue Family Type	Number of Children under 6 Years in Family[a] (1)	Per Cent Families Where No Ukrainian Spoken (2)	Number of Children in Families Where No Ukrainian Spoken (3) = (1)x(2)	Same as (3), Assuming All Families Are Ukrainian-Ukrainian[b] (4)
Ukrainian-Ukrainian	6,100	47.2	2,879	(1) x (2) = 2,879
Ukrainian-NonUkrainian	7,100 \} 12,000	94.9	6,738 \} 11,476	12,000 x .472 = 5,664
NonUkrainian-Ukrainian	4,900	96.7	4,738	
Total	18,100		14,355	8,543

	Total (1)	Loss Due to Language Assimilation Without Mixed Marriages (2)	Additional Loss Due to Mixed Marriages (3) = (1) - (2)
Number of Children Under 6 Years in Family	14,355	8,543	5,812
Per Cent	100.0	59.5	40.5

a Numbers inflated to 100 per cent

b The per cent where no Ukrainian is spoken corresponding to the Ukrainian-Ukrainian families is applied to the two mixed family types.

charting the future of Ukrainian bilingual education in Canada.

In what follows only three mother-tongue family types are considered: the Ukrainian-Ukrainian and the two mixed types, with the non-Ukrainian/non-Ukrainian excluded on the assumption that it would be very difficult to attract children from such homes into the Ukrainian school programme. For technical reasons, the analysis is also limited to women aged 20–9 years.

The basic idea is to take the number of children under six years of age in the three marriage groups and, by applying various rates of language loss, to estimate how many children might not be exposed to Ukrainian at home. Table 11 indicates that among mothers aged 20–9 years, there were about 6,100 children under six in Ukrainian/Ukrainian mother-tongue homes and 12,000 children in the two types of mixed-marriage homes. By applying the respective percentage of families where Ukrainian is not spoken, it is possible to estimate the total number of small children with Ukrainian parents who will not be exposed to Ukrainian at home. Thus out of the 7,100 children in Ukrainian/non-Ukrainian families, 6,738 are not likely to be exposed to Ukrainian at home. In all, out of 18,100 children present in the three types of families, 14,255 or 79.3 per cent are likely to grow up without knowing how to speak Ukrainian.

If one assumes that all persons with Ukrainian mother tongue marry only persons with Ukrainian mother tongue and that the 47.2 per cent of language loss holds for all such families, then column (4) of Table 11 estimates the number of children lost to Ukrainian because of assimilation without considering the effect of intermarriage. The 8,543 children represent almost 60 per cent of all children lost to Ukrainian-language exposure at home solely because of language assimilation. The balance of all potentially linguistically assimilated children, over 40 per cent, will be lost because of linguistic intermarriage.

The results show that in families where at least one of the parents had Ukrainian as a mother tongue and the mother was 20–9 years old, only about 1,100 or 30 per cent of children under six years of age were exposed to Ukrainian at home. Of the remainder, about 60 per cent lost Ukrainian because of language assimilation, with intermarriage accounting for the other 40 per cent. In other words, among the 14,355 children not exposed to Ukrainian at home, 5,812 were the result of intermarriage.

Summary and Conclusions

This study has shown that the levels of intermarriage among Ukrainians in Canada are very high, with about 46 per cent of Ukrainian spouses being married to non-Ukrainians. Moreover, if past trends continue this percentage is likely to increase significantly in the future. Among all couples with at least one spouse Ukrainian, only one-third are couples with both spouses Ukrainian.

In terms of demographic and socio-economic characteristics, the Ukrainian-Ukrainian couples not only live mainly in the West and in rural areas, but they are older and have low socio-economic status. Mixed couples, on the other hand, are more urban, younger and have higher socio-economic status.

Ukrainians in Canada also experience a high degree of religious intermarriage. Only about 30 per cent of all couples consisted of spouses who belonged to one of the two major Ukrainian religious groups: Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox. Language assimilation and religious intermarriage are strongly related. In almost all families where Ukrainian is spoken, both spouses are usually members of one of the two major Ukrainian religious groups and, conversely, a significantly higher proportion of families speak Ukrainian at home when both spouses are members of Ukrainian churches.

The data confirm the perception that Ukrainian males are slightly more likely to intermarry than Ukrainian females, but in mixed marriages the chances of retaining Ukrainian at home or for both spouses to belong to a Ukrainian church are higher where the husband rather than the wife is Ukrainian.

With the levels of language assimilation and ethnic, linguistic and religious intermarriage quite high among Ukrainians in Canada, and with both processes likely to continue in the future, rough calculations indicate that both the language assimilation among Ukrainian-Ukrainian couples and intermarriage generally should provide increased numbers of potential candidates for Ukrainian bilingual schools in Canada. Because the process of language assimilation is unavoidable and can only be slowed down by a nationwide system of bilingual schools, the data presented suggest that the potential demand for such schools is large and will increase in the future.

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Appendix A

TABLE A1 Ratios of Endogamy by Ethnic Origin and Sex, Canada, 1941, 1951, 1961 and 1971

Ethnic origin	1941[1] Male	1951 Male	1951 Female	1961 Male	1961 Female	1971 Male	1971 Female
British	—	85.1	85.6	81.3	81.5	80.9	79.5
French	93	89.7	87.7	88.3	85.1	86.9	84.4
German	58	52.0	52.3	52.0	51.0	49.2	51.1
Italian	55	—	—	76.7	82.3	76.5	83.5
Dutch	53	42.7	42.9	55.0	55.6	52.5	56.0
Polish	51	55.7	56.7	49.0	53.1	43.2	45.5
Scandinavian	—	36.5	39.4	31.2	32.5	26.9	28.5
Ukrainian	80	74.8	70.9	61.8	60.6	54.0	54.5

— Data not given in tables in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Vol. IV, 1969.

[1] Data for females not available from the 1941 source.

SOURCE: J. de Vries and I.G. Vallee, *Language Use in Canada* (Ottawa 1980), 156.

Learning and Use of Ethnic Language at Home and School: Sociological Findings and Issues

Wsevolod W. Isajiw

Socialization is a basic mechanism, though by no means the only mechanism, through which ethnic identity is retained from generation to generation. Socialization, however, is often studied in a very general way without sufficient attention either to the relative importance of the various types of socialization or to the different impact which the socialization process has on different generations. In this paper three types of socialization are examined: home, school and peer socialization, as well as the impact of each on the second, third and subsequent generations. It is reasonable to assume that the resulting differences will be reflected in the different types of identity retained by the various generations.

Is the home, the school or the peer group more important in the retention of ethnic identity? Are these three agencies of socialization equally important for the second, third and subsequent generations? In terms of ethnic-language retention, is the ethnic home or the ethnic school more important in the child's knowledge of language or its use? In the knowledge of language, which agency exerts more influence on whether the child sees the ethnic language as one's mother tongue, knows it either in some general sense or by being able to read and write it, or uses it frequently? What differences, moreover, are there in this regard between the second- and third-generation children?

To answer these questions, data will be used from a larger study of ethnic-identity retention. The study surveyed ten major ethnic groups in metropolitan Toronto and was completed in 1979. The groups included Ukrainians, Italians, Germans, Jews, English, Scottish, Irish, Portuguese, Chinese and West Indians. Only the first five groups contained three generations. Each was represented by at least 350 persons and the total sample included 2,338 respondents. Home socialization in ethnic language was measured by questions about parents speaking the language to their children and vice versa. School socialization was measured by both attendance and length of attendance at ethnic schools. Peer socialization was measured by the number of friends of the same ethnicity while growing up.

Where general knowledge of Ukrainian is concerned, the most important socializing agency is the home. Where parents spoke to children only in Ukrainian, 100 per cent of the children knew Ukrainian, at least in a general way. This was also true where parents spoke to the children in both English and Ukrainian. Thus exclusive use of Ukrainian and its mixed use had the same effect: at least some knowledge of Ukrainian by the children. Where only English was spoken by the parents, most children (62 per cent) had no knowledge of Ukrainian at all. When compared to ethnic-school attendance, there was almost a fifty-fifty chance that the children who had attended no school would nonetheless have some knowledge of Ukrainian. The home is obviously a much more important socialization agency than the school where language knowledge is concerned.

The contrast becomes even more pronounced when one considers the frequency of language use. Respondents whose parents spoke to them only in Ukrainian as children use Ukrainian "everyday" or "often," while those whose parents mixed Ukrainian and English use it only "occasionally" or "rarely" and those whose parents spoke to them only in English, use it now "rarely" or "never." Although more who use Ukrainian "rarely" or "never" did not attend ethnic school, the same is also true of those who use Ukrainian "often" or "everyday." Thus in regard to frequency of use of Ukrainian, those who did not attend ethnic schools used Ukrainian more frequently than those who did, which only underscores the basic idea that the home is the most important factor in ethnic-language retention.

The data also show that if parents wish their children to have Ukrainian as their mother tongue, they must speak to them in Ukrainian or in English and Ukrainian when they are young. This does not mean that the ethnic school is unimportant in regard to language retention. First, the ethnic school has a supportive role in language socialization. All statistical correlations show that school attendance strengthens language retention. Once the data for home socialization are controlled, those who had attended ethnic schools report more knowledge of the language and more use of it, and more consider it their mother tongue than those who did not attend ethnic schools. Secondly, the school is more important than the home in learning to read and write. Over 90 per cent of the respondents who knew how to read or write Ukrainian "very well" or "fairly well" had attended ethnic schools, while over 60 per cent of those who could not read or write Ukrainian had not attended. But what is also interesting is that about 35 per cent of those who did attend ethnic schools still could not read and write Ukrainian or did so poorly—which raises the whole question of the effectiveness of ethnic schools. Thirdly, the school is more important than the parents in raising the child's consciousness of being Ukrainian. Feelings of obligation toward an ethnic group are aspects of internal ethnic identity, and correlations of all internal identity variables are much higher where school socialization supplements home socialization.

A significant differential effect in home socialization is to get children to speak to their parents in Ukrainian. More respondents who spoke to parents in Ukrainian in childhood considered Ukrainian to be their mother tongue than did those who heard Ukrainian from their parents but did not use it. A second differential effect is the general pattern of interaction between parents and children, and especially between mothers and children. There is some evidence that different styles of maternal interaction have an important effect on the child's learning and use of both languages, the ethnic and English. Important questions emerge: If a mother's style of interaction is domineering, will the child be more prone to learn or use the ethnic language than where the mother's style is more permissive? Can a child's style of interaction with one's mother, in turn, so affect the mother's view of both languages that, where a child resists a mother's interaction, she might vary the amount of Ukrainian and English used?

In a laboratory study of the styles of interaction between mothers and children, as related to ethnic-language learning and views, mothers and children were asked to perform tasks of an identificational nature. In playing house, for example, the mothers were to identify with the mother doll and the children with the child doll. In one scenario, the children were asked to stay out of the house when the mothers called them in for dinner. With the children requested to resist and the mothers instructed to make certain that the children came into the house, the differences in behaviour among Ukrainian, Greek and English mothers were interesting. The English mothers tended to give their children all kinds of reasons why they should come in. The Greek mothers tended to invoke the father, threatening to call him to get them in. The Ukrainian mothers tended to call their children once or twice before grabbing them by the shoulder and pushing them in. Only when the learning and the use of the language is understood through such studies of interaction styles will the causal factors of ethnic-language retention/loss and ethnic-language development be clear.

The structure of the Ukrainian community also requires attention. Ethnic school structures are an integral part of ethnic institutional systems. The Ukrainian institutional system, however, is not highly integrated because the Ukrainian community is made up of subcommunities, consisting of the old immigrants and the new or postwar immigrants, each with two or three generations. There are also class differences which themselves cut across at least two lines, the contemporary system of stratification and the historical system of descent, where some people were peasants and others members of the intelligentsia. With the subcommunities or sectors potentially sources of conflict, ethnic institutions such as the school will naturally be affected. Their work will be only partly understood until these subcommunity influences are taken into account and carefully assessed.

Furthermore, the institutional context of mainstream society cannot be ignored. To what extent are the institutions of the ethnic community and mainstream society segregated? What kind of connections are there between the two? The inclusion of ethnic courses in a public or separate school system is bound to modify not only the ethnic curriculum, but the entire ethnic community school system, including its relationship to other ethnic institutions. The

latter, in turn, cannot ignore the policies and politics in the wider society. The policy of multiculturalism, for example, has affected not only the school systems, but the relationships within the ethnic institutional systems themselves.

What are some of the practical implications of the data and considerations presented? First, all programmes must clarify their goal with respect to language. Are children to learn language as a skill or as a symbol of ethnic identity? If the goal is acquisition of skills in reading and writing, then schools that teach such skills must be supported above all. On the other hand, if it is more important that children speak the language either often or occasionally, then the strategy must be different and parental use of the language with children becomes more important. For parents to reinforce the language learning of their children, more community support is needed. In fact, one could argue that what is needed are schools that support parents instead of parents who support schools. Where the goal is children who know the language, schools must develop programmes which assist parents to speak Ukrainian to their children.

In the end, it is the parents who must decide what responsibility they wish to bear. Parents have a tendency to expect the school to do everything where language is concerned. If the goal is children who know the language symbolically rather than as a means of daily communication, the strategy will obviously be different. Schools will have to develop programmes and curricula not just in relation to language (which all Ukrainians seem to emphasize because it is such an important symbol of ethnic identity), but in relation to other subjects as well, especially as the data show clearly that schools can be a most effective means of raising ethnic consciousness. But it is the parents who must indicate the kind of curricular programme they most desire.[3]

A second implication refers mainly to mothers, though fathers are not excluded. It is quite possible that programmes for mothers, which do not just teach language but discuss the styles of interacting with children, would be useful. What is perhaps needed are programmes for bilingual parenting or, if one prefers, programmes where parents can learn multicultural parenting. In a multicultural society, serious thought about multicultural parenting is conspicuously absent. Parents educated to raise children for a unicultural kind of society seem hardly adequate in a Canada which hopes to develop and prosper as a society that is multicultural.

Notes

1. W.W. Isajiw, *Ethnic Identity Retention*, Research Paper No. 125 (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1981); W.W. Isajiw and T. Makabe, *Socialization As a Factor in Ethnic Identity Retention.* Research Paper No. 134 (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1982).

2. On the importance of home in relation to school in regard to ethnic-language retention, see also J.G. Reitz and M.A. Ashton, "Ukrainian Language and Identity Retention in Urban Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 12 (1980): 33–54.

3. On the retention of aspects of ethnic identity other than language, see W.W. Isajiw "Identity Retention Among Second- and Third-Generation Ukrainians in Canada," in J. Rozumnyj (ed.), *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg 1983), 208–21.

The Politics of Ukrainian Bilingual Education in Alberta

Donald J. Dawson

Introduction

The recent expansion of bilingual and bicultural programmes in French and other languages in the public schools across Canada indicates that research in this area can be of national interest. As of 1977 over 75,000 secondary students in nine provinces (excluding Quebec) were enrolled in heritage-language programmes in the public school systems (Statistics Canada, 1978, 40), and in many metropolitan centres local public boards of education were offering a variety of bilingual and bicultural programmes in some of the same languages at the elementary school level.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the structural characteristics of existing bilingual programmes, as well as their sociological antecedents and consequences. Minority communities interested in developing bilingual and bicultural programmes in the public schools can benefit from the experiences of others. For their part, professionals and school boards should be more aware of the possible benefits and costs of the same programmes.

A comprehensive study for the federal government of private ethnic schools across Canada (Pannu and Young, 1976) encountered much interest in bilingual and bicultural public school programmes. In this paper the focus is on the Ukrainian bilingual programme in the public and Catholic school systems in Edmonton.

Its purpose is to show how the Ukrainian community in Edmonton convinced the authorities to establish the programme, largely at public expense. This paper focuses on the politics of the decision-making process through which the school boards, the government and the Ukrainian community introduced the programme.

Methodology

The research for the study on which this paper is based consisted of document analysis, interviews and informal discussions, all appropriate for gathering information on processes, patterns, incidents and natural histories (McCall and Simmons, 1969).

The first to be interviewed were some of the community leaders, teachers and administrators of the school programme. The sampling procedure for all formal interview subjects was open. After the initial obvious choices, "snowball" sampling (ibid.) was used.

In all, ten persons prominent in the initial stages of the programme's development were interviewed in sessions lasting forty-five minutes to over two hours. Each interview was private and all informants were promised confidentiality, with no direct references by name and with all quotations to remain anonymous. Each informant related his/her part of the "story." Interview schedules were sparse, and the interviews were open-ended, each with a few key questions. The approach worked very well. All informants were articulate and willing raconteurs, and being intimate with some aspect of the programme's development, they provided much rich detail.

The first to be interviewed were three of the most active and influential members of the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club (UPBC) in Edmonton, who established the club's multicultural committee in January 1971 and led it during the initial stages of the programme's development. Interviewed on the provincial government side were the Social Credit premier and his minister of education who were defeated in August 1971. Three ministers—education, advanced education, and culture, youth and recreation—in the new Progressive Conservative government were also interviewed.

Discussions between the club's multicultural committee and the government were most directly with the ministers of education and

culture. The minister of advanced education was also important because he was part of the cabinet committee on education, as well as a close personal friend of one of the leading members of the multicultural committee. Also interviewed were the superintendents of Edmonton's two school systems.

Although others could have been interviewed, the information the ten persons provided, together with the documents, was deemed sufficient. Among the documents were briefs and submissions to the provincial government, personal correspondence between the government and members of the multicultural committee, minutes of meetings, texts of speeches, formal policy statements, newspaper articles and newsletters concerning the programme. All the information pointed to a high degree of collaboration. The data are presented with a minimum of interpretation. While the account is of necessity not completely "value free" (Gouldner, 1970), every effort has been made to present the story of the Ukrainian bilingual programme in the words of those involved.

The Development of the Ukrainian Bilingual Programme

Changing the School Act. In December 1970 the Ukrainian Language Association of the Alberta Teachers' Association presented a brief to the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning (the Worth Commission). The brief was "endorsed in principle" by the UPBC of Edmonton and by the Edmonton Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC). The teachers' group, much concerned earlier to encourage student registration in Ukrainian high school courses and to have the latter recognized as matriculation subjects for university entrance, now recommended "that the study of Ukrainian be introduced in Grade I and continue through Grade XII for up to one hour per day . . . [and] that additional combined courses in the literature and history of the Ukrainian people be available" (Ukrainian Language Association, 1970, 17).

Shortly thereafter, the club's multicultural committee came into being. It was formed to deal with questions such as the following:

How could the Club help to obtain a meaningful response from the federal and western Canadian provincial governments to the recommendations made in Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism? What in particular could

Canadian-born Ukrainians, especially the younger members, do to bring about the opportunities opened up by Book IV? (Lupul and Savaryn, 1974, 18).

The newly formed committee discovered that the consolidation of the Alberta School Act in 1970 had omitted all earlier references to the study of languages other than English and French. As a result, on 14 April 1971 the committee presented a brief entitled "The Ukrainians, The New Canadian Constitution, The Laws of Alberta and The Policies of the Government of Alberta" to the provincial government at a meeting attended by the premier, the attorney general, the minister of education and the minister of culture, youth and recreation.

The brief specifically requested an amdendment to the School Act "to make the Ukrainian language a course of study in the schools of the Province where there is a demand for it" (UPBC, 1971, 6). The goal was the same as that of the teachers: to obtain Ukrainian as a language of study in grades one through twelve for "at least" one hour each day. Concerned that the revisions had "watered down" the authority for the study of Ukrainian, the brief complained that such study "may well be subjected to the whim and prejudices of administrators, local school authorities and community pressures" (ibid., 7).

To the multicultural committee the 1970 report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Book IV) was "like a Magna Carta for ethnocultural minorities in Canada," yet a multicultural policy was slow in developing, both federally and provincially. The members of the UPBC were very supportive of multiculturalism and interest in the royal commission's recommendations "spread very rapidly." According to one of the committee's co-chairmen, "It was not so important to get great numbers of organizations behind us. The main thing was to sit down and think through what we wanted." The club members "had the social resources, the academic resources, the political resources, and thus quickly found themselves in a position of leadership." It was "natural" for the club members to take charge because they had the time, experience and influence to get the job done. Even so, the club's multicultural committee worked "under the umbrella of the UCC"; it did the "leg work, the writing and the talking as a committee on behalf of the club, yet always within the framework

of the UCC." The committee "was simply a stopgap measure to fill an important need at a crucial time."

The committee did indeed fill the gap. It acted quickly and with purpose:

> We decided that because of the times, the royal commission's Book IV, we would have to act quickly, unilaterally through the most effective spokesmen we could find. Articulate, professional help was what was needed. Then, after having been given some fairly positive response, take proposals to the community, instead of the other way around. So the brief of 14 April 1971 that was presented to the government was endorsed by various groups, but the real work was done by the committee, and there was no presentation of the brief to anybody, even the UCC executive, because we knew that the kind of things which we were advancing would not be opposed, they were traditional concerns.

The brief did not specifically request that Ukrainian be a language of instruction. The committee was cautious because "at that time it was heresy to think of Ukrainian as a language of instruction. Nobody had put this forward, and even the French had barely won this on a voluntary basis as numbers warranted and at the discretion of the school boards." To the cabinet, however, it was made clear that ideally the government should amend the School Act to give the Ukrainian community "the same thing with respect to language as the French have."

On 21 April, at a banquet organized by the UCC to commemorate the eightieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the main speaker, Premier Strom, went beyond the brief's recommendations. To enthusiastic applause, he declared that "any board will be able to authorize, for all, or any of its schools, instruction in a language, other than English, all but one hour of the day for grades one and two, and all but one-half hour for grades three through twelve" (Strom, 1971a, 8). The actual amendments on 27 April were less liberal and followed the "French Language Regulations," which allowed what the premier had indicated in grades one and two and for 50 per cent of the normal day thereafter. "Other" languages were thus given the same status as French in Alberta's schools (Lupul, 1976, 4). A "Multicultural Conference" was held on 16 July 1971, where the premier enunciated a "New Cultural Policy for the Province of Alberta,"

which proposed to give the study of minority ethnic languages a "living" base:

Hence, it is desirable that specific topics in social studies, literature, and the fine arts be taught in the language being studied. Consistent therefore with the recent amendment to The School Act, separate or combined courses in the history and literature of a particular ethno-cultural group in Canada, or courses in the arts and customs of that particular group, could be developed and taught in the language of the group (Strom, 1971b, 5).

Much had therefore been accomplished in a short period. Within three months of the multicultural committee's brief, the School Act had been amended and a new cultural policy endorsed ethnic "cultural subjects" in the public schools.

The legislative changes and the new policy were seen by at least one member of the committee to be politically motivated:

The government was on its last legs in April 1971. The election was called for August 30th of that year. The new cultural policy for the province, which came out in July, was being done with an eye to the election. It was an inexpensive attempt to appeal to the Ukrainians and other ethnic voters by making the kind of amendment that cost nothing at all.

Though the premier agreed that "the minimal expense was also a consideration" in adopting the new policy, he denied that his government "had to do this for political purposes." Yet the minister of education of the day remembers that "the government felt that there was some political advantage to doing this fairly close to the election."

Another possible reason why the multicultural committee was "very well received by the premier and his cabinet when it presented the brief" was that some members of the committee had "good connections with the Social Credit government." One of the committee's co-chairmen had personally known Premier Strom "quite well from political elections and as a representative of the Ukrainian community in Alberta and as president of the UCC." A Ukrainian MLA in the government of the time was also a "very good friend" and "one of our good friends in the government was the provincial secretary—a Ukrainian."

The minister of education remembered the Ukrainian MLA and the provincial secretary. They were "strong supporters of the Ukrainian cause, making direct representations on these matters; as MLAs their influence was considerable." The premier remembered that the provincial secretary "would talk about it [other languages in the schools] in cabinet, but that basically nobody was against the teaching of other languages anyway." Thus the committee's political co-chairman could confidently state that "we had many 'ins' to the Social Credit government and direct access to some people in the government."

A New Government Makes a Commitment. The success of the multicultural committee and the future of multiculturalism in the province were placed in doubt with the fall of the Social Credit government on 30 August 1971. There was some concern among the committee that perhaps "the roof had fallen in." "We had educated the previous government to the point where we could get further concessions. We were disheartened at the Tory victory because we did not know what to expect from them."

The fears, however, were misplaced. The political co-chairman of the multicultural committee knew that the change in government was a "lucky break," for "the connections with the new government were even better" than with the previous administration. Indeed, "the election was a blessing in disguise." The political co-chairman had been active in the provincial Progressive Conservative party since the early fifties, and later became its president. He had "had some opportunities to advise the premier-to-be on the concept of multiculturalism," advice which had been "accepted." While the same co-chairman demurred about his role during the elections, other members of the committee were "under the impression that a great commitment on multiculturalism had been extracted from the premier-elect during the election campaign." The political co-chairman conceded that he "didn't need any intermediaries" and "just went directly to the new premier, a close personal friend," and to other members of the new cabinet. The secretary of the multicultural committee also had a "very close friend" in the new minister of advanced education. Thus the committee felt that "after the election things moved quickly because the new government was already 'clued in'" on multiculturalism and the school-related proposals of the Ukrainian community. Furthermore, a cabinet

minister explained that "the government at that time was quite receptive to new kinds of initiatives because it got elected on the basis that it was prepared to try something new and different, and be a little bold."

In July 1973 the government made the following offer to the multicultural committee: (1) "a pilot project for Grades 1, 2 and 3 (three classrooms) in a centrally located school to instruct these grades in their subjects in English as well as in Ukrainian," (2) regular funding for bussing students and "for someone you select to travel to the Ukraine in order to ascertain whether or not [text] books would be available for use in this project," (3) a subsidy for selected texts and such materials as were required for the project and (4) the appointment of "someone of Ukrainian ethno-cultural background working in the Department of Education, to work with your appointed committees to have this pilot project in operation by September, 1974."

The members of the committee were both "elated and perplexed" by the government's response. While no dollar figures were mentioned, a financial commitment had been made; the committee, however, knew that "a central school and textbooks from Communist Ukraine were aspects... which would be unacceptable to most parents" (Lupul, 1976, 6). As a result, the committee "bided its time" over the summer of 1973.

The Programme Gets Underway. As late as October 1973 "details still had to be worked out" for the bilingual pilot project to start in September 1974. In early November members of the multicultural committee met with the superintendents of both boards to discuss the proposed bilingual programme and the government's support for it. The superintendents advised written briefs to each board, which were presented on 22 November (Public) and 2 December (Catholic). They requested the boards to "permit bilingual grade one classes in September 1974 where, besides English, the language of instruction would be Ukrainian for up to 50 per cent of the school day... in subjects such as the fine arts, physical education, and the social studies." The goal was to learn Ukrainian in a "cultural context with the main emphasis on fluency." It was naturally pointed out that the government had promised to meet any additional expenses associated with the Ukrainian bilingual programme. The boards approved the concept

"in principle" and followed with administrative recommendations. There was some concern that too much had to "be worked out in the next two or three months" to begin classes in the fall of 1974.

The minister of education acted almost immediately, and a meeting between representatives of the multicultural committee, the Department of Education and the two boards was held on 25 January. The minister followed with a more detailed agreement committing $40–50,000 a year to a) hire a Ukrainian curriculum specialist; b(develop a curriculum for language arts for use in grade one in the fall, with work on physical education and fine arts to begin as time and resources permitted; and c) pay teachers' honoraria for curriculum development work in July and August 1974. The government also agreed to support the transportation of pupils according to existing regulations and to pay 80 per cent of the cost of programme evaluation. The boards, in turn, had to provide the teachers, schools and other ancillary materials for the programme. The Ukrainian community promised to recruit no fewer than 100 grade one students and to ensure continued parental support for the project. Early in March both boards formally agreed to initiate the pilot project in September 1974.

Throughout the discussions between the multicultural committee and the government, the boards received progress reports through "personal, private" contacts with "key" school personnel. The political co-chairman of the multicultural committee "knew the superintendent of the public school board quite well because the superintendent was a member of the Ukrainian community," and the superintendent of the separate board was his "personal friend." He also "had a number of friends" on the separate school board, including a trustee who would later become a cabinet minister in the provincial government. The secretary of the same committee also had a personal friend and "fellow lawyer on the board" of the public schools, whom he "asked for help on the programme." As a result, the committee was a "group of professional people, well known" to individuals close to both boards. In September 1974, with 125 students enrolled in grade one classes at eight Edmonton schools, the first day of classes in the bilingual programme began.

Epilogue. Even though the boards felt sufficiently involved in the bilingual programme's development, they were not the first political level approached by the multicultural committee. "It was," stated

the minister of advanced education, "clearly a decision on the part of the committee to use the political ladder at the provincial rather than the school board level." To the minister, the committee was "playing politics" to achieve its goals even though it "didn't want approval of their proposal strictly on the basis of politics." At the board level, the superintendents did not appear upset that the committee's first overtures were to the provincial government. "When introducing a programme like that the first move, and it could be considered political, was to go to the minister first." This was "part of the process" in that "you can't start a course unless it's approved [by the provincial government]. They had to sound it out politically first."

The separate school superintendent felt that the multicultural committee was "wise, and didn't try to wield a heavy hand with the government; it was well handled." As a result of the committee's "good work" with the government, "the minister of education made a political decision [to support the bilingual programme] and his department put its resources behind it to see that it would succeed."

It was also recognized, at the school board level, that the multicultural committee had many "political connections with the Conservative government." The minister of culture was seen as "a strong supporter" and the committee had "sensitized" MLAs of Ukrainian background to get "somebody to plead our case for us in caucus." The committee allowed that they had established "easy communications" with the government and that at least one of its members "always had the political strength or involvement" when it was needed in negotiations with the cabinet committee. Moreover, "there was a lot of school-tie stuff" between members of the multicultural committee and the provincial government. Consequently, neither superintendent was surprised when the committee succeeded in extracting a firm commitment from the government.

The government and the school boards both saw that the "main drive for the programme came from a specific group, the multicultural committee." One superintendent stated that "they had some very persuasive, high-powered people on that committee," and a minister concurred, saying that "the credibility of the players who met with the government was a very significant factor. While the programme itself was credible, those players were very effective."

The minister of advanced education did not think that the committee's effectiveness was a "function of its being from an established ethnic group"; rather, it was "a function of the individual people involved." "Let's face it," said the minister, "if they had been total strangers representing the Ukrainian community, even if they had been the legitimate spokesmen of that community but didn't share a personal relationship with the key ministers involved, it would have been a much more difficult, protracted process." The cabinet committee on education, on the other hand, might not have given such speedy approval to the multicultural committee's proposal had it been more experienced. According to one member of the cabinet committee, "because the government is a little older, its procedures are more refined and more thorough consideration is given to programme initiatives now."

In the fall 1977 the Ukrainian bilingual programme ceased to be a pilot project and was permanently extended into grades four, five and six. In September 1979 it was further extended into the junior high school (grades seven, eight and nine), and it is expected that in the future it will encompass the senior years (grades ten, eleven and twelve).* The Social Credit government did not envisage that its amendment would result in such an extensive government-sponsored programme. The Progressive Conservative minister for culture, who developed the multicultural policy begun by Social Credit, "carried on ... with more vigour in some areas than the Social Credit government had expected to." The former minister of education in the Social Credit government agreed that the Progressive Conservative government "had gone further than the Social Credit government had intended" with respect to bilingual school programmes.

Some Observations and Implications

Three observations can be made concerning the political dimensions of the development of the Ukrainian bilingual programme in Edmonton.

First, in the introduction of the programme there is ample evidence of little rank-and-file participation in the process. The

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*The programme became an option in the senior grades in September 1983.

multicultural committee consciously acted on its own and did not solicit rank-and-file support for its objectives.

Secondly, members of the committee advanced its cause by, in their own words, "cashing in" on their shared professional/business affiliations and close personal ties with individuals in the provincial government and on the school boards, and in some instances that influence was profound.

Lastly, as a group, Edmonton's UPBC had considerable access to political resources because of the time, financial backing, academic knowledge and social/organizational skills at the disposal of some of its members. As a result, even though members of the multicultural committee were not necessarily the wealthiest or most powerful leaders of northern Alberta's Ukrainian community, they were certainly the "top" leaders of the Ukrainian community in Edmonton through their significant political clout.

The political implications of the programme for other ethnic communities become clear when the Edmonton experience is contrasted with that in Ontario. Although large numbers of grade-school children are exposed to heritage languages in Ontario's public school classrooms, the provincial law does not allow instruction in languages other than English and French, and the ministry of education only permits the teaching of heritage languages for thirty minutes per day in an extended day and on Saturdays. How is it, then, that fully bilingual programmes in such languages as Ukrainian, German and Hebrew have arisen in Alberta and not in Ontario?

Briefly, the programme in Edmonton was sponsored by the UPBC, while the impetus in Ontario came from the grass-roots, working-class and lower-middle-class community groups in Toronto (Dawson, 1977). Parents and other members of local ethnic groups in Toronto organized meetings, signed petitions and agitated largely at the school-board level for bilingual programmes. Such active mass support was not attempted or even deemed necessary in the successful campaign in Edmonton because members of the multicultural committee were sufficiently influential politically to sway the provincial government and local school boards. In Toronto it is possible that the community groups accomplished less because their members were drawn mainly from the lower social classes

without the political resources to influence various levels of government.

Thus there may be some truth in Helen Potrebenko's observation (1977, 295) that the "multicultural game mainly benefits those who have friends in high places." Edmonton's multicultural committee certainly made use of its many "friends in high places," and its political process to establish the Ukrainian programme may well offer the precedent for the development of similar programmes in other communities across Canada.

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Cultural Content in the
Ukrainian-Language Classroom*

Natalia Pylypiuk

This paper is concerned only indirectly with the teaching and learning of Ukrainian in elementary and secondary schools. Its primary focus is the university. However, inasmuch as the two levels of education are interrelated, with Slavic departments in Canadian universities influencing the teachers who enter the language classrooms of public schools, the issues raised have broad implications.

To say that little is being done in universities to improve the teaching of Ukrainian may be harsh, but it is unfortunately true. There is no forum in which to raise vital questions about the teaching of Ukrainian; there are no debates about teaching methodologies; no in-depth analysis of textbooks; no discussion about research in the psychology of second-language learning or how it can be applied in classrooms and in the preparation of teaching materials; little is said about whether existing language programmes in universities employ modern teaching methods or whether faculties of education are producing teachers with an

adequate knowledge of Ukrainian and whether Slavic departments might not be more prominent in teacher certification; there is no real discussion of whether entrance exams to university-level Ukrainian courses are needed or what should constitute beginning, intermediate and advanced courses in Ukrainian; and no place where students (undergraduate and graduate) might express an opinion about the programmes they follow.[1]

Two recent articles illustrate how little is being done in the teaching of Ukrainian. The first, a report by Myroslava Romakh on the summer programme for Ukrainian-language teachers at Kiev University, indicated that the Kievan instructors had no methods for teaching Ukrainian as a second language, and that many participants did not not take advantage of such positive aspects as the instructors' good knowledge of Ukrainian and the opportunity to hear and meet various Ukrainian cultural figures.[1] In a second article, Professor Jaroslav Rozumnyj (head, Department of Slavic Studies, University of Manitoba) surveyed the Ukrainian-language textbooks and supplementary materials used by Slavic departments in Canada and concluded that the majority were inadequate. Although the needs of beginning and intermediate courses were being met in a limited way, there was no textbook for advanced Ukrainian courses.[2] The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies created an advisory committee in December 1978 to help stimulate the preparation of additional works, but there has been no other scholarly response to Professor Rozumnyj's recommendations. Even more astounding is the fact that, except for the two articles above, the issue of teaching Ukrainian at the university level has not been discussed at all in recent years.

Ukrainian-language textbooks and supplementary materials (laboratory tapes, annotated readers) cannot compare with those used in Spanish, French, German or Russian classrooms. The practice of teaching Ukrainian as a second language is very recent and there is little recognition that it requires different methods than teaching Ukrainian to native speakers. With the average student of Ukrainian in North America seldom a practitioner of the language, a potentially pleasant activity often degenerates into a boring exercise of grammar analysis. Or the opposite happens and acquiring Ukrainian ceases to be an academic discipline and becomes an ethnic event aimed at fostering pride in heritage. It is

assumed that a native or near-native command of the language by the teacher is sufficient to conduct such courses; students will enrol simply because they want to learn the language of their parents. In such circumstances, neither experimentation nor a variety of materials and approaches are encouraged. Neither is the view that learning Ukrainian is an academic activity in its own right, and of value to students of all backgrounds without regard to ancestry or emotional ties.

In the last three decades professionals in language teaching have made advances both in college-level second-language textbooks, laboratory tapes and readers and in the training of instructors. Unfortunately, in the Ukrainian field, language courses are generally taught by linguists or literary scholars with no special teaching skills, or by untrained graduate students who, even when dedicated, are poorly equipped to handle assignments. Where teaching carries little prestige and the task is given to sessional appointees, there is no continuity. Faculty members whose priorities lie elsewhere or who are in temporary positions will not offer attractive courses. Since few departments can afford language-teaching specialists and literary scholars and linguists will continue to teach language, compulsory workshops and imaginative and mature teaching materials (textbooks, work-manuals, annotated readers and laboratory tapes) are all needed to improve the teaching of scholars who must publish and do not have the time to devote to language teaching.

Cultural Content in Foreign-Language Textbooks

The qualities of good language texts are well known: authentic models of the spoken and written language; carefully constructed and structurally oriented drills; clear grammatical explanations based on structural comparisons between the second language and English; numerous pronunciation and intonation drills; readings that correspond to the vocabulary and complexity of each lesson and help reinforce earlier materials; comprehensive laboratory tapes read at normal native speed and intonation with sufficient intervals for repetition or response by the student; written exercises; an aesthetic layout and an intelligent use of graphics. The "elementary language" and "practical vocabulary" in a beginner's textbook

should avoid banal and parochial dialogues and readings. Particular attention to the subject matter is most important for it affects student motivation.

Content has been discussed among North American professionals since the 1940s, prompted by the need to combat American ethnocentrism. In 1956 the Modern Language Association (MLA) undertook to produce a college-level Spanish textbook, utilizing six criteria agreed upon by seventeen colleges and universities.[4] Not only were the dialogues and readings to be mature in content, but

> In order to liberate the student from his single-culture limitations, Spanish and Spanish-American cultural values and patterns of behavior should form a significant part of the content of the linguistic material from the beginning—and at every stage.[5]

The product of the MLA enterprise, *Modern Spanish*, appeared in 1960 and was, in many respects, a revolutionary textbook. In it, culture was not treated as an ancillary topic but as an integral part of the language-learning process. First, dialogues were constructed that illustrated authentic social situations: a university student meeting the family of his classmate; students in a cafe discussing their last philosophy exam; a family at the dinner table discussing whether the daughter should go on a date unchaperoned; a father and son arguing about politics; students discussing a bloody anti-government demonstration at the university; a city youth seeking employment in the countryside; corporation employees commenting on their American supervisor's concept of punctuality.

Cultural notes and observations explained (in English) such *implicit* cultural information as the forms of address, the meaning of titles, the styles of speech used in different contexts, the differences between dialectical and academic Spanish, the signficance and meaning of idioms, and the differences in rank among the speakers as shown by the forms of address. They also offered *explicit* information about how a conversation betrays cultural values and patterns of behaviour; the educational system's emphasis on learning by rote; the enjoyment of philosophical and literary discussions by Spanish and Latin American students; the Latin American perception of time; and Latin American attitudes toward death, the family and the professions. The readings at the end of each lesson also gave implicit and explicit information about

culture. There were also "guided conversations" which utilized topics presented in the dialogues and enabled students to engage in semi-independent conversations.

Even though the techniques of *Modern Spanish* had considerable impact on school and college textbooks, the MLA's philosophy on cultural content was not immediately accepted. In 1966 Howard L. Nostrand observed that "enlightened language training" showed "gratifying progress in all its component parts except one: teaching of the foreign cultural context."[6] Today, however, the profession can boast of a number of working definitions of culture. Comparative studies of American and German-, French- and Spanish-speaking cultures have emerged, and a number of textbooks and ancillary materials have adopted their findings for teaching culture in the language classroom.[7]

As a result, though approaches may vary, the issue of culture as an integral part of second-language textbooks is no longer questioned. Materials for the study of culture are no longer considered to be something auxiliary, but rather, in the words of James R. Powers, the "matrix in which language is presented and experienced."[8] Realistic dialogues (written especially for the text) and readings (either original or selected from contemporary writers, philosophers, economists and journalists) are at the core of such texts.[9] They do not eschew social conflicts, and they put strong emphasis on analyzing intonation, kinesics and distance between speakers. Some courses even include filmed dialogues with native speakers as "actors." In short, the assumption is that teaching language in isolation from its natural context is tantamount to teaching an incomplete code of communication.

The whole movement to integrate the study of language and culture was revolutionary because it recognized that not every college student studies language to become a linguist or a literary scholar. Statistics show that the majority of students do not continue language study past the second year of university. Therefore it becomes imperative to emphasize culture as early as possible in language courses.

Culture and the Ukrainian-Language Textbook

If Ukrainian-language textbooks treat culture at all, they present it primarily as literature, art or history. Important events, famous writers and their literary works tend to be outside the cultural and emotional frame of reference of most Canadian students. The situation is made worse when such information is not incorporated into the vocabulary and grammar of the lessons.

What is needed is a broader definition of "culture." The way people behave and expect others to behave, the way they move and talk and the gestures they make should become part of a text's cultural "message." Two examples illustrate this point: 1) Soviet Ukrainian visitors to Canada invariably stand when they speak or participate in discussions. Canadian speakers, on the other hand, are almost always seated. Canadians have expressed surprise at the *formality* of their guests, while the Soviet Ukrainians have probably been perplexed by the *informality* of their hosts. 2) A Ukrainian professor from Warsaw, on a visit to the United States, organized a reception for his colleagues, at which he served wine and hors d'oeuvres and invited the guests to sit around a table. Although all present spoke Ukrainian, one sensed a certain discomfort among the Ukrainian Americans, who were not used to sitting at a table during a cocktail party and preferred to move about from guest to guest. The host commented later that he did not understand "the choreography at American parties."

These seemingly trite examples underscore the point that communication is more than just vocabulary lists and grammar rules. Any language becomes more interesting to students when real people and immediate life situations are presented and subtle cultural nuances are communicated. These examples also demonstrate that instructors of Ukrainian must deal with a number of cultural "communities." There is a real difference between the culture of Ukrainian nationals and that of Ukrainian minorities outside Ukraine; there are differences also among Ukrainians in North America, between the first and second emigration, between Ukrainians in the western provinces and those in Toronto or New York. College students given the opportunity to encounter all these "communities"[10] would likely emerge with a less narrow and provincial outlook on Ukrainian life after two or three years of language study.

Textbooks should not only exploit such differences, but should make every effort to link Ukrainian to universal experiences. Why must the real world close behind students who walk into Beginning, Intermediate, or Advanced Ukrainian? Yet this is what happens when the characters in dialogues and translation exercises do not live in concrete places and times and express neither love nor anger, camaraderie or disdain, snobbery or humility. They speak grammatical and idiomatic Ukrainian, but appear to know nothing of everyday problems, social concerns, professional endeavors, leisure activities and artistic preferences. Dialogues could show parents and children discussing vocational choices, engineers taking stock of ecological damage caused by an accident on the Dniester River, activists in Edmonton or Winnipeg discussing strategies to improve the bilingual school programme, a student from Chicago or Toronto visiting a cousin in Lviv and talking about Shakespeare or Mario Puzo. The possibilities are endless.

Where readings about culture in the traditional sense (art, history and especially literature) are included, emphasis should be on contemporary works and dramatic literature with its dialogues. When carefully selected, they will reinforce the grammatical structures and vocabulary the students learn. For example, after a lesson dealing with the genitive case and the preposition "z," a teacher might use the following poem by Leonyd Pervomaisky not only to underscore grammatical problems but to to make a cultural point:

> *Virsh pochynaiet'sia ne z zvuchannia,*
> *Khoch i ne mozhe vin ne movchaty.*
> *Virsh pochynaiet'sia z movhchannia,*
> *Koly ty ne mozhesh bil'she movchaty.*
>
> *Virsh pochynaiet'sia ne z velykoi litery,*
> *A z velykoho boliu, iakoho i ne zmirysh.*
> *Til'ky todi iomu mozhna viryty,*
> *I til'ky todi ty iomu virysh.*

(From the cycle "Uroky poezii")

In class the poem may be introduced by means of a dialogue between two students in Kiev, first discussing their heavy workload and then turning to the poetry in the latest issue of *Vitchyzna*. After a period of drills, exercises and conversation based on model

sentences, the dialogue may be used to introduce a brief "culture capsule"[11] in English. Besides explaining such terms as *kursovi pratsi* (term papers), comparisons may be made between typical assignments in Canadian and Ukrainian universities. Notice might be taken of the special place that reading has in Ukrainian culture even among individuals with no professional stake in the humanities. The Pervomaisky poem might then be read to serve as a springboard for a discussion about the poet and the period. A "guided conversation" in Ukrainian about the poem, student workloads and extracurricular activities might follow. In this way, the vocabulary and grammar of the dialogue and poem could be reinforced in a different context. It is important to note that the poem here is not an object of literary analysis, an exercise for which most elementary-language students are ill-prepared.

The above illustrates how the teaching of language as communication and culture can be integrated even on an elementary level. Other suitable activities could include dialogue dramatizations, verbal games and short individual reports on topics chosen by students—all in Ukrainian. As the students' command of the language increases, the "culture capsules" are prepared by the students and given as brief reports in Ukrainian. At more advanced levels, games can be more complicated; student reports can be followed by debates, with some students taking the positions of "native speakers."

Culture as "Patterns of Living"

The preceding relies heavily on a definition of culture proposed by Nelson Brooks of Yale University, who approaches it from five perspectives: as biological growth; as personal refinement; as literature and art; as patterns of living; and as a total way of life. For introductory language courses, Brooks recommends viewing culture from the "patterns of living" perspective:

> What is important in culture [patterns of living] is what one is "expected" to think, believe, say, do, eat, wear, pay, endure, resent, honor, laugh at, fight for, and worship, in typical life situations, some as dramatic as a wedding or a court trial or a battlefield, others as mundane as the breakfast table or the playground or the assembly line.[12]

Since the extent to which social expectations are met is equally important, the students must not only see how cultural models influence man, but also how man influences models and affects change.[13]

Culture as "literature and fine arts" and as "the sum total of a way of life" should be introduced only as student competence increases:

> As the learner progresses in his reading, he will, if the right things have been done in the basic course, find an added dimension of cultural significance in the stories he reads, in the characters that are depicted, and in the situations that are developed. He will find cultural values reflected in what the author chooses to talk about, to have his characters say and do, to have the reader understand, infer, and react to in his presentation.[14]

At an advanced level, the student can begin a more systematic study of the target culture:

> Literary and non-literary works can be read with both analysis and synthesis in mind, enabling the learner to interweave and interrelate the triple objectives of this phase: the perfecting of the control of language skills, an acquaintance in depth with a significant number of literary works of the highest order, and a sophistication in cultural awareness, insight, and sympathy with regard to the way of life of those whose language he is studying.[15]

Brooks divides the "patterns of living" into "formal" and "deep" culture. In the first, the individual is singled out by the social order and is either celebrated or rewarded when passing from one stage of life or achievement to another, or is humiliated and punished when not conforming to social expectations. In deep culture, the impact of society upon the individual is continuous and imperceptible; by associating with others from the first moment of life, one unconsciously learns to eat, speak, dress, observe, think, believe and value in ways similar to others.[16]

The above definition of formal and deep culture has impressed many scholars, who use it to prepare background data for language instructors and textbook writers.[17] They believe classroom work should address the following questions about the culture of the language being learned: What are the attitudes of the individual to authority (political, governmental, religious)? What are the social

ties in a group? What are the concepts of liberty? Is individualism lauded or criticized? What are the attitudes toward critical thought or humour? What is the role of men and women, the position of children, young adults, the elderly? What is the nature of social stratification? What prestige is bestowed on various professions? What are the attitudes toward nature, the land? How do the city and country coexist? What are the favourite forms of leisure? What are the attitudes toward the past, toward tradition? What is the concept of time and the attitude toward punctuality? How does the attitude toward living space reflect itself in architectural design and how does this affect human relationships?[18]

Those who are native speakers of Ukrainian do not stop to consider the above questions often enough. Moreover, in their continued interaction with mainstream Canadian and North American societies and their relative isolation in Ukrainian subcultures, they are not always equipped to answer such questions. Failure to admit this candidly will continue to handicap Ukrainian-language teaching at colleges and universities. There is a serious need to study formal and deep structures of Ukrainian culture on a comparative basis (e.g., Ukrainian culture and Canadian culture; Ukrainian culture in Canada and the national Ukrainian culture in Ukraine). It is ironic that university literature courses expect students to appreciate the poetry of an Ivan Drach and a Iurii Tarnavsky or the prose of a Iurii Mushketyk and a Bohdan Nyzhankivsky, yet the language textbooks and language programmes at these same universities do relatively little to acquaint them with the cultures that nourished these writers. This simply demonstrates once again that most institutions greatly underestimate the importance of Ukrainian-language courses for their programmes.

Notes

1. Any number of publications deal with such questions. One of the best is the journal *Die Unterrichtspraxis*, devoted to the problems of teaching German language, literature and related fields. Published in Philadelphia under the auspices of the American Association of Teachers of German, it is virtually an international forum for pedagogues, scholars and graduate students. It regularly reviews

textbooks and teaching aids and addresses questions of methodology. College professors submit curricula and individual courses for discussion and commentary; scholars debate the classroom approaches that can be used to deal with difficult topics in literature and even film. Language co-ordinators discuss departmental language-teaching programmes; instructors share their techniques for teaching specific grammatical structures. There are comparative studies of German and American culture. Graduate students comment on their training and general predicament. In short, the journal is a fine example of how professionals can "meet" on a regular basis to foster the growth of their discipline.

2. "Pro litni kursy ukrainskoi movy v Kyievi" (About Ukrainian-Language Summer Courses in Kiev), *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 2 (1977): 49–55.

3. "Ukrainian Language Textbooks at Canadian Universities," ibid. 3(1978): 68–82.

4. "Introduction to the First Edition," *Modern Spanish* (3rd. ed.; New York 1973).

5. Ibid., xv.

6. "Describing and Teaching the Sociocultural Context of a Foreign Language and Literature," in A. Valdman (ed.), *Trends in Language Teaching* (New York 1966), 1.

7. The introductory French textbook, J.S. Noblitt, *Nouveau point de vue* (Lexington 1978), seeks to initiate the college student into bilingualism and biculturalism from the very beginning by presenting a sketch of the French grammatical system and including material which relates "to the human condition from another cultural point of view." Noblitt's dialogues and readings illustrate the "unspoken assumptions" behind verbal communications. He offers extensive commentaries on the implicit information contained in the texts. In his readings, Noblitt covers some of the most common themes of the French "mentalité." *Intermediate Spanish* by J.G. Copeland, R. Kite and L. Sandstedt (New York 1981) consists of three co-ordinated textbooks: *Conversación y Repaso*, *Civilización y cultura*, and *Literatura y Arte*. The first reviews and expands the essential points of grammar by means of dialogues, exercises and conversation topics; the second has readings dealing with various Hispanic cultures and the third introduces well-annotated literary pieces by Spanish and Spanish-American authors and articles dealing with the fine arts. Both supporting texts contain exercises to reinforce the development of reading skills and to stimulate conversation. All three texts are thematically co-ordinated: each unit

of every text has the same theme as the corresponding unit of the other two. Moreover, there is a correspondence of vocabulary and grammar topics. This allows the teacher to combine the basic grammar text with either or both readers.

8. "Reorientation of the Foreign-Language Teaching Profession," *The Case for Foreign-Language Study. A Collection of Readings*, Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 1971, 33.

9. Examples are the readers *Perspectivas*, eds. M.E. Kiddle and B. Wegman (New York 1978) and *Lecturas Periodísticas*, eds. M.M. Azevedo and K.K. McMahon (Lexington 1978). Both are intended for intermediate classes in Spanish.

10. The "Ukrainian experience" is not unique in this respect. Similar problems are faced by the numerous Spanish-speaking communities. The approaches utilized by college-level Spanish textbooks are excellent models of how complicated questions can be dealt with in a sophisticated and tolerant manner.

11. The concept of "culture capsule" was developed by Darrel Taylor, a foreign-language teacher, and John Sorenson, an anthropologist. It consists of an oral presentation in class by a student. It is brief and involves comparing practices in the target and native cultures. See "Culture Capsules," *Modern Language Journal* 45 (1961): 350–4. For related techniques, such as "culture assimilators" and "culture clusters," see H.N. Seelye, *Teaching Culture. Strategies for Foreign-Language Educators* (Skokie 1976), especially chap. 7, 100–19.

12. "Teaching Culture in the Foreign-Language Classroom," *Foreign Language Annals* 1 (1968): 211.

13. Culture as "patterns of living" emphasizes the importance of the individual. Brooks vehemently rejects viewing culture as geography, history, folklore, sociology, literature, and especially as civilization, because all lose sight of the individual. He accepts that in literature and the fine arts a personal perspective is present, but, he insists, that the creation of a work of art rests "upon aesthetic values which have at their core patterns of preferment and rejection [i.e., literary or artistic conventions] that are at marked variance with the totality of experience in which culture has its roots" (ibid., 209).

14. Ibid., 215. "The sum total of a way of life" refers to culture as revealed in the "multiple and interrelated structures of social organization, economic effort, and professional discipline, and to the outward manifestations of politics and religion" (ibid., 211).

15. Ibid., 216.

16. Ibid., 211–12.

17. For an example of a comparative study of American and German "formal" or "surface" culture, see J. Troyanovich, "American Meets German—Culture Shock in the Classroom," *Die Unterrichtspraxis* 5, no. 2 (1972): 67–79. For reactions to this article, see D.M. Messner, "Troyanovich und Tacitus," and A. Otto-Sprunck, "Zum Artikel 'American Meets German'," ibid. 7, no. 1 (1974): 137–41. A study dealing with German "deep" culture and explaining the dangers of discussing "formal" cultural elements outside their "deep" cultural context can be found in R.L. Tinsley and D.J. Woloshin, "Approaching German Culture: A Tentative Analysis," ibid. 7, no. 1 (1974): 125–36.

18. The questions are based on paradigms proposed by Tinsley and Woloshin and by T.T. Ladu, *What Makes the French French* (Detroit 1974).

Future Directions for
Ukrainian-Language Education

Jim Cummins

One must admit surprise at just how much research relevant to Ukrainian-language teaching has been undertaken. The conference was wise to focus on research findings and their educational implications for teaching. In considering the latter, it is useful to keep three questions in mind: What do we want to achieve? What do we know to assist with future planning? What strategies are appropriate to reach our objectives?

Objectives

An important distinction raised by Olga Kuplowska and Wsevolod Isajiw was the extent to which language retention is desired as an active skill or merely as a symbol of ethnic identity. While most members of ethnolinguistic communities have positive attitudes toward language retention and children are encouraged to learn the ethnic language, by the third generation only a small proportion (3 per cent of Ukrainian Canadians in Isajiw's sample) normally use the language in conversation. It is an illusion to expect children to become proficient through Saturday morning classes, when only English is used in the home. Where neither the school nor the home supports the language, the level of Ukrainian gained may be useful for group identification purposes, but an active bilingualism sufficient to transmit the language to the next generation is most unlikely.

Thus the issue is not only what we want but whether we are willing or able to achieve what we want. If the goal is minimal proficiency in Ukrainian, then Saturday heritage-language classes can deliver it, but they obviously will do much better when the home reinforces their work. By themselves they are usually unable to develop communication skills and succeed mainly in contributing to the child's ethnic identity (Fishman, 1980). Proficiency in Ukrainian is best achieved through home use for all or part of the time (e.g., one parent, one language), through English-Ukrainian bilingual schooling and ideally through home and school use of Ukrainian. Because children experience English as the high-status language, English is bound to become dominant regardless of bilingual home and school contexts. Nevertheless, children *will* become fluent and literate in Ukrainian under bilingual conditions. Once ethnolinguistic communities accept active bilingualism as the goal, research can assist to achieve it.

Knowledge Base

The research presented touched on four general contexts within which Ukrainian-language skills are either won or lost: (1) the home, (2) the school, (3) the community and (4) the society.

Home. Considerable evidence documented the rapidity of intergenerational language loss. The difficulties of maintaining a minority language in the home are great. The statistics show that it is especially difficult with mixed marriages, but even in Ukrainian marriages the patterns of language use are not always conducive to language transmission across generations. Roma Chumak's work shows that even when both parents say they use Ukrainian all the time with their children, the same children are exposed to English on television, through other children and parental use of the telephone.

Despite the difficulties, there are many fine examples of successful bilingual child-rearing (Saunders, 1982) and some general rules-of-thumb can be articulated (Cummins, 1981). What is needed is (1) more extensive dissemination of the information, (2) active support systems in the community to advise and encourage parents experiencing difficulties and (3) more opportunities for informal peer-group interaction in Ukrainian. Bilingual parents must realize that they can give their child the gift of language and "bless their

child with bilingual brains,"* an opportunity not likely to be duplicated no matter how many hours are endured in traditional second-language classrooms.

School. Several papers amply demonstrated the benefits of bilingual schooling. The Ukrainian bilingual programme has one significant advantage over anglophone children in French immersion programmes through access usually to more than one native speaker of the target language. Fossilization or developmental plateaus in spoken language is a particular problem in French programmes because students (unless they are French Canadians) typically interact in French only with their teachers. While this certainly can also be the case for some students in the Ukrainian programme, for most the potential is considerable for interaction in Ukrainian with parents, grandparents and native Ukrainian-speaking students.

It is not yet possible to say how proficient students will be in Ukrainian at the end of high school or whether they will be motivated to transmit the language to their children. However, the *potential* for active bilingualism and intergenerational transmission will certainly be there. The recent enthusiasm among anglophones in Wales for Welsh-English bilingual schooling shows how infectious language revival can be when the means are perceived as feasible.

The momentum for bilingual schooling must be carefully cultivated within the Ukrainian community, and educators must become aware of the many obstacles that could derail the momentum. Parents must not be allowed to feel that the school is taking care of Ukrainian-language development and that they do not need to use Ukrainian with their children. Teachers, too, should be careful to avoid an overly prescriptive attitude toward "correct" Ukrainian. Intolerance of dialectal differences only confuses children who experience varieties of Ukrainian with grandparents or other adults. It could also make "school" Ukrainian irrelevant to their communicative use of Ukrainian outside school. No dialect is intrinsically more "correct" or better than another, and teachers should learn to accept the varieties of Ukrainian while showing students the need for standard forms in literary and interregional communication.

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*The apt phrase originated with students in the Bilingual/TESOL programme at the University of Texas in San Antonio.

Community. The sophisticated community effort that resulted in the implementation of the Ukrainian programme in Edmonton has been documented by Lupul (1976) and by Don Dawson at this conference. Similar hard work and dissemination of information by the Manitoba Parents for Ukrainian Education implemented the programme in that province. However, if the programme is to expand, certain issues must be confronted. For example, why has it not been implemented in certain high-density Ukrainian communities close to Edmonton (e.g., Mundare)? Is there no widespread desire for Ukrainian-language maintenance in these communities or have leaders and educators there not been informed of the possibility of bilingual schooling? The programme's relative isolation in Edmonton needs to be examined and steps taken to expand it. Such expansion is crucial for intergenerational transmission of the language; without fluent Ukrainian conversational partners and marriage partners beyond some critical mass, fluent speakers will not be motivated to use and transmit the language.

Another issue raised was the competition between French and Ukrainian bilingual programmes, with some parents judging French to be more useful or thinking that children who get Ukrainian in the home do not need Ukrainian programmes to maintain the language. The solution to this problem is, in principle, very simple: incorporate an effective French instruction component into the Ukrainian programme and use trilingualism as an additional selling point. The Jewish day schools in Montreal provide impressive examples of successful trilingual programmes (Braverman, 1983) which could be used as models. However, with the primary goal of the programme Ukrainian rather than French, a more appropriate model might be to maintain the elementary programme as is and introduce an "extended" French programme (e.g., about 75 minutes a day) in grade seven, using it as a medium rather than teaching it as a subject. The time should be taken from the English half of the school day.

Society. Canadian society is still working out what multiculturalism really means, especially with reference to "non-official" languages. Opposition to heritage-language programmes often takes the form of we–they confrontations where Canadians of Anglo-Celtic and French ethnicity see "our taxes

being spent on their languages." If multiculturalism and heritage-language maintenance are perceived as "ethnic" concerns, then their long-term prospects appear dim. Every effort must be made to include all children in one bilingual programme or another. Obviously, most anglophone parents will tend to choose a French bilingual programme, but where only a Ukrainian programme is available, parents should be encouraged to see that the Ukrainian programme offers similar enrichment possibilities for their children. The point would be easier to make if the Ukrainian programme had an effective French component.

In the Alberta and Manitoba programmes, approximately 15 per cent of the students are not of Ukrainian ethnic origin. By having the media highlight the impressive achievements of these students, the Canadian public (and ultimately politicians and school board administrators) would learn that bilingualism and trilingualism are not only possible but are an integral part of any multicultural society. The present perception that heritage-language and bilingual programmes are exclusionary tends to generate animosity in certain sectors of Canadian society, which to some extent can be counteracted by including all children in language-enrichment programmes (Mavalwala, 1983).

Strategies

Specific strategies have already been noted in relation to many of the issues that have been discussed. Here three general strategies for researchers, teachers and parents will be suggested. The three strategies come down to one word: communication. For researchers committed to a genuine multicultural society that involves language enrichment, it is incumbent to *communicate* research findings in ways that are comprehensible to different audiences. The sophisticated statistics that are usually needed to convince other researchers are not likely to be particularly meaningful to parents, teachers or politicians. Researchers generally have not been sensitive to the obscurity of their own language, a fact which prompted the development of the OISE Language and Literacy Series (Cummins, 1981; Yalden, 1981).

Teachers of Ukrainian, whether in bilingual or supplementary language programmes, must realize that languages are acquired by understanding messages or, in Krashen's (1982) useful term,

through "comprehensible input." Thus, effective instruction must *communicate* information that students find meaningful and interesting. This does not mean that no attention should be paid to the language's structural aspects; rather, the *predominant* focus must be on something other than the language itself—subject matter content, expression of personal ideas in writing, or something as basic as fun (e.g., playing word games like SCRABBLE). This communicative focus is one of the major reasons why bilingual education is so effective. By the same token, the more "communicative" supplementary (i.e., Saturday morning) language teaching can become, the more effective is it likely to be.

Finally, parents have a *communicative* mission. The most effective environment for acquiring language is the home, and parents can lay the foundations by communicating (both orally and through reading stories) with their children in Ukrainian. Parents must also communicate with other parents who have similar aspirations for their children in order to provide the support structure so important for facilitating their challenging task. Parents must also organize themselves into cohesive networks and communities to communicate loudly and persistently to educators and policy-makers their demands for a bilingual or trilingual education which is personally enriching for their children and fundamental to the make-up and aspirations of Canada.

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