

PHONOLOGICAL INTERFERENCE:  
THE BASIS FOR A PHONOLOGY OF A CANADIAN VARIANT  
OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

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by  
Anna Shymkiw  
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## ABSTRACT

The many different languages in Canada constitute an important part of our sociocultural environment. These languages are continually adjusting to an environment which is officially bilingual and multicultural. Ukrainian, like the other minority languages, shows evidence of its contact with the dominant language, *i.e.*, Canadian English. The speech of four groups of Canadian-born Ukrainians has undergone and is undergoing phonological changes. The consequence of these changes has been the emergence of a Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language.

This study aims to describe the phonology of a Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language. The variant arose as a result of phonological interaction among three sources: Canadian English, standard literary Ukrainian and the Southwestern dialects.

Most contrastive analysis models deal with the contrast of two distinct languages. Because the case of Canadian Ukrainian involves three interacting phonological systems, a contrastive phonological analysis model had to be proposed to deal with this situation.

Elements which are distinctive and differ among the systems are selected. These elements serve as an outline for analyzing the changes in the speech of three generations of Canadian Ukrainians. The changes/innovations which arose as a result of interference characterize the phonology of the Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language.

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## LIST OF SYMBOLS

[ ]	phonetic representation
//	phonological representation
#	word boundary
##	syllable boundary
+	suffix boundary
++	prefix boundary
{ }	either/or
'	palatalized consonant
"	excessively palatalized consonant
°	slightly palatalized consonant
~	alternates
:	lengthening
→	becomes (synchronic)
/	in the environment of
α	alpha
CE	Canadian English
SLU	Standard Literary Ukrainian
SWD	Southwestern Ukrainian dialects
D.F.	Distinctive Feature
fem.	feminine
masc.	masculine
neut.	neuter
attr.	attribute
nom.	nominative case

gen.	genitive case
dat.	dative case
instr.	instrumental case
loc.	locative case
voc.	vocative form
sg.	singular
pl.	plural
imper.	imperative mood
ind.	indicative mood
reflex.	reflexive verb



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to determine what kinds of phonological interference are to be found in the speech of four groups of Canadian Ukrainians. The innovations play a prominent part in the phonology of the Canadian variant of Ukrainian.

#### 1.1 Earlier Studies

Various studies of English interference in Canadian Ukrainian have been written — Žluktenko, 1960, 1964, 1976; Rudnyckyj, 1961; Korunec', 1968; Burstynsky, 1970; Gerus-Tarnawecka, 1978; et. al. Only those studies are reviewed here which deal with phonological interference or change in Canadian Ukrainian.

According to Rudnyckyj (1961), "Phonological Innovations in Canadian Ukrainian" the Ukrainian language spoken in Canada is a dialect which may be termed "symbiotic", "enclavic" or "mixed" (Rudnyckyj 1961: 753). He discusses one phonological innovation which occurs in Canadian Ukrainian, the developed of /s/, /z/, /c/, /ʒ/ consonantal phonemes in the speech of the older generation of Ukrainian Canadians and its development in the younger generation. The speech under examination is based on the author's materials dating from 1949-1958. His analysis is limited to the older generation of immigrants and one segment of the young generation. Rudnyckyj, however, does not specify exactly to what immigration or generation he is referring.

In his paper "Languages in Contact: Ukrainian and English", Burstynsky (1970) deals, in general, with the linguistic interference from English to Ukrainian. A wide range of topics is discussed: the variables, the relationship of these variables to pre- and post-World War II immigrants, phonology, stress, morphology, lexicon, etc. The section on phonology deals with the innovations found in the speech of first and second generation Canadian Ukrainians. Burstynsky cites several of these and provides a linguistic discussion, but does not state which innovation is particular to each generation. Because many topics are discussed the phonological data given is limited to relatively few examples.

Gerus-Tarnawecka's (1978) "Recent Trends in North America Ukrainian". The important aspect of Gerus-Tarnawecka's "Recent Trends in North American Ukrainian" is the concept of a Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language. She also discusses a wide range of topics: the Ukrainian language in North America as a transplanted dialect which, in form, cannot be a dialect; "the innovations which evolve in Canada either through the influence of Ukrainian literary language or because of interference by the nation's two dominant languages (English and French), or other immigrant and even indigenous languages, which could eventually lead to the formation of a distinctly Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language," (Gerus-Tarnawecka, 1978:91); the literature on the Ukrainian language in Canada; analysis on the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels; extra-linguistic factors, etc. The section on phonology gives an analysis of the innovations in the speech of Canadian Ukrainians. She highlights the "more interesting and innovative features of Canadian Ukrainian." (Gerus-Tarnawecka, 1978: 94).

Two studies which describe the Ukrainian language within the theoretical framework of generative phonology are Anderson (1962) and Foster (1966). Anderson describes the phonology of contemporary literary Ukrainian along the lines of Halle's (1959) The Sound Pattern of Russian: A Linguistic and Acoustical Investigation. Foster, "Some Phonological Rules of Modern Standard Ukrainian", provides a synchronic analysis of modern standard Ukrainian and a historical account of the processes involved which shaped the Ukrainian language.

All studies of the Ukrainian language in Canada, with the exception of Gerus-Tarnawecka (1978), assert that either the language is assimilating or a new dialect is being formed. A detailed phonological description of Canadian Ukrainian does not exist, as these studies have all dealt with phonological interference in general.

## 1.2 Contrastive Analysis Method

The contrastive analysis method examines, the "similarities and differences between two or more languages or dialects with the aim of finding principles which can be applied to practical problems in language teaching and translation, with special emphasis on transfer, interference and equivalents." (Hartman and Stork, 1972: 53). This method is synchronic and ignores genetic relationships.

Various contrastive models and methods have been proposed for the study of interference -- Haugen, 1953; Weinreich, 1953; Lado, 1957; Moulton, 1962; Stockwell and Bowen, 1965; Brière, 1968; DiPietro, 1968, Whitman, 1970; et. al.. However, these models and methods cannot be used unchanged because they only deal with the interference between two distinct languages. In the case of Ukrainian as spoken in Canada, on the other hand, finds three interacting phonological systems, two of which

are those of closely related dialects.

It would be useful to review briefly a few of the studies of phonological interference which use the contrastive analysis approach.

One of the classic studies<sup>1</sup> of interference is Uriel Weinrich's Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, (1953).<sup>2</sup> Working within the theoretical framework of structuralism he contrasts the phonological systems of Romansh and Schwyzertütsch. He cites the features which are distinctive to each system and their allophones and then categorizes the interference factors into four classes: "under-differentiation of phonemes; over-differentiation of phonemes; reinterpretation of distinctions and phone substitutions." (Weinrich, 1974: 18-19). There are, however, as Weinrich observes, instances of 'phonic' interference which do not relate with any of the four classes, *i.e.*, the phenomenon of 'hypercorrection.' (Weinreich, 1974: 19).

William G. Moulton, in The Sounds of English and German (1962), contrasts the phonological systems of English and German. He stresses the importance of phonetics in an analysis of sound interference; many of the pronunciation errors are due to phonetic rather than phonological differences. In the case of the German vowels /i:, u:, e:, o:/, for example, Moulton states that "before a voiceless consonant an American will substitute his monophthongal allophones [i u] and (perhaps) [e ]; but these will be too open and probably too short, so that sieht, tut, geht, boot will be ['zit 'tut 'get 'bot] (like English, seat, toot, gate, boat) rather than ['zi:t 'tu:t 'ge:t 'bo:t]." (Moulton, 1962: 92).

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<sup>1</sup> Another classic is: Haugen, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that Weinreich also examines the grammatical and lexical levels and pursues the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic implications of languages in contact.

Pronunciation problems according to Moulton are classed into four categories: phonemic, phonetic, allophonic and distributional (Moulton, 1962: 26-51, 91-112, *passim*).

A contrastive study which quite thoroughly explicates the hierarchy of difficulty phenomenon<sup>1</sup> is Robert Stockwell and J. Donald Bowen's, The Sounds of English and Spanish (1965). The phonological systems are first compared and then categorized according to 'optional choice', *i.e.*, the possible choices existing among phonemes, 'obligatory choice,' *i.e.*, primarily referring to allophones with specified environments but also referring to the restriction on certain phonemes. Stockwell and Bowen cite an example from English where in word initial position before /m/, /s/ may occur but never the voiced counter-part. There also remains the 'zero choice,' *i.e.*, the nonexistence of the sound in one of the languages. Thus, eight possible differences according to 'optional' 'obligatory' and 'zero' choices are postulated for English and Spanish. Secondly, after determining the possible differences, the 'hierarchy of difficulty' must be established. The criteria necessary for designating the hierarchy depends on the 'functional load,' *i.e.*, "the extent to which a given sound is used in [one of the languages] to distinguish one word from another, the quantity of distinctive information that it carries." (Stockwell and Bowen, 1965: 16). The following criterion is labelled 'potential mishearing.' For example in Spanish, initial [t=] - the variety of /t/ that appears before vowels." (Stockwell and Bowen, 1965: 16). This example, according to the eight possible differences is zero in English and obligatory in Spanish. An American perceiving the

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<sup>1</sup> In his contrastive analysis section Moulton (1962) deals with a hierarchy of sounds - from those which present the least difficulty to those which present the most difficulty.

sound would usually hear a [d] if it was pronounced correctly. Therefore, Stockwell and Bowen when ordering the sequence categorize this as having high mishearing potential. 'Pattern congruity' is the last criterion, *i.e.*, the manner in which sounds group together in the respective languages. Accordingly, for Spanish they group /b/, /d/ and /g/ together, stating that "/b/ and /d/ are high in difficulty, in functional load, and in potentiality for mishearing ... /g/ is also difficult, but it is considerably lower in functional load and has less potential for mishearing." (Stockwell and Bowen, 1965: 17). The ordering of the eight possible differences in congruence with the criteria is grouped into three 'magnitudes of difficulty,' ranging from most to least difficult, for a language-learner to pronounce.<sup>1</sup>

These examples illustrate three different methods for determining phonological interference. Two factors are common to these studies: first, the contrast of two languages; second, the fact that their studies aim at learning problems and the elimination of speech errors. The nature of the contrast is different for Canadian Ukrainian where the interaction of three phonological systems must be considered. The aim is not to solve learning problems or to eliminate speech errors but rather to examine the phonology of the Canadian variant of Ukrainian. Thus, these methods cannot be used. The contrastive analysis method provides the background for determining interference. The theoretical framework of generative phonology (Jakobson) is used to sketch the phonology of the Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language.

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<sup>1</sup> The mention of two significant studies dealing with phonological interference would be appropriate. They are: Liêm, 1970, Nemser, 1971.

### 1.3 Assimilation - Dialect - Variant<sup>1</sup>

The many different languages in Canada constitute an important part of our socio-cultural environment. These languages are continuously adjusting to an environment which is officially bilingual and multi-cultural. Some of these languages are undergoing changes while others are being assimilated where assimilation, according to the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969), "implies almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group." (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 1969: 5). For example, "native-born members of ethnic origin categories with languages related to English (the Dutch and German), show high rates of assimilation, but these groups have also had long histories in Canada." (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969: 120). Ukrainian like other minority (non-official) languages, has been influenced by its contact with the dominant languages, especially Canadian English. The Ukrainian language in Canada has undergone and is undergoing phonological changes. It is argued that the consequence of these changes is not a process of assimilation but rather the phonological development of a Canadian variant.

The rationale behind this argument stems from the fact that

the vitality of non-official languages is determined by a host of influences and modified by factors peculiar to particular ethnic origin categories ... The fate of a language depends on the persistence of its use by the native born. While immigrants provide immediate support to the language, it is the native

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<sup>1</sup> There is no single definition of 'language', 'dialect', 'assimilation' or 'variant'. Haugen (1966) states that "the taxonomy of linguistic description - that is, the identification and enumeration of languages - is greatly hampered by the ambiguities and obscurities attaching to the terms "language" and "dialect"." (Haugen, 1966: 922).

born who determine its retention in the long run.  
(Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and  
 Biculturalism, 1969: 117-119),

It has been proven over the years that there is a strong retention, among the native born Canadian Ukrainians, of the Ukrainian language. The instrumental factors for this retention are the cultural and educational institutions, including the Ukrainian churches (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism, 1969: 132).

This retention indicates that the Ukrainian language in Canada is not assimilating to the dominant language, Canadian English, but rather that a different process is involved here. In the subsequent chapters we will show, by reviewing the impact of the immigration movements on the Ukrainian language in Canada and analyzing the phonological changes or innovations in the speech of Canadian Ukrainians, that a Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language is being developed.

Since the three generations of Canadian Ukrainians are all exposed to the Southeastern Ukrainian dialects (standard literary Ukrainian), the Southwestern Ukrainian dialects and Canadian English, the situation is one of three interacting phonological systems. When these systems interact synchronically, phonological changes or innovations occur. These innovations can be said to consist of a variety of phonological characteristics from Canadian English, the Southwestern dialects and standard literary Ukrainian, thus resulting in a variant distinct from all three. Fishman (1972) states that "the term variety - unlike the term dialect - indicates no particular linguistic status (other than difference) vis - à - vis other varieties. A dialect must be regional subunit in relation to a language, particularly in its vernacular or spoken realization," (Fishman, 1972: 17). The Canadian variant that is



being developed does not yet have any "particular linguistic status." It can, however, be related to three systems but "all varieties of all languages are equally expandable and changeable; all are equally contractible and interpenetrable under the influence of foreign models." (Fishman, 1972: 18). Only time will show the linguistic status of the Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language. For now "variant" is intended to mean "tending to change or alter; exhibiting variety or diversity; varying." (Random House Dictionary, 1966: 1581).

#### 1.4 Fieldwork and Informants

Fieldwork was carried out in Winnipeg over a period of three years (Fall 1977 to Spring of 1980). Ninety-five percent of the informants were residents of Manitoba (mostly in the Winnipeg area) and five percent were residents of Ontario (Toronto area).

One hundred and fifty informants between the ages of 16 and 30 were tested. These informants fall into four groups:

- CU<sub>1</sub>: 48 informants who are the descendants of post-World War II immigrants, *i.e.*, Canadian-born children of parents who were both born in the Ukraine.
- CU<sub>1/2</sub>: 34 informants whose parents and grandparents immigrated between the two wars mainly 1920-1941, *i.e.*, the Canadian-born children where one parent immigrated to Canada and the other parent was born in Canada but whose parents immigrated.
- CU<sub>2</sub>: 43 informants whose grandparents immigrated between the two wars mainly 1920-1941, *i.e.*, Canadian-born children of grandparents who were both born in the Ukraine.

CU<sub>3</sub>: 25 informants who are the descendants of pre-World War II immigrants, *i.e.*, Canadian-born Ukrainians whose parents and grandparents were born in Canada.

In terms of educational background eighty-five percent of the informants have a university education; fifteen percent are still in high school and attending Ukrainian school at the same time. Thus, all informants were exposed to formal instruction in Ukrainian. CU<sub>1</sub> informants learned Ukrainian as their first language. These informants are bilingual. CU<sub>1/2</sub> informants for the most part acquired Ukrainian in childhood or began to learn it in high school. Most are bilingual; the others have a fairly good command of the language. CU<sub>2</sub> similarly learned Ukrainian as children and reinforced it in school. But they cannot be termed bilingual at present. They switch back and forth from English to Ukrainian. CU<sub>3</sub> informants who for the most part, learned Ukrainian as children or begin to learn it in school. They are not bilingual. They speak English mostly and some Ukrainian.

The majority of the data was obtained in the language laboratory at the University of Manitoba. Other data are tape-recordings of interviews and informal discussions. The interviews consisted of the informants speaking in Ukrainian on any subject. The topics were usually personal experiences. The recordings of informal discussions were obtained in Ukrainian school settings where the informants discussed historical and literary topics in Ukrainian.

## CHAPTER II

### THE IMPACT OF THE IMMIGRATION MOVEMENTS ON THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

#### 2.0 Introduction

The rise of the 'languages in contact' situation in Canada can be illustrated diagrammatically by tracing the transmigrational process of the Ukrainian dialects. The transmigrational process plays an indirect, though substantial, role as the linking factor in the Canadian variant of the Ukrainian language. To begin with, a delineation of the dialects of the Ukrainian language will be useful for background purposes. Figure I presents the most recent and widely accepted classification of the dialects by Zylko (1958).<sup>1</sup> The phonetic norms of the Southeastern dialects represent the standard literary language. These dialects are said not to vary; the Southwestern dialects, by contrast, vary considerably from each other.

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the first attempts to classify the Ukrainian dialects -- now considered classics -- are the classifications of V. Hancov and I. Zilyns'ky:

Hancov, 1923; Zilyns'kyj, 1913, 1925, 1933.

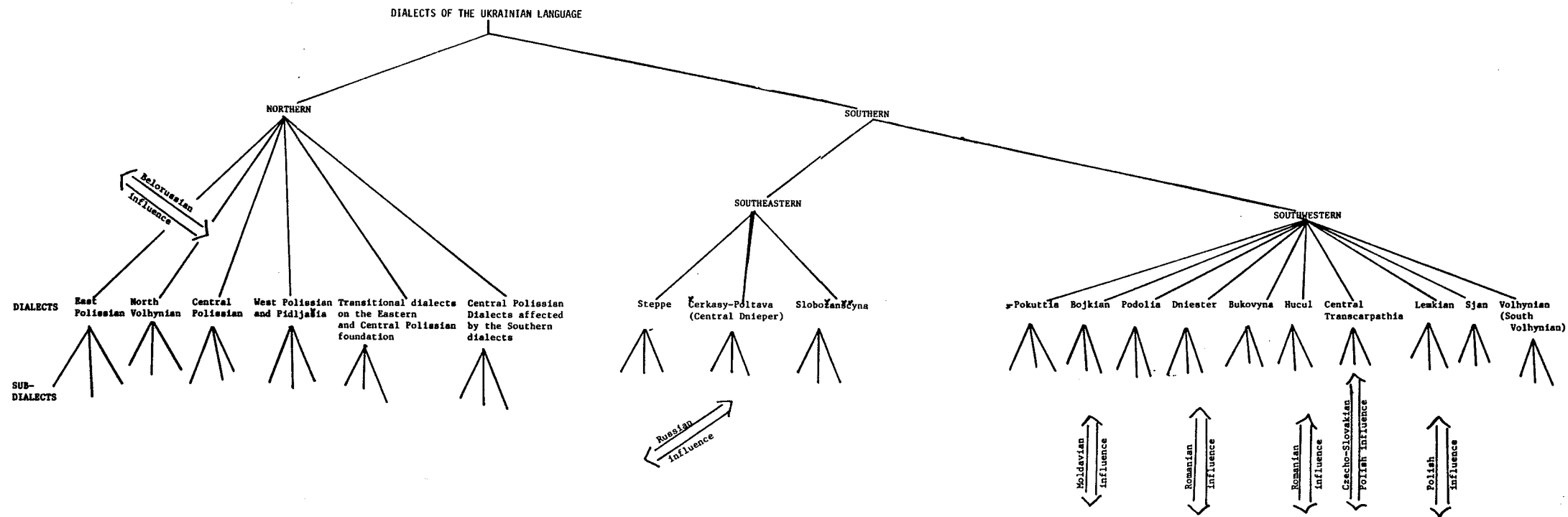


Figure I: The Ukrainian Language: dialects and influence.

## 2.1 Immigration

The immigration of Ukrainians to Canada is usually divided into three movements.<sup>1</sup> In general, the first immigration to the U.S. and to a lesser extent to Western Europe and Canada involved the peoples from Western Ukraine: the Galicia, Bukovyna and Transcarpathian regions. The speech norms they brought to Canada were those of the Southwestern dialects. The second immigration includes peoples from Galicia and Transcarpathian regions, to a lesser extent peoples from the Bukovyna, Volhynian and Polissian regions. They migrated to such places as Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina and Canada. The speech of these immigrants also reflected the phonetic norms of the Southwestern dialects.

Post-World War II migration presents a slightly different picture. The immigration to Canada was not directly from Ukraine but directly through Germany, France and other countries due to the displacement of Ukrainians during the war. Kaye (1966) states that "the third phase immigrants originated from the whole territory, from Kuban to Carpatho-Ukraine." (Kaye, 1966: 43). The speech norms of the third immigration were those of both standard literary Ukrainian and the Southwestern dialects. The third-phase immigrants who spoke the Southwestern dialects were also conscious of the standard literary language. This was not true of I and II immigrants. (See Figure II: Regions and Dialects).

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<sup>1</sup> First immigration - 1891 until the First World War (1914).  
 Second immigration - the period between the two wars; mainly 1920-1941.  
 Third immigration - subsequently after the Second World War.  
 The movements and dates cited are based on:  
 Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.  
 1969: 23-31.  
 Kaye, 1966.

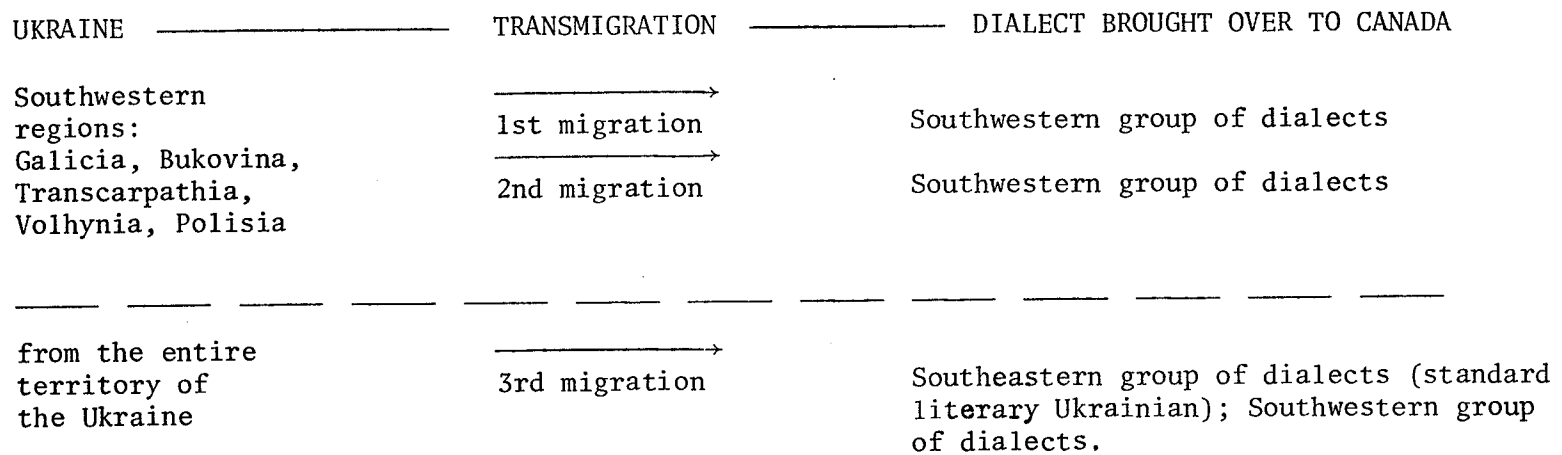


Figure II: Regions and Dialects

## 2.2 Immigrant Ukrainian

If one is investigating immigration from a linguistic point of view<sup>1</sup> the impact that the movements had on the Ukrainian language in Canada patterns somewhat differently. Over the years the immigrant Ukrainian language began to change as it came into contact with Canadian English. The speech of first- and second-phase immigrants exhibit the same linguistic changes; while that of the third immigration exhibits a different set of changes. Gerus-Tarnawecka (1978) suggests that the division coincides with the Second World War. This division between Pre-World War II and Post-World War II is "determined by the category and the character of language changes as well as alternations in its distribution." (Gerus-Tarnawecka, 1978: 92). Thus, this bipartite 'linguistic-type' division can be descriptively labelled as "period I" and "period II", respectively.

"Period I" refers to a period where the language is characterized by absorption and a retention of the Southwestern dialect phonetic norms. The immigrant language of this period has two notable characteristics. First, Canadian English words are adopted to comply with Canadian experiences and society. The corresponding Ukrainian words recede. These Ukrainian loans then take Ukrainian derivational affixes and are used in Ukrainian constructions.

For example, vačuvaty 'to watch' takes the place of the Ukrainian slidkuvaty. The root of the verb stem vaču - is borrowed directly from the English verb; the suffix and ending follow the common Ukrainian pattern in - uvaty. Similarly, the Ukrainian personal endings are used,

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<sup>1</sup> The information cited earlier on immigration presents an historical account of the Ukrainian migration process.

vin vačuje 'he watches' (3<sup>rd</sup> per, sg, ind.), Compare the noun loans: The noun lajna 'line' is used instead of čerha. The root is derived from English and the gender is marked by adding a feminine ending - a. Čerha is feminine in Ukrainian. Lajna in the locative singular would take an i ending: v lajni 'in line'.<sup>1</sup> Second, the southwestern dialectal phonetic norms are used in the pronunciation of English words. For example, the word 'thank you' would be pronounced [tɛŋju] c.f. English [θæŋku:].

"Period II", on the other hand, refers to a different set of changes in the language resulting from a liberal attitude and a greater retention of the phonetic norms of both standard literary Ukrainian and the Southwestern dialectal norms. The immigrant language of this period has three notable characteristics,

First, the immigrants retain the norms of the standard literary language based on Holoskeyč's orthography (1928); these were the existing pre-migrational norms. It was noted earlier that the majority of these most recent immigrants came from the Southwestern regions of Ukraine, speaking their own dialect but conscious of the standard literary language. In a manner of speaking they were striving for purity in the language, *i.e.*, not allowing for any calques, loans, etc. This puristic tendency reaches its extreme when new words are coined to replace words that have existed in the language for decades or even centuries. The reason for this puristic tendency is that the words were either borrowings

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<sup>1</sup> Zluktenko (1964) provides an indepth phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic analysis of Pre-World War II immigrants' language. It should be noted that his study is, however, somewhat biased by the fact that it is based on printed material. This results in a secondary analysis which provides data formed by analogy. For a Canadian view of the subject matter see Gerus-Tarnawecka (1978).



or they did not adhere to the "spirit" of the Ukrainian language.

A vivid example of this extreme instance is the dictionary compiled by Pavlo Stepa,<sup>1</sup> Slovnyk čužosliv; snadibky (1977). For example, the word banknot 'bank note' becomes paperohriš. The noun is formed similarly to banknote: paper + o + hriš (paper from paper 'paper'; the suffix -o- used for connecting two nouns and hriš from hroši 'money') literally means 'paper money'. Similarly instead of parasolja 'parasole' or 'umbrella' Stepa introduces doščarka 'an apparatus used for rain.' Semantically, this neologism, as it stands, does not mean that it protects one from rain or for that matter sunshine but rather it is merely an "instrument for rain." The noun is derived from the root došč 'rain' and the suffixes: -ar- k- (ending -a) used with nouns denoting working instruments. cf. kosarka 'mowing machine' or molotarka 'threshing machine.' Unfortunately, the neologisms which Pavlo Stepa coins are highly idiosyncratic.

In 1968 S. Domazar<sup>2</sup> attempted the task of perfecting the Ukrainian spelling system. In accordance with the fact that Ukrainian orthography closely matches the phonetic system, he introduced three new letters in order that one sound be represented by one letter. The letters are Ѓ, Ѕ, Ї. They represent the diagraphs ДЖ (dž); ДЗ (dz) and ЈО (jo) or ('o), respectively. The rationale behind this concept, is in itself logical: one sound - one symbol. However, the acceptance of this orthographic reform is not for one person to decide but rather depends on a

---

<sup>1</sup> Pavlo Stepa is a retired engineer who has produced several books (Ukrajinec a Moskvyn (1959); Moskovstvo (1968); Mafija (1971) and over 200 articles and essays.

<sup>2</sup> His articles "Doveršimo abetkovyj tvir bat'kiv našyx." in Vil'na Dumka, 1976.

national body such as an Academy of Sciences,

Second, and in contrast with these extremes and puristic tendencies, a liberal-minded attitude toward the immigrant Ukrainian language is quite evident. A good example is J.B. Rudnyc'kyj's, An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language which is liberal in the sense that he includes many American Ukrainian, jargon and dialect entries. For example:

American Ukrainian:

- dryl'men - "drillmen" (Vol. II, Part 3 (14) p. 201);  
gud - "good" (Part 10, p. 884);  
gudcens - "good chance" (Part 10, p. 887);  
drésink - "dressing" (Vol. 11, Part 3 (14), p. 198);  
gud-mórning - "good-morning" (Part 10, p. 886);  
éfort - "effort" (Vol. 11, Part 4 (15) p. 304);  
jénki - "yankee, citizen of the U.S." (Vol. 11, Part II, Part 4 (15), p. 328).

Jargon:

- dyl'má - "river" (Vol. II, Part 2 (13) p. 116);  
gudláj ~ kudláj - "Jew" (Part 10, p. 875);  
hlaz - "eye" (Part 7, p. 640);  
gryps - "letter" (Part 10, p. 875);  
dzet - "watch" (Vol. 11, Part 2 (13), p. 97).

Southwestern Dialect

- gut - "good" (Part 10, p. 891);  
dzéci - "children" (Lemkian) (Vol. 11, Part 2 (13), p. 97).

zbyr - "hill, high bank" (Vol. 11, Part 5 (16) p. 358).

Unfortunately Rudnyckyj does not make explicit his criteria for selecting these entries and omitting others, *i.e.*, gudzyk 'button', gumka 'eraser', graty 'grating', etc.

The last characteristic which is representative of Period II is the strict adherence to the established norms. For example, Jar. Slavutyč in his article "Ukrajins'ka poezija v Kanadi"<sup>1</sup> presents a survey of Ukrainian poetry in Canada and its language. The poets are frequently criticized for the following:

"Dialectal lexicon"

"tjažyt' važkym prokljattjam halyc'ka dijalektna leksyka, ščo duže vražaje," (Slavutyč, 1975: 73);

Accent

"Z naholosamy v Oleksandrova duže neharazd. Šče pivbidy, koly ci nepravyl'ni naholosy bodaj dijalektno-ukrajins'ki (pislja zaznačennja storinky podajemo slova z virnymy naholosamy): požar U (T 11) [reference to the poets work] - požAru; vikOn (T 16) - vIkon; hUčnyj (T 15) - hyčnYj . . . . Na žal', ukrajins'kyj poet, načytavšys' rosijs'koji literatury, jaku vin perekladaže, uže vyrobyv sobi vyrazno zrusyfikovanu systemu nahološuvannja dejakyx sliv, zokrema dijesliv." (Slavutyč, 1975: 109);

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<sup>1</sup> Slavutyč, Jar. (comp.) 1975. "Ukrajins'ka poezija v Kanadi," Zaxidn'o-kanads'kyj zbirnyk, Part 2 Edmonton: Kanads'ke Naukove Tovarystvo im. Sevčenka. Vol. XVII, pp. 37-122.