

UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT in AUSTRALIA



EDITED BY MARKO PAVLYSHYN

**UKRAINIAN
SETTLEMENT
in AUSTRALIA**

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Друга конференція,
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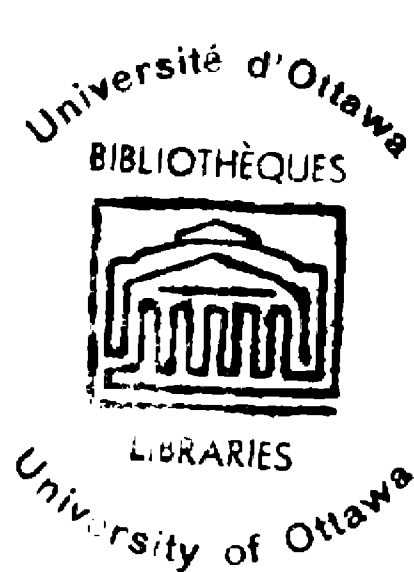
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UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT in AUSTRALIA

SECOND CONFERENCE,
MELBOURNE, 5-7 APRIL 1985

EDITED BY MARKO PAVLYSHYN



MELBOURNE
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PREFACE

The ten essays collected in this volume are based on papers presented at a conference held in Melbourne on 5-7 April 1985 under the title, "Ukrainian Settlement in Australia," the second in a series initiated by the Australian chapter of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The conference was co-sponsored by the Shevchenko Society and the Department of Slavic Languages at Monash University. Its objective was the documentation and discussion of Ukrainian settlement in Australia under the following headings: demography and social history; biography; history of churches and institutions; language, literature, and the arts; and, finally, bibliography and research resources.

Parallel to the conference, an exhibition of photographs on the early years of Ukrainian settlement took place at Ukrainian House, Essendon; the exhibition was the work of Iryna Buschtedt, Tom Babij and Borys Shcherban, assisted by other members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society's Sydney branch.

This volume could not have appeared in its present form but for the assistance of Charles Lucas, Publications Officer at Monash University, or the dedication of Sheila Wilson, Secretary of the Monash University Slavic Languages Department, who prepared the camera-ready copy. Their contribution is gratefully acknowledged.

Marko Pavlyshyn
Monash University
April 1986



INTRODUCTION

Since their arrival from post-war Europe, Ukrainians have been, if not one of the largest, nonetheless a substantial national group in Australia: an estimate for the late 1970s put the number of Ukrainian-born people and their descendants at approximately 34,000. In 1988, Ukrainians will have been in Australia in significant numbers for four decades. During this time, the community has established itself materially and has been relatively successful in transmitting a sense of identity to two generations born in Australia; but it has not become especially visible within the Australian economic, social or political environment. The community's complex internal structure, with its intricate but highly centralized network of community, religious, educational, political, financial, youth and artistic organizations, seldom attracts the interest of the researcher or the general public.

There is little up-to-date published information on the nature of the community, its social profile, its culture and ideology, its institutions, or its relationship to Australian society as a whole. The major Ukrainian-language reference book, Ukrainci v Avstralii (Ukrainians in Australia), published in 1966 by the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Federation of Ukrainian Organizations in Australia, is now twenty years old. Though an invaluable factual handbook on the early years of Ukrainian life in Australia, the book is essentially a history of organizations and churches, and a record of the names and achievements of their most prominent activists. Its authors did not focus on the social details of the settlement process, no doubt assuming that these were in any case part of the shared experience of the intended readership.

Information in English on Australia's Ukrainian community is scarce; some of the very few English-language sociological studies are cited by Tania Zachariak and Michael Lawriwsky in their essay for this collection, and a number of other items, mainly on Ukrainian writing in Australia, are listed in the bibliography which accompanies Jiří Marvan's article.

It was partly to counteract this shortage of information that the Shevchenko Scientific Society initiated its conferences on the history of Ukrainian settlement in Australia. The first conference in the series was held in Sydney in 1983. The second, at which the papers in this collection were read, took place in Melbourne in 1985, and was jointly sponsored by the Society and the Department of Slavic Languages at Monash University.

This cooperative venture reflects a change in climate for Ukrainian scholarship in Australia. In 1983 and 1984, lecturers were appointed to establish the teaching of Ukrainian at Monash and Macquarie universities. By participating in the conference as a co-sponsor, Monash University confirmed its new interest in Ukrainian studies. On the other hand, for the Shevchenko Society, now augmented by younger members born in Australia, the conference signalled a resolve to bring its pursuits into the context of mainstream Australian scholarship.

This may be a convenient point at which to insert a brief account of the Shevchenko Scientific Society - the oldest Ukrainian scholarly association and, indeed, the oldest Ukrainian secular institution.

Named in honour of the great poet of nineteenth-century Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), the Shevchenko Scientific Society was founded in Lviv in 1873. Its establishment dates from a period of national and cultural revivals in Eastern and Southern Europe, an area then dominated by three large autocratic empires: the tsarist, the Hapsburg and the Ottoman. A number of national scholarly organizations of similar kind were established at approximately the same time. The Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts had been founded as early as 1861; in 1872, the Kraków branch of the Society of Friends of the Sciences was reconstituted by the Austrian government as an Academy. In 1886, the Serbian Learned Society in Belgrade became the Serbian Academy of Sciences.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society arose out of historical necessity. Its foundation was, in large part, a response to the repression of Ukrainian culture in the Russian empire during the second half of the nineteenth century. The notorious edict issued in 1863 by the Minister of the Interior, Peter Valuev, which proclaimed that "there never has been, is not, and can never be, any Ukrainian language," also prohibited almost all Ukrainian-language publishing in Eastern Ukraine, and thus severely impeded literary and academic activity.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society, established in Lviv in Western Ukraine, then part of the Austrian Empire, was able to provide facilities for the scholarship and publishing that were all but impossible across the border. Lviv became, in the process, a major centre of Ukrainian culture.

The Society experienced its golden age during the two decades between 1894 and 1913, under the leadership of such prominent figures as Mykhailo Hrushevsky (the most revered of Ukrainian historians, and later, briefly, President of the independent Ukrainian Republic) and Ivan Franko

(a Slavist, but best remembered as a writer and poet).

In its constitution of 1892, the Shevchenko Society defined among its goals the fostering and development of studies in the Ukrainian language, as well as the collection of documents, antiquities and objects of scholarly interest pertinent to Ukraine. Research was not to be limited to Ukraine alone, but was to be pursued in the context of general Slavic philology, history and archaeology. The Society was also to be concerned with the study of politics, law, economics, the natural sciences and other disciplines. Of the Society's activities, the publication of its Zapysky (Papers) was possibly the most important.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society survived the incorporation of Western Ukraine into Poland during the inter-war period; in 1940, however, it was dissolved during the first Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine. Reconstituted in the emigration in 1947 by former full members, the Society continues to function in Canada, Europe, the United States and Australia. These four divisions are united by a General Council, which is headed by a President. The Society is divided by discipline into six sections, each of which plans and conducts its activities independently. The Zapysky continue to be published, and over 200 volumes have appeared hitherto; the most important project at present in hand is the production of an Encyclopaedia of Ukrainian Studies (in Ukrainian; 9 out of 10 planned volumes have been published), and an Encyclopaedia of Ukraine (in English). The latter is a joint undertaking by the Society, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, and the Canadian Foundation of Ukrainian Studies. The first of four planned volumes was published by Toronto University Press in 1984. Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia (in English) appeared in two volumes in 1963 and 1971.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia was founded in Sydney in 1950, on the initiative of Dr. Eugene J. Pelensky, who had been a full member of the Society and a member of its Council before the Second World War. Branches now operate in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Canberra. A total of 80 members are engaged in research in various fields; comparatively few of them, however, work in disciplines related to Ukrainian studies. This last factor is reflected in the present volume: some papers are on topics outside the authors' professional fields of enquiry.

The papers in this collection are grouped under four broad headings: society, language and literature, people and institutions, and bibliography. In the first section, Eugene Seneta discusses the insights that successive Australian censuses have yielded concerning Ukrainians in

Australia, John Malecky presents empirical data on social changes in the Ukrainian community of Canberra and Queanbeyan, while Tania Zachariak and Michael Lawriwsky examine the needs of aged Ukrainians in Victoria. In the second section, J.J. Smolicz reflects on aspects of Australian language policy in the light of the 1984 Senate Report entitled A National Language Policy, Olesia Rosalion documents the phenomenon of phonetic interference in the language spoken by students of Ukrainian descent, and Marko Pavlyshyn interprets the role of satire and the comic in Ukrainian writing in Australia. The third section consists of Roman Mykytowycz's documentary essay on Pavlo Bohatsky, as well as accounts by Jiří Marvan and Ihor Gordijew of the establishment of Ukrainian studies at, respectively, Monash and Macquarie Universities. The fourth contains a report by Monica Stecki on the project to catalogue the valuable Ukrainian library of Dr. Ivan Prasko, Bishop of Melbourne for Ukrainian Catholics in Australia, New Zealand and Oceania.

The collection does not aim through the sum of its constituent contributions to synthesize a complete image of Ukrainian settlement in Australia; rather, it discusses miscellaneous topics and issues. The perspectives which it projects invite augmentation and development, both at future conferences of the Society and, one hopes, through researches initiated by the new university establishments for Ukrainian studies.

Roman Mykytowycz
Marko Pavlyshyn

I SOCIETY

UKRAINIANS IN AUSTRALIA'S CENSUSES

Eugene Seneta

Research into problems of ethnicity on the basis of post-war censuses up to 1981 has had to depend on "ethnicity surrogate" questions which do not necessarily determine a given person's ethnicity completely.* This has been particularly problematical in determining the number of persons of Ukrainian origin in Australia and the composition of the group which they comprise. The present study examines the developments leading to a recommendation for a direct question on ethnicity in the 1986 census and presents some information on Ukrainians given by past censuses.

A fundamental question of interest to persons of Ukrainian origin in Australia is that of their number. The question may be formulated in two parts:

- (i) How many Ukrainians emigrated to Australia?
- (ii) How many persons of Ukrainian origin are there in Australia at present?

An answer to the first part can be given indirectly on the basis of an enumeration: between January 1945 and June 1979 the country of former citizenship of persons granted Australian citizenship was given as Ukraine by about 21,000 people.¹ Various methods of estimation² all lead to the tentative conclusion that in 1979 the number of persons of Ukrainian origin (the 'first generation' - immigrants of all ages, plus the 'second generation' - offspring born in Australia to the first generation, plus the children of the second generation) did not exceed 34,000. Nevertheless, speculation as to the number continues, unsubstantiated figures as high as 45,000 and 50,000 occurring in Ukrainian publications.

The primary reason why estimates have needed to be used to answer part (ii) above is that questionnaires used in past censuses have not been adequate to determine whether a

AUSTRALIA
1981 CENSUS

<p>11. Where was each Person Born?</p>	<p>AUSTRALIA..... <input type="checkbox"/> 1 OVERSEAS..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>PRINT COUNTRY OF BIRTH.. </p>
<p>14. Where were each Person's Father and Mother Born?</p>	<p>FATHER'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH </p> <p>MOTHER'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH </p>
<p>17. What is each Person's Religious Denomination?</p> <p>* This Question is Optional. * If no Religion write "NONE".</p>	<p>RELIGION</p> <p>.....</p>

TABLE 1

given person is or is not of Ukrainian origin, and hence enumerations provided by those censuses have been deficient in this respect.

Ethnicity investigations have had to be based on "ethnicity surrogate" questions, three of which, taken from the 1981 census, are shown in Table 1.

Responses to the question "Where was each person born? (Print country of birth)" for a person of Ukrainian ethnicity could include Ukraine, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, Poland, Russia, Galicia, Austria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, even for persons born in regions Ukrainian by geography if not political administration, for whom the answer should be Ukraine. The question on birthplace of parents has the same defect. The question on religion, as well as being optional, suffers from the defect that answers which should be "Ukrainian Catholic Church" or "Ukrainian Orthodox Church" tend to be given as "Catholic" or "Orthodox";

AUSTRALIA

CENSUS

BIRTHPLACE : UKRAINE

CENSUS	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981
MALE	8728	8104	Incl.	7145	6429	6016
FEMALE	6029	5769	in USSR	5305	5005	4926
TOTAL	14757	13873		12450	11434	10942

TABLE 2

or, confusingly, as "Greek Catholic" or "Greek Orthodox." The responses "Ukraine" to the question on country of birth in post-war censuses gave the results in Table 2.³

It is clear that even the figure for 1954 is a serious underestimate, if we recall the number of Ukrainian arrivals (21,000), even taking into account persons included in this number who were born in countries such as Germany prior to departure for Australia.

One of the questions of the ethnicity surrogate type which has most interest in relation to Ukrainians dealt with language. It occurred in only one of the post-war censuses - that of 1976. It is shown here in Table 3i.

The Ukrainians' response to this question is shown in Table 3ii.⁴

The total number of persons using Ukrainian regularly is again rather lower than expected. The explanation may lie partly in the circumstance that persons of the second generation (that is: persons born in Australia) do not consider that they use Ukrainian "regularly." One should also bear in mind that it was decided, for financial reasons, to process only 50% of the data.⁵ The numbers shown are therefore estimates whose accuracy depends on the sampling procedure used to select the 50% of overall data processed.

Following the 1981 census, in the climate of multiculturalism and under pressure from various sources, the Federal Government perceived the need to address the problem of questions which, in the following census of 1986,

AUSTRALIA

1976 CENSUS

Answer Questions 19 and 20 if this Person is 5 Years of Age or More

19. For this Person tick Boxes to show ALL Languages regularly used.

* Include All Languages regularly used whether at Home, at Work, at School, when Shopping, etc.

* Remember: This Person may use more than One Language - Tick each language used regularly.

* If an Aboriginal Tribal language is used, tick Box 5 and Write name of language.

ENGLISH	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	GERMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
ITALIAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	OTHER	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
GREEK	<input type="checkbox"/>	3			

↓
PLEASE LIST

TABLE 3i

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ANSWERING "UKRAINIAN" TO THE LANGUAGE QUESTION (1976 CENSUS)

NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	ACT	NT	TOTAL
5255	6314	1044	3176	1228	216	323	28	17584

TABLE 3ii

CANADA

1981 CENSUS

26. To which Ethnic or Cultural Group did you or your ancestors belong on first coming to this Continent?

(See Guide for further information.)

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|------------------------|---|
| 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> | FRENCH | NATIVE PEOPLES |
| 26 | <input type="checkbox"/> | ENGLISH | 37 <input type="checkbox"/> INUIT |
| 27 | <input type="checkbox"/> | IRISH | 38 <input type="checkbox"/> STATUS OR REGISTERED INDIAN |
| 28 | <input type="checkbox"/> | SCOTTISH | 39 <input type="checkbox"/> NON-STATUS INDIAN |
| 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> | GERMAN | 40 <input type="checkbox"/> METIS |
| 30 | <input type="checkbox"/> | ITALIAN | |
| 31 | <input type="checkbox"/> | UKRAINIAN | |
| 32 | <input type="checkbox"/> | DUTCH
(NETHERLANDS) | |
| 33 | <input type="checkbox"/> | POLISH | |
| 34 | <input type="checkbox"/> | JEWISH | |
| 35 | <input type="checkbox"/> | CHINESE | |
| 36 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="text"/> | |
- OTHER (Specify)

TABLE 4

UNITED STATES

1980 CENSUS

14. WHAT IS THIS PERSON'S ANCESTRY?

If uncertain about how to report ancestry,
see Instruction Guide.

(For example, Afro-Amer., English, French,
German, Honduran, Hungarian, Irish, Italian,
Jamaican, Korean, Lebanese, Mexican, Nigerian,
Polish, Ukrainian, Venezuelan, etc.)

TABLE 5

would measure ethnicity more accurately than ethnicity surrogate questions.

Accordingly, the Australian Statistician appointed a five-person 1986 Population Census Ethnicity Committee in late 1982. The Chairman was Emeritus Professor W. D. Borrie, Australia's leading demographer, and one of the members was J. Zubrzycki, Professor of Sociology at the Australian National University and one of the architects of multiculturalism in Australia. As stated in its report, the Committee sought submissions from interested organizations and persons.⁶ Submissions were received from the Ethnic Communities Councils of NSW, Victoria and South Australia, and the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia. Ethnic organizations corresponding to separate groups who forwarded submissions were as follows: Armenian, Greek, Jewish, Polish, Croatian, and Lithuanian. There appear to have been no Ukrainian organizations or individuals.

The Committee took into account questions used by other countries for the measurement of ethnicity. These are shown for Canada and the U.S. in Tables 4 and 5.

It is interesting that "Ukrainian" appears in both tables as an example of a possible response. The Committee took note of the fact that, in the 1980 U.S. Census, questions on race and Spanish origins were included, but because of the large number of questions relating to ethnicity the question on the birthplace of parents was dropped, breaking a long history of inclusion of that topic.

The main recommendation of the Committee is shown in Table 6.

Another recommendation is that provision should be made for the processing of up to two responses on ethnicity for each person. Thus the response "Ukrainian - Australian" would be a possible self-identification.

Despite the limitations of Australian censuses in providing information about persons of Ukrainian origin, data such as those in Table 2 could still be expected to yield some insights into the numerical decline of the Ukrainian-born community, if essentially one and the same group (except as diminished by death and emigration) contributed at each census. There was, of course, no new immigration. We may examine the information available from this standpoint by following the same age group from census to census. This is done for the 1961, 1971 and 1981 censuses in Table 7.⁷

Note that persons of age less than 15 in 1961 have not been included. Evidently, the number in each group declines, apart from the group aged 25-34 at the 1961 census (1537 persons), which was actually larger at the 1971 census (1615 persons). This may well be due to a number of

AUSTRALIA

1986 CENSUS

PROPOSED ETHNICITY QUESTION

RECOMMENDATION 6 : A direct Ethnicity question of Ancestry type to be included in the 1986 Census. The specific question proposed is:

WHAT IS EACH PERSON'S ANCESTRY ?
For example, Greek, English, Indian,
Armenian, Aboriginal, Chinese etc.

TABLE 6

AUSTRALIA

COUNTRY OF BIRTH: UKRAINE

TOTAL AGE GROUPS AT 10 YEAR INTERVALS

AGE GROUP IN 1961	CENSUS		
	1961	1971	1981
15-24	982 (Age 15-24)	870 (Age 25-34)	856 (Age 35-44)
25-34	1537	1615	1506
35-44	6839	6501	5880
45-49	1687	1410	1181
50-54	1159	877	714
55-59	690	543	
60 +	826	547	

TABLE 7

persons in this group (born between World Wars I and II) changing their reported country of birth to "Ukraine" by 1971, having previously reported USSR or Poland. Note also the rather severe decline by 1971 (from 1159 to 877, i.e. 24%) in the number of persons aged 50-54 in 1961.

A more detailed examination of these anomalies may be made by observing the division, in Table 8, of the age group considered in Table 7.

The slight discrepancies occurring in the 1981 column between Table 8 and Table 7 may be due to random changes made in small cells for reasons of confidentiality.

We now notice an increase in both males and females from 1961 to 1971 of persons aged 25-34 in 1961, as well as a slight anomalous increase in females aged 15-24 in 1961, from 1971 to 1981. It is clear that in these early age groups it is not possible to assume that the respondents are the same group of persons, reduced only by death and emigration.

AUSTRALIA

COUNTRY OF BIRTH: UKRAINE

MALE AND FEMALE AGE GROUPS AT 10 YEAR INTERVALS

AGE GROUP IN 1961	CENSUS		
	1961	1971	1981
15 - 24			
MALE	511	466	439
FEMALE	471	404	420
25 - 34			
MALE	796	829	730
FEMALE	741	786	774
35 - 44			
MALE	3832	3639	3200
FEMALE	3007	2862	2678
45 - 49			
MALE	1195	995	784
FEMALE	492	415	398
50 - 54			
MALE	817	589	
FEMALE	342	288	
55 - 59			
MALE	440	325	
FEMALE	250	218	
60 +			
MALE	431	252	
FEMALE	395	295	

TABLE 8

AUSTRALIA

COUNTRY OF BIRTH: UKRAINE

ACTUAL AND EXPECTED NUMBERS IN 1971

AGE GROUP IN 1961	NUMBER IN 1961	PROPORTION EXPECTED TO SURVIVE TO 1971	EXPECTED IN 1971	NUMBER IN 1971
35 - 44				
MALE	3832	0.951	3644	3639
FEMALE	3007	0.970	2917	2862
45 - 49				
MALE	1195	0.905	1081	995
FEMALE	492	0.947	466	415
50 - 54				
MALE	817	0.849	694	589
FEMALE	342	0.920	315	288

TABLE 9

In the third and subsequent age groups considered, there is a progressive decrease in numbers with time. As is evident from Table 9, however, by comparison with mortality conditions for Australian males and females in, say, 1960-1962,⁸ the decrease for Ukrainian-born persons for the most part seems rather severe, especially for males aged 50-54 in 1961.

The discrepancies between the last two columns may be mainly due to the roughness of estimate in the "proportion" column, or they may testify to excessive mortality or emigration. Evident is the excess of males over females aged 35 and over in 1961, due to excessive migration to Australia of single males.

The most complete information available on Ukrainians at the time of writing is from the Census of 1981. However, the inclusion of the proposed ethnicity question in

the 1986 Census may result in a much clearer picture of the demographic structure of the group comprising persons of Ukrainian descent, and we therefore defer till a future time a more complete study.

NOTES

- * My thanks for guidance and supply of materials used are due to Associate Professor Farhat Yusuf, Dr. Oleh Lukomsky and the New South Wales office of the Australian Bureau of Statistics.
1. See Eugene Seneta, "On the Number of Ukrainians in Australia in 1979," paper presented at the First Conference of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia on the History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia, Sydney, 1-3 April 1983. Typescript (in English) in the Mitchell Library of the State Library of N.S.W. and in the National Library of Australia.
 2. For a survey see Seneta, op. cit.
 3. Data have been taken from the following sources:
 - a) Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1954, Vol. 8 (Canberra: 1957), Tables 14, 16 and 17, pp. 22-23.
 - b) Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June, 1961, Vol. 8 (Canberra: 1965), pp. 30-37.
 - c) Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1971 Census of Population and Housing (Canberra: 1976), Table 132: Population - Sex by Marital Status by Birthplace by Age, pp. 89, 107.
 - d) Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1976 Census of Population and Housing, Microfiche Series 76.900 (Canberra: 1980), Table 80: Population - Age by Birthplace by Marital Status by Sex, pp. 16, 34.
 - e) Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1981 Census of Population and Housing, Microfiche Series 81.501,

(Canberra: 1982), Table 24: Overseas Born - Birthplace by Age by Period of Residence by Sex, and Microfiche Series 81.503 (Canberra: 1982), Table 236: Overseas Born by Birthplace by Sex, pp. 26-29.

- f) Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. Profile '81. 1981 Census Data on Persons Born in Ukraine (Canberra: n.d.), Table 2, p. 11.
4. Source: Michael Clyne, Multilingual Australia (Melbourne: River Seine Publications, 1982), p. 12.
5. Ibid., p. 3.
6. Australian Bureau of Statistics, The Measurement of Ethnicity in the Australian Census of Population and Housing. Report to the Statistician by the 1986 Population Census Ethnicity Committee. Information Paper (Canberra: n.d.), ABS catalogue No. 2172.0.
7. See items b), c) and e) in Note 3 above.
8. A.H. Pollard, F. Yusuf and G.N. Pollard, Demographic Techniques, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Pergamon Press, 1974), pp. 170-73.

UKRAINIANS IN CANBERRA AND QUEANBEYAN

John Malecky

The Canberra chapter of the Shevchenko Scientific Society has committed itself to a long-term programme of assembling materials for a history of Ukrainian settlement in the Australian Capital Territory and adjacent regions. The present study, which endeavours to describe certain demographic, economic and social features of the Ukrainian community in Canberra and Queanbeyan, is a contribution to that project.

Little has been written about the social structure of the Ukrainian immigrant group in Australia, in part as a result of the unreliability of even such elementary statistical data as the numerical strength of the Ukrainian community.¹ There has been no analysis of the nature, extent or pace of changes in the character of the Ukrainian community; nor, more particularly, of the effect upon it of assimilatory processes.

This paper presents a preliminary discussion of some of these phenomena on a limited scale, with reference to persons of Ukrainian origin in Canberra and the nearby town of Queanbeyan in New South Wales. The data on which the study is based were gathered by means of direct and exhaustive survey. It is the belief of the author that he has obtained information about every individual of Ukrainian origin in Canberra and Queanbeyan, either from that individual, or from a member of his or her immediate family. The information thus collected allowed the author to compile tables showing the distribution of persons of Ukrainian origin by age, generation, sex, religion, profession, education, and by various factors relating to participation in Ukrainian community life.

By comparing data on the community's first generation (Ukrainian immigrants born in 1939 or earlier) with data concerning the second generation (children of the first generation who were either born in Australia, or arrived in Australia aged less than 10 years), it is possible to

illuminate, and even measure, some of the more important changes that are occurring within the Ukrainian community. On the whole these are changes of which there is a widespread intuitive community awareness, although, once quantified, they frequently take on a new aspect.

The first four tables present general demographic data. In January 1985 there were 882 people of Ukrainian origin in the area under examination, 636 in Canberra and 246 in Queanbeyan. 333 persons (38%) were under 20 years of age, while only 47 (5%) were aged 70 or more. 28% of the population belonged to the first generation (as defined above), 35% to the second generation, and 37% to the third (children of members of the second generation). 50% of the population were women and 50% were men. In Canberra, 50% of respondents were Ukrainian Catholics, 45% were Ukrainian Orthodox and 5% belonged to other denominations. In Queanbeyan, Catholics constituted 89% of the population and the Orthodox 11%.

Table 5 clearly illustrates a difference between Canberra and Queanbeyan as regards the social status of most first-generation Ukrainian migrants: there was a higher proportion of unskilled labourers in Queanbeyan, and the percentage of office workers was only half that which was observed among Ukrainians in Canberra. However, these differences were much less prominent in the second generation. Table 5 also provides insights into social mobility. The percentage of unskilled labourers dropped from 52% to 8% from the first to the second generation, while the percentage of office workers rose from 16% to 58%. The proportion of self-employed persons was significantly higher in the second generation than in the first, and the proportion of tradespeople was also somewhat higher. On the whole, then, Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan have displayed rapid upward social mobility.

Table 6 confirms these observations. There is a major difference between the first generation in Canberra and in Queanbeyan. A much higher proportion of Ukrainians in Queanbeyan had primary education only; the percentage of those with secondary and tertiary education was much lower in Queanbeyan. The contrast between the first and second generations is equally striking. The proportion of persons with primary education only declined from 63% in the first generation to 3% in the second. The percentage completing their education at secondary level increased from 15% to 58%, and the percentage completing higher education also rose from 6% to 16%.

Tables 7-10 allow us to draw some conclusions about the process of assimilation and the maintenance or loss of ethnic identity. It is useful, however, to preface our remarks with a number of general observations.

Assimilation, which can be structural or cultural, is a process by which an immigrant enters into the social life of a given society and becomes part of that society. Structural assimilation denotes the incorporation of immigrants into the host society at a business, professional or official level through access to work and education and through the acquisition of citizens' rights, or at the personal level through social interaction, friendship and family ties. Cultural assimilation is the acceptance of the lifestyle and behaviour patterns of a given society. This acceptance can be superficial (manners, dress, fashion etc.) or more profound (linguistic assimilation, adoption of attitudes, values and philosophical assumptions).

The few available sociological studies on Ukrainians in North America suggest that structural assimilation took place there among migrants of the first generation; the second and third generations experienced cultural assimilation.² Processes of cultural assimilation among second-generation Ukrainians are made strikingly evident by Tables 7-10. While the community is aware of these processes, it has not, on the whole, realized how rapidly cultural assimilation is advancing.

Wsevolod Isajiw states that in North America Ukrainians of the second and third generation are opting for English as their language of normal communication. They know the Ukrainian language, but find it easier to express themselves in English. Many of them, however, are interested in the Ukrainian language, culture and history, and have a desire to learn Ukrainian folk dance or other forms of folk art. Many, and perhaps a majority, maintain social contacts with other Ukrainians.³ According to Volodymyr Nahirny, the second generation is "a generation with a divided soul, which on one hand rebels against its parents and is often ashamed of its national origins, but which on the other hand . . . identifies itself with Ukraine, though as an abstract category, not as a concrete community of people."⁴ Henson's theory states that the third generation of émigré communities demonstrates a tendency to return to their ethnic groups.⁵ Nahirny suggests that this is the case because members of the third generation "no longer have an emotional or ideological attitude toward their ancestors, but only a rational and functional one. For them, Ukrainian is not a mother tongue, but another foreign language. The Ukrainian past is something about which they read in books." They often belong to Ukrainian associations or institutions, but in no greater measure than they belong to non-Ukrainian ones.

In general, it seems to me that in Australia Ukrainians of the second generation have no major difficulties in identifying themselves with the Ukrainian community. There

are, of course, exceptions, particularly among persons born into mixed marriages.

How intense or durable the second generation's sense of identity is, what factors motivate it, and how it might influence the third generation - these are important and difficult questions. As the process of cultural assimilation advances, it will inevitably become more and more difficult for the second and third generations to retain a loyalty or even tolerance toward their cultural patrimony. Some elements of culture will be more easily maintained - notably those which do not conflict with the host culture or which complement it, e.g. characteristic art forms, song and dance, some customs, foods, etc. This is a process by which subcultures of the dominant host culture are created. Misunderstanding this phenomenon, members of the Ukrainian community have often expressed satisfaction at the readiness of the younger generation to contribute elements of Ukrainian culture to the general pool of the host culture, when in fact this is no more than a manifestation of cultural assimilation.

It is not the task of this discussion to consider in general terms whether a Ukrainian identity can be preserved among the second and third generation, even if certain important cultural markers, such as the Ukrainian language, are lost.

Tables 7-10 do, however, make it possible to see how such markers of Ukrainian cultural identity (language, contact with Ukrainian churches and organizations, and marriages in which both partners are Ukrainian) are faring in Canberra and Queanbeyan.

Table 7 reveals that, while 88% of first-generation Ukrainians speak mainly Ukrainian, only 4% of the second generation do so. Only 1% of the first generation uses mainly English. Of the second generation 19% do not know Ukrainian at all, and 32% seldom use it. 45% of the second generation use one language or the other as necessary, whereas only 11% of the first generation can use both languages. Practically only half of the second generation retains an ability to communicate in Ukrainian.

An unexpectedly bleak picture emerges with respect to attendance at Ukrainian churches (Table 8). 47% of the second generation do not go to Ukrainian churches at all, and a further 30% seldom attend. Figures concerning membership of Ukrainian organizations (Table 9) are even less encouraging. 78% of the second generation do not belong to any Ukrainian organization, in contrast with 28% of the first generation. The figures on marriages show that in the second generation the proportion of mixed marriages (in which the maintenance of an ethnic identity presents special problems) is very high indeed. In the

first generation, both partners were Ukrainian in 81% of marriages. This is true of only 14% of second-generation marriages, 86% of which are mixed.

It would appear that the process of cultural assimilation, especially in the second generation (and, one assumes, even more so in the third), is proceeding rapidly and affecting a large section of the Ukrainian community, in spite of measures taken to counteract assimilatory pressures. The community provides schools, youth organizations, clubs and cultural groups with diverse activities, entertainments and camps; it has its own national churches and, in the main, Ukrainian priests. What can be done that the community is not already doing?

In North America, various new approaches have been suggested as means to stem the natural process of assimilation. Authors have written of a need for English-language editions of Ukrainian literature, for a greater availability of books on Ukraine and things Ukrainian, and for new unstructured forums in which young people of Ukrainian origin might communicate with each other.⁶

While this is not the place to discuss countermeasures to assimilation, it is worth remarking that such ideas may well be of relevance to the Ukrainian community in Australia. Furthermore, the community would do well to insist on the practical implementation of cultural equality in the fields of education, culture and the arts. The principle of such equality has now been endorsed by successive governments through their support for a policy of multiculturalism.

NOTES

1. This problem is discussed by Eugene Seneta in "On the Number of Ukrainians in Australia in 1979," paper presented at the Conference on the History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia, sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, Sydney, 1-3 April 1983.
2. See Ivan Teslia, "Some Demographic Observations on Ukrainians in Canada," and Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "Ethnic Identification and Attitudes of University Students of Ukrainian Background: A Survey at the University of Alberta," both in Wsevolod W. Isajiw, ed., Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society: Contributions to the Sociology of Ethnic Groups, Harvard Ukrainian Research

Institute Studies, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1976).

3. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Ethnic Status, the Process of Assimilation, and Ethnic Identification of Ukrainians in North America," in Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society, p. 212.
4. Vladimir C. Nahirny and Joshua Fishman, "American Immigrant Groups: Ethnic Identification and the Problem Generation," in Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society, p. 240.
5. Isajiw, "Ethnic Status . . .," p. 212.
6. See William A. Czumer, Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), Roman Cybrivsky and Ivan Teslia, Ukrainians in the U.S.A. and Canada Identified in Demographic Censuses, Ukrainian Sociological Institute, Statistical Series (New York: Ukrainian Sociological Institute, 1975), Alexander Lushnycky, ed., Ukrainians in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Ukrainian Bicentennial Committee, 1976), and Myron Kuropas, Ukrainians in America (Minneapolis: Lerner, 1972).

TABLE 1

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Distribution by Age

Age in years on 1.1.1985	Year of Birth	Canberra (raw no.)	Queanbeyan (raw no.)	Total	Canberra (%)	Queanbeyan (%)	Total (%)
12 and below	1973-1985	169	55	224	27	22	26
13-19	1966-1972	77	32	109	12	13	12
20-29	1956-1965	53	8	61	8	3	7
30-45	1940-1955	176	70	246	28	29	28
46-69	1916-1939	129	66	195	20	27	22
70 and over	1915 and earlier	32	15	47	5	6	5
TOTAL		636	246	882	100	100	100

TABLE 2

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Distribution by Generation

Generation	Canberra (raw no.)	Queanbeyan (raw no.)	Total	Canberra (%)	Queanbeyan (%)	Canberra and Queanbeyan
First (a)	163	80	243	26	32	28
Second (b)	228	81	309	36	33	35
Third (c)	245	85	330	38	35	37
TOTAL	636	246	882	100	100	100

- (a) Ukrainian immigrants born in 1939 or earlier
- (b) Children of the first generation who were either born in Australia or who arrived in Australia aged 10 years or less.
- (c) Children of the second generation.

TABLE 3

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Distribution by Sex

Sex	1st gen. (raw no.)	2nd gen. (raw no.)	3rd gen. (raw no.)	Total	1st gen. (%)	2nd gen. (%)	3rd gen. (%)	All genera- tions (%)
<u>Canberra</u>								
M	88	120	128	336	54	53	52	53
F	75	108	117	300	46	47	48	47
Total	163	228	245	636	100	100	100	100
<u>Queanbeyan</u>								
M	36	34	39	109	45	42	46	44
F	44	47	46	137	55	58	54	56
Total	80	81	85	246	100	100	100	100
<u>Canberra and Queanbeyan</u>								
M	124	154	167	445	51	50	51	50
F	119	155	163	437	49	50	49	50
Total	243	309	330	882	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Distribution by Religion

Religion	1st gen. (raw no.)	2nd gen. (raw no.)	3rd gen. (raw no.)	Total (raw no.)	1st gen. (%)	2nd gen. (%)	3rd gen. (%)	All genera- tions (%)
<u>Canberra</u>								
Ukr. Catholic	82	132	134	348	50	58	55	55
Ukr. Orthodox	73	63	45	181	45	28	18	28
Other	8	33	66	107	5	14	27	17
Total	163	228	245	636	100	100	100	100
<u>Queanbeyan</u>								
Ukr. Catholic	71	74	55	200	89	91	65	81
Ukr. Orthodox	9	5	6	20	11	6	7	8
Other	-	2	24	26	-	3	28	11
Total	80	81	85	246	100	100	100	100
<u>Canberra and Queanbeyan</u>								
Ukr. Catholic	153	206	189	548	63	67	57	62
Ukr. Orthodox	82	68	51	201	34	22	15	23
Other	8	35	90	133	3	11	27	15
Total	243	309	330	882	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Distribution by Profession

Profession	1st gen. (raw no.)	2nd gen. (raw no.)	Total	1st gen. (%)	2nd gen. (%)	Total
<u>Canberra</u>						
Unskilled	76	15	91	47	7	23
Tradesperson	42	43	85	26	19	22
Self-employed/ professional	13	17	30	8	7	8
Office worker	32	145	177	19	64	45
Other	-	8	8	-	3	2
Total	163	228	391	100	100	100
<u>Queanbeyan</u>						
Unskilled	50	11	61	62	14	38
Tradesperson	21	19	40	26	23	25
Self-employed/ professional	3	15	18	4	18	11
Office worker	6	33	39	8	41	24
Other	-	3	3	-	4	2
Total	80	81	161	100	100	100
<u>Canberra and Queanbeyan</u>						
Unskilled	126	26	152	52	8	27
Tradesperson	63	62	125	26	20	23
Self-employed/ professional	16	32	48	6	10	9
Office worker	38	178	216	16	58	39
Other	-	11	11	-	4	2
Total	243	309	552	100	100	100

TABLE 6

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan: Distribution by Education

Education	1st gen. (raw no.)	2nd gen. (raw no.)	Total	1st gen. (%)	2nd gen. (%)	Total
		<u>Canberra</u>				
Primary	84	3	87	52	1	22
Secondary (incomplete)	34	47	81	21	21	21
Secondary (complete) ^a	32	130	162	19	57	41
Tertiary ^b	13	48	61	8	21	16
Total	163	228	391	100	100	100
		<u>Queanbeyan</u>				
Primary	69	6	75	87	7	46
Secondary (incomplete)	6	24	30	8	30	19
Secondary (complete) ^a	4	51	55	5	63	34
Tertiary ^b	1	-	1	1	-	1
Total	80	81	161	100	100	100
		<u>Canberra and Queanbeyan</u>				
Primary	153	9	162	63	3	29
Secondary (incomplete)	40	71	111	16	23	20
Secondary (complete) ^a	36	181	217	15	58	40
Tertiary ^b	14	48	62	6	16	11
Total	243	309	552	100	100	100

^a Includes persons who began, but did not complete, tertiary studies.

^b Includes persons with higher degrees.

TABLE 7

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Use of the Ukrainian Language

	1st gen. (raw no.)	2nd gen. (raw no.)	Total	1st gen. (%)	2nd gen. (%)	1st & 2nd (%)
Mostly Ukrainian	212	13	225	88	4	41
Ukrainian and English	26	137	163	11	45	30
Mostly English	2	97	99	1	32	18
English only	1	57	58	-	19	11
Total	241	304	545	100	100	100

TABLE 8

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Contact with Ukrainian Churches

	1st gen. (raw no.)	2nd gen. (raw no.)	Total	1st gen. (%)	2nd gen. (%)	1st & 2nd (%)
Persons attending a Ukrainian church	173	35	208	72	11	38
Regularly	13	35	48	5	12	9
Frequently	28	92	120	12	30	22
Seldom	27	142	169	11	47	31
Never						
Total	241	304	545	100	100	100

TABLE 9

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Contact with Ukrainian Organizations

Membership of Ukrainian organizations	1st gen. (raw no.)	2nd gen. (raw no.)	Total	1st gen. (%)	2nd gen. (%)	1st & 2nd gen. (%)
One	85	29	114	35	10	21
Several	88	38	126	37	12	23
None	68	237	305	28	78	56
Total	241	304	545	100	100	100

TABLE 10

Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan : Marriages

Kind of marriage	1st gen. (raw no.)	2nd gen. (raw no.)	Total	1st gen. (%)	2nd gen. (%)	1st & 2nd gen. (%)
Both partners Ukrainian	123	25	148	81	14	45
Mixed marriage: Ukrainian husband	22	70	92	14	40	28
Mixed marriage: Ukrainian wife	7	79	86	5	45	26
All mixed marriages	29	149	178	19	86	55
Total marriages	152	174	326	100	100	100

SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE AND NEEDS SURVEY OF AGED UKRAINIAN MIGRANTS IN VICTORIA

Tania Zachariak and Michael Lawriwsky

1. INTRODUCTION

The problems associated with a significant aged population have not been confronted by the Ukrainian migrant community in Australia in the past. When they arrived in Australia as refugees from Europe in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Ukrainian immigrants were predominantly aged between 15 and 45.

In the absence of continual chain migration during the last 35 years, the demographic structure of this group has changed markedly. The 1981 Census found that 76.9% of persons born in Ukraine were aged 55 years and over, and 23.1% were over the age of 65. It identified 2,709 people in these age categories living in Victoria.¹ However, a more recent demographic study estimated that there are 13,000 people of Ukrainian origin in Victoria, which implies that the actual number of people in these age groups is in the vicinity of 3,500 to 4,000.²

The question of the aged is gaining prominence within the Ukrainian community around Australia. In November 1984, over 200 people attended a public meeting on the matter organized by the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria. It was an emotionally charged gathering at which many said that it was the first opportunity for them to express fears about their future. It became apparent that there exists among the Ukrainian aged a pervasive fear of spending their last days in an old people's home where they would feel linguistically and culturally isolated.

In view of these sentiments, it is not surprising that the greatest urgency is felt about the need to establish some form of residential care for the aged, be it retirement village, hostel or nursing home, which is specifically for Ukrainian migrants. The private hostel owned by the Ukrainian community in Essendon houses only seven elderly males and is considered inadequate for the community's needs.

Apart from the question of housing, there are many issues and problems confronting the elderly in the Ukrainian community. In 1984 the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria (AUV) obtained a grant from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs to undertake a pilot study of the needs of this group. The present paper outlines some of the major findings of the study.

2. METHODOLOGY

A questionnaire was constructed on the basis of previous surveys of the needs of ethnic aged. Substantial modifications and additions were made to reflect the unique characteristics of the situation faced by Ukrainian migrants. In all, 179 people were interviewed between November 1984 and January 1985. Of these, 30 were located in country centres such as Wodonga, Shepparton and Beechworth, while the remaining 149 were in Melbourne. Most of the interviews were conducted by two young university graduates in psychology who are proficient in the Ukrainian language.

The vast majority of respondents, who were identified from church and AUV records, were eager to participate. However, there was a handful of refusals, and some people were reluctant to answer specific questions. Some were fearful that these answers might be used against them by the government.

The answers to the questionnaire were coded and entered onto a computer data bank at La Trobe University. The cross-tabulations which form the basis for the discussion below were executed using various procedures contained in the SPSSX package. In all, some 70 tables of data were generated, although only the highlights will be discussed here.

3. ECONOMIC AND PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Housing

Zubrzycki in his study of settlers in the La Trobe Valley noted the high percentage of home ownership by Ukrainians.³ Our study confirms this. Just over 90% of respondents lived in a house, and only one claimed that the house was subject to a mortgage. However, when we looked at living arrangements, we found that 71% lived with their spouse, 9% were living with children, and 15% lived alone. Given the earlier population estimates for Victoria, this could mean that there are some 500 Ukrainians over the age of 55 who are living alone.

About 16% of females and 8% of the male respondents said they were expecting problems with housing. Those particularly inclined to be contemplating a change in residence were flat dwellers, the divorced and widowed, and people over 70 years of age. A great majority indicated that any form of communal living arrangement for the aged should be organized on a Ukrainian community basis.

3.2 Employment

We found that 60% of the sample were unskilled or semi-skilled workers, a figure which is less than the 74.1% with "No Qualification" found in the 1981 Census.

We were surprised by the low labour force participation rates apparent among those aged between 55 and 64 years. In the 55-59 group 47% of males and 30% of females were employed full-time, and in the 60-64 category the figures were 36% and 10% respectively. These figures are plausible when one considers that the 1981 Census data showed that 63% of all males and 30% of all females born in Ukraine were in the labour force.

Although the census figures for 1981 indicated a 5% unemployment rate for males born in Ukraine, we were concerned that there might be a good deal of disguised unemployment. We found from an indirect question that about one third of those between 55 and 64 who were not working were retrenched or invalided. It was also found that this group on the whole consisted of people whose normal occupation was classified as unskilled or semi-skilled.

3.3 Finances

Asked for a self-assessment of their financial situation, only 4% of the sample said that their finances were "poor." However, 13% of females and 15% of males indicated that they were expecting financial problems in the future. It is also noteworthy that none of these said they were "unhappy with life"; low morale, in other words, was not the result of financial stress.

3.4 Health

Self-assessed deterioration of health was as expected. Only 29% of the 55-59 category reported deteriorating health, while 67% of the over-70 group did so. Some 56% of the entire sample indicated that they were expecting serious health problems in the future.

4. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL PATTERN

4.1 Communication Skills

We found that both writing and speaking ability decline with age, though writing ability was much worse than speaking ability. Only one person claimed to be unable to speak English at all, which is in line with the 1-2% figure indicated by the 1981 Census.

The most severe disadvantage in communicative ability was evident among people aged 70 and over. More than half of this group claimed to be unable to write English at all. Most of those who indicated some ability in writing said that this ability was weak.

4.2 Membership of Organizations

In his La Trobe Valley study Zubrzycki found that Ukrainians displayed the highest membership of voluntary associations. Similarly, Martin's study of Eastern European refugee groups in Adelaide found that Ukrainians had the largest number of ethnic-based organizations.⁴ There are over 70 such organizations in Melbourne, and 86% of the sample were members of one or more of these.⁵ We noticed that, with increasing age, participation in the Ukrainian Women's Association and in political organizations declined. However, advancing age was positively related to membership in church "Brotherhoods" and "Sisterhoods."

4.3 Social and Community Participation

Some 90% of respondents indicated that they participate in community activities on a regular basis. As expected, the extent of "socializing" declines with age. However, age does not result in a decline in attendance at concerts and "academies."⁶ It was also apparent that the extent of "socializing" by widowed people was low - only a quarter indicated that they socialize regularly. In contrast, the greatest degree of social activity was evident in the "divorced" and "never married" categories.

Contrary to expectations, the degree of contact with neighbours was found to be unrelated to English language proficiency. Close contacts with immediate neighbours increase with age and are more numerous for females. The group least proficient in English, females over the age of 70, had the greatest degree of contact with neighbours (55% were on visiting terms). This, no doubt, is the product of loneliness.

4.4 Information Channels

Zubrzycki found that Ukrainians had the lowest exposure to Australian communication channels. Twenty-five years later, 80% of our respondents claimed to read Australian newspapers and 95% claimed to watch TV news broadcasts. However, fewer than half indicated that they read English language books, and attendance at films or theatre declines markedly with age.

On the other hand, Ukrainian newspapers were read by 98% of the respondents and Ukrainian books by 94%. Looking more closely at readership of Ukrainian language books, we find that 100% of the 70 and over group indicated readership, while only 84% of the 55-59 group did so. It would appear that the 55-59 year group, having arrived in Australia at a more youthful stage in their lives, are much more acculturated to the Australian way of life than their counterparts, who are 10 to 20 years older.

4.5 Religion

The denomination structure of respondents in the present study was as follows: 59% Ukrainian Catholic; 37% Ukrainian Orthodox; 2% Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist. The orders of magnitude correspond with those found by Zubrzycki in the La Trobe Valley and also with the painstaking Australia-wide research on Ukrainian surnames carried out by Radion.⁷

5. FAMILY STRUCTURE AND SUPPORT

5.1 Family Structure

The mean number of children in families which had any children at all was found to be 2.3, two-children families being most common (32%). Twenty percent of the respondents had had no children.

5.2 Living Arrangements

Of all respondents, 71% lived with a spouse and 9%, mostly women, lived with their children. A further 4% lived with other family, and 15% lived alone. This would suggest that about 1,000 Ukrainian immigrants over the age of 55 in Victoria do not live with a spouse.

There is, however, a considerable adjustment in living arrangements which takes place around the retirement age. The proportion living with a spouse declines from 83% in the 55-59 category to 51% in the over-70 group, the

proportion living with children increases from 2% to 14%, and the proportion living alone increases from 12% to 30%.

This shift in living arrangements is usually associated with the trauma of losing a spouse.

5.3 Family Relations

In order to examine another dimension of the isolation suffered by the elderly, we asked respondents to indicate who had visited them in the last week. The nature and frequency of visits were found to vary by age and marital status, advanced age being associated with fewer visitors. For instance, 63% of people aged over 70 had had no visits by children, and 25% had had no visits at all during the last week prior to interview. In the 55-59 year category the percentages were 43% and 15% respectively.

It is particularly noteworthy that 61% of widowed respondents had not been visited by anyone during the week prior to the interview.

We also asked respondents who, in their opinion, would care for them in the event that they would be unable to care for themselves. In the over-70 group, where this possibility is very real, only 41% thought that they could rely on their spouse or children, while a further 16% mentioned friends. Twenty percent of the group thought that they would be looked after in an institution. A third response, accounting for 16% of the over-70 category, was that they "don't know," or simply, that "no-one would care." A high proportion of those making the latter response were widowed or divorced. It is also interesting to note that only two thirds of those living with children thought that the children would care for them in such a situation.

A final aspect of familiar relations which we examined was the pattern of problem solving. About 60% said that they solve their own problems, although 55% said they look to their family in solving problems. Older people tended to place less reliance on themselves and more reliance outside of the family (on doctors and priests). Few (7%) said they relied on the Association of Ukrainians, and about the same number said they relied on social security. People without children (naturally) tended to be more self-reliant.

6. PLANNING FOR RETIREMENT

6.1 Retirement Planning

Some 77% of the respondents indicated that they had not

planned for their retirement, or were not currently planning. The propensity to plan for retirement declines with age, which could reflect greater acculturation and higher educational qualifications in the younger age groups. The reasons given for not planning were generally "I didn't think of it," or "There was/is no need."

6.2 Advisers on Retirement

For the small minority who had taken or were taking advice on retirement, the main source was an "appropriate professional" (46%). However, 39% indicated children as a source of advice, and 35% mentioned the family.

7. UTILIZATION OF SERVICES

7.1 Utilization

In general the utilization rate of public services was low. For instance, only one person (over 70) indicated taking advantage of meals on wheels, and only 10% of the over-70 group had used home help. Local council services were used by only 7.4% of respondents. However, the travel concession card was used by 91% of females and 75% of males.

8. SPECIFIC NEEDS

8.1 Information

Respondents were asked what kinds of information they need most. We found that housing information demand was particularly high for people living alone (66%) or in de facto marriages (100%). For males the demand for housing information increased with age, and for females it did so up to the age of 70.

Information on pension benefits was one of the most highly demanded items, although the extent of demand declined with age. Presumably, this is due to greater knowledge about pensions among those already on pensions. We also found that a high proportion of those living with children demanded pension information. This may indicate that the children are not providing and interpreting this information to their satisfaction.

Finally, the demand for health information increased with age, no doubt due to greater need.

8.2 Home Help

Twenty-eight people, or 20% of the sample, asked for specific help in and around the house with such chores as washing, cooking or shopping. The expressed needs of women in particular showed a positive relationship with age. For instance, while men in all age groups asked for help with washing, only women over the age of 70 did so. Help with cooking was also requested much more by men than by women. However, women were more prone to ask for assistance with shopping than men. This is probably due to the fact that they are expected to do the shopping on the one hand, and are less mobile than men on the other (see below).

We found it odd that a quarter of people living with children (i.e. females) were requesting help around the house, with shopping and in the garden.

8.3 Suggested Activities

About 95% of respondents thought that there is a need for a Pensioners' Club and for organized activities for pensioners. A considerable range of organized activities was suggested. Some preference was shown by females for social get-togethers and group handycraft sessions, while males displayed a bias towards discussions and the invitation of guest speakers. It was also apparent that people living alone tended to opt for activities involving human interaction, such as discussions, get-togethers and reading groups.

8.4 Transport

Reliance on the car as a means of transport varied considerably on the basis of age and sex. In all, 63% of females and 24% of males had no driver's licence. The proportion not owning a car increased from 22% in the 55-59 age group to 60% in the over-70 group. The proportion of people indicating that they are experiencing transport problems increased from 12% in the younger group to 35% in the older category. Furthermore, it was apparent that people with mobility problems generally lived alone or with children.

On the other hand, transport problems associated with movement to Ukrainian community facilities was not related to distance from these facilities. A number of people living within 5 km of such a facility indicated difficulty with transport. People living further away tend to be more self-reliant with transport.

9. MORALE

The level of morale present among respondents was measured by a number of questions designed to uncover a person's outlook on life, the people around him or her, and prospects for the future. The findings complement many of the observations recorded above. In particular, low morale was associated with women, advanced age and widowed status. Higher morale was present among men and people living with their spouse. Almost half of widowed people said that they felt they could not cope much longer.

10. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The evidence shows that the most disadvantaged groups within the Ukrainian community are the aged, females, widowed persons and those living alone. However, one should not forget that problems are also encountered by such groups as aged widowed males. All of this is also probably true of the wider community. However, members of the wider Australian community have adequate communication skills and access to an extensive institutional structure. It is the fear of becoming entrapped in that institutional structure which is being felt widely in the Ukrainian community.

There are three broad questions which must be addressed:

- 1) how can access to general services for the aged be improved?
- 2) what kinds of community involvement are required vis-à-vis the aged?
- 3) can problems associated with housing, loneliness and care for the medically infirm be solved?

That there is a general problem relating to access to services is evident from the lack of communication skills and low service utilization rate. At the same time, a number of specific needs for information and services were identified. There is a need for information on retirement planning, pensions, housing and health. There are psychological problems associated with retrenchment, forced early retirement, and being invalided out of the workforce. A number of elderly people have a real need for such services as "meals on wheels" and "home help." It seems evident that information on and access to such services are not being provided by children, friends, the community or the church. We believe that the efforts of a professional social worker are required to fulfil this information function and to place the needy in touch with appropriate service bodies.

The problem of community involvement was also tackled in the study. The community responses so far have been sporadic and unco-ordinated. There is a small body of volunteers working under the aegis of the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria which organizes hospital visits, picnic outings and the like, but does not at present possess professional assistance and advice. The Ukrainian Credit Cooperative Societies fund an annual Christmas function for pensioners which is growing year by year. The last one attracted more than 400 pensioners. The community can generate volunteers, but the effectiveness of their work will depend on the quality of the professional co-ordination and advice which they receive. At present there is no such advice or co-ordination, and the volunteer network which does exist is attending only a fraction of deserving cases.

Housing and accommodation problems are acutely felt at least twice by elderly people. An over-large family home is often kept after the children leave until one spouse dies. This can often trigger moving to smaller quarters or moving in with one of the children. Another relocation may take place if the person requires continuous nursing care. Our findings suggest that an ideal solution would be the provision of an option for aged Ukrainian migrants to move to a Ukrainian retirement village, possibly incorporating a domiciliary care unit. One problem with this proposition is that there are substantial fixed costs involved in undertaking such a venture. Nevertheless, there are indications that developments may move in this direction in the near future. In that event, once more, the assistance of a professional social worker would be invaluable in providing advice and arranging appropriate contacts.

In sum, each of the major problems identified points to the need for professional advice and co-ordination, such as would be provided by a Grant-In-Aid social worker. In the last year, the Ukrainian communities in both Sydney and Adelaide (which are both smaller than Melbourne's) have obtained GIA funding for half-time social workers. There is no doubt that the information contained in our Final Report will be of invaluable assistance to these social workers. But it would be of most value to a full-time social worker in Melbourne who would provide advice at the community level and co-ordinate the work of volunteers.

NOTES

1. Australia, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Profile 81. 1981 Census Data on Persons Born in Ukraine (Canberra: n.d.).
2. Ukrainian Resource and Information Centre, Demographic Study of Ukrainians in Victoria (Melbourne: 1984). The actual number of Ukrainian immigrants exceeds the number of respondents who identified themselves as Ukrainian-born. Many Ukrainians recorded as their birthplace the state within whose borders they had been born. This was true both of persons born on Ukrainian ethnographic territory (in the USSR, Poland, Rumania etc.) and of those born outside it (e.g., in Yugoslavia).
3. Jerzy Zubrzycki, Settlers of the La Trobe Valley: A Sociological Study of Immigrants in the Brown Coal Industry in Australia (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1964).
4. J.I. Martin, Refugee Settlers: A Study of Displaced Persons in Australia (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1965).
5. Membership of a Ukrainian Church parish was not included as part of organizational membership, although membership of a church "Brotherhood" or "Sisterhood" was.
6. "Academies" are concerts commemorating events or personalities in Ukrainian history.
7. Stepan Radion, A Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Australia (Melbourne: UMMAN, 1981).

II LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

NATIONAL POLICY ON LANGUAGES: AN ETHNO-CULTURAL DIMENSION*

J. J. Smolicz

In May 1982 the Australian Senate requested its Standing Committee on Education and the Arts to enquire and report upon "the development and implementation of a co-ordinated language policy in Australia." The Committee issued its report, A National Language Policy, at the end of 1984. The report represented the culmination of the activities of a number of groups interested in the teaching and use of languages, including the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA), which had held two congresses on this theme and issued its own report.¹

The release of the Senate Report in December 1984 was unfortunate, since it failed to make any significant public impact, while its limited distribution made it a virtually unknown document to most interested parties. Well over a year has elapsed since its publication, and the general public is still unaware of the status of the report as far as the Australian Government is concerned, since so far there has been no formal government stance in relation to its recommendations, and no allocation of any funds for its implementation. This inactivity has prevailed despite vigorous action on the part of FECCA, which has consistently sought decisions on funding to ensure the possibility of planning for 1986-87.

In spite of the tardy nature of any governmental response towards it, the publication of the Report is significant in that it reflects the vast changes which have occurred in the linguistic composition of the Australian population since the Second World War. In its submission to the Senate Committee, the Commonwealth Department of Education painted this picture of contemporary Australian linguistic diversity:

Today there are more than a million bilingual Australians who regularly use a language other than

English when talking with friends and families or on religious or social occasions ... The following languages other than English are spoken regularly by at least 45,000 people: Arabic, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Polish, Spanish, and the languages of Yugoslavia.²

The inflow of immigrants from Indo-China has since put Chinese into this category of "major minority" languages.³

A Review of Language Policies in Australia

This flowering of linguistic diversity is not an altogether new phenomenon in Australian history. At the time of European settlement, Australia displayed a great variety of Aboriginal languages, with approximately two hundred and fifty languages in use. Over the course of time, these have suffered such attrition that "at least fifty Aboriginal languages are now extinct and another one hundred face imminent death ... Only fifty languages are in a relatively healthy state, surviving against great odds for many years."⁴

In relation to "migrant languages" (which, from an Aboriginal point of view at least, should include English, but which are ordinarily understood as community languages other than English), Clyne reminds us about the long pedigree of Australian multilingualism:

The Australian colonies, some more than others, developed a strong tradition of multilingualism ... As from 1848, there was a thriving non-English language press, initially mainly in German, the language of the largest non-British European group... There were, in Melbourne, as from the 1850s regular church services in Chinese, Gaelic, German, Welsh, and the Scandinavian languages. ... It should not be forgotten that many migrants from Britain used as their main language either Gaelic or Welsh, and were gradually assimilated. The "Anglo-Celtic" label gives British groups in Australia a cultural and linguistic homogeneity which does not correspond to the facts.⁵

The tide began to turn towards monolingualism following the homogenization of the state education system during the 1870s, although, as Clyne notes, "at the time of Federation there were more than 100 bilingual day schools operating in Australia." It was the impact of international affairs associated with the First World War that dealt such a devastating blow to the further development of languages other than English. An eloquent example of the triumphant

ascendancy of monolingualism is provided by Selleck's poignant description of the way German language Lutheran schools were stifled in Victoria during 1915-17.⁶ It was that period of "xenophobia ... which saw the use of languages other than English as a treachery, that forced Australia into a monolingual mould that had not been part of its tradition. With the ethnic diversity of Australia's current population, we have now - with state support - started to resume the tradition that was destroyed - with state support."⁷

The events of the First World War did not mean, of course, that no language other than English was to be taught in the schools. But these other languages were seen as either "classical" and "traditional" (Latin, Ancient Greek), or as "modern" and "foreign" (French, German). In this way Australian education strove to develop the image of English society rather than relate itself to the realities of Australian life. This "classical" linguistic and educational perspective can be recognized in language syllabuses for University entrance or Matriculation examinations. For example, in South Australia, up until 1964, the only four languages available at Matriculation level were Ancient Greek, Latin, French and German.⁸

The beginnings of a more "international" approach to the teaching of languages were marked by Australia's increasing awareness of itself as an independent nation in world affairs, and a growing recognition of its geographical position in Asia and the Pacific. By the late 1960s moves were evident to extend the range of language, history and culture courses. The "mother country's" perspective was no longer seen as the only valid one, and courses which were more responsive to Australian realities were developed. This included the introduction of the languages, histories and cultures of Australia's, rather than England's, neighbours and trading partners.

Official acceptance of the internationalist approach was acknowledged by the 1970 Report of the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on the Teaching of Asian Languages and Cultures in Australia (Auchmuty Report). It highlighted the growing involvement of Australia in the economy, culture and security of South East Asia. A notable feature of the report was its emphasis on the study of language, as part of a broader cultural concern for the region. At tertiary level this resulted in the establishment of departments of Asian Studies, with languages such as Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian/Malay. (This was usually done under the slogan, "Australia as part of Asia.") Other "geopolitical" languages introduced were Spanish ("trade with Latin America") and Russian ("trade, defence, sputniks and international power").

It was only in the 1970s that, after decades of neglect, Australia's gaze turned inwards to rediscover the ethnic, linguistic and other cultural complexities within its own shores - some of them already of second and third generation vintage. This marked the phase of what may be termed "internal multiculturalism," where interest in languages and cultures became inner-directed into Australian society itself.

This approach does not negate the previous approaches, since they can be, and usually are, co-existing, although there is occasionally competition for resources between those who favour the rapid development of languages that foster relationships with other societies (mainly Asian languages) and those who primarily favour bridging the linguistic gaps within Australian society (and hence advocate the teaching of "community languages").

According to the Senate Committee Report, "the number of languages accredited for matriculation purposes has increased markedly in recent years, growing from 15 in 1974 to 29 in 1982. Languages now available include many of those spoken by Australian ethnic communities ... " By contrast with the fall or only moderate increase in the number of students taking other languages, "numbers in Italian and Modern Greek have continued to increase quite rapidly, together representing about 20% of the total language candidature by 1982" (par. 11.56, p. 150). Increases in other community languages have been hampered by lack of established arrangements for their teaching in the "mainstream schools."⁹

The recognition accorded to community languages at matriculation level was preceded by many years of effort from the various minority linguistic groups. During the 1960s and 1970s, minority ethnic communities were responding not so much to government policies on languages, as to the lack of any government policies, or even to the more or less persistent enforcement of monolingualism.¹⁰ The ethnic response came in a variety of ways, including the push for the acceptance of community languages as worthy of inclusion in the academic curriculum as matriculation subjects, and the development of part-time "ethnic schools."¹¹

Community Languages in the Senate Committee Report

The Senate Committee Report generally provides only cautious support for the development of community languages other than English. Yet ethnic minority communities provided a main impetus for the Senate's initial decision to undertake a National Language Policy inquiry, as reflected in the Second Conference on the National Policy

for Languages that was held in Melbourne in October 1984. This was attended not only by a plethora of Federal and State ministers, but also by some two and a half thousand participants, representing a multitude of minority ethnic organizations.

The Senate Committee Report relegates its consideration of "Teaching Languages other than English" to Chapter 11 and, within this chapter, the discussion of the maintenance of ethnic languages and culture is left to the third place after surveying other purposes for language teaching, such as "effective communication with non-English speakers" and "development of an understanding of other cultures" (par. 11.9, p. 136). Both these teaching "purposes" would appear to be mainly for those whose first language is English.

The recommendation in relation to the maintenance of ethnic languages and cultures is nonetheless worthwhile, as far as it goes. The Report states that it has received submissions arguing that "a central element in Australia's policy of multiculturalism is a recognition of the value of cultural heritages of the different groups within Australian society" and that "since language and culture are inextricably intertwined, the preservation of cultural heritages necessarily entails the retention of the languages associated with them" (par. 11.14, p. 137). In response,

The Committee endorses the view that one of the major objectives of language teaching programmes in Australia should be to assist in the maintenance of ethnic and Aboriginal languages and cultures (par. 11.14, p. 137).

This endorsement is presented in a somewhat guarded manner, in that it lacks dynamism or any suggestion of development. However, the report does recognize that minority language maintenance is an issue which "apart from its broader social and economic implications, is of direct, personal relevance to those Australians who are speakers of the community languages in question" (par. 11.15, p. 137). This should be read in conjunction with the statement on the role of language learning in the general development of personality.

Where the language concerned is the child's mother-tongue...an additional factor emerges. In this context, it is argued, language study contributes significantly to the development of individual self-esteem, since the introduction of the language into school encourages children of that language background to value it and appreciate it as an asset (par. 11.19, p. 138).

The Report's rather qualified support for community languages in terms of heritage and as an asset for an individual, rather than for a community as a whole, can be seen also in its discussion of competition for resources and priorities in language teaching. In this regard the Senate Committee received some ostensibly conflicting advice. For instance, the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia argued:

Decisions about which languages are to be taught must be made as close as possible to the client group - that is, at the local school, local community level - and must be reflective of that local school and local community level (par. 11.90, p. 161).

In contrast, the Asian Studies Association of Australia stressed that the emphasis given to "ethnic" - mainly European - languages, and especially to the question of language maintenance, should not obscure or pre-empt the need for promotion of Asian languages (par. 11.82, p. 159).

As the case of Vietnamese (which is par excellence an example of both an Asian and a community language) demonstrates, distinctions between particular groups of languages, such as traditional, foreign, Asian, community and migrant, are "not clearly defined" (as acknowledged in the Report, par. 11.5, p. 135). Among European languages, German can at one and the same time be taught as a "traditional modern" language, as a language of international or geopolitical significance, and as the language of a large and long established community of German-Australians.

The situation is less ambiguous, however, in relation to certain other languages when account is taken of the first or home language of the students. For example, while the great majority of those studying French or Indonesian in Australia are second language learners, those learning Greek, Vietnamese, Laotian, Khmer, Ukrainian or Latvian generally do so in order to become literate in their first or family tongues. Such distinctions carry with them methodological implications, as well as an ideological significance which will be discussed later in this paper.

The Senate Committee Report, however, takes the view that "this tendency to think primarily in terms of separate language groupings appears to have inhibited attempts to devise policies which apply in a consistent and coherent way across the whole field of languages other than English" (par. 11.6, p. 135). The Committee therefore endorsed an "integrated approach to the teaching of languages other than English," while recognizing that "this endorsement should not be seen as a denial that particular languages or language groupings may at times require special measures of

assistance" (par. 11.7, p. 135).

The question raised by the Senate Committee is, however, more complex than the provision of periodic "assistance" to some unpopular or ailing tongues. Thus, while the "integrated" approach recommended by the Senate Committee has undoubted merit in relation to overall planning of a national policy on languages, political and educational authorities must recognize that many Australians from minority backgrounds may require an educational methodology for translating their oral tongues into literacy which is different from that needed by students who are starting to learn a particular language "from scratch." Nor should it be assumed that the number of such people is insignificant, since, although the Census of 1981 excluded a question on languages other than English, according to the 1983 Australian Bureau of Statistics Language Survey, there were close to 1.8 million Australians who were aged 15 or over and who still used the non-English language which they first learned in the home.¹²

It should also be noted that for these Australians, their home languages convey certain cultural and emotional meanings which may transcend their utilitarian, communicative or cognitive significance. Perhaps this significance can be better grasped by those from the majority English speaking background if they recognize that English is important to them not simply as a language of communication for all Australians, but as their own tongue which is "part of them" in a way that overshadows its utilitarian and international significance. Minority ethnic Australians may feel the same way about their home languages, while recognizing the indispensable role of English as a shared language for the country as a whole. This special relationship of people to their home languages and the bond between the languages and the cultures concerned illuminate what might be termed the ethno-cultural significance of community languages in Australia, as well as in many other linguistically plural societies. According to psycho-linguists Giles and Saint-Jacques,

Language is not merely a medium of communication, however important that medium is - but the unifying factor of a particular culture and often a prerequisite for its survival. No other factor is as powerful as language in maintaining by itself the genuine and lasting distinctiveness of an ethnic group... The loss of a language or the acquisition of a new language might affect the identity of a social group.¹³

Language Maintenance and the Core Values of Cultures

The significance of language as an ethno-cultural factor for many minority identities, and the ensuing press for linguistic maintenance among them can, in part at least, be accounted for in terms of the theory of core values.¹⁴ The term "core value" refers to those values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group's culture, and which act as identifying values that are symbolic of the group and its membership. It is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive cultural communities. Rejection of core values carries with it the threat of exclusion from the group. Indeed, the deviant individual may himself feel unable to continue as an authentic member.¹⁵

Whenever people feel that their identity as a group is inextricably linked to some particular element of their culture, the element concerned acquires special significance as a core value for the group. Such core values are most clearly discerned when the group concerned is under threat and needs to defend its culture against external pressures. If the identity of a people is threatened with extinction, cultural life grows correspondingly more intense, more important, until culture itself, and especially its core elements, become the fundamental value around which people rally.¹⁶ This has been shown in history by the Greeks under the Ottoman rule, by the Poles under the partitions, by the Irish under the British dominion, and by the Baltic peoples in the Russian Empire. It can be observed at present among ethnic groups in societies where the dominant majority is bent on a policy of cultural assimilation, as has been the case in the United States and Australia.

Differences do exist in the degree of commitment that ethnic groups in Australia have revealed toward their native languages. This was shown, for example, in data obtained from the 1976 Australian census. Clyne used these figures to demonstrate the proportion of first generation immigrants from various ethnic groups who claimed not to use their mother tongue.¹⁷ Greek-Australians exhibited the smallest shift (3 per cent), while Italians had only a 6 per cent loss to English. This compared with 44 per cent for the Dutch, who of all the non-English speaking groups showed the biggest switch to English. Peoples of Yugoslavia, Poles, Germans and Maltese occupied intermediate positions in the displacement-to-English scale.

Variations were also apparent in the number of part-time ethnic schools and their pupils in relation to the size of the groups concerned in the population as a whole. An examination of the most recent figures, for example,

showed that those of Greek background were much more anxious to establish and attend such schools than those more numerous "ethnics" who derived their origin from Italy.¹⁸ Only in part could this difference be explained by the fact that Italian was taught much more often than Greek as a regular school subject, so that children of Italian background might have less need for the provision of "out-of-school" classes in their mother tongue.

Another interesting comparison can be made between the Dutch and Polish groups. For the Dutch immigrants and their children in Australia there were 4 ethnic schools catering for 90 students. In the case of Poles, there were 37 schools with 1197 students serving an ethnic community only slightly more than half the size of the Dutch group. The Hungarians, numbering 42,055 but containing religious and ethnic minorities in their midst, had only 3 ethnic schools with 202 students, while the Turkish community of half that size had as many as 47 schools and a total of 2,569 students. Hungarians have been a well established but also a widely scattered group, although their situation in this regard might be compared to that of the Ukrainians who, with a somewhat smaller community, had 17 schools providing for 952 students. A further example of such preoccupation with language has been shown by the same Ukrainian group, most of whose first-generation members arrived in Australia between 1949 and 1951 as "bonded" labour. Over the past three years, this relatively small number of people has gathered funds amounting to close to three quarters of a million dollars to fund lectureships in their tongue at Monash and Macquarie Universities.¹⁹

Overall, data from ethnic schools showed the great importance that minority groups placed upon the perpetuation and development of their languages, as central to the survival of their culture in Australia. In 1982, as part of a survey of ethnic schools conducted on behalf of the Commonwealth Schools Commission by Norst in consultation with a specially appointed Reference Group, the ethnic organizations concerned were asked to indicate what cultural features they considered most vital for the survival of their group's culture in Australia.

The responses of 223 organizations to this question are summarized in Table 1, which also includes empirical data from the surveys listed below.²⁰ Language maintenance was quite clearly accorded top priority. The figures show overwhelming support for language maintenance, with 86 per cent of organizations regarding speaking their native language as a vitally important aim, while reading and writing was recognized by 79 per cent as vitally important. The same questionnaire was subsequently given to individuals, rather than organizations, of three ethnic groups - Polish,

Latvian and Greek (Table 1).

The Polish survey was conducted in December 1982 among a group of young people (n = 73) gathered at a Polish Leadership Training Camp organized by the Federal Council of Polish Organizations in Australia, with the support of its Victorian branch.²¹ The training camp took place at the "Polana" centre at Healesville and was attended by representatives from all states.

The study attempted to investigate further the question of core values by asking respondents to indicate which aspects of Polish culture they regarded as vitally important for its survival in Australia. Easily the highest in rank order was the ability to speak Polish (67%). Then followed a series of aspects given a similar assessment, with between 40 and 46 per cent of respondents claiming that they were of vital importance. These included literacy in Polish. The remaining aspects were supported, at the most, by no more than about a third of the respondents. This study confirmed, therefore, that the Polish language represented the most critical area for the maintenance of Polish culture in Australia.

The corresponding data for Latvian (n = 75) and Greek (n = 102) groups were generated in similar summer school or conference settings.²² The Greek-Australian tertiary students considered the ability to speak Greek to be clearly the most important aspect for the survival of their culture in Australia (81% thought of it as vitally important, as compared with 51% for "close family ties"). The Latvian group concerned showed an exceptionally high evaluation of native language, with 91% of the respondents considering "speaking Latvian" as of vital importance, while 71% gave the same evaluation to literacy in that tongue.

The studies discussed above illustrate the fact that in many ethnic cultures the concept of languages as core values helps to mark out the boundary between assimilation, on the one hand, and lasting multiculturalism, on the other. In this sense, languages can be regarded as the "cultural markers" of minority existence and the indispensable prerequisites for cultural pluralism in a society composed of more than one ethnic group; if linguistic core values are lost or destroyed, the cultures become residual and intellectually de-activated.²³ In this way, they become reduced to mere fragments that can then be regarded as sub-cultural variants on the majority culture.²⁴

This may be the tacit aim of at least some writers and speech-makers in Australia, who, under the guise of "residual multiculturalism," propogate what is sometimes termed as "multicultural culture," or "dominant monoculture" with some "ethnic multiculture" (in the singular!).²⁵ The latter creation seems to entail no more than majority

culture, with some ethnic minority frills.

An Overarching Framework in Balance with Core Values of Cultures

Those who are opposed to linguistic pluralism might argue that the proliferation of languages could lead to political instability and undermine national identity. The cohesion of the state does not, however, depend on having a basically monolingual population; the examples of Ireland and Lebanon show that a common language (whether English or Arabic) has not prevented slaughter in both those countries.

Multicultural and multilingual states have little choice in the matter: to ensure stability they must achieve a degree of consensus, since in its absence, the dominant group would have to rely on some form of manipulation or coercion to maintain the state. To achieve consensus, an ethnically plural society must have evolved a set of shared values that overarch the various ethnic groups.²⁶ If the ethnic groups concerned are to remain culturally viable, and if the state is to remain a stable one, we must have a dynamic equilibrium established between the overarching values of the country, on the one hand, and ethnic values, on the other.

In such a dynamic setting, the overarching framework is forever changing and adapting, not only due to the creativity of the members of all groups and diffusion from outside, but also because of the input from a variety of majority and minority ethnic sources, although it is likely that the majority group will prove the most important contributor. That is possible provided there is a consensus about fundamentals, so that the majority does not attempt to rupture the core values of the minorities, while the minority values fall within the range that is compatible with the overarching framework and do not involve exclusivist notions that would prevent any possibility of an overlap.

In Australia the political and economic systems show signs of stability because of consensus and the acceptance of the overarching values in these areas. In other areas the overarching values are still in a state of crystallization. What seems clear, however, is that English in Australia is already accepted as a common language. What has not yet been fully grasped by the dominant group is that this must be understood in relation to the co-existence of such a common language with the native tongues of ethnic minorities.

Hence bilingualism emerges as one of the principal goals of a national policy on languages. Otherwise, there

would be no purpose of holding a Senate inquiry, since one would either opt for English only (the policy of assimilation), or for monolingualism in a variety of community languages, each within its own separate ethnic enclave (the policy of separatism). Since both assimilation and separatism have been rejected, and multiculturalism embraced as part of their official policy by successive Australian governments, willy-nilly, the ability to use more than one language must be seen as the goal for Australia in the years to come. Why, then, misgivings about this course of action, both in relation to its ideology and its implementation in schools, colleges and universities?

One of the reasons for this disquiet rests on the erroneous assumption that the teaching of ethnic languages would somehow be at the expense of English, or even as an alternative to English. It is patently obvious, however, that the question is not one of substitution, but of addition. The practical alternatives are not "English or Greek" but either the bilingual solution of "English plus Greek," or the monolingual one of "English only."

Emphasis on English in the Senate Committee Report

The question of the teaching of English occupies the major part of the Report. Although it would hardly seem necessary to reaffirm its position as "Australia's national language," the Report specifically disclaims any intention of "devaluing" it, "introducing a second official language," "creating non-English speaking enclaves," or "aiming to make Australians bi- or multilingual against their will" (par. 1.5, p.1).

English is not an endangered species in Australia, and the need to issue such disclaimers demonstrates how much of the debate on language policy in Australia appears to have been based upon a series of misunderstandings. Moreover, it is difficult to credit that the Senate Committee would wish to permit a monolingual Greek school student to abstain from learning English, simply if it was his or her intention to remain an ethnic monolingual. It would seem that the Senate Committee never envisaged the possibility of the existence of young minority ethnic monolinguals. The freedom to remain monolingual obviously refers to Australians from an English-speaking background and is intended to assuage their trepidation at being "forced" to learn another language.

It is true that those Australians who speak another language at home in addition to English are anxious to have their bilingualism acknowledged as a positive asset in Australian life. However, as the secretary of the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia

formally reaffirmed, the communities represented by the Federation have "never challenged the central status of English in Australian life."²⁷ On the contrary, it is the desire of the great majority of parents from non-English speaking backgrounds that their children should acquire more than just a "working knowledge" of English by learning the language in all its sophistication and subtlety.

This press for English is not something new and has been demonstrated in a number of empirical studies.²⁸ "Migrants" have been perfectly aware of the need for themselves, and even more for their children, to learn English. There is, therefore, no need for official reports to "convert" them to an appreciation of the importance of learning English as a second language. Although sponsored mass European migration started in 1949, it took some twenty years before courses in "Migrant English" were introduced. Before that time, governments did not seem concerned about the life-chances of minority children, and appeared to be satisfied with the "sink or swim" approach.

From the early seventies, English has been taught increasingly to people of non-English speaking backgrounds. This is an improvement which needs further support. Hence the value of the chapter in the Senate Committee Report on the "Teaching of English as a Second Language" (Chapter 5, pp. 34-64). The programmes now in force, or contemplated for the future, supplement the "migrants'" own learning efforts, and it is pleasing to note that they are to be extended to meet a variety of professional, other occupational and social needs. In fact a series of research investigations into English language needs has been published by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1983-85) under the auspices of Adult Migrant Education Project (AMEP).²⁹ This research series has unfortunately been omitted from the Senate Committee Report.

Recommendations on the Teaching of Languages Other than English

The placement of English in the foreground of the report, while encouraging the learning of other languages (including those of Aboriginal and other communities) within the framework of a national language policy, implies the need to plan for bilingualism.

Unfortunately, in relation to the issue of bilingual education the Senate Report is unduly cautious, and in some respects is behind the developments in such States as South Australia and Victoria. This may, at least in part, be due to a lack of conviction in (or experience of) the viability of bilingualism as a widespread and accepted phenomenon -

and this despite the fact that it is an everyday occurrence not only in many parts of Asia³⁰ and other countries of the world, but in Australia as well.

In relation to the teaching of languages at primary school level, the Senate Committee's recommendation 78 states:

the learning of languages at primary school level should be substantially increased to give more children the opportunity to maintain their home language or to acquire another language (p. 230).

This is in contrast to other views expressed as early as 1976 by the Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools,³¹ and reiterated by the South Australian Ministerial Task Force's Report, Education for a Cultural Democracy, which recommends making provisions for all students to maintain or acquire a second language.³²

A parallel trend can be seen in the new Ministerial guidelines On Curriculum Developments and Planning in Victoria, which laid down that

each school council should ensure that its program enables students progressively to ... acquire proficiency in another language used in the Australian community.³³

These South Australian and Victorian recommendations are not, in principle, at variance with the Senate Committee Report, which also expresses its "belief" in the benefit of the learning of another language for "all students" (11.63, p.154). However, the Senate Committee has not been prepared to recommend the full-scale implementation of this belief, particularly at the primary school level, which is regarded by many experts as the most crucial period for second language learning.

In relation to the teaching of languages at the secondary level, the Senate Committee Report limits the extent of language teaching when it recommends as follows:

All secondary students should experience language learning for a minimum period of one year, at levels suitable to their abilities (recommendation, p.230).

This is qualified in the next recommendation:

Secondary students of lesser academic ability should not be required to continue language learning for periods longer than a year until language programs

suitable for students of all ability levels have been fully developed and shown to be operating successfully (recommendation 81, p. 230).

It is a pity that the Report did not proceed to suggest that efforts should be put into developing programs to suit "all ability levels," so that all students could successfully pursue language studies throughout their secondary education.

The question of "language learning" should be dissociated from the outdated notion of its suitability solely for the children of "high academic ability," or, indeed, of its restriction to any other kind of elite. In the past, multilingualism was a privilege accorded to the chosen few; in our present, more democratic times, it should be extended to all members of society, both as a right and to guarantee that society remains an "open" one in both the social and cultural sense. Clyne correctly argues that the main practical issue is for the education system to take languages as a serious and important part of the school course. This means that language learning should be no longer relegated to a state of marginality in the curriculum, but acknowledged as being at the same level of importance as English, Mathematics and Science.³⁴

The Linguistic Rights of Minorities

The cautious nature of the Senate Committee's recommendations on language teaching may perhaps be traced to the fact that it remains unconvinced of the need to legislate on language rights. Over the last few years the discontent of members of minority ethnic groups has increasingly been expressed through demands for their legitimate cultural and linguistic rights. This was exemplified by the submission of the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia to the Senate Committee, which suggested that a "National Language Act would guarantee individual rights to communicate and to have access to information." The Federation requested that the Senate Committee "recommend that draft legislation be prepared for comment by the community" (par. 1.26, p. 6). The Committee's response was that it was "not persuaded" that legislation on language rights would have helped in the past or be appropriate at this juncture, although it did not exclude the possibility that "a need for some form of legislation may arise" in the future (par. 1.27, p. 6).

It should be noted, however, that the Human Rights Commission Act of 1981 already provides specifically Australian legal machinery to advance and protect the linguistic rights of minorities. Article 1 of the

Declaration of the Rights of the Child (which forms Schedule 2 of the Act) affirms the entitlement of the child to all rights set out in the Declaration without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, language, national or social origins.

However, these rights, guaranteed in law, have still to be translated into actual practices, programmes and services in education in order to prevent or eliminate social, economic and political cleavages and inequities based upon individuals' racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The Committee of Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs in its 1983 Report to the Minister of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs gave top priority to the objective of promoting "equity of access for those whom society disadvantages because of their ethnic or cultural differences"³⁵ and to "promoting the rights of those whom society disadvantages because of their ethnic or cultural identification".³⁶ The significant point which emerges from the Review and from subsequent community consultations is that the pursuit of minority cultural development must be linked to the elimination of ethnically based structural inequalities in those areas of life where they occur. An improvement in the life circumstances and life chances of migrant and ethnic minorities can be effected only if members of ethnic groups are able to maintain and develop their languages and cultures, without this being turned against them and used as a marker of, or even an excuse for, social inequality.

The principle of equality of opportunity in education has often been interpreted as ensuring that non-English speaking students have equal access to the curricula and programmes provided for the British-Australian majority in the "mainstream" schools. While such mainstream services are essential, it is also important to realize that through the right to choose, or in recognition of cultural differences, specific or additional linguistic provisions for the members of minority ethnic groups may be required.

Treating in the same manner people who belong to groups which are unequal serves merely to compound the inequality. In relation to cultural differences, we are concerned with equivalence rather than simply equality. People need not have studied French or Latin to be deemed well educated; they may achieve a comparable level of literacy and cultural understanding through learning Modern Greek, Italian, Spanish or Vietnamese. Equity in education in multicultural Australia presupposes a national policy on languages which makes provision for alternative equivalents, particularly in relation to community languages.

The South Australian Report

The recent developments in Victoria and South Australia have gone much further than the Senate Committee's Report in recognizing linguistic rights and enhancing the position of community languages. In South Australia the Task Force appointed by the Minister of Education had particularly wide-ranging terms of reference which pertained not only to school structures and curricula, but spanned the whole range of educational institutions from pre-school to universities, and included issues related to equality of educational opportunity.

The first Basic Principle laid down in the Report stated:

All individuals have a right to an education which supports their participation and development in their own and other ethnic cultural and linguistic communities.³⁷

The "associated requirements" to implement this recommendation were elaborated in detail as follows:

(a) English plus one other language should be part of the education for all students during pre-school and R-12 schooling.

(b) The curricula, resources, organization and staffing of educational institutions at all levels should reflect and respond to the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of Australian society.

(c) Educational provisions at all levels should treat with consideration role relationship preferences of members of different cultural groups.

(d) It is the right of all students to have the opportunity to study the language of that home and community.³⁸

In releasing the Task Force Report, the South Australian Minister for Ethnic Affairs, C. Sumner, claimed that its recommendations would mean that "the entire next generation of South Australians could have the potential to be bilingual."³⁹ Subsequently the Minister of Education, L. Arnold, stated that "the Government had endorsed the report through a sense of social justice and in the belief that its principles are inherently sound, both socially and educationally. The Report was in essence a blueprint for the implementation of the Government's policies on multi-

culturalism and education." The minister alluded to other "key proposals" contained in the report, such as the introduction of Anti-Discrimination legislation which specifically proscribes discrimination on the grounds of language, staff recruitment and promotion criteria within the department which gives emphasis to the need for bilingual staff, and the study of a community language by student teachers and others preparing for careers in social and community services.⁴⁰

The Victorian Curriculum Guidelines

Similar policies are being promulgated in Victoria, where all students in state schools will be required to acquire proficiency in a language other than English. Under the new curriculum guidelines, which are "the first of their kind to spell out in broad philosophical and educational terms what a Victorian Government expects of its schools,"⁴¹ the council of each school will be required to involve parents and students in deciding which languages will be taught.

The Victorian Ministerial Paper argued that schools need to be aware "of the influence of gender, class and ethnic background on styles of learning" and how these should be taken into "account (by the schools) when planning their approach to teaching and learning."⁴² Furthermore,

While the main medium of instruction for students will be English, whenever possible the Education Department will assist schools in developing resources and strategies for bilingual programs to enable students who speak another language to continue using that language for some learning in other subjects.⁴³

The stipulation is made, however, that

the extension of community language programs to all schools can only be accomplished gradually as more trained teachers become available...⁴⁴

As in the case of South Australia, such programs are, therefore, dependent on the cooperation of tertiary institutions involved in teacher training.

Although in both South Australia and Victoria the implementation process of these policies is still in its very early stage, the two states are moving in the same direction, namely toward the provision of a language other than English in every schoolchild's curriculum.

The Teaching of Languages in Western Australian Schools

In line with these developments is the statement issued by the Western Australian Minister of Education, B. Pearce, in 1984. The Minister considered "whether it should be compulsory for each school student to study a foreign language [and make it] a study requirement at year 8 level."⁴⁵ He pointed out that knowledge of languages, "particularly those of Asian nations - was crucially important to Western Australia economically and socially, [and that] far too few students took languages." The Minister quoted school statistics which showed that in 1984 approximately "12,000 students would sit for year 12 examinations in English and English literature. The highest enrolment for a foreign language at year 12 was in French with over 500 students. No Asian language attracted more than 100 enrolments."

The Minister's sentiments were highly laudable, especially when he stated that the "study of a foreign language was a key to the culture the language represented." It is regrettable, however, that he saw all languages and cultures, other than English, as "foreign," and that the choice for year 12 students in Western Australia is so limited that it excludes a number of community languages (such as Polish, Arabic, Croatian and Serbian, Latvian, Dutch and Spanish). These languages are currently being taught in Western Australia in part-time ethnic schools, but are unavailable at the matriculation level and hence cannot be taken into account in admission to tertiary studies. Because of this omission of community languages, it is still impossible for many Western Australian children to achieve the kind of "cultural understanding" which the Minister saw as "breaking down the barriers of fear and ignorance on which racism was based."

Overview

Such apparent congruence in ministerial pronouncements and intended policies in the three states, as well as the more positive aspects of the Senate Committee Report, have created a more propitious climate for language education in this country. But some gaps still exist between the National Language Policy proposals of the Senate Committee and the hopes and needs of ethnic communities in relation to the maintenance of their languages in Australia. In particular, the groups represented in the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia have expressed disappointment that the Senate Report "failed to give any clear indication of a budget and time scale to implement a national policy on languages."⁴⁶

This paper has illustrated the ethno-cultural significance of community languages for those minority groups whose tongues represent the cores of their cultures. Their languages can no more be "foreign" to their members than English can be foreign to those for whom it is their first or mother tongue, no matter whether they live in Australia, England, South Africa, or Argentina. For language-centred groups the preservation of their linguistic core is indispensable for the transmission of their cultures to the next generation. In this light, the struggle for language maintenance is not an abstract or "high culture" phenomenon, but the effort of a group of people to preserve their ethnic identity. For such language-centred ethnic groups there is hardly any doubt that language and culture are highly significant phenomena, since they are concerned with people deciding their own destiny.

In his recent book on the growth and decay of language, Stevenson comments on the bilingual (and often trilingual) abilities of the speakers of Scandinavian languages, which are small in size and scattered over a large area, yet "show no signs of withering." In this connection he states an important principle:

Languages tend to come under threat when the destinies of their speakers are taken over by others, as happened to the once-widespread Celtic tongues.⁴⁷

With the precarious fates of Scottish and Irish Gaelic in mind (as well as the extinction of the Celtic tongues of Cornwall and the Isle of Man), non-English language communities in Australia are understandably concerned to ensure that their linguistic rights are protected and that their "destinies ... are not taken over by others." In this regard they are not reassured when they read comments on the Senate Committee Report, such as those of Chipman when he discusses the possibility of the disappearance of Aboriginal languages:

Does this really matter? It would seem to me that you would do far more for an Aboriginal child in ensuring mastery of English, and that it may even be more valuable to teach the child Latin or Ancient Greek than the language of their parents.⁴⁸

Are some Australian parents to be denied the right to choose their own cultural destiny, and this by a member of a "power-holding" group who is at liberty to keep his mother tongue for his children, while able to deny it for those of his fellow citizens? And ostensibly all for their own good? Such a phenomenon, be it called paternalism or

"internal colonialism,"⁴⁹ tramples on the rights of others. It represents an incitement to cultural and ethnic strife, given that Australian linguistic minorities have provided proof through their own cultural and educational efforts that they do not wish to share the fate of either the Etruscans, or of those Aborigines who have already lost their native tongues and are now trying painfully to reconstruct their identity by learning languages of neighbouring Aboriginal groups.⁵⁰ In this regard one should note the example of Black Americans who, after the destruction of their African linguistic and cultural heritage and after centuries of assimilation, are engaged in cultural reconstruction by forging links with Africa as their "ideological homeland."⁵¹ This phenomenon should sound a warning to Australian minorities and majority alike. The minorities will shudder at the thought of being stripped of their cultures before searching in their former homeland for what they have lost. The majority can hardly wish to create supposedly assimilated minorities who later turn to a separatism that ruptures the social cohesion of society.

In a multicultural society, to preserve cohesion, the various ethnic communities must take account of each other's values and social aspirations, in so far as these affect their common cultural destinies. Since in most ethnic groups these destinies are dependent on their languages, there is an imperative need for a clearly developed policy which makes suitable provision for community languages. Indeed, in the absence of such language planning, the "official" form of multiculturalism does not rise above rhetoric and represents but a thinly disguised euphemism for assimilation carried out in stages. And assimilation is a policy option that has been attempted in the past, and has failed.⁵²

Within the present democratic structure of Australian society, cultural and linguistic diversity cannot be reversed, but it can be directed either to constructive or destructive ends. These ends become destructive and undermine the cohesion of the state when diversity is denied or attempts are made to suppress it against the wishes of people who are determined to be masters of their own cultural destiny. Constructive outcomes of diversity emerge when it is regarded in terms of pluralism, which is not simply a description for some particular demographic state of affairs, but a "goal that may make it possible for diverse language groups to live together [through] a policy of deliberate planning and official action" that ensures stability by the adoption of a policy of cultural, as well as political, democracy.⁵³ In Australia this implies acceptance of, and planning for, linguistic pluralism, when taken within the overarching framework of values which includes English as a shared language for all Australians.

NOTES

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TABLE 1: RESPONDENTS' ASSESSMENT OF THEIR CULTURE'S CORE VALUES

(All percentages rounded to nearest whole number)

(i)

Aspect of Culture	Assessment of Importance	R E S P O N D E N T S							
		Polish-Australian (N = 73)		Latvian-Australian (N = 75)		Greek-Australian (N = 102)		Ethnic school organizations (N = 223)	
		Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%
<u>LANGUAGE:</u> Speaking	Vitally Important	1	69	1	91	1	81	1	86
	Not Important		30		9		18		14
Reading and Writing	Vitally Important	3	45	2	71	5	46	2	79
	Not Important		46		29		52		20
Literature	Vitally Important	11	28	13	34	15	27	10	43
	Not Important		42		58		54		47
<u>KNOWLEDGE/ APPRECIATION OF:</u> History of Ethnic Group	Vitally Important	9	34	9	51	11	39	12	42
	Not Important		65		45		56		50
			1		4		5		8

contd..

(ii)

TABLE I (contd.)

Aspect of Culture	Assessment of Importance	R E S P O N D E N T S													
		Polish-Australian (N = 73)		Latvian-Australian (N = 75)		Greek-Australian (N = 102)		Ethnic school organizations (N = 223)		Rank Order		Rank Order		Rank Order	
<u>KNOWLEDGE/</u> <u>APPRECIATION</u> OF: <u>Geography of</u> <u>Home Country</u>	Vitally Important	16	22	14	33	17	24	16	32	Rank	Order	Rank	%	Rank	%
	Not Important		73		59		65		54						
Love of Homeland	Vitally Important	4	43	6	61	10	40	14	36	Rank	Order	Rank	%	Rank	%
	Not Important		47		31		45		53						
Contribution of Ethnic Culture	Vitally Important	8	37	14	32	13	34	8	48	Rank	Order	Rank	%	Rank	%
	Not Important		51		60		63		40						
Customs, Celebrations	Vitally Important	7	40	7	59	3	48	13	38	Rank	Order	Rank	%	Rank	%
	Not Important		4		4		3		55						
<u>RELIGION:</u> <u>Doctrine</u>	Vitally Important	18	19	20	23	19	19	17	31*	Rank	Order	Rank	%	Rank	%
	Not Important		45		41		58		55						

contd...

TABLE 1 (contd.)

(iii)

Aspect of Culture	Assessment of Importance	R E S P O N D E N T S							
		Polish-Australian (N = 73)		Latvian-Australian (N = 75)		Greek-Australian (N = 102)		Ethnic school organizations (N = 223)	
		Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%
RELIGION: Liturgy and Ceremonies	Vitally Important	11	28	18	10	18	23	-	N.A.
	Not Important		60		56		59		
Laws and Rules	Vitally Important	22	12	21	11	22	9	-	N.A.
	Not Important		43		24		38		
FOLKLORE: Songs and Music	Vitally Important	10	30	3	66	5	46	10	43
	Not Important		70		32		53		52
National Dances	Vitally Important	14	26	4	65	7	44	14	36
	Not Important		70		35		53		53
Traditional Arts & Crafts	Vitally Important	15	23	8	56	14	33	18	28
	Not Important		68		40		55		52
			9		4		12		20

contd..

TABLE 1 (contd.)

(iv)

Aspect of Culture	Assessment of Importance	R E S P O N D E N T S											
		Polish-Australian (N = 73)			Latvian-Australian (N = 75)			Greek-Australian (N = 102)			Ethnic school organizations (N = 223)		
		Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%				
SOCIAL RELATIONS: Respect for the Aged	Vitally Important	19	17	19	26	12	37	6	56				
	Important		67		60		55		40				
Close Family Ties	Not Important		16		14		8		4				
	Vitally Important	2	46	12	44	2	51	3	65				
Friends from Own Ethnic Group	Important		51		51		43		31				
	Not Important		3		6		6		5				
Marrying within own Ethnic Group	Vitally Important	5	41	4	65	16	24	9	46				
	Important		50		33		62		48				
Communication with Family & Ethnic Community	Not Important		9		1		14		6				
	Vitally Important	21	14	11	47	21	15	19	24				
Communication with Family & Ethnic Community	Important		41		37		49		32				
	Not Important		46		16		36		44				
Communication with Family & Ethnic Community	Vitally Important	5	41	10	49	4	47	3	65				
	Important		54		51		53		30				
Communication with Family & Ethnic Community	Not Important		4		0		1		5				

contd..

TABLE 1 (contd.)

(v)

Aspect of Culture	Assessment of Importance	R E S P O N D E N T S							
		Polish-Australian (N = 73)		Latvian-Australian (N = 75)		Greek-Australian (N = 102)		Ethnic school organizations (N = 223)	
		Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%	Rank Order	%
LIVING IN MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA: Helping Fellow Ethnics Settle	Vitally Important	17	20	17	30	9	43	5	57
	Important		68		60		51		36
	Not Important		12		10		6		8
Teaching Other Ethnics your Language	Vitally Important	20	16	21	11	20	18	20	18
	Important		39		41		44		45
	Not Important		45		49		38		37
Contributing to Multi- cultural Australia	Vitally Important	11	28	16	31	7	44	7	49
	Important		51		53		49		47
	Not Important		21		16		7		4

PHONETIC INTERFERENCE IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF UKRAINIAN STUDENTS IN AUSTRALIA

Olesia Dackiw-Rosalion

Language interference is an accepted fact in bilingualism. It manifests itself on several levels, including the phonetic, grammatical and lexical.¹

The Ukrainian language of bilingual Australian-born Ukrainians is no exception to the rule. Language interference is becoming increasingly obvious on all levels of interference. This paper concentrates on phonetic interference only, and discusses interference in the phonemic system of the Ukrainian language (in contradistinction to interference manifested on the graphemic level).²

Phonetic interference is the most complex type of language interference in terms of measurability and correction. Its measurement cannot be as accurate and objective as the measurement of grammatical and lexical interference because it must rely on evidence other than written texts alone. Dependence on aural and oral evidence can lead the investigator into the domain of subjectivity. Correction of phonetic interference poses an even greater problem, precisely because of its reliance on aural and oral skills. Consequently the problems pertaining to measurability and correction of phonetic interference are unique.

These facts, nonetheless, should not in themselves deter us from confronting the problem of phonetic interference, especially in the pronunciation of Australian-born Ukrainians, where phonetic interference is becoming increasingly obvious.

It is not the intention of the author to analyse the similarities or differences in the phonemic systems of Ukrainian and English. This paper concentrates on Ukrainian phonemes that are subject to interference. However, one comment which can be made in reference to Ukrainian and English phonemic systems and the interference pattern of the former on the latter no doubt has universal implications. On both competence and performance levels, phonetic interference focuses on and registers in phonemes that are:

- a) clearly different, or absent in either the target or source language; and
- b) similar, but not identical in articulation in either of the phonemic systems.

Ukrainian has six basic vowel phonemes: а, о, и, і, о, and у.³ There are 23 basic consonantal phonemes: п, б, в, м, к, г, ґ, х, лр, ц, д, т, д, н, л, ш, ч, ж, and лж, eight of which occur in a palatalized form: п', т', д', ц', д', н', and лж'.⁴

All the vowels, palatalized consonants and the basic consonants (with the exception of the first 11) are subject to phonetic interference in varying degrees.⁵

In the final analysis, of the 37 listed phonemes, 26 constitute the maximum number that are subject to phonetic interference to some degree.

This should not necessarily lead to the assumption that the pronunciation of every Ukrainian student reveals phonetic interference in its entire scope or to its maximum degree. On the contrary, the scope and the degree to which phonetic interference is evident in each phoneme varies from one student to another. The degree of interference in any given phoneme may also vary according to its position within a word. Thus phonetic interference in any number of phonemes may be evident only in restricted conditions.

The scope and degree of phonetic interference are influenced by additional factors that may or may not be related to the English context.

1. Age

The degree of interference in any given phoneme, and the scope of interference on a minimum-maximum scale both vary from one age group to another.⁶ Generally speaking, the scope and degree of interference diminishes with age. Phonetic interference that is still audible in the twenties usually remains throughout adulthood. This trend, however, may be reversed. In the situation where contact with Ukrainians is at a maximum level and contact with Australians is at a minimum level, phonetic interference in the pronunciation of a young child may reveal minimal levels in both scope and degree, only to be increased to a maximum level when the extent of contact with Ukrainians and Australians is reversed. Phonetic interference may then be set in adulthood or conversely it may diminish.

2. Physical Impediment

An individual may have either a hearing or speech impediment that interferes in his or her pronunciation. A hearing impediment will reduce the ability to distinguish between aurally similar Ukrainian and English phonemes, or even between conspicuously different phonemes in either of the languages. A speech impediment (e.g. a lisp) may in turn be mistaken for phonetic interference when in fact it may be present in the individual's pronunciation in both languages.

3. Competence and Performance Levels

These levels usually have a direct bearing on the extent to which the individual is exposed to the Ukrainian language and to contact with Ukrainians. Competence and performance may be at minimum and maximum levels in Ukrainian and English respectively, or it may feature minimum levels in both languages.

4. Dialectal Influence

A dialect spoken at home may influence the pronunciation, grammar and lexicon of a Ukrainian student. Bilingualism (i.e. the presence of an additional language) represents an added obstacle to correct pronunciation of Standard Ukrainian.

Any one or more of the above factors may contribute to phonetic interference and it is often difficult to distinguish interference of the English language on an individual's Ukrainian from other forms of interference. In the final analysis it must be recognized that all these factors, in varying degrees, contribute to phonetic interference.

It is difficult to determine precisely the scope and degree of interference from the English language; nonetheless, it remains a fact that the English phonetic system is a contributing factor in phonetic interference.

The following Ukrainian phonemes represent the maximum level in the scope of the phonetic interference. The degree of interference, however, depends on the individual phoneme.

1. Basic vowels - a , o , u , i , o , y

The replacement of Ukrainian basic vowels by English long vowels is common among Australian-born Ukrainian students with little to no knowledge of Ukrainian. However, such students cannot, on the practical level, be regarded as

bilingual students. As the competence and performance levels of students rise, phonetic interference recedes. Generally speaking, in bilingual students phonetic interference in the vowels is limited in scope and degree, unlike phonetic interference in consonantal phonemes.

The inability to distinguish the Ukrainian e and и is not necessarily a case of phonetic interference. The fact that unstressed e and и are indistinguishable is inherent in the Ukrainian phonetic system, and often this feature infiltrates the stressed positions, where in Standard Ukrainian the vowels e and и are distinctive in pronunciation.

2. Consonantal Phoneme x

There is no x in Australian English, and theoretically the substitution of x by h constitutes phonetic interference from English. On the practical level it may constitute a substitution of the Ukrainian г for x, since the students cannot distinguish between these two phonemes.

[Phonetic Interference: (h)ага instead of (x)ага]

3. Consonantal Phonemes дз and л

In Ukrainian the phonemes дз and л each constitute one phoneme. In English they comprise the merger of two separate phonemes, e.g. d+s as in beds, and t+s as in bets.

The inability to pronounce the Ukrainian phonemes дз and л as one phoneme is characteristic of Ukrainian students with a low performance level in Ukrainian.

[Phonetic Interference: (t+s)e instead of (л)e
(d+z)ига instead of (дз)ига]

The following consonantal phonemes are present in the English phonemic system, and phonetic interference is attributable to the difference in articulation and quality of the equivalent Ukrainian phonemes.

4. Consonantal Phoneme p

The unrolled English 'r' is substituted for the Ukrainian rolled p. This is especially evident in the pronunciation of students with a low performance level in Ukrainian.

[Phonetic Interference: (r)Oг instead of (p)Oг]

5. Consonantal Phonemes t, п, н, л

Aspirated English 't' and 'd' are substituted for the

Ukrainian unaspirated Т and Д. This substitution is clearly audible and often prevalent in the pronunciation of bilingual Ukrainian students, even if phonetic interference is absent in the vowel and consonantal phonemes mentioned above.

The articulation of the Ukrainian phonemes Н and Д is similar in articulation to Т and Д in respect to tongue position. In the articulation of the four Ukrainian phonemes the tip of the tongue presses against the back of the top teeth. On the other hand, in the articulation of the equivalent English phonemes the tip of the tongue touches the alveolum. The difference in the tongue position distinguishes the quality of pronunciation in the two sets of phonemes.

Although the substitution of the English 'n' and 'l' is not as clearly audible as the substitution of the English 't' and 'd', it is nonetheless prevalent in the pronunciation of Ukrainian students.

[Phonetic Interference: (t) ОМ instead of (Т) ОМ
 (d) АМ instead of (Д) АМ
 (n) АМ instead of (Н) АМ
 (l) УК instead of (Л) УК]

6. Consonantal Phonemes Ш, Ч, Ж, ДЖ

The English phonemes 'sh', 'ch', 's/z' and 'j', as in shut, chat, pleasure and jump respectively, feature a softer degree in quality of pronunciation than the equivalent Ukrainian phonemes Ш, Ч, Ж and ДЖ. Almost without exception, all Ukrainian students substitute these English phonemes for the Ukrainian ones. Significantly, the degree of softness in English sibilants is closer to the palatalized long or double sibilants ШШ', ЧЧ', ЖЖ'. (This in turn means that Ukrainian students do not distinguish in their pronunciation between hard and soft Ukrainian sibilants.)

[Phonetic Interference: (sh) АПКА instead of (Ш) АПКА
 (ch) СС instead of (Ч) СС
 (s/z) УК instead of (Ж) УК]

The presence of all the above-mentioned phenomena of phonetic interference in basic vowels and basic hard consonants would constitute the maximum scope of phonetic interference. The degree and scope of phonetic interference, however, depends on the individual student; for some bilingual, Australian-born Ukrainians the scope of phonetic interference may be limited to the consonantal phonemes Т and Д and the sibilants.

By contrast, the incidence of phonetic interference in soft or palatalized consonants is extremely high,

regardless of the scope and degree of interference in hard consonants.

1. Palatalized Н and Л

Despite the fact that, in principle, there are no palatalized consonants in English, the difference in quality between the Australian 'n' as in 'no' and 'n' as in 'new' in itself hints at a distinction between a hard and soft 'n' in English. (This is not a characteristic feature throughout the English-speaking countries.) This fact may partially explain the low incidence of a hard Н in place of a palatalized one in the pronunciation of Australian-born Ukrainian students. However, this fact does not account for the low incidence of hard Л instead of the palatalized one, since there is no soft 'l' in Australian English.

Phonetic interference (i.e. the substitution of hard Н and Л for palatalized ones) occurs only in the pronunciation of students with a low performance level in the Ukrainian language. Otherwise, these two phonemes are pronounced in a manner that renders them aurally indistinguishable from the Ukrainian palatalized Н and Л (despite the presence of phonetic interference in the hard Н and Л).

[Phonetic Interference: КН (n) instead of КН (НЬ)
МЛ (l) instead of МЛ (ЛЬ)]

In the case of the following six palatalized consonantal phonemes, phonetic interference takes the form of substitution by distinctly unrelated phonemes, in contrast to the substitution of hard phonemes for soft ones in the case of Н and Л.

2. Palatalized Т and Д

The position of the tip of the tongue in the articulation of the hard Ukrainian Т and Д facilitates palatalization because it enables the centre of the tongue to press against the palate. The movement of the centre of the tongue towards the palate is rendered impossible for the student who has adopted the English 't' and 'd' phonemes. It is no coincidence that the Ukrainian student with phonetic interference distinctly audible in the hard Т and Д in turn displays phonetic interference in the equivalent palatalized phonemes. The English phonemes 'ch' and 'j' are common substitutions for the Ukrainian ТЬ and ДЬ respectively. [Phonetic Interference:

(ch) О (ch) Э instead of (ТЬ) О (Т') Э
(j) ЯКУЮ instead of (Д') ЯКУЮ]

3. Palatalized с , з , ц , ш

All four palatalized consonants are subject to substitution by pronunciations of the sibilant type.⁷ In all cases the substituted phonemes are pronounced soft, as is characteristic of English sibilants.

[Phonetic Interference: (sh) ш instead of (с') ш
(z) з instead of (з') з
(ch) ц instead of (ц') ц
(j) ш instead of (ш') ш]

The complete list of basic vowels as well as non-palatalized and palatalized consonantal phonemes constitutes the maximum scope of phonetic interference as reflected in the pronunciation of Australian-born Ukrainians at high school. These observations were made over a period of four years of teaching Ukrainian students aged between 12 and 15 years. A further observation was made in this period. It became increasingly obvious that students with phonetic interference could not aurally distinguish between Ukrainian and English phonemes.

These observations provided the incentive to test Ukrainian students at university level. The class of first-year students consisted of 11 bilingual Ukrainians aged 17 years and over. The aim of the experiment was to determine the scope and degree of phonetic interference in their pronunciation and simultaneously to establish whether phonetic interference in pronunciation was correlated with inability to distinguish aurally between Ukrainian and English phonemes and between Ukrainian non-palatalized and palatalized consonants.

For this purpose the following oppositions were isolated:

1. Ukrainian basic vowels in opposition to English vowels;
2. Ukrainian hard consonants in opposition to English consonants;
3. Ukrainian non-palatalized consonants in opposition to Ukrainian palatalized consonants.

Minimal pairs of corresponding Ukrainian and English words were used for types 1 and 2, minimal pairs of Ukrainian words with non-palatalized and palatalized opposition were used for type 3. Preference was given to monosyllabic words where possible.⁸

Three tests were given: listening, written and oral. The items for all tests were identical.

SAMPLES: Section 1 English and Ukrainian opposition

jute - ш
Tom - ш
rot - ш

Section 2 Ukrainian hard and soft consonantal
opposition

ГРУП - ІРУДЬ
СТАН - СТАНІ

Items in both Section 1 and 2 were arranged in random order to prevent students from decoding a predictable pattern. The written test differed in that the oppositions of phonemes being tested were underlined, e.g. rot - pot.

The three tests were given on the same day in the following order: listening, written and oral. Before commencing the experiment the students were informed about the requirements of the experiment, the nature of oppositions being used, as well as the definition of and distinction between the terms 'similar' and 'identical' in terms of articulation, since these terms appeared in the listening and written tests.

No lessons were given on the phonemic systems of Ukrainian and English (nor on the distinctions between them) prior to the experiment. Such a lesson would have eliminated the spontaneity of the students' response and reduced the experiment to responses based on theoretical knowledge.

Test 1 - Listening test

The examiner pronounced each opposition individually while the students marked their responses on their sheet. The aim of this test was to determine whether the students could aurally distinguish between 1.English and Ukrainian phonemes, and 2.Ukrainian hard and soft consonants.

The students had to rely entirely on their listening skills, since no items appeared on their test sheet. Distinction between English and Ukrainian words and, similarly, between Ukrainian hard and soft consonants would have been automatic through graphic distinctiveness.

Test 2 - Written test

The same items were presented in the written test. In this instance the phonemes in question for both sections were underlined. The students circled the terms 'similar' or 'identical' for each phonemic opposition. This test examined each student's prior knowledge of the differences between the phonemic systems.

Test 3 - Oral test

Each student (individually) read the same test items to the examiner, who marked on her sheet

- a) The scope of phonetic interference; and
- b) the degree of phonetic interference and the nature of the substitution.

The results of the experiments proved interesting, although they were by no means definitive, because of the limited nature of data collected.

1. Scope of Phonetic Interference

No phonetic interference was detected in the Ukrainian basic vowels. Phonetic interference in Ukrainian non-palatalized consonants was generally limited to т and д, the sibilants, and т', д', ц', з', ц, and дз among the palatalized consonants.

2. The Degree of Phonetic Interference in Individual Ukrainian Phonemes

In the oral test students did not distinguish in pronunciation between the Ukrainian ш, ж, ч, дж and the equivalent English phonemes. In all cases of Ukrainian and English oppositions, these phonemes were pronounced as the (softer) English 'sh', 'zh/s', 'ch', and 'j'. Results from the listening and written tests confirmed these observations. All students with phonetic interference in these phonemes indicated that the Ukrainian and English phonemic oppositions were identical in articulation.

The phonemes т and д were pronounced with a slight aspiration in both Ukrainian and English oppositions.⁹ All three tests indicated that the students did not distinguish between the English t and d, and the Ukrainian т and д.

The degree of interference in the pronunciation of all palatalized consonants was decreased, but the presence of interference was definitely audible. The degree of interference varied among the students and even from one phoneme to another.

In the final analysis, Ukrainian palatalized consonants constituted the most conspicuous group of phonemes with phonetic interference.

The test results were correlated to determine whether inability to distinguish a) English and Ukrainian phonemes, and b) Ukrainian palatalized consonants at the

oral level indicated an inability to distinguish the oppositions aurally.

Two interesting observations resulted from these correlations.

1. Ukrainian-English Phonemic Opposition

Phonetic interference in the oral test correlated with the responses in the listening and written tests. Students who did not distinguish between Ukrainian and English oppositions in the oral test indicated in the other two tests that the oppositions in all cases were 'identical' in articulation.

An additional 9 students were given the listening test consisting of only English and Ukrainian word oppositions. The students were first year undergraduates attempting Introductory Ukrainian and had little or no knowledge of Ukrainian. The results indicated that on average the English-speaking students scored higher in the ability to distinguish Ukrainian and English opposition than bilingual Australian-born Ukrainians.

These observations in themselves cannot be interpreted as conclusive evidence that bilingual students are disadvantaged in the matter of phonemic distinctiveness (nor that students with knowledge of only one language have an advantage in this matter). However, the discrepancy in the scores between the two groups of students had not been anticipated by the author.

2. Ukrainian Non-Palatalized and Palatalized Consonantal Opposition

The correlation of results in the three tests indicated a difference between the ability to distinguish English and Ukrainian phonemes, and Ukrainian hard and soft consonants. Students with phonetic interference in palatalized consonants (revealed in the oral test) indicated in all cases (in both written and listening tests) that they could distinguish between hard and soft consonants.

It is significant that the ability to hear such an opposition in itself does not eliminate interference in the pronunciation of palatalized consonants. On the contrary, the inability to distinguish hard consonants from soft eliminates the need for further substitutions. A student who cannot distinguish between hard and soft consonants would more readily replace a palatalized consonant with its equivalent non-palatalized partner than search for a substitute through an unrelated phoneme.

Observations made by the author during experiments at high school and university do not constitute grounds for

authoritative generalizations on the topic of phonetic interference. However, the high incidence of phonetic interference in the pronunciation of bilingual Australian-born Ukrainians is a fact that cannot be ignored or avoided. English textbooks which describe Ukrainian phonemes as 'similar' to equivalent English phonemes oversimplify the similarities between the two phonemic systems and do nothing to rectify phonetic interference in bilingual Ukrainian students.¹⁰

A more accurate description of the differences between the two phonemic systems (accompanied by intensive aural and oral exercises) may partially eliminate interference. However, such remedies can prove beneficial only to those students who can distinguish aurally between Ukrainian and English phonemes. Teaching aural discrimination is a more difficult task by far.

NOTES

1. See Yu.O. Zluktenko, Movni kontakty (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Kyivskoho Universytetu, 1966) for a general discussion of problems associated with bilingualism; M.G. Clyne, Multilingual Australia (Melbourne: River Seine Publications, 1982), pp. 93-116 for a discussion of language interference in ethnic community languages in an Australian context; and D.B. Chopyk, Navchannia movy (Munich: Ukrainskyi Vilnyi Universytet, 1976), pp. 38-41 for a description of interference in the Ukrainian language in Canada.
2. Graphemic interference is evident in the confusion of similar Ukrainian and English graphemes that are distinguishable phonetically.
3. The iotated я, є, ю, ї, each constitute two phonemes that are graphically expressed as one grapheme. They are subject to phonetic interference to the same degree as basic vowels.
4. The sibilant ш, comprising two phonemes graphemically expressed as one, is subject to phonetic interference to the same degree as the phonemes щ and ч. Conversely, the phonemes ш3 and шж each comprise one phoneme graphemically expressed as two.

There are a further 16 double or long consonants, three of which are also palatalized. These will not be

discussed in reference to phonetic interference, although in principle long or double consonants have different implications for Ukrainian and English.

The author is aware of the fact that there are numerous theories about the phonemic system of Ukrainian. However, theoretical debate on the phonological system is outside the scope of this paper. For a concise description of the Ukrainian phonemic system see G. Shevelov in V. Kubijovyc (eds.) Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), I. 448-51.

5. It may be argued that there is phonetic interference even in the remaining 11 basic consonants. However, they have been excluded because, in contrast to the other consonantal phonemes, phonetic interference in them is difficult to detect aurally.
6. Children, in any given language, may have pronunciation difficulties that in due course are levelled out. In those cases where the pronunciation has not been corrected in the course of time, it is difficult to determine whether incorrect pronunciation is due to past habits or to the interference of another language. In most cases, both causes are indistinguishable in their effect on pronunciation.
7. It is difficult to determine here to what degree English is the sole agent for interference among Australian-born Ukrainians, since inaccurate pronunciation of some of these palatalized phonemes is evident in the dialectal pronunciation of first generation Ukrainians.
8. The author was aware that certain oppositions contained more than one phoneme to be tested for phonetic interference. As test material, individual phonemes and/or syllables are preferable in isolating phonemic opposition. However, the author consciously avoided isolated phonemes in the listening and pronunciation tests, because in a classroom differences between isolated phonemes would in many cases have been difficult to hear. To compensate for the use of oppositions with monosyllabic words, an additional test was set (in this case a written test) which isolated the opposition of Ukrainian and English phonemes.

The written test also fulfilled a secondary purpose. It overruled or neutralized any subjective factors in the investigator's pronunciation in the listening test.

9. The degree of aspiration in the Ukrainian T and II was significantly less than the degree observed in the high school students and more closely approached the degree required by standard Ukrainian. On the other hand, English 't' and 'd' as pronounced by the students were less aspirated than required.
10. English textbooks are inconsistent in their description of Ukrainian phonemes. See the following: G. Duravetz, Ukrainian: Conversational and Grammatical, Level I, Revised edition (Toronto: Ukrainian Teachers' Committee, Ontario Modern Language Teachers Association, 1977). A. Humetsky, Modern Ukrainian (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980). H.I. Makarova, L.M. Palamar, N.K. Prisyazhnyuk, Learn Ukrainian: An Elementary Practical Course in Conversational Ukrainian (Kiev: Vyshcha shkola, 1975). Y. Slavutych, Conversational Ukrainian (Edmonton: Gateway Publishers Ltd., 1973). J.W. Stechishin, Ukrainian Grammar (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1971). D. Husar Struk, Ukrainian for Undergraduates (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982). Yu.O. Zhluktenko, N.I. Totska, T.K. Molodid, Ukrainian: A Text-Book for Beginners, 2nd ed. (Kiev: Vyshcha shkola, 1978).

These textbooks cater for elementary courses in Ukrainian and for this purpose they suffice. However, for bilingual Ukrainian students with conspicuously audible phonetic interference, more specialized books on phonetics may be required to supplement descriptions given in the textbooks mentioned. The following are suggested: I.K. Bilodid, ed. Suchasna ukrainska literaturna mova, Vol. I: Vstup. Fonetyka. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1969). I. Zilyns'kyj, A Phonetic Description of the Ukrainian Language (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

SATIRE AND THE COMIC IN AUSTRALIA'S UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

Marko Pavlyshyn

Since the arrival of the post-war wave of Ukrainian migrants, a body of Ukrainian-language literature, small in absolute terms, but not insubstantial relative to the size of its local audience, has come into being in Australia. We have argued elsewhere that this literature has been dominated by the fact of emigration and by the rift between imported communal ideals and the socio-economic exigencies of life in the host country.¹

The present study proposes to substantiate this thesis more fully with reference to a particular class of text: works of the satirical and, more generally, comic modes. We abide by the conventional definition of the satirical as that which utilizes humour, wit or other affects of the comic in calling attention to flaws in human nature or in social organization. The comic we regard, equally conventionally, as that which evokes the pleasure of amusement and tends to make the reader laugh or smile.²

A significant portion of Australia's Ukrainian writing falls within these frequently overlapping categories.³ Zoia Kohut's collections Kulturni arabesky (Cultural Arabesques, 1969) and Kucheriavyi Dym (Curly Smoke, 1974) are in large part satirical. Vasyl Onufriienko published a long burlesque, Stalin u pekli (Stalin in Hell) in 1956. In 1979-83 three collections of humorous short stories, feuilletons and, in one case, one-act plays appeared: Iakyi Sava, taka i slava (The Work Shows the Workman, 1979) by Lesia Bohuslavets (pseudonym), I take buvaie (Anything Can Happen, 1980) by Opanas Brytva (pseudonym for Orest Barchynsky), and Dar liubovy (Gift of Love, 1983) by Hrytsko Volokyta (pseudonym for Iaroslav Masliak). In this connection one should mention Bohdan Podoliianko's collection of memoirs and short narratives, Liubit zhyttia (Love your Life, 1982), in which the author's skills as a humorist, familiar from his columns in the Sydney newspaper Vilna dumka (The Free Thought), enliven his recreations of

the past. In all, two of a total of nine volumes of poetry by individuals, and four of a total of nine collections of short prose belong to the category of comic writing. In addition, each of the seven numbers of the almanac Novyi obrii (New Horizon) has dedicated 10-15% of its pages to comic works, usually in a separate section under the head of "Humour and Satire."

On account of their availability in printed books, the above-mentioned items have served as the main sources for the present discussion. But they by no means exhaust Ukrainian humorous and satirical writing in Australia. The Ukrainian community's newspaper-oriented culture and the establishment of Ukrainian radio broadcasting created favourable conditions for the feuilleton. In the very early 1950s a satirical newspaper, Perets (Pepper) appeared for a short time in Adelaide, and later in Melbourne. Theatrical activity in the larger centres of settlement generated a number of original, but in the main ephemeral, dramatic texts, mostly comic and frequently satirical, by such authors as Omelian Buchatsky and Iurii Suchoversky in Sydney, and Slava Boliukh, Zoia Kohut and Iaroslav Hevko in Melbourne. Very few of these items have been collected or placed on bibliographical record. Nor could they be taken into account here.

The present study, therefore, cannot attempt a complete descriptive or enumerative account of the phenomenon with which it deals. Nor is its objective the evaluation, relative to some canon of aesthetic criteria, of the literary merit of individual works. Rather, we aim, first, to discover dominant forms, thematic preoccupations and guiding ideas, and second, to suggest avenues for understanding these as responses to the cultural and social environment.

I

Within Australia's Ukrainian literature, "humane" humour of the kind which Stephen Leacock described as the "kindly contemplation of the incongruities of life"⁴ occurs most consistently in short prose. Such works express the conviction that imperfections and absurdities are characteristic, not merely of the Ukrainian émigré community, but of human nature in general. They confront this fact with resigned tolerance, rather than indignant protest. Iaroslav Masliak's judgment of Opanas Brytva might well relate to Masliak himself, or to the whole body of feuilletonistic writing:

He is a subtle psychologist, a dedicated humanist and

lover of peace; he loves human beings and depicts their good and bad qualities, but he sees them through the winking eye of the sympathetic philosopher and stoic. If he scolds, he does so by way of friendly admonition, rather than through sharp, acid satire.⁵

The favourite butts of the "sympathetic philosophers" in prose are various manifestations of Ukrainian émigré life. Brytva, for example, ridicules the typical speech at a committee meeting or community function, while Masliak selects such comic themes as the transformation of the week commemorating the captive nations into a fashion carnival, or the character change induced in a contributor to worthy causes by the appearance of gambling machines at a Ukrainian venue. Lesia Bohuslavets ironically reflects on the effects of boredom and déjà vu that can attend the community's commemorative gatherings:

Як можна про тих самих поетів, письменників чи події щось нове сказати? І для чого нове казати? Так, ідеш на академію, сідаєш і вже наперед знаєш, про що говоритимуть.

(How can one say anything new about those same poets, writers and events? and what's the need for it? You go to a function, take your seat, and you know in advance what is going to be said. No surprises.)⁶

In such cases the comic effect is produced by the incongruity between the serious intent of some undertaking (a meeting, speech, political statement, artistic performance, or act of magnanimity), and the unprepossessing level at which the intention is realized. The operation of this technique is well exemplified in Opanas Brytva's feuilleton "Deshcho pro zasidannia" (On Committee Meetings). Brytva begins with a linguistic jest: he notes that the perfective aspect of the verb "zasidaty" ("to participate in a committee meeting") is "zasisty" ("to wait in ambush"), implying that the inherently treacherous quality of meetings is attested by the evidence of language itself. Next, Brytva entertains his readers with a paradox: while committee meetings in the rational world control the work of an organization, in émigré society they are the organization's sole labour. After establishing are that function is not a determining quality of committee meetings, Brytva seeks some other basis on which to classify them. He proposes a classification by length:

Засідання тривають годину, дві, десять, часом і три дні. Такі триденні мамутові засідання називають звичайно з'їздами.

(Meetings last one, two or three hours, and sometimes as much as three days. These mammoth three-day meetings are generally called conventions.)⁷

Matters brought up at meetings, in turn, are divided into "points of order" and "others." Having described the point of order as a magic formula which entitles anyone who invokes it to speak at random on any topic whatsoever, Brytva himself adopts a random structure for the rest of his feuilleton. He discourses on factors limiting the length of speeches (hunger, loss of voice and physiological needs), on adjournments, and on the difficulty of closing a meeting. Twice he turns to a theme often reiterated by male humorists: the married woman as enemy of male comfort and liberty. The effect of the miniature essay is that of a whimsical medley of criticisms and humorous observations. Ukrainian prose humour in Australia seldom departs from this arabesque tonality, although it addresses itself as often as not to community, political and social problems of some significance: should one support cultural exchanges with the Ukrainian SSR? why is the community so sensitive to criticism? what is happening to second-generation Ukrainians, and what will be the shape of the community after the demise of the first generation? The last of these, it should be noted, is one of the most widespread concerns of Ukrainian literature and, indeed, all public Ukrainian discourse in Australia; with it is associated the recurrent formula, "where are the children of our patriots, and why have they not maintained their language?" The theme may be found in works by Brytva,⁸ Masliak,⁹ Lesia Bohuslavets¹⁰ and, in a more serious context, Dmytro Chub (pseudonym of Dmytro Nytczenko).¹¹

An important object of comic depiction in the texts under discussion is the humorous character. Eccentrics and fanatics are standard fare in comedy, and the conditions of emigration have created a number of types whose qualities lend themselves well to exaggeration and caricature. They include the collector for diverse charitable, patriotic, educational and religious funds, the Ukrainian entertainer who appears at all ethnic venues but Ukrainian ones, the peddler of books, or again, the East Ukrainian who cannot cease to wonder at the vagaries of West Ukrainian speech. Zoia Kohut in her poem cycle "Z hromadskoho albumu" (From the Community Album) registers the existence of the "krykun" (screamer), "balakun" (chatterbox), "obmezhenyi" (ignoramus) and the "materialist" (materialist) among numerous other types,¹² while Iaroslav Masliak in "Hromadska zoolohiia" (Community Zoology) pays homage to a venerable satirical technique by allegorizing émigré types as animals.¹³

It is conventional for what Northrop Frye calls "satire of the high norm"¹⁴ to present, at least by implication, some positive ideal from which the satirically depicted reality is a deviation. Such positive ideals are unambiguously present in all of Australia's Ukrainian satire; we shall refer to them here and below as the "foundation ideals" of the community. They include the cultivation of Ukrainian language and folklore, the establishment of Ukrainian families, dedicated labour in community organizations, and patriotic consciousness. These virtues are sometimes expressed in symbolic figures who are drawn from the pre-emigration world and represent the antithesis of émigré decay. In Brytva's works such a figure is the poet Ivan Franko, who appears to the narrator in a dream and condemns the disunity of Sydney's Ukrainian community life. In Zoia Kohut's "Cultural Arabesques" the portraits of Ukraine's cultural, political and religious heroes,

Шевченко, Леся і Хмельницький,
Франко, Петлюра і Шептицький

(Shevchenko, Lesia and Khmelnytsky, / Franko, Petliura and Sheptytsky)¹⁵

have a similar function: they symbolize the ideals which have been adopted by the community and which even satire has not dared to question.

It is useful at this stage to consider why the prose satire at hand is so gentle and why it contains so little iconoclasm. The conventional model of aggressive satire, as exemplified by Swift, Dryden or Pope, places the satirist outside and above the society to be satirized. The satirist figures as custodian of superior values which are culpably absent from the society portrayed. The satirist's persona is separate from, and opposed to, society as he depicts it. Such a separation is, apparently, impossible for the émigré satirist, and certain émigré conditions might be the cause. The satirist and his reader are part of a society whose values and institutions they have co-created in the decades since arriving in Australia. The importance of this fact in the Ukrainian émigré's social imagination is reflected in a universal habit of speech and writing: the use of the pronoun "my" (we) to designate that community of first-generation migrants which is united by the foundation ideals.¹⁶ The group loyalty implied in this "my" is intense. It entrenches the satirist irreversibly inside the satirized society: he cannot, without losing his consistent and therefore authoritative satirist's viewpoint, attack the defining ideals of the society for whose genesis he is co-responsible. A literary taboo thus protects these ideals

from question, making them the limits of social thought and simultaneously the positive norms to be enforced by satire.

Yet, though unchallenged in public rhetoric, the founding ideals in practice have always had to compete against the social and economic interests of the members of the community as individuals. Successful in Australian society, part of the first generation became indifferent toward community life, while a large section of the Australian-born generation has assimilated itself to the Australian middle class and its culture.¹⁷ These processes have provided the satirist with easy and permanent targets. When such realities as assimilation are observed, they almost never lead to an examination of the wisdom of the foundation ideals themselves; instead, they result in the criticism of individuals for their failure to implement these ideals. Such failures, at the same time, are viewed as somehow inevitable - as immutable foibles of human nature.

When some aspect of the foundation ideals is nevertheless to be challenged (as, for example, in some works by Lesia Bohuslavets and Zoia Kohut), this can only be done by a manipulation of the concept of "we" to include a heterogeneous element: "nashi dity" (our children). As the sole available inheritors of the society constructed by the first generation, "nashi dity" are, on one hand, a subset of the "my" group. On the other hand, they are "not-my" - a spontaneous force whose romanticized naturalness lends at least a measure of acceptability to any questioning of the founding ideals that might be undertaken by them or on their behalf. Thus, in such stories as "Vyshnia" (The Cherry Tree), "Asymiliatsia" (Assimilation) and "Propashcha generatsiia" (The Lost Generation)¹⁸ Lesia Bohuslavets conducts a critique of hypocritical patriotism, obsessive involvement in community activities and ideological blinkeredness (all are perverted forms of the founding ideals) by portraying their negative effect on young people. Bohuslavets draws upon yet another source of authority, which is certainly more ancient than the founding ideals and might, it is implied, wield greater intrinsic authority: the folk wisdom encapsulated in proverbs and popular aphorisms. Bohuslavets frequently presents the vice to be satirized as the attribute of an unsympathetic female figure (sometimes the first-person narrator), whose prejudice, blindness and irrationality are juxtaposed against the tolerant wisdom of another, usually older, woman. The latter has at her disposal a repertoire of Ukrainian proverbs, which constitute an authoritative corrective to the foolhardiness of her companion.

While prose satire on the whole pulls its punches when dealing with community life, it has no reason to be so

protective on the occasions when it ventures into commentary on life in general. Brytva shows himself capable of a wholly different, pessimistic tone when he writes of the mindlessness of the urban working day, of the tense undercurrents of a seemingly placid middle-class marriage, or of the threat of nuclear war. A socially constructive tone is also not obligatory for those narratives, usually comic in intention, which treat of the collision between the émigré's Ukrainian world and Australian society. In "Pankova pryhoda" (Panko's adventure), Iaroslav Masliak describes the encounter between a naive recent arrival and a Sydney courtesan;¹⁹ the hero enters his piquant predicament as a result of his inability to ask for transport directions in English. A minor masterpiece among such works on intercultural confusion is Nevan Hrushetsky's "Pereklad po slovnyku" (A Dictionary Translation). An Australian who has married a Ukrainian girl writes a letter in English to his new in-laws in Ukraine. Their attempt to translate his letter word for word leads them into comic perplexity, for rendered literally, colloquial Australian English discourse becomes opaque, surreal and menacing. For example, the sentence, "As you can see from the snapshots of our kids, they are a spitting image of Mary," becomes "Iak mozhesh bachyty z triskuchykh postriliv nashykh kozeniat, vony ie pliuiuchy i obraz Marii" (As you can see from the cracking gunfire of our young goats, they are an expectorating picture of Mariia).²⁰

A satirical work which focusses especially sharply, and with melancholy point, on the discrepancy between the value systems of the two cultures, is Opanas Brytva's "Avstraliiska baliada" (An Australian Ballad). As every Ukrainian reader can see at once, the first line of the poem ("J vsiakoho svoia dolia" - Everyone has His Own Fate) is identical with that of Taras Shevchenko's "Son (Komedii)" (The Dream [A Comedy]), and the rhythmical pattern parodies that of Shevchenko's ballads, such as "Kateryna," (Catherine), "Topolia" (The Poplar), "Utoplana" (The Drowned Woman) and parts of "Prychynna" (The Bewitched Woman). Whereas many of Shevchenko's ballads contain the plot of the lovers tragically separated, in Brytva's "Baliada" émigré circumstances impart tragic overtones even to a lovers' reunion. The poem tells of the ex-soldier Stepan, who, over several years, has grown rich in Australia, and decides to bring from Ukraine his former beloved, Hanusia. She arrives by ship, and he meets her on the pier:

Оглянувся, затрусився,
 В очах помутніло.
 Стоїть Ганя його в хустці,
 Бідна, постаріла,
 Мов руїна тої Гані,
 Яку пам'ятає...
 Та ось кинувся до неї,
 Що сил обнімає.

(He looked around, and began to tremble;/Everything blurred before his eyes./There is his Hania, a scarf around her head,/Miserable, aged,/Like a ruin of that Hania/Whom he remembers . . ./But he rushes toward her/And embraces her with all his might.)²¹

The scene is, of course, allegorical. Stepan, who has adopted the materialism of the new society, encounters in the time-worn Hanusia a personification of his once fresh ideals. Instinctively, he recoils from her; yet almost at once he represses his natural reaction and embraces her, compelling himself to ignore the gulf between ideals born in the Ukraine of the past and their embodiment in Australian reality, decades later. His consistent refusal to face the unpalatable facts is reflected in the grotesqueness of what follows - the old couple's extravagant wedding reception, at whose end a company of ageing "boys" drunkenly bellows patriotic songs.

II

The inaccessibility of other texts limits our discussion of comedy in drama to the published works of Iaroslav Masliak. His one-act plays are sentimental and idyllic; there is little place in them for satire. The love plots of "Nitseiska olyva" (Oil of Nice) and "Panchishkova sprava" (The Stocking Affair)²² are familiar enough in comedy: they end by pairing off one or more couples for the purpose of marriage, and their dramatic interest derives from obstacles and misunderstandings in the path of such coupling. Masliak's plays add a special, émigré dimension to this scheme. They are set in Sydney, but all of their characters are Ukrainian. The marriage unions of such dramatis personae have a wish-fulfilling function for Masliak's audiences: they provide an idyllic antidote to the mixed marriage, which émigré authors in general see as a violation of one of the foundation ideals. However, the idyll's isolation from the host society is by no means consistent. Excluding the host society from the private sanctum of pre-marital love, the idyll nevertheless embraces the host society's perceptions of economic values. The heroes and heroines are integrated into the middle class of the new country, and define themselves by their position within it (as doctors, university academics, students, or young professionals rich enough for international travel). Erotic elements are not absent from this idyll: the oil of Nice is the substance with which the hero, titillatingly offstage, anoints the heroine's sunburnt (and bare) back.

Possibly Masliak's most interesting play is "Pirandelivska tema" (A Theme from Pirandello), which reflects upon the position of the émigré artist between a dreamily attractive, but past-oriented, idealism, and a grey and uninviting realism. The dramatist is discovered writing a play. His wife, a philistine, discourages him: "My na chuzhyni, i treba pro teatr zabuty" (We are in a foreign country, and you should forget the theatre.)²³ However, the playwright's imagination is not to be prevented from working, simultaneously, at scenes from two different dramas. The characters from both appear on stage, and the two trains of action become entangled, causing comic confusion. The first scene shows a married couple, newly arrived from the refugee camps of Europe, enthusiastically choosing Anglo-Saxon names for their children. This image of assimilation, however, is soon displaced by another: somewhere in Europe a man of middle age, while making amorous advances to a young girl, discovers from a medallion around her neck that she is his daughter. The comically grotesque application of the age-old recognition motif and the hint at incest are, in the first instance, saucy titbits calculated to tickle the audience's imagination. But juxtaposed against the preceding drab enactment of deliberate self-assimilation, the trivial sensationalist farce takes on an attractive, romantic sheen which is a glimmer of the exhilarating golden past. This nostalgic subtext is shared by all of Masliak's plays.

III

Ukrainian writers in Australia have produced comic verse of several kinds: satirical poems, occasional verse, scrupulously inoffensive "friendly ribs" addressed to fellow writers and community personalities, and burlesques. The longest among the latter is Vasyl Onufriienko's Stalin u Pekli (Stalin in Hell).²⁴ Unlike the standard burlesque, Onufriienko's poem is not an attack upon the canonicity of a revered text, nor on prevailing and widely respected social or aesthetic values. Stalin in Hell is one of many Ukrainian poems which have tried to emulate the spirit of Eneida, Ivan Kotliarevsky's parody of Virgil's Aeneid. Its stanza form is identical with Kotliarevsky's; its subject is a redescent into Hades by Aeneas and the Sybil, both of them bruised by the experiences of the Second World War and the refugee camps, in order to witness the arrival there of the recently deceased Stalin. Stalin, offering to lead the local demons in the construction of a Heaven in Hell, seizes power from Lucifer and imposes a reign of terror.

In parodies of Virgil, the descent into the underworld usually serves as a frame for the denunciation of the author's favourite evils. Onufriienko's are, in the first instance, Soviet functionaries, Marxist social theorists, and all servitors of the Soviet state. Second in the line of fire are representatives of émigré vices. Perhaps because Onufriienko sought as his audience the whole of the Ukrainian diaspora, he makes reference only to the shared experience of the camps, avoiding Australian themes altogether. His social sinners are conventional and may already be found in Kotliarevsky: licentious churchmen, intellectually bankrupt writers and newspapermen. The political inmates of Hades are more specifically contemporary: they represent all Ukrainian political parties and movements of the present and recent past. And yet, none of the satirical material relates to the situation in which the author actually lives. The author, it appears, conceives of himself as deprived of the fundamental satirical situation, whose participants are the satirist, a community of readers, and a social world familiar to both. Onufriienko's Stalin in Hell is oriented upon a past, pre-diaspora satirical context: that of the Displaced Persons camps. The new life in Australia, Onufriienko's poem suggests, is outside the ambit of literary reflection; it is of no interest to the community of readers, which, if it still exists, must be conceptualized as a world-wide diaspora comprising those who shared the refugee experience.

It should be noted that Onufriienko's burlesque appeared in 1956; in later poems, which fall outside the territory of the comic and therefore are not the concern of this essay, he turned his attention, as a lyricist, to the new environment, almost always reflecting upon the subordinate place that it must necessarily occupy in an émigré's emotions.

At a later stage, when the local and international structures of Ukrainian émigré life had become more evident, burlesques began to address the contemporary social context. Among the best and most suggestive such works is a mock-ode, "Oda na chest varenykiv" (Ode to Varenyky) by Ostap Zirchasty (pseudonym, alongside "Dmytro Chub," of Dmytro Nytczenko). The poem smiles upon the inflated role that belongs in Ukrainian community life to folkloric and domestic culture. The varenyk, edible symbol of this homely, undemanding and physical element of émigré existence, is seen in apotheosis and extolled as a kind of cultural aphrodisiac:

Бо в варениках сидить магічна сила:
Хоч ти з'їв всього їх, може, з п'ять,
А вже чуєш - виростають крила,
Чиєсь серце хочеш пригортати.
Ось вареник соняшний підносиш,
У сметані, з маслом на кінцях,
А з дівчат уже очей не зводиш,
З їхніх уст, із ніжного лица.

(For in varenyky there is a magic force:/Although you've eaten no more than, say, five of them,/You feel that your wings are growing,/You want to embrace somebody's heart./You raise the sunny varenyk aloft,/With cream and butter at its tips,/And from the girls you no longer divert your eyes,/From their lips, their gentle faces.)²⁵

However, the fetishization of folk culture is a subject seldom touched by satire. Folklore and traditional material culture are, in general, protected by the taboo surrounding the founding ideals.

The most prolific writer of satirical poetry among Ukrainians in Australia is Zoia Kohut. Her two collections differ considerably in character. The first, Kulturni arabesky (Cultural Arabesques) consists mainly of satirical works of a humorous variety. In Kucheriavyi dym (Curly Smoke) the satire has less affinity with the comic than with melancholy. Sometimes it gives expression to a pessimism born of the difficulty of attributing meaning to the perceived world, sometimes it seeks by a religious path to evade such nihilism. Our generalizations, therefore, refer in the main to the first of Zoia Kohut's books, which contains the excellent poem for which the whole collection is named: "Cultural Arabesques." Like much Slavic comic verse, the poem is written in a vigorous iambic tetrameter and contains numerous epigrammatic couplet rhymes. It tells of an émigré couple's participation in a community-organized ball. The poem falls into two parts, in the first of which the chronological narration of preparations for the ball provides an opportunity to ridicule the trivial and marginal quality of the protagonists' lives, the vanity of their ambitions ("Ta pokazaty vsim, do rechi,/Svoi alabastrovi plechi" - And, by the way, to demonstrate to everybody/One's alabaster-white back), the quaintness of some habits of domestic economy brought from "home," and the pathetic concealment of the proletarian realities of their existence:

Часм відчищено всі плями
З убрання з білими пасками.
Блищать пастовані штиблети,
Біліють випрані манжети,
Краватки делікатний взір
Чарує серце, тішить зір.
Мозолі зрізані докладно,
І руки вимиті порядно.

(All stains are removed with tea/From the suit with white pin-stripes,/Polished shoes glitter,/Laundered cuffs show white,/The delicate design of the tie charms the heart and gladdens the eye./Corns are carefully pared away/And hands are given a proper wash.)²⁶

The satirical technique of the second half of the poem, which describes the ball itself, is different. Fragments of conversations are thrown together in a montage, so that in rapid succession a wide variety of vices and weaknesses is unmasked: materialism, pseudo-intellectualism, anglo-morph pretensions, drunkenness, lust and pride. Whereas the dance, like the carnival, is often treated by literature as an event in which humanity, discarding conventional social controls, is able to recapture some of its naturalness, in "Cultural Arabesques" the opposite is the case. The ball is the place where the émigré philistine's insincerity, pretentiousness, inflatedness and absurdity reach their apex and are most crushingly attacked.

The satirical works of Zoia Kohut cannot adequately be described in a general survey such as this. It must suffice to name some of the problems with which her verse concerns itself: what is the direction of the world's development? what dangers does independent thinking pose for the equilibrium of one's world view? what are the real social and emotional structures of family life? Zoia Kohut, while critical of émigré life, is equally unimpressed by the host society, whose suburbia she depicts as a psychological desert. Nor does the poetess spare herself, or the enterprise of writing poetry, whose motivation, she points out, is often unpoetic:

Сиджу на непостеленому ліжку
 /Ну й господиня з мене - просто сміх!/
 І думаю: писати треба книжку,
 Й до неї віршів треба би нових.
 Але про що? Погоду? Евкаліпт?
 Про нашої ментальности позем?
 Старі перебираю манускрипти,
 Бо для нових - знайти не можу тем...

(I sit on my unmade bed/(What a housewife I am - it's laughable!/
 And I think: I must write a book,/And I need new poems for it./But what about? The weather? Eucalypts?/The level of our mentality?/I shuffle old manuscripts,/Because for new ones I can find no themes . . .)²⁷

A rare talent for choice of words, virtuosity in the use of full and imperfect rhyme, and purposeful departures from the classical metres impart to Zoia Kohut's poetry a formal tautness and dynamism, and her satirical persona the aura of sovereignty and authority. In her works, rationality and human dignity are the enemies of insincerity, stupidity, cruelty and philistinism. The pessimism which finds direct expression in some of her later lyrical works is present as an undertone in all of her satire. It may plausibly be seen as a result of failure to find comfort in

the foundation ideals, or to discover new ideals that would supplement or supplant them.

Zoia Kohut's pessimism is a consequence of the unresolved problem that besets most Ukrainian literature in Australia: the difficulty of accommodating forms of consciousness shaped in Ukraine to new realities. If the duty to reflect upon this question critically and from a variety of standpoints belongs to one literary mode more than to others, then it belongs to satire, the critical genre par excellence. But even in its better and more complex works, Ukrainian satire in Australia has not yet confronted this challenge. It has stopped short of a thorough re-examination of the founding values, although ingenious ways have been found from time to time to hint that there might be imperfections in some of them. On the whole, satire has preferred to keep the foundation ideals intact, the better to indulge in the easy task of castigating those (the majority) who infringe them. It does so at the expense of serious contributions to social self-perceptions.

However, if the comic and satirical in Australia's Ukrainian literature has provided little by way of enhanced self-knowledge for its community of readers, it certainly has not denied them the pleasure of self-recognition. Many of the texts that we have mentioned or discussed above succeed as entertainment: they evoke the effect of laughter and its attendant enjoyment, and their popularity among readers is not in dispute.

NOTES

1. Marko Pavlyshyn, "Aspects of Ukrainian Literature in Australia," in Multicultural Writing in Australia (Sydney: Australia Council, 1985), pp. 70-77.
2. See Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom, Satire's Persuasive Voice (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell U.P., 1979), p. 36; Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism. Four Essays (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P., 1971), p. 224, and relevant entries in Gero von Wilpert, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Kroner, 1969).
3. For an enumerative survey of titles by Ukrainians living in Australia, see Dmytro Nytczenko, "Ukrainska knyzhka v Avstralii 1949-83" (Ukrainian Books in Australia 1949-83), paper presented at the First Conference on the History of Ukrainian Settlement in

Australia, sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, Sydney, 1983.

4. Stephen Leacock, Humour and Humanity. An Introduction to the Study of Humour (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1937), p. 11.
5. Iaroslav Masliak, "Zamist peredmovy," introduction to Opanas Brytva, I take buvaie (Melbourne: Prosvita, 1980), pp. 7-8. This and all further translations are mine.
6. Lesia Bohuslavets, Iakyi Sava, taka i slava (Melbourne: Bayda, 1979), p. 17.
7. Brytva, p. 28.
8. Brytva, "Na oklepanu temu" (On a hackneyed theme) in I take buvaie, p. 88.
9. Hrytsko Volskyta [Iaroslav Masliak], "Bahatokulturnyi virus" (The Multicultural Virus) in Dar Liubovy (Melbourne: Prosvita, 1983), pp. 18-21.
10. Bohuslavets, "Susidka" (Neighbour) in Iakyi Sava ..., pp. 9-12.
11. Chub, "Tryvoha" in Novyi obrii, No. 4 (Melbourne: Lastivka, 1971), p. 53.
12. Zoia Kohut, Kulturni Arabesky. Poeziia i proza (Melbourne: Prosvita, 1979), pp. 31-34.
13. Volokyta [Masliak], pp. 62-66.
14. Frye, p. 234.
15. Kohut, p. 11.
16. This rhetorical convention is most evident in editorial articles and letters to the editor in the Ukrainian press. Some idea of its ubiquity, even in texts which aim objectively to convey information, may be obtained from the fact that in Ukraintsi v Avstralii (Melbourne: Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia, 1966), the major reference work on Ukrainians in Australia up to 1965, the convention appears in 44 of the 63 Ukrainian-language articles.
17. See, e.g., J. Malecky's study in this collection.

18. Bohuslavets, pp. 45-48, 73-77 and 49-52 respectively.
19. Volokyta [Masliak], pp. 89-93.
20. Printed in Vilna Dumka. Quoted here from the MS.
21. Brytva, p. 121.
22. Volokyta [Masliak], pp. 37-49 and 160-175 respectively.
23. Ibid, pp. 189-92, here p. 190.
24. Vasyl Onufriienko, Stalin u pekli. Humorystychna poema (novitnia Eneida) (Melbourne: Ignativ, 1956).
25. Novyi obrii, no. 2 (Melbourne: Lastivka, 1960), pp. 124-25.
26. Kohut, Kulturni arabesky, p. 9.
27. Zoia Kohut, "Rozviazana problema" ("The Problem Solved") in Kucheriavyi dym (New York: Slovo, 1974), p. 21.

III PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS

PAVLO BOHATSKY: A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE SHEVCHENKO
SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN AUSTRALIA

Roman Mykytowycz

The inaugural meeting of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia took place on 28 August 1950 in Sydney. Dr. Ievhen Pelensky was elected to head the first executive committee; the other members were Professor Sylvester Haisevsky (Archbishop Sylvester of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church), the Revd. Mykola Kopyakivsky, Professor Pavlo Shulezhko, F. Koval and Pavlo Bohatsky.

In a paper on the early presidents of the Society I have dealt with Pelensky and Shulezhko;¹ here I propose, on the basis of primary documentary materials, to throw some light on Pavlo Bohatsky.

According to the Encyclopaedia of Ukraine, Bohatsky was a notable Ukrainian journalist, literary scholar, critic, bibliographer, writer and politician who played a not insubstantial role in the Ukrainian national revival during the early years of the twentieth century.² His own testimony concerning his life and work, especially in Australia, where he arrived in December 1949 at the age of 66 as a dependent of his 22-year-old son Levko, is of considerable interest.

A number of Bohatsky's letters to Ievhen Pelensky, together with some autobiographical notes, survive in the Shevchenko Society's archives.³ These materials provide a reliable and fascinating documentary record of Bohatsky's life and of his day-to-day difficulties in a new, unfamiliar country. They also contain Bohatsky's reflections on aspects of Ukrainian history and culture.

In a letter from Thirroul near the industrial city of Wollongong, New South Wales, dated 18 July 1950, Bohatsky writes in a handwriting that is calligraphic despite his 67 years:

I don't really like the local winter very much. It's neither autumn nor spring. It's not the cold that is

an annoyance, because there hasn't been any real cold. It's the damp. I am quite sensitive to this humid sultriness, and to the rains. For about a week it made me quite unwell. Then I improved a bit, but the weather worsened. We are awaiting the end of winter and the coming of a drier season.

But climate was not the greatest inconvenience. Other difficulties, such as the problem of accommodation, were more significant. In the same letter Bohatsky continues, "until yesterday there were five of us living in this house: myself, my wife, my son, Anatolii Soproniuk and Iurii Kuzmiuk ... " According to Bohatsky's son Levko, this small house was also occupied by a poor Australian family. The Bohatskys rented only two rooms. Valeriia Bohatsky, who had been a secondary-school teacher of French in Czechoslovakia, did the washing and cooking for all the tenants. But Bohatsky does not elaborate on such details, as the letter to Pelensky is official, rather than private. It touches on various community issues and makes reference to Plast, the Ukrainian scouting movement: "Thank you for the assorted addresses. I have had no reply from Druh Koshovyi,⁴ and I have received Seniorska vatra (The Senior Scouters' Campfire) from Druh Kuzhil."⁵

Bohatsky was a senior member of Plast. He belonged to the First Kurin (Fraternity) of Plast Senior Scouters and had received the highest Plast decoration, the Order of St. George in gold. His interest in scouting dated from the years of the Ukrainian independence struggle (1917-1920), when he helped Dr. Annokhin establish the first scout groups in Kiev. In 1919 Bohatsky organized similar groups in the Podillia region. After 1922, when he was in Prague, he was active in the Federation of Ukrainian Scouts in Exile (Soiuz Ukrainskykh Plastuniv Emigrantiv).

At the beginning of the 1930s, Bohatsky was in charge of Plast groups at the Ukrainian Technical Gymnasium in Revnice (Czechoslovakia). After the Second World War, when Plast was revived in the refugee camps of Germany and Austria in 1945, he established contact with the Plast Senior Scouters and joined their First Fraternity. In Australia he had no opportunity to work for the organization as an educator, on account of his age and of his remoteness from Plast centres.

Bohatsky's letter continues:

I receive the newspaper Vilna dumka (The Free Thought) weekly and read it, as they say, from A to Z. I can see that it is no easy task for you to put together an issue - not to mention printing those bilingual pages. Knowing how difficult it is to get copy, I have

suggested that it would not be a bad thing to use older literary material - things that would stimulate the mind and emotions of the reader, and remind us more often of what we have lost or left behind, but should never forget ... Our everyday language tires on us, while literary works are remembered for a long time ... But you do not need me to tell you this!

I have written to Bishop Sylvester.⁶ He told me about the terrible loss of his work - indeed, of his life's labours: his study of the Alexandriia and the third revised and augmented edition of his Teoriia khudozhnoi literatury (Theory of Literature).⁷ He had left them with the publisher Iurii Tyshchenko in Prague, who abandoned them, nobody knows where, during his escape.

In reply I said that I was deeply sorry, and suggested that we should follow Mykhailo Drahomanov's counsel and write a "history of perished works."⁸ Drahomanov had had in mind works which had disappeared as a result of censorship, but his advice is even more pertinent to books lost in the ruins of revolution. I told him that I was privy to the fact that Volodymyr Kulish lost a manuscript by his father, Mykola Kulish, because he refused to have it copied, fearing that the editors of Ukrainskyi visnyk (Ukrainian Herald) in Berlin might retain an illicit copy for themselves.⁹ Mrs. Ivchenko lost her husband's manuscripts, which she herself had smuggled across the border;¹⁰ the crates containing Krychevsky's paintings disappeared when they were already in Slovakia.¹¹ Where is Hnat Khotkevych's novel Bohdan Khmelnytsky, which he had been working on since 1913?¹² I remember seeing him doing research in the Kiev libraries. He submitted the manuscript to "Ukrainske vydavnytstvo" (Ukrainian Publishers) in Kraków; it was read by the editor Roman Kupchynsky. I saw it in Berlin in the last days before the Bolsheviks came. It was being passed from hand to hand; nobody knows what happened to it afterwards. You can hear many such terrible stories from authors and publishers. Take Mykhailo Hrushevsky's Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy (History of Ukraine-Rus), which was destroyed in his house.¹³ If one were to take up Drahomanov's task, the result would be a fascinating, terrible and necessary book. Imagine - to encompass all works that were prevented from seeing the light of day! True, there is no shortage of similar topics - e.g., a bibliographical dictionary of the authors who died during the revolution. The very names of many of them will be forgotten, not to mention their works. If the job were begun now, one could still find witnesses

with interesting things to say about those writers. Brick by brick a great shrine would be assembled, a mausoleum unique to Ukraine and worthy of the creators of the Ukrainian word. Many facts have already perished irretrievably, and everything will disappear, unless we who remain alive rouse ourselves and collect the relics. Or, if not the relics themselves, as these have mostly vanished, then at least information about them. This would be a task for some Ukrainian scholarly institution. It might begin with a call to the Ukrainian community. A bulletin or newsletter could record incoming information.

Well, I have waxed eloquent about this! It is a matter that has concerned me for a long time, and time passes without leaving a trace. A pity, a great pity - we could have had a scholarly treatise on the Alexandriia, but we didn't print it in time and now this treasure is lost.

Do you and your fellow editors receive the American [Ukrainian] press? I've just received some Easter numbers. Some of the cultural items are still of interest. If you don't, I can cut some articles out and send them to you.

I do not propose to comment on the opinions Bohatsky expresses here, except to point out that in 1950, at the time of writing the quoted letter, Bohatsky was working as a cleaner in a steelworks, while his article, "Trahediia samotnoho sertsia. Intymna storinka biohrafii T. Shevchenka" (Tragedy of a Lonely Heart: An Intimate Side of Taras Shevchenko's Biography) was being published in Vilna dumka.

In another, not quite so calligraphic letter to Jevhen Pelensky, dated 15 January 1953, the 70-year-old Bohatsky writes:

Many thanks for your greetings. We did not even get close to celebrating Christmas. During Christmas week my son and I worked as hard as could be: we sawed up and split the huge logs that covered half our building allotment. The trees were tremendously thick; they had been lying there for I don't know how long, and had dried until they were hard as rocks. Now we are uprooting the stumps - digging great holes around them and chopping through the roots. It is an excruciating job, but interesting. My hands have taken on a semblance to rakes. In a few days I shall have to return to the broom, and I won't be able to wield it.

And yet he had to continue wielding the broom for a long time. Like many other immigrants close to retiring

age who wanted to secure for themselves at least a minimal financial base, Bohatsky had given himself out to be younger than he was and had taken a job. In a letter of 27 July 1956, Bohatsky writes at the age of 73,

You ask whether I took my article with me after the committee meeting. If you mean the essay, "Problemy krytychnoho vydannia poetychnykh tvoriv T. Shevchenka" (Problems of a Critical Edition of Taras Shevchenko's Poetic Works), I have it at home. It has to be re-read, and perhaps it will be necessary to make some alterations, in view of the appearance of the solid works of Pavlo Zaitsev and Leonyd Biletsky.¹⁴ I have them, but I don't have the time to read them, much less review them ... You say that it is time to think about publishing a "Ukrainian Book." You are right - we should have made the world aware of our existence years ago.

I am sorry that this letter has the appearance of a rough draft. I am simply beginning to go blind from the darkness and dust at work. I am always getting around to seeing a doctor, but I never find the time. I shall not be coming to the commemoration of Ivan Franko.¹⁵ It is, as usual, too difficult for me.

The work to which Bohatsky refers here was printed in Vilna dumka in 1958. In addition to it and the article published in 1950, to which reference was made above, four other works of his were published between 1955 and 1959 (see Bibliography). Despite his age and the difficult circumstances of his life, he continued to write. Working at a cleaning job, remote from any large Ukrainian community, he found in writing the sole satisfaction of his intellectual needs. That he had a passion for the written word since the early years of his life is clear from the following short autobiography of Pavlo Bohatsky, written in his own hand and preserved in the archives. It is presented here without changes.

Short Autobiography

I was born on 4 March 1883 in the town of Kupyno, Kamianets-Podilskyi district, in the family of Oleksander Bohatsky, a priest.

At the age of nine years I entered the preparatory class of the district church school in Kamianets-Podilskyi. Five years later, in 1897, I enrolled in the seminary of that town, finishing in 1903.

In autumn of that year I entered the cadet school in Vilno, from which I graduated in April 1906 with the rank

of junior lieutenant. I had been posted to Harbin at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, but I did not get there, because [at the time of graduation? - M.P.] my regiment, the 165th Lutsk Infantry, was already on its way to permanent quarters in Kiev.

In August I was in Kiev, where I hoped to attend lectures at the university. Instead I ended up in the military citadel, which was nicknamed "Kosyi Kanonir" (The Cross-eyed Artilleryman), and spent five and a half months there in solitary confinement, accused of revolutionary propaganda among the troops. When released from the citadel I was simultaneously dismissed from military service.

In the autumn of 1907 I enrolled in courses at the agronomy department of the Kiev Polytechnic. I studied there for only three semesters - I had become so fascinated by journalism that I neglected my studies. In 1908, together with some friends, I published a satirical periodical called Khrin (Horseradish). I was a contributor to the almanac Ternovyi vinok (Crown of Thorns), and from 1909 I published and edited the journal Ukrainska khata (Ukrainian Home) in Kiev.¹⁶ So I did not, after all, get a higher education, and tried through self-education to compensate for the lack of it.

When all Ukrainian publishing houses were closed at the moment of the declaration of war in 1914, the government sent me into administrative exile in Naryn [in Kirghizia]. Here I wrote two short novels, as well as Via dolorosa, a description of my journey under guard to the place of exile. All these works have been lost. One novel perished in the fire at the home of Professor Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the other, together with my book of travels, was taken by the Germans at the time of my arrest in 1918.

At the time of the Revolution I returned to Kiev, where I occupied administrative posts (district chief of militia, chief of the Kiev city militia and city otaman). My free hours I dedicated to journalism, contributing to the journals Knyhar (Bookman), Ukraina (Ukraine), and Shliakh (The Way). In these I published more than a hundred reviews, digests and critical essays, and several studies on Shevchenko. In 1918 the "Grunt" (Foundation) publishing house published Kameli (Camellias), a collection of my novellas.

With the government I crossed the border of Ukraine in 1920 and, together with Oleksander Salikovsky, began to edit the journal Ukrainska Trybuna (Ukrainian Tribune) in Warsaw. (I was in charge of the literature page.) I spent 1921 in the Polissia marshes as a woodcutter.

In 1922 the executive of the Ukrainian Community Committee invited me to Prague, where I was responsible for the periodical Nova Ukraina (New Ukraine) and was a member

of the boards of the Ukrainian Community Publishing Fund, the Peasants' Union, and other bodies. Here I did more by way of literary work. My long novella "Pid bashtoiu slonovoi kosti" (Under the Ivory Tower) was published in New Ukraine, and also separately, as was an essay, "Suchasnyi stan svitovoho mystetstva" (The Contemporary State of World Art). On instructions from the executive of the Ukrainian Publishing Fund I prepared a posthumous volume of works by Hrytsko Chuprynka,¹⁷ with notes on the history of the texts. This book was published with funds donated on the initiative of Isaak Baziak by the poet's admirers in the United States. I participated in the work of the Historical and Philological Society in Prague, of which I was a Fellow, reading there a number of my studies on the publishing history of the works of Taras Shevchenko. Some of these were printed in the Zapysky NTSh (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society) and in Stara Ukraina (Old Ukraine).

On commission from the Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Prague I compiled and wrote a commentary and introductory essays for Vybir politychnykh tvoriv M.P. Drahomanova (Selected Political Works of M.P. Drahomanov), which included his autobiography. The first volume was published with money collected by B. Zalevsky among Ukrainian workers in the United States. This is a large-format book of 430 pages with many illustrations.¹⁸ The publication of the second volume, complete with commentary and ready for the press, was prevented by the German occupation of Prague.

I had collected substantial materials for a history of the critical editions of Taras Shevchenko's works. I never finished the book, but the bibliography was published by Ukrainske Khyhoznavstvo (Ukrainian Book Science) under the title "Kobzar Tarasa Shevchenka za sto lit (1840-1940)" (Shevchenko's Kobzar over 100 years [1840-1940]).

My notes for a history of critical Shevchenko editions and for a history of Ukrainska khata, as well as the second volume of Drahomanov, all perished in Czechoslovakia, together with my extensive literary archive and library of no fewer than 3500 volumes.

I emigrated to Germany, and during the war I worked for some time as an editor of the Ukrainskyi visnyk (Ukrainian Herald) (U.N.O.). With Volodymyr Doroshenko I prepared a scholarly critical edition of the poetic works of Shevchenko: Poezii T. Shevchenka (T. Shevchenko's Poetry). The book was published by the Prague publishing house "IuT."

When peace came I moved to Bavaria, where my family was living. I settled in a Mittenwald refugee camp, where from 1945 to 1949 I taught history of Ukrainian literature in a Ukrainian secondary school. Here I published on hectograph

a short history of Ukrainian literature, and my last years in Europe (1948-49) I spent writing "Dovidnyk po literaturi" (Handbook on Literature), which I completed in Australia in 1950. While teaching, I also worked in the local branch of the scientific society [Shevchenko Scientific Society - R.M.], at whose sessions I read a number of papers. In Mittenwald I began writing up my memoirs of the Ukrainska khata period, and the introduction was printed in the Neu Ulm Ukrainski Visti (Ukrainian News) as a commemorative piece for the 40th anniversary in 1949.

Here in the freedom of Australia I am continuing my memoirs - and waiting for a publisher for my "Handbook."

1 July 1950.

Pavlo Bohatsky

The "Handbook on Literature," which Bohatsky mentions, began appearing in instalments in Sydney's Vilna dumka in 1984. The memoir on the publishing of Ukrainska khata appeared in Vilna dumka in serial form in the years 1955, 1956 and 1959 (see Bibliography) under the title "Mii literaturnyi avtoportret" (My Literary Self-Portrait). The archive contains a fragmentary draft in Bohatsky's hand. The manuscript, which is of general historical interest, is reproduced here in full.

My Literary Self-Portrait

Like the literatures of all peoples, Ukrainian literature contains, alongside its prominent writers, tens and even hundreds of minor ones, who in themselves cut no particular figure, but have a role in the general chorus. These are the grey, inconspicuous, raucous but monotonous sparrows, to whom nobody pays special attention and who, once heard, are soon forgotten. Who knows whether there will come an hour when among the researchers into the past of Ukrainian literature some Aizenshtok¹⁹ will emerge to excavate the old rubbish and find there a few things worthy of print, re-evaluation or mention.

I do not propose to depend on any such eventuality, and if hitherto nobody has paid attention to my work, I shall perform the task myself. If this smacks of self-advertisement, so be it. The serious Brehm and Kaigorodov²⁰ dedicated the requisite number of pages, not to the magical nightingales alone, but also to the grey sparrows. Should my "self-advertisement" get into their hands, they will be grateful, I am sure. This hope and belief emboldens me to write the following.

My fascination with literature stems from two sources. In the Kamianets-Podilskyi seminary I had an excellent

teacher of Russian literature, one Heorhievsky, who awakened my literary interests. I had good marks from him, and I studied not because I was forced to do so, but for love of the subject. Heorhievsky taught theory of literature, and literature of the old and middle period. In modern literature we studied nothing later than Pushkin, Lermontov and Gogol. I became acquainted with the Russian classics in my father's good library. One of its wall cabinets contained shelves stocked with little bound volumes of almost all the great writers, each with the inscription, "This book belongs to the children of the Revd. Oleksander Bohatsky."

I began reading, at first on my father's insistence. Then I developed a taste for books, and read everything that I could find. There was a beautiful illustrated edition of Shakespeare's King Lear, whose pictures of Lear, the Fool and Cordelia engraved themselves on my memory for the whole of my life. The books were mainly in Russian, but there was also Kotliarevsky's Eneida (Aeneid), Taras Shevchenko's Kobzar (The Minstrel), Stepan Rudansky's Spivomovky (Humorous Poems), the Bohohlasnyk (Religious Songs), and a book on Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

I began to read more widely in Ukrainian literature in the seminary, when, under the influence of the Revd. Iukhym Sitsinsky, some of us formed a secret Ukrainian club. At first there were Viktor Pisniachevsky, Vasyl Sumnievych and I, and we were later joined by O. Iastrubetsky and Vasyl Dombrovsky. With the aid of Father Sitsinsky, we obtained from Ivan Franko a respectable number of books and began publishing our own periodical, Proba syl (Test of Strength). I printed it on a hectograph of my own construction, made according to instructions that I found in an encyclopaedia. The print run was 100 copies.

The paper published works in two languages and contained poems, stories and essays on current school issues. I was so enthusiastic about the journal that I sometimes risked printing it in the seminary's dormitory. On one occasion the supervisor, Volodymyr Musiievych Chekhivskyi, caught me at it. He pretended not to notice the equipment set up on the table in front of me, but later, in private, he gave me a good dressing-down.

In spite of exercising a certain degree of caution, after a while we had the seminary authorities among our readers. We thought that one of the boarders might have been responsible for this breach of cover. Be that as it may, in 1902 the seminary decided to expel me just before my graduation for "conduct inappropriate to the spirit of a seminary." All of my twisting and squirming was in vain: I tried to get a transfer to seminaries in Poltava, Zhytomyr and Kiev; the first two refused forthwith, but I was told

in the Kiev seminary to report at the beginning of the 1903-04 school year. All would have been well, but for an unexpected event: a number of Kiev boarding-school students, including Viktor Chekhivsky, were caught in the belfry of St. Michael's, hectographing illegal pamphlets. My education in seminaries was at an end. This was 1903, the eve of the war with Japan.

It was also the twentieth year of my life, and all of my intellectual and emotional powers were awakened: I had fallen in love with my cousin, whom I met for the first time that year. I experienced a flood of new ideas and fresh plans. I had decided that by going to a military school in Vilno I would frustrate my parents' insistence that I should enter the church. This and my enamouredness compelled me to keep a diary and to write frequent letters to my cousin, full of my experiences and thoughts.

The diary and the letters taught me to pay attention to my thoughts and feelings and to express them in words. This state of affairs persisted throughout the whole of my military studies until their conclusion in April 1906, when I received my officer's commission and the rank of a junior lieutenant, and went to serve in Kiev.

At that time I was reading mostly Russian revolutionary literature, but I also bought all new Ukrainian books. I made the acquaintance of a Jewish family; one of the daughters, a student, had a good library from which I could borrow anything I wanted. Here I found a luxury edition of the Greek dramatists, translated and arranged by Professor Tadeusz Zielinski, and published by Sabilin. The works of Przybyszewski²¹ were also there, as well as translations of the northern authors and much besides. At about this time, I developed a taste for world literature.

For myself I was able to buy and read the little volumes of the "Polza" Universal Library and the works of Rosenbach, Ibsen, Bang²² and many, many more. I exercised myself in journalism, contributing to Russian revolutionary periodicals such as Golos soldata (The Soldier's Voice, Kiev), and Zhivoe slovo (The Living Word, Romny). In September 1906 I was arrested and imprisoned in the so-called "Kosyi kanonir", the military citadel. I spent five and a half months there in solitary confinement. There was time enough for thinking, reading and writing. People brought me books from outside. At this time I exchanged my Solingen sword with a certain Lieutenant Drobnevsky, a Ukrainian, for a six-volume set of Alexander Herzen.²³ That was an entertainment!

It was in prison that I began shaping my experiences into stories, sketches and similar works. I concentrated most of all on my love affair, but prison events also figured as themes. Of the works written then, "Rozhevi

Kvity" (Pink Flowers) and "Kobzar" (The Minstrel) were later published in Ukrainska khata. I took most of the pieces on revolutionary themes to the editors of the periodical Rada (Council), but they were evasive about printing my offerings. One of them claimed that the manuscript was in such a small hand that he could not read it. Most of these items were eventually lost, but "Na piv dorohy" (In the Middle of the Journey) was printed after much effort in the collection Ternovyi vinok (Crown of Thorns, 1908).

At this point, unfortunately, Bohatsky's fascinating autobiographical sketch comes to an abrupt end.

Some words remain to be said about the Australian period of Bohatsky's life. According to the terms of their contracts, all immigrants were obliged for a time to engage in manual labour before finding tasks more suited to their qualifications. Some were less fortunate in this than others. Pavlo Bohatsky, a man of advanced age, was not only unable to establish himself in conditions favourable to intellectual pursuits - he could not even participate actively in organized Ukrainian life.

Perhaps in Canada or in the United States Bohatsky could have continued a career of intensive and beneficial writing. On the other hand, the young Ukrainian community in Australia would have been much the poorer without his presence.

It should be said that the Ukrainian community, in general not profligate with expressions of appreciation, did not overlook Bohatsky's accomplishments. In 1953 the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, within the limits of its slender financial possibilities, commemorated his 70th birthday by publishing a brochure on his life and scholarly activity, and the Society's head office made him a Full Member of the Philological Section.

It is revealing of conditions in the Ukrainian community at that time that the Shevchenko Society executive had difficulty in raising the £23 necessary to print the commemorative brochure. The meagre funds that the Society used to collect in those days were usually sent to needy scholars who had remained in Europe.

In the commemorative booklet, its author, Dr. Ivan Rybchyn, expressed the following view:

Pavlo Bohatsky's work was carried out in the most unfavourable circumstances - in prison, in exile, during two wars, in emigration - and yet it has been multifaceted and has made contributions to Ukrainian scholarship that cannot be overlooked. It is difficult to

imagine, for example, that future researchers of Shevchenko could dispense with Bohatsky's works, and the sum of his activity in the cultural sphere constitutes a significant input into the treasury of the Ukrainian spirit.²⁴

The life of Pavlo Bohatsky, a pioneer member of Australia's Shevchenko Society, characterized as it was by untiring work inspired by idealism and selflessness, possesses a certain exemplary quality. His personality was sensitive and delicate, a ray of warmth for all who had the opportunity (and good fortune) to meet him.

Pavlo Bohatsky died at Thirroul on 23 December 1962.

NOTES

1. Roman Mykytowycz, "Pershi holovy KU NTSh [Kraiovoi Upravy Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka] v Avstralii" (The Early Presidents of the Federal Executive of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia), paper presented at the first conference on the History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia, Sydney, 1-3 April 1983.
2. "Pavlo Bohatsky," in Encyclopaedia of Ukraine, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyč. Vol. I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 252-53.
3. The Shevchenko Scientific Society's archive in Australia is in the custody of the President of the Society at any given time, and is now located at 13 Henderson St., Garran, A.C.T. 2605.
4. The title "Druh" (Friend) is used by members of Plast when addressing or referring to their colleagues in the organization. The "Koshovyi" was the scouter in charge of all male members of Plast in a given locality.
5. Iaroslav Kuzhil, a prominent member of the Plast movement in Sydney.
6. Archbishop Sylvester (secular name: Stepan Haievsky) (1876-1975), specialist in education and Ukrainian language and literature, professor at Kiev University between the wars, was ordained Bishop in the Ukrainian

Autocephalic Orthodox Church in 1942.

7. Harevsky had published the texts of romances concerning Alexander the Great in "Aleksandriia" v davnii ukrainskii literaturi (The "Aleksandriia" in Old Ukrainian Literature, 1929).
8. Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895), a prominent Ukrainian scholar, civic leader, publicist and political thinker.
9. Mykola Kulish (1892-1937), the most renowned and innovative Ukrainian playwright of the 1920s and early 1930s.
10. Mykhailo Ivchenko (1890-1939), a poet associated with the Impressionist manner and author of the realistic novel Robitni syly (The Labour Force, 1929).
11. Mykola Krychevsky (1900-1962), an Eastern Ukrainian painter who settled in Paris.
12. Hnat Khotkevych (1877-1938), Ukrainian prose writer, dramatist, translator, composer and art historian.
13. Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934), historian of the positivist tradition, in 1917-1918 president of the Kiev Central Rada, the de facto government of Ukraine in the year after the fall of the Russian Empire. His monumental Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy was published in ten volumes between 1898 and 1937. Some materials relating to the 17th century were destroyed by fire and Hrushevsky did not restore them.
14. Pavlo Zaitsev's Zhyttia Tarasa Shevchenka (The Life of Taras Shevchenko) had been printed in Lviv in 1939, but the edition was confiscated by the occupying Soviet authorities. The work was finally published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York in 1955. Shevchenko's Kobzar, edited and annotated by Leonyd Biletsky (1882-1955), appeared in four volumes in 1952-1954.
15. Ivan Franko (1856-1916), writer, scholar, political and civic leader and publicist, occupies a place second only to Shevchenko in the Ukrainian literary pantheon. The event to which Bohatsky refers is the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Franko's birth and the 40th of his death.
16. Ukrainska khata, edited by P. Bohatsky and M. Shapoval,

appeared from March 1909 until September 1914, when it, like all Ukrainian periodicals, was closed under war-time regulations. The journal specialized in modernist literature (Ukrainian poets and West Europeans in Ukrainian translation).

17. Hrytsko Chuprynka (1879-1921), a modernist poet, had been a contributor to Bohatsky's journal Ukrainska khata. Bohatsky's collected edition of his works, Tvory H. Chuprynky (Works of H. Chuprynka) was published in Prague in 1926.
18. It appeared as Vybrani tvory in 1937.
19. Iarema Aizenshtok (1900-1980), a literary scholar who edited and wrote commentaries for editions of numerous Ukrainian writers, especially of the nineteenth century.
20. Alfred-Edmund Brehm (1829-1884), zoologist, author of the popular Brehms Tierleben (Brehm's Life of the Animals, 6 vols., 1863-69); Dmitrii Nikiforovich Kaigorodov (1846-?), professor at the St. Petersburg Institute of Forestry and author of books on birds.
21. Stanislaw Przybyszewski (1868-1927), Polish modernist novelist.
22. Herman Bang (1857-1912), Danish writer and critic.
23. Alexander Herzen (1812-1870), Russian writer and publicist with pro-revolutionary views.
24. Ivan Rybchyn, Pavlo Bohatsky. V 70-richchia (Pavlo Bohatsky. On His 70th Anniversary. Sydney: Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, 1953).

PAVLO BOHATSKY - BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list of Bohatsky's works is based on a printed bibliography of unknown provenance and only partial reliability in the Shevchenko Scientific Society's Australian archive. Where possible, individual items have been checked against the originals. The assistance of Ms. L. Pendzey (Robarts Library, University of Toronto), Ms. O. Procyk (Harvard College Library), Professor Q.

Shtohryn (Slavic and East European Library, University of Illinois), Mr. M. Yurkevich, (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta), and Dr M. Pavlyshyn (Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University) in the performance of this task is gratefully acknowledged. However, because of the fugitive nature of some of the journals in which Bohatsky published, such confirmation in many cases was not possible. All unchecked items are marked with an asterisk.

Unlike the rest of this collection, which employs the modified Library of Congress transliteration, this Bibliography follows the strict Library of Congress system, except that *i* is transliterated as *ı*.

Where Bohatsky used his initials or a pseudonym, these are given in the bibliography.

Abbreviations:

UK : Ukrains'ka khata (Kiev)
UV : Ukrains'kyi visnyk (Berlin)
VD : Vil'na dumka (Sydney)

1909 P.B., "Zakordonna Ukraina: 40-litniı iuvileı
ı'vıvs'koı 'Prosvıty,'" UK, No. 1, 42-44.

P.B., "Zakordonna Ukraina: Sprava M.
Sichyns'koho," UK, No. 2, 101-04.

"Ne doskochyv," UK, No. 3-4, 127-37.

P.B., "Volodymyr Bonıfatovych Antonovych," UK,
No. 7-8, 366-72.

1910 "Pam"iaty Serhiia Poluiana," UK, No. 4, 247-48.

"Rozhevi kvity (Opovidannie)," UK, No. 7-8,
420-28.

"Rozhevi kvity" (Conclusion), UK, No. 9, 536-43.

"? ... (Miniatiura)," UK, No. 11, 661.

1911 *"Pomstylas' (Opovidannie)," UK, No.1.

"Pomstylas'" (Conclusion), UK, No. 2, 94-109.

P.B., "Proiekt pam"iatnyka T.H. Shevchenkovi u
Kyivi," UK, No. 2, 123-24.

P.B., "Nyni otpushchaeshi... (pam"iaty P. Zhytets'koho)," UK, No. 3, 194-5.

"Sonechko (Opovidannia)," UK, No. 7-8, 283-97.

"Muravochka (Dramatychna stsena)," UK, No. 11-12, 517-34.

Iak. Stokolos [Pavlo Bohats'kyi], "Teatral'ni zamitky," UK, No. 11-12, 575-82.

1912

"V obiimakh mynuloho," UK, No. 1, 4-6.

P.B., "Avhust Strindberg (nekrol'og)," UK, No. 5, 264-65.

Iak. Stokolos, "Teatral'ni zamitky," UK, No. 5, 296-301.

"Etiud," UK, No. 6, 323-9.

P.B., Review of V. Vynnychenko, Bilia mashyny, UK, No. 6, 366.

"Til'ky pravdu dai! .. (Psikho-novelii)," UK, No. 9-10, 487-529.

Iak. Stokolos, "Teatral'ni zamitky," UK, No. 9-10, 570-74.

Iak. Stokolos, "Teatral'ni zamitky," UK, No. 11-12, 668-75.

1913

Iak. Stokolos, "Ukrains'kyi teatr v 1912 rotsi," UK, No. 1, 50-53.

Iak. Stokolos, Review of Mykola Voronyi, Teatr i drama, UK, No. 1, 77-78.

"Fragment," UK, No. 2, 85-9.

Iak. Stokolos, "Teatral'ni zamitky," UK, No. 4-5, 308-13.

Iak. Stokolos, "Teatral'ni zamitky," UK, No. 6, 375-81.

"Osinni tsvit (Psikhologichni arabesky)," UK, No. 7-8, 421-41.

Iak. Stokolos, "Teatral'ni zamitky," UK, No. 7-8, 503-06.

"Osinnyi tsvit" (Continued), UK, No. 10, 594-603.

P.B., Review of Mariia Proskurivna, Uliasia, UK, No. 10, 646.

"Osinnyi tsvit" (Conclusion), UK, No. 11, 668-82.

1914 Iak. Stokolos, "Teatral'ni zamitky," UK, No. 1, 79-88.

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TOWARD UKRAINIAN AS AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE IN AUSTRALIA: THE MONASH CONTRIBUTION

Jiri Marvan

The history of Slavic studies in Australia associates the year 1982 with two key events: the transformation of Monash University's Department of Russian into a Department of Slavic Languages, and the proposal by the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria to introduce Ukrainian language and literature as part of the Department's new teaching programme.

In order to interpret the significance of this development in the history of Ukrainian scholarship, it is useful to establish its international context and to draw attention to certain analogous phenomena. Ukrainian studies became an international, independent academic and university discipline in the early 1920s, and passed through two clearly defined periods. The first forty years saw the flowering of the discipline in Europe, and particularly in Czechoslovakia and Germany. Later, in the 1960s and 1970s, the centre of gravity shifted to North America. Regardless of the specific qualities of both periods, the development of Ukrainian studies has always been accompanied by two essential factors: community awareness of the importance of Ukrainian studies for the Ukrainian diaspora, together with a readiness to support Ukrainian studies financially on one hand; and the availability in a given country of a pre-existent structure for Slavic language and literature scholarship. The combination of both factors allowed Ukrainian studies to develop fruitfully in North America, where Slavic studies had undergone a period of expansion at the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s, whereas possibilities in South America were limited, regardless of the efforts of local communities and Ukrainians abroad.

The Australian developments have confirmed this pattern. The Ukrainian community in Australia had not failed to utilize the opportunities provided by the emergence of Slavic studies; indeed, Slavic studies and Ukrainian studies are developing in tandem. A new and specifically

Australian phenomenon is the participation of Ukrainian studies in the process of formation of the discipline as a whole - a phenomenon which is not typical of other countries. That such parallel development is beneficial to both partners has been demonstrated, I believe, at the Monash Department of Slavic Languages.

Co-operation between the two disciplines is not a recent innovation at Monash; it has existed throughout the last decade. In 1975, with the support of various Slavic communities, the Department prepared Australia's first matriculation curricula for Ukrainian, Serbo-Croatian, Polish and Czech students - curricula which later served as models for other states. In the following year, the Department introduced the first university degree courses in Slavic languages other than Russian; a similar structure was subsequently adopted for Ukrainian courses. At the same time, research was initiated in the field of the contemporary Ukrainian language, whose results have appeared, or are now appearing, in scholarly publications in seven countries and on three continents (see Bibliography).

Over several years, the Department encouraged the Ukrainian community in its plans to promote the introduction, at university level, of Ukrainian language and literature. A dialogue between the community and the university was initiated in the mid-1970s, a record of which is extant in the correspondence between the then Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor Guy Manton, and Mrs. Tetiana Slipeckyj, President of the Ukrainian Council of Education in Australia. In February 1978, Professor Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj, Head of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Manitoba, Canada, presented the new Dean, Professor John Legge, with a proposal that might be called a prototype of the present agreement. Among the obstacles to the proposal's adoption was the non-existence at that time (at least officially) of a Slavic department.

Interest by overseas scholars in the future of Australia's Ukrainian studies was evidenced by visits to Australia - and also to Monash - of the heads of two important Ukrainian cultural institutions in the West: Professor Volodymyr Janiw, Rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, and Professor Omeljan Pritsak, Director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. Soon afterwards, the first two students began their postgraduate candidatures in Ukrainian linguistics.

These developments took place on the eve of the establishment of Ukrainian studies at Monash in February 1983, when Mr. (now Dr.) Marko Pavlyshyn was appointed a Lecturer in Ukrainian. It should be noted that the lectureship could not have come into being but for the support of

numerous members of the Ukrainian community. While it is impossible to list all the relevant names in a short survey such as this, I shall mention the President of the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, Mr. Stepan Lysenko, and Dr. Michael L. Lawriwsky, author of the Submission in which the Association of Ukrainians successfully argued its case for the creation of a lectureship at Monash.

In the 25 months since the establishment of Monash Ukrainian Studies, the discipline has been able to attract about 50 active persons - students, of course, but also some ten scholars (Ukrainians, other Slavs, and non-Slav Australians). In the last two years, eight Monash authors have written 15 scholarly works in Ukrainian studies; these have been or are being published in West Germany, Austria, Poland, the United States, Canada, Australia, and even the USSR. Teaching activity has developed successfully; in 1985 there are more than 30 students attending courses. Ukrainian is available as a credit subject to students at Victoria's tertiary educational institutions - to beginners as well as to those who have learnt Ukrainian to matriculation standard.

There can be no doubt that the lasting interest of the Ukrainian community in the future of its culture has given rise to a Ukrainian academic presence which is welcomed not only by the Department of Slavic Languages, but by the University at large. Ukrainian studies have become an integral element of the academic activities and aspirations of the Monash Faculty of Arts.

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THE UKRAINIAN STUDIES FOUNDATION IN AUSTRALIA: A BRIEF SURVEY

Ihor Gordijew

For purposes of surveying the development of any event or institution we may distinguish two types of basic entities - participants and observers.¹ Participants, in turn, may be subdivided into decision- or policy-makers, those who implement the decisions and, finally, those for or against whom the policies are intended. Public opinion has it that observers, often described as 'historians,' are 'objective,' while participants are 'subjective' or 'biased.' Matters are not quite as simple as that. Historians too have been known to display partiality. Be that as it may, one who has been a participant in the evolution of an organization must be cautious lest he be accused of myopia and subjectivity.

The Origins of the Foundation

When looking at how something comes into being, economists distinguish at least four 'factors of production': enterprise, labour, capital and land. Up to this point in time the first three factors have played a significant role since the very inception of the Foundation. The fourth, land in the form of buildings or parts thereof, may well materialize in the future. What is remarkable is that usually the factor services require a strong financial inducement to undertake an activity, while in the present case enterprise, capital and labour have not only been 'free of charge' but have been contributed voluntarily and generously. Moreover, the leadership of the Foundation has provided all the three factor services in combination. That - and the generosity of the Foundation's donors - has enabled the enterprise to prosper. There is little doubt in my mind that the 'cause' for the existence of the Foundation is 'ideological' in nature; that is, many members of the Ukrainian community in Australia regard the

maintenance and promotion of Ukrainian studies at tertiary level as an ultimate value - as a desirable objective. The Foundation is the 'technical' instrument for implementing that value judgement.

On 14th January 1971, at a gathering of students of Ukrainian origin and of other members of the Ukrainian community, Professor J.B. Rudnycky, Founding Head of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba, put forward the idea of Ukrainian studies at an Australian university. At subsequent congresses of Ukrainian students the idea of Ukrainian studies was favourably received. In the early 1970s a Student Committee was set up to investigate the feasibility of Ukrainian Studies at University level in Australia. This Committee, organized in Sydney, had among its most active members Petro Kosel, Wolodymyr Motyka, Ihor Kociumbas, Orysia Borec and others. At the same time, other Ukrainian organizations and members of the community in the various cities of Australia began to take an interest in the matter. The names of Volodymyr Shumsky, Bohdan Goot, Ivan Denys, Josyf Durych, Stepan Balko and many others come to mind as being associated with the promotion and defence of the idea from its earliest inception.

In the early 1970s, the Federation of Ukrainian Organizations in Australia held a number of meetings whose subject matter was either exclusively or partly concerned with Ukrainian studies at university level. The Federation considered inviting Professor Volodymyr Kubijovyč to Australia in 1974 to investigate the possibility of setting up a branch of the Munich-based Ukrainian Free University. Prof. Kubijovyč and Dr. Atanas Figol did come to Australia, but their investigations did not result in an Australian branch of the Ukrainian Free University.

In the meantime the idea of "KUA" ("Katedra Ukrainoznavstva" - Ukrainian Studies Chair), as it was called by its supporters, was taking shape. The Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia Limited ("FUSA") was registered under a New South Wales Government Act as a company limited by guarantee and not having a share capital in December 1974. Shortly thereafter - in March 1975 - the Foundation was registered as Trustee for the Australian Shevchenko Trust Fund, which was to become the financial backbone for supporting Ukrainian Studies. At the same time donations to the Fund became tax deductible. Late in 1975 and early in 1976 Prof. Rudnycky returned from Canada and made an extensive tour of Australian universities, visiting ten in all (three in Sydney, three in Melbourne, two in Adelaide, one in Brisbane and the Australian National University in Canberra) in an attempt to ascertain the conditions under which these universities might be prepared to negotiate about establishing Ukrainian studies on their campuses.

FUSA Branch Offices were set up in Melbourne, Adelaide and somewhat later even in Perth and Tasmania. Support came not only from individuals, but also from organizations and institutions. Particularly noteworthy was the positive attitude of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which adopted a stance favourable to FUSA's efforts. The Foundation's archival material indicates that a prodigious amount of voluntary work was contributed by members of the Foundation's Board of Directors (including its lawyer, Roman Dechnicz) on organizational, legal, financial, administrative and public relations activities over the more than ten years of the life of the Foundation. A particularly prominent role was performed in advancing the cause by Volodymyr Shumsky and his Ukrainian weekly Vilna dumka (The Free Thought), and by the work of the Foundation's Treasurer, Bohdan Goot. Much energy and newsprint, as well as emotion and intellectual ingenuity, has been devoted by prominent members of the Foundation and its supporters, as well as by persons who may be described as 'The Opposition,' to debating the pros and cons of the idea and its implementation, as well as of other real and imaginary options. Interestingly enough, the opposition to the idea or the manner of its implementation, far from abating after the registration of FUSA, acquired an intensity that had not been associated with any other topic of Ukrainian community life in Australia. The Opposition, while probably impairing the Foundation's fundraising, performed a useful function in that it provided a stimulus to thought and action as well as to a clarification of the issues.

By the beginning of 1981 the Foundation's Shevchenko Fund was nearing the \$300,000 mark. Following approaches to a number of universities whose responses were not entirely satisfactory from the Foundation's point of view, serious negotiations were begun with Macquarie University at the end of January 1981. These negotiations, based initially on the University of Toronto's agreement with the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Canada, culminated in the signing of an Agreement between Macquarie University and the Foundation at the end of March 1983 and its approval by Macquarie University Council towards the end of April 1983. Space does not permit us to go into the details of the terms of the Agreement. Suffice it to say that Ukrainian Studies was incorporated into the Slavonic Section of the School of Modern Languages of Macquarie University; the Foundation agreed to fund Ukrainian Studies at Macquarie, while the University for its part agreed to establish both a teaching and a research component in Ukrainian Studies. This latter component was patterned on the Centre for Studies in Money, Banking and Finance at

Macquarie University, and is also called a "Centre": the Centre of Ukrainian Studies.

The official inauguration of Ukrainian Studies at Macquarie took place on 9-10 March 1984, after Dr. Natalia Pazuniak, formerly Adjunct Professor in Ukrainian Language and Literature at the University of Pennsylvania, USA, was appointed as the first incumbent of the Ukrainian Studies position at Macquarie. Also about this time, Mrs. Halyna Koscharskij, who had been closely associated with the Ukrainian HSC teaching program in New South Wales, was appointed Tutor. Subsequent additions to the staff were Mrs. Alla Dubyk, part-time Secretary to Ukrainian Studies, and Mr. T. Korinets, part-time Librarian in a voluntary capacity. At the beginning of 1985, two new part-time tutors were appointed. Mrs. Luba Kaye (Kwasnycia) now assists the full-time staff members with Ukrainian Language I, while Mrs. Rosa Kloczko tutors in Introductory Ukrainian.

The University, honouring the Agreement, officially approved the setting up of the Ukrainian Studies Centre in mid-December 1984, and in March 1985 it also approved an administrative structure for the Centre, including a Management Committee, a Board of Advisers and the positions of Director and Associate Director.

Summer and Intensive Courses

A considerable amount of energy and other resources was spent by the FUSA Directors, Prof. Rudnyckyj and other persons on the mounting of Summer or Intensive Short-Term Courses in Ukrainian Studies. It would be difficult to say whether the net result of the expenditure of these energies and resources was beneficial from the point of view of the Foundation. There is reason to believe that by attracting the attention of the Ukrainian public throughout Australia to the idea of an eventual "Katedra Ukrainoznavstva" (Chair of Ukrainian Studies) at an Australian university, the courses 'paid off.'

The first such Summer School, or, as Prof. Rudnyckyj (who is fond of Latin expressions) called it, "Colloquium," was inaugurated on 21 January 1978 at Macquarie University and continued at the University of Sydney. The second Ukrainian Teachers' Summer Course was held at the University of Adelaide in co-operation with the Ukrainian Free University from 16 January to 2 February 1979. The third Summer School of Ukrainian Studies, sponsored by the Foundation, was hosted by the Ukrainian community in Melbourne at the University of Melbourne and was presided over by Prof. Jiří Marvan, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Monash University. Plans to organize the fourth Summer

School at the ANU in Canberra were abandoned after it was realized that the potential number of students who would attend such a course would be too small because of Canberra's comparatively small Ukrainian community. The course, however, was mounted in Sydney on 8-24 January 1981. The last in the series of such courses in Ukrainian Studies was described as an "Intensive" Course because it was not held in summer, as heretofore, but between 26 August and 10 September 1982, partly at Macquarie University and partly at the Ukrainian Community Hall in Lidcombe. The teaching participants were headed by Prof. Mykola Stepanenko of Central Michigan University, USA. Professor Rudnyckyj took a very active part in the organizational and teaching activities associated with the Summer Schools. Other Ukrainian academics and community leaders delivered lectures on various topics.

FUSA Finances

Since neither the State nor the Commonwealth Governments have so far contributed towards financing Ukrainian Studies at University level (apart from a \$2,500 Government grant towards funding outlays connected with one of the Summer Schools), all of the moneys for the Australian Shevchenko Trust Fund have had to be raised from the Ukrainian community. In recognition of the financial sacrifice undertaken by over 2,000 members of the community, the Foundation has recorded the biographies and contributions of its generous donors in a commemorative volume published and edited by Mr. V. Shumsky in December 1984. Without these contributions Ukrainian Studies at university level would have been impossible.

The fund-raising drive got under way in 1973, but donations were at first slow in coming in. However, the drive began to gather momentum after 1975. The fiscal year 1979-80 was particularly noteworthy in that contributions (including interest earned) amounted to over \$144,000. The \$200,000 mark was attained by February 1980; \$300,000 - by April 1981; \$400,000 was reached by May 1982; \$500,000 was recorded in January 1983 and \$600,000 - by February 1984. Thus, over half a million dollars was raised in a period of 65 months - a compound growth rate of about 40 percent per annum, a very respectable growth rate by any standards. In addition to monetary donations, the Foundation has received from members of the Ukrainian community collections of books (Prof. Rudnyckyj's Collection being among the first and most notable gifts), newspapers, magazines, journals, newspapers, paintings and even musical records.

In view of inflation, escalating costs and the need to

finance the ever-expanding needs of Ukrainian studies at university level, the Foundation continues to solicit donations from the community. A recent request for Federal Government assistance has not so far been acknowledged.

Student Numbers

Somewhat contrary to pessimistic forecasts that there would be virtually no students to attend the Ukrainian courses if such were to become available, Macquarie University Ukrainian Studies attracted in its first year of operation an enrolment of 26 students and in 1985 the enrolment approached 60. Since some students are enrolled in more than one Ukrainian Studies subject, the total subject enrolment at Macquarie is about 80. A large proportion of the students is 'non-degree' and 'external,' that is, those undertaking the study of Ukrainian language, literature and civilization courses in other cities of New South Wales and other States of the Commonwealth. While the fact that many are "non-degree" students may be regarded as something of a disadvantage from the point of view of the University, from the point of view of Ukrainian Studies - and from the point of view of the Ukrainian community - this is much less so, since the purpose of the Foundation was to attract students to Ukrainian Studies as such. Many young persons of Ukrainian origin are enrolled in University courses leading to degrees in medicine, dentistry, engineering, law, economics arts etc.; Ukrainians have a participation rate in tertiary education that compares favourably with the rest of the Australian community. But it was not the purpose of the Ukrainian Studies Foundation to encourage Ukrainians to attend universities per se, however worthy that objective may be. Moreover, by catering to a large external and interstate student component, the Foundation is meeting its oft-stated objective to serve the need for tertiary Ukrainian Studies on an Australia-wide basis.

Quite a few of those enrolled in Ukrainian Studies at Macquarie have non-Ukrainian surnames. This may be an indication of the fact that partners in mixed marriages who otherwise might take little part in Ukrainian community life are being attracted for the first time to the Ukrainian 'fold.' We may thus be witnessing a reversal of the assimilation process in a rather unexpected, but very welcome, manner.

Conclusion

From time to time fears are expressed that there are

threats lurking in the host universities which will subvert the aims of Ukrainian cultural maintenance. It may be suggested that the fears stem from a misunderstanding among older members of the Ukrainian community of how Australian universities operate. These fears may be reinforced for some older members of the community by their experience in Ukraine in former times where they, as Ukrainians, experienced discrimination and were disadvantaged by the Governments and public institutions which were part of the network of the Austrian, the Polish, the German or the Russian State.

In view of the above, one may hypothesize that in addition to its functions of fund raising, organization and search for the best conditions for Ukrainian Studies in Australia, the Foundation's role is one of intermediary between the Australian university and the Ukrainian community. More precisely, the role is one of 'explaining' the University to the community and vice versa, of anticipating problems in University-community relations before they arise. If the Foundation is successful in performing this task, it will smooth the way for Ukrainian studies at University level and within the Ukrainian community. Thus the Foundation may serve as a 'bridge' for the Ukrainian community from its organizational isolation into the mainstream outside world. Lastly, Ukrainian Studies (partly a creature of the Foundation and partly of the University), which had been a priority of the Ukrainian community, will also become an instrument for educating and informing the wider society in which Ukrainians live about the problems, hopes and aspirations of Ukrainians in Australia, in Ukraine under Soviet domination, and in the rest of the world.

NOTE

1. In preparation for the present article, the writer has compiled a selective index of the Ukrainian weekly Vilna dumka (The Free Thought, Sydney) from 1971 to date. The index is in manuscript form only. From 1971 onwards, Vilna dumka contains articles, news items, and other material relating to the Foundation and later to Ukrainian Studies at Macquarie University in almost every issue. It would therefore be impossible to give a complete index of this material here. So far the most authoritative source on the Foundation - other than its own archives - is a commemorative volume entitled Budivnychi Katedry Ukrainoznavstva v Avstralii

(The Creators of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies in Australia), ed. V. Shumsky et al. (Sydney: Foundation of Ukrainian Studies in Australia, 1984). The other periodical which contains a large amount of material, both on FUSA and on Monash University Ukrainian studies, is the Ukrainian weekly Tserkva i zhyttia (Church and Life, Melbourne). Many of its articles have provided a useful counterbalance to those published in Vilna dumka on FUSA and related matters.

IV BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE UKRAINIAN BISHOP'S LIBRARY, MELBOURNE.

Monika Stecki

The Ukrainian Bishop's Library (UBL) is the largest private collection of Ukrainian materials (books, pamphlets and periodicals) in Australia. Dr. Ivan Prasko, Bishop of Melbourne for Ukrainian Catholics in Australia, New Zealand and Oceania, arrived from Rome in Melbourne in 1950, bringing with him four or five cases of books. Due to his sustained efforts, the collection, which specializes in materials in Ukrainian or about Ukraine, had at the beginning of 1985 grown to 12,500 volumes, not including periodicals. Not surprisingly, Dr. Prasko's main interest, and the UBL's chief strength, is in theology; there is also a good collection in the areas of liturgy and canon law. Bishop Prasko's second interest is the history of Ukraine, which he regards as inseparable from its literature, language and art. The collection reflects this philosophy, and as a result now represents an invaluable resource for preserving and fostering the cultural heritage and identity of the Ukrainian community in Australia.

A large proportion of the books in the collection (about 70% of the literature section) consists of books published in Soviet Ukraine. The acquisition of such materials has presented special problems, especially in recent years. There are three main sources:

1. The Bishop has a friend in Ukraine who for years has sent out books in exchange for parcels. Recently the flow has slowed to a trickle; it is now not only harder and more expensive to buy books in Ukraine, but also more difficult to mail them, since the imposition of a limit of three books per month.
2. Some books are bought at the Spring Bookshop, Swanston Street, Melbourne.
3. The Bishop subscribes to Novi knyhy Ukrainy (New Books

in Ukraine), an annual catalogue of Soviet publications in Ukrainian. Titles are selected from the catalogue and four copies of the order are made out; to increase the chances of obtaining books that are everywhere in short supply, one order is placed with a bookshop in Rome, one with the Melbourne bookshop, one with a friend in Germany, and a copy is kept for reference. This method used to be moderately successful: for example, in 1973 50% of the order was received. However, of the 120 titles ordered from the 1984 catalogue, only two were received by April 1985. In addition, the 1985 catalogue, received in March 1985, advised prospective clients to place their orders by August 1984; deliveries of orders received later could not be guaranteed.

Ukrainian books published in the West are selected on the basis of book reviews; almost all items placed on order are received.

The library is located in the diocesan building next to the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, at 35 Canning Street in North Melbourne. The collection is organized into broad sections: reference, religion, history, literature, language and linguistics, art, folklore, childrens' books, and periodicals (including newspapers). The literature section contains Western and Soviet editions of Ukrainian writers, Ukrainian emigre literature, translations into and from Ukrainian, works on the history of literature, and literary criticism. Of special interest in this section are several facsimiles of old editions, as well as a number of old and rare books. There are quite extensive holdings in linguistics, Ukrainian and Byzantine art, and folklore; the folklore section includes musical scores. The periodicals section is quite large, containing more or less complete runs of 60 journals. There are dailies, monthlies and quarterlies from Ukraine, Australia, Canada and the United States. (A selection of titles and dates of holdings is listed in the Appendix.)

The books in the literature section are arranged by the author's date of birth; in the other sections they follow no specific order. The accessions register lists materials according to the chronology of their arrival, but provides no information as to their location on the shelves.

The library is available for use by students and scholars, who may arrange with Bishop Prasko to browse and search, but without a detailed catalogue they are severely handicapped. In a collection of this size it is easy to overlook an item, and any search is very time consuming. The use of the library is limited to persons who are able to come and physically search for the materials they require.

It became apparent that, in order to make more accessible a valuable resource created with much trouble and at considerable expense, it was important to have the collection catalogued. The need became more urgent when the discipline of Ukrainian Studies was introduced at Monash University in 1983.

Dr. Marko Pavlyshyn, Lecturer in Ukrainian at the Monash Department of Slavic Languages, obtained grants from the Myer Foundation and the Monash Special Research Grants Scheme to finance the cataloguing of the collection. The author of this paper was employed in July 1984 to perform the task. Once completed, the UBL catalogue will form part of the Monash Library catalogue; for cataloguing purposes the UBL will be treated like the Monash branch libraries, without, however, being incorporated into the university library system or leaving its present location.

For compatibility with the Monash catalogue, it was decided to adhere to the cataloguing principles used by the Monash Main Library. Materials are being catalogued according to AACR 2 (Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, second edition); Dewey Decimal Classification is used for the physical arrangement by subject; Library of Congress subject headings are used; transliteration or Romanization is done according to the Transliteration Table used by the Library of Congress.

In April 1985 the reference section, periodicals, and the bulk of the literature section had been catalogued. With the money still available, the literature and linguistics section will be completed. The cataloguing of the sections on art, history, folklore and religion, which together constitute approximately 40% of the collection, will require additional funds.

Once the catalogue is completed, users will have three-point access: by author, title and subject. As the Monash Main Library has recently joined the Australian Bibliographic Network (ABN), an automated national bibliographic facility based on cooperative participation in an on-line environment, the UBL catalogue will become available nationally.

APPENDIX: SELECT LIST OF PERIODICALS IN THE UKRAINIAN
BISHOP'S LIBRARY, MELBOURNE.

Note: Place of publication has been noted only in the case
of periodicals published in Australia.

ABN Correspondence, 1957-
Biblos, 1955-74
Liudyna i svit, 1968-
Movoznavstvo, 1973-
Narodna tvorchist ta etnohrafiiia, 1961-
Nash front (Red Hill, A.C.T.), 1968-
Nashe slovo (Sunshine, Victoria), 1967-74
Nashe zhyttia, 1951-78
Ovyd, 1957-74
Plastovyi shliakh, 1966-
Postup, 1959-79, 1982
Radianske literaturoznavstvo, 1970-79
Shliakh peremohy, 1961-
Social Survey (Kew, Victoria), 1960-83
Suchasnist, 1961-
Svitlo, 1956-
Tserkva i zhyttia (North Melbourne, Victoria), 1968-
20th Century (Melbourne, Victoria), 1959-78
The Ukrainian Quarterly, 1970-
Ukrainski visti, 1952-81
Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal, 1961-
Vilna dumka (Lidcombe, N.S.W), 1949-
Visti kombatanta, 1978-83
Visti z Ukrainy, 1960-
Vyzvolnyi shliakh, 1959-
Zhovten, 1973-

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS IN UKRAINIAN

Українці в переписах населення Австралії

Євген Сенета

Австралійські післявоєнні переписи населення до 1981 не дозволяють точно визначити ні демографічного складу, ні числа людей українського походження в Австралії. За різними методами приблизного обчислення, це число становить не більше 34,000.

Досліджування проблем етнічної побудови населення досі було утруднене відсутністю прямого питання про етнічне походження в переписах населення. Досліди не були спроможні виявити повного числа людей українського походження, бо мусіли спиратися тільки на "сурогатні" питання, а саме, про країну народження батьків, релігію, та мову.

Однак, інформації з переписів уможливають деякі висновки про групу осіб, що народилися в Україні. Серед тих, яким в 1961 р. було понад 35 літ, спостерігається велику чисельну перевагу чоловіків над жінками, спричинену високою пропорцією неодружених чоловіків серед приїжджих. Тому, що число людей, народжених в Україні, не поповнюється новою еміграцією, воно, як правило, зменшується внаслідок смерти й виїзду з Австралії. Це зменшення є особливо помітне серед чоловіків, яким 1961 р. було 50-54 роки. Непослідовне збільшення групи, яка 1961 р. мала 25-34 роки, мабуть пояснюється тим, що дехто 1971 р. уперше назвав країну народження Україною, не С.Р.С.Р. чи Польщею.

На основі перепису населення 1986 р., в якому буде пряме питання про етнічність, можна буде створити багато докладнішу картину демографічної структури групи людей українського походження.

Українці в Канберрі та Квінбієні

Іван Малецький

Автор зібрав статистику про українців в Канберрі та Квінбієні, зробивши вичерпний опит усіх 882 людей українського походження в цих містах. Порівняння першої генерації з другою, основане на цифрах, уможлиблює вивчення деяких змін, що відбуваються в українській спільноті. /28% населення належить до першої генерації, 35% до другої, 37% до третьої./

Українці Канберри та Квінбієну виявили чималу суспільну динаміку. Процент некваліфікованих робітників, який у першій генерації становив 52%, у другій становить тільки 8%, а процент бюрових працівників та незалежних і професійних людей значно підвищився. Процент людей з вищою освітою зріс від 6% у першій генерації до 16% у другій.

Дослідження також представляє цифри, які наświetлюють процеси асиміляції. Тільки приблизно половина членів другої генерації може порозумітися українською мовою; аж 47% другої генерації взагалі не ходить до українських церков; 78% другої генерації не належить до жодної української організації /в порівнянні з 28% у першій генерації/. Тоді коли в першій генерації тільки 19% подруж є мішані, то в другій генерації мішаних подруж є 86%.

Соціологічний профіль та життєві проблеми старшого українського громадянства у Вікторії

Таня Захаряк і Любомир Лаврівський

На основі опиту 179-ох українців-імігрантів віком понад 55 літ у Вікторії /149 із них у Мельборні/, виявлено соціальні, фізичні та економічні потреби

старших українців та проаналізовано, наскільки вони користуються існуючими послугами агентур суспільної допомоги.

Одним з несподіваних результатів дослідження було виявлення дуже низького числа працюючих чоловіків віком 55-60. Однак це явище компенсується високим процентом у цій групі людей, які мають власний дім

Здоров'я, впевненість у спілкуванні /зокрема англійською мовою/, частота товариських зв'язків та спроможність розв'язувати життєві проблеми зменшуються паралельно зі старінням. Група, в якій найчастіше проявляється депресія, пов'язана з самотністю, це жінки-вдови.

Зовсім невеликий процент старших людей мешкає разом з молодшими членами родини; тільки 41% розраховує на поміч родини у випадку, що вони не зможуть дати собі ради.

Використання послуг агентур суспільної допомоги стоїть на дуже низькому рівні, що можна пов'язати з недостатнім знанням мови та етноцентризмом. Опитувані висловлювали бажання бути краще поінформованими про мешканеві можливості, пенсії та медичні послуги; значний процент потребує помочі вдома; велика більшість відчуває потребу пенсіонерського клубу; транспорт є проблемою для багатьох.

На основі висновків, рекомендується zatrudнення професійного суспільного працівника, який мав би сповняти інформаційну функцію та координувати громадську допомогу для старших. Опит також вказує на потребу української оселі для старших.

Національна мовна політика: етнічно-культурна перспектива

Єржи Смоліч

У грудні 1984 Постійний комітет австралійського Сенату в справах освіти й культури видав рапорт під назвою "Національна мовна політика". Рапорт

є документом найновішого етапу в історії мовної політики в Австралії. Спочатку Австралія була в класично-традиційній фазі щодо навчання мов. У 1960-их роках виникла тенденція до навчання мов геополітичного або міжнародного значення, а з середини 1970-их років держава сприяє також багатокультурній орієнтації країни, забезпечуючи академічну та іншу публічну допомогу різним "громадським" мовам, які вживаються в Австралії. Рапорт Постійного комітету є тільки підтвердженням того, що здобуто в цьому відношенні. Він ані не передбачає дальшого розвитку, ані не пропонує призначення фондів для поширення багатокультурності в мовних справах.

Для багатьох імігрантських культур власна мова є "ядерною" цінністю, тобто цінністю, якої не можна втратити, не загрозивши субстанції даної етнічної групи. Суспільна стабільність у плюралістичних суспільствах австралійського типу мусить бути основана на співіснуванні загальних цінностей всієї спільноти з ядерними цінностями етнічних груп. У відношенні до мов, це означає, що поруч з англійською, мови етнічних груп країни повинні мати місце в системі освіти. У визнанні таких мовних прав, рапорт Постійного комітету відстає від досягнень Вікторії та Південної Австралії. Він /рапорт/ не може вдовольнити етнічних груп, для яких плекання мови є основним засобом збереження своєї ідентичності. Для таких груп втрата мови має своїм результатом розклад культури і її подрібнення на фолкльорні та інші залишки, які не відповідають інтелектуальним прагненням молодих людей. В Австралії позитивне використання факту лінгвістичної багатоманітності країни вимагає плянового розбудування мовного плюралізму в рамках загальних цінностей, до яких належить англійська мова як спільна мова всіх австралійців.

Фонетична інтерференція у вимові українських студентів в Австралії

Олеся Дацків-Розаліон

Одна з проблем навчання української мови в Австралії є мовна інтерференція, тобто вплив однієї мови на другу, в цьому випадку англійської мови на українську. Мовна інтерференція ділиться на фонетичну, граматичну й лексичну.

Темою статті є інтерференція англійської мови у вимові українських фонем. Фонетична інтерференція появляється зокрема у приголосних фонемах, як у твердих, так і в м'яких. У твердих приголосних фонетична інтерференція помітна у фонемах х, дз, ц, р, т, д, н, л, ш, ч, ж і дж. У м'яких приголосних фонетична інтерференція появляється зокрема у фонемах т, д, с, з, ц і дз.

Висновки базуються на результатах трьох іспитів, у яких брали участь студенти і середньої школи, і університету.

Мета дослідження була, по-перше, провірити, чи фонетична інтерференція була помітна у вимові українських фонем та довідатися точно, в яких фонемах, а по-друге, довідатися, чи студенти, в яких фонетична інтерференція була помітна, власне чули різницю між українськими та англійськими фонемами.

Матеріал дослідження складався, поперше, з мінімальних пар українських слів з твердою й м'якою опозицією, а по-друге, з мінімальних пар українських та англійських слів.

Метода дослідження складалася з трьох іспитів. Перший іспит базувався на вмінні або здібності слухати, тобто розрізнявати фонем. Другий іспит був писемний, а третій був усний.

Результати дослідження виявили, що студенти, в яких фонетична інтерференція була помітна у вимові українських твердих приголосних, не помічали різниці між українськими твердими та англійськими приголосними. Однак, результати дослідження виявили, що студенти, в яких фонетична інтерференція була помітна у вимові українських м'яких приголосних, помічали різницю між українськими твердими й м'якими приголосними. У такому випадку, слухове розрізнення не виключало фонетичної інтерференції.

Сатира і гумор в українській літературі Австралії

Марко Павлишин

В українській короткій прозі в Австралії домінує гуманний гумор, який не без співчуття насміхається з абсурдних елементів емігрантського буття, часто користуючись для цього карикатурним зображенням постатей /Опанас Бритва, Леся Богулавець/.

У сатиричних творах, позитивні норми, якими міряється дійсність, це ідеали української емігрантської громади: плекання української мови, звичаїв та фолкльору, творення українських родин, праця в громадських організаціях, патріотична свідомість. Хоч жоден автор не піддає цих ідеалів критиці, відхилення від них майже завжди зображені як неминучі. Це пояснюється тим, що відхилення від ідеалів, які мають свій корінь у минулому, обумовлене їхньою несумісністю з соціально-економічними вимогами сучасного життя. Такі конфлікти відображаються, наприклад, у драматичних творах Ярослава Масляка.

У віршованому жанрі появилися окремі бурлески /Василь Онуфрієнко, Дмитро Чуб/ та збірки Зої Когут. У її Культурних арабесках /1969/ переважає сатира комічного, часто гротескного, характеру; сатира Кучерявого диму /1974/, натомість, більш меланхолійна.

Павло Богацький: член-основник НТШ в Австралії

Роман Микитович

Павло Богацький /1883-1962/, визначний культурний і громадський діяч, прожив останніх дванадцять років свого життя в Австралії. В архівах НТША збереглися деякі матеріяли до біографії Богацького:

листи до д-ра Євгена Пеленського, "Коротка автобіографія", датована 1.7.1950, і фрагментарний "Літературний автопортрет".

Листи подають сувору картину побуту емігранта в містечку Тіррул, недалеко Воллонгонгу, Новий Південний Велс. Життя Богацького було наповнене тяжкою фізичною працею та утруднене віддаленням від центрів українського поселення. Цитується обширно з листа, датованого 18.7.1950, в якому є роздуми Богацького над творами української науки, літератури й мистецтва, які пропали внаслідок війни, революції та цензури.

"Коротка автобіографія" резюмує життєвий шлях Богацького: дитинство, школи й семінарія в Кам'янці Подільському; військова освіта й коротка служба /1906-07/; видавнича й редакційна діяльність у Києві, зокрема на чолі журналу Українська хата /1909-1914/; участь у подіях на Україні 1917-1920; літературна, редакційна, наукова й педагогічна праця в Празі між війнами, в Німеччині під час Другої світової війни та в міттенвальдському таборі в роках 1945-49; і виїзд в Австралію.

У своєму "Літературному автопортреті" Богацький описує літературну освіту в школі, згадує авторів та твори, які вплинули на нього, розповідає про видавання нелегальних матеріялів у школі та про перші літературні твори, написані в тюрмі. Спогад кінчається подіями 1908 року.

На дорозі до україністики як академічної дисципліни в Австралії: вклад монашського університету

Іржі Марван

Україністика, ставши міжнародною науковою дисципліною на початку 20-их років цього століття, згодом перейшла два етапи розвитку. Перших сорок літ пов'язані з Європою, зокрема Чехословаччиною та Німеччиною, а 1960-ті та 1970-ті роки – з Північною Америкою. Характерною рисою обох періодів

було сполучення громадської свідомості про важливість україністики для української діаспори з існуванням у даних країнах структур наукової славістики, до яких україністика могла приєднатися.

Подібні умови супроводили становлення україністики в Австралії в першій половині 1980-их років, з тією різницею, що введення україністики відіграло роль у самому формуванні славістики. Відділ славістики монашського університету утворився 1982 р. на основі колишнього відділу русистики саме тоді, коли Українська Громада Вікторії запропонувала фінансувати навчальну програму з української мови й літератури.

Діалог між громадою та університетом почався ще в середині 70-их років, коли Відділ починав уводити навчання інших мов крім російської. Наукові дослідження з україністики розпочалися в той сам час. Процес завершився назначенням викладача з україністики в лютому 1983 р. Від того часу навчання розвивається задовільно /30 студентів у 1985 р./, і наукова діяльність значно посилилася /див. бібліографію/.

Нарис розвитку Фундації Українознавчих Студій в Австралії

Ігор Гордієв

Основа існування Фундації Українознавчих Студій в Австралії /ФУСА/ ідеологічна: вона полягає в переконанні багатьох членів української спільноти Австралії в тому, що встановлення та розвиток українознавчих студій на університетському рівні є самоцільною цінністю.

ФУСА зареєстровано 1974 р., хоч дискусії розпочалися в Сідней ще 1971 р. за ініціативою проф. Ярослава Рудницького. Старання про створення "Катедри Українознавства в Австралії" /"КУА"/ здійснювали зокрема директори ФУСА та газета "Вільна Думка", часто серед інтенсивної публічної дискусії. Для по-

жертв на фонди ФУСА здобуто звільнення від податків. 1981 року капітал Фондації зріс до 300 000 дол., у лютому 1984 - до 600 000 дол.

Після пертрактацій з різними університетами, у березні 1983 заключено договір з Університетом ім. Макворі, а рік пізніше відбулося в тому ж університеті відкриття Центру Українознавчих Студій, головну навчальну позицію в якому зайняла д-р Наталія Пазуняк.

До відкриття Центру в Макворі, ФУСА організувала навчання через літні та інтенсивні курси, яких відбулося п'ять. У першому році своєї діяльності центр мав 26 студентів, 1985 р. - вже біля 60, рахуючи чималий відсоток недипломних та заочних.

Роля ФУСА, крім створення умов для українознавчих студій в Австралії, могла б проявитися в поглибленні взаємовідносин між українською спільнотою та університетом і в подоланні організаційного відокремлення спільноти від її оточення. Українознавчі студії, спільний твір ФУСА й університету, також будуть засобом для інформування ширшої спільноти про прагнення й проблеми українців в Австралії, в підрадянській Україні та в цілому світі.

Бібліотека Владика Кир Івана Прашка, Мельборн

Моніка Стецькі

Найбільшу бібліотеку українських матеріалів в Австралії зібрав Преосв. д-р Іван Прашко, Епарх для українців католиків в Австралії, Новій Зеландії та Океанії, в епархіяльному будинку в Норт Мельборні. Тут знаходиться коло 12,500 томів книг, не рахуючи журналів, які розподіляються на такі секції: довідники, релігія, історія, література, мовознавство, мистецтво, фолкльор, та книжки для дітей.

Хоч Владика Прашко завжди давав науковцям доступ до бібліотеки, користування нею було обмежене відсутністю детального каталога. Через лекторат україністики Монашського університету здобуто фонди для каталогування за методою, яка дозволить включити

каталог в Австралійську Бібліографічну Мережу і
таким чином зробити його доступним в усій країні.

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UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT in AUSTRALIA

EDITED BY MARKO PAVLYSHYN

Ukrainian Settlement in Australia presents selected papers from a conference held in Melbourne in April 1985 and jointly sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia and the Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University. It includes an Introduction by Roman Mykytowycz, President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, and Marko Pavlyshyn, as well as the following essays: "Ukrainians in Australia's Censuses" (Eugene Seneta), "On Ukrainian Settlement in the A.C.T." (John Malecky), "A Sociological Profile and Needs Survey of Aged Ukrainian Migrants in Victoria" (Tania Zachariak and Michael Lawriwsky), "National Policy on Languages: An Ethno-Cultural Dimension" (J. J. Smolicz), "Phonetic Interference in the Pronunciation of Ukrainian Students in Australia" (Olesia Dackiw-Rosalion), "Satire and the Comic in Australia's Ukrainian Literature" (Marko Pavlyshyn), "Pavlo Bohatsky: A Founding Member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia" (Roman Mykytowycz), "Toward Ukrainian as an Academic Discipline in Australia: The Monash Contribution" (Jiří Marvan), "The Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia: A Brief Survey" (Ihor Gordijew) and "The Canning Street Collection: The Ukrainian Bishop's Library" (Monika Stecki).
