CO-EXISTANCE AND CO-INFLUENCE
OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN IN CANADA

Bondarenko V. O.

INTRODUCTION

In modern world of dynamic extension of cross-cultural relations, establishment of new forms of communication and tendency to creation of the global village, the study of the regional variants of the English language gains a special topicality. More and more linguists as well as the majority of the linguistic studios of the world focus their attention on the subject matter of regional and dialectical peculiarities of English in different countries, caused by its co-existence with local native languages. Moreover, the issue of co-influence between English and a local language seems to be mainstreamed for the purpose to comprehend and explain the modifications in both languages. Since English has become *lingua franca,* the interest to all the regions where there is an immediate contact between it and the native language inevitably grows and results into numerous linguistic and sociolinguistic researches.

Regarding the prospects of this linguistic field, in the present study we are making an attempt to dwell upon the problem of co-existence of the English and Ukrainian languages and cultures in Canada and to trace out the paramount consequences of their co-influence. We are outlining our main goal as the description of all lexical, grammatical and phonetic changes in both languages due to their constant and inescapable contact. Meanwhile, we aim at a brief overview of the historical background of the appearance of the Ukrainian language in Canada with its further immersion into the English-speaking surroundings. Within the range of our interest in this study is the dynamics of all the social and linguistic processes taking place in the Canadian society and having a direct reflection in the languages. To crown it all, we are striving to observe the modern tendencies of this co-existence and its impact on the linguistic statuses of both languages.

The present issue has been under a thorough investigation of scholars since the mid 50s of the past century. The early works are namely devoted to the description of the processes of establishment of Ukrainian in Canada (A. Royick, M. Marunchak, I. Gerus-Tarnavetska, R. Pendakur, V. Satze-wich). Some profound works appeared in the late XX century and were devoted to the process of socialization of Ukrainian in Canada and analysis of introduction of numerous English lexical units into Ukrainian (O. Marty-nowych, P. Sekirin, J. Lehr, O. Subtelny, P. Yuzyk). Sufficient typological research findings by D. Struck and K. Hudyma greatly contributed to the

generalization of the major consequences of co-influence between two languages.

1. The brief history of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada and the introduction of the Ukrainian language in the English-speaking society

In a long run of the history Canada is known to be the second country in the world, after Ukraine namely, according to the number of Ukrainians living within its territory. The process of immigration of Ukrainians to Canada began in the late XIX century when land-hungry peasants from the western regions of Galicia and Bukovyna, which were under the Austrian rule that time, made their way across the Atlantic ocean in order to find freedom and start a better life. Wasyl Eleniak, Ivan Pillipiw are officially regarded to be the first Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, who left their native village in 1891 and proceeded to Hamburg City in Germany, where boarded a ship sailing to Canada. Having arrived, they started working at the farm in Manitoba province and within 3 years' time both of the first immigrants managed to make enough money to bring their families as well as some friends to Canada and the first Ukrainian settlement sprang. Their life was full of ordeals as they were going through hard work of herdsmen before they succeeded to become prosperous farmers and were granted the Canadian citizenship.

Nevertheless, the massive immigration of Ukrainians to Canada did not start until 1896 when Dr. Joseph Oleskow, an agriculturist from Galicia had visited the western regions of Canada and claimed that homesteading and farming could be successfully carried on within those territories. Since then the immigrants began coming as families and in groups and made the first colonies of the Ukrainian immigrants in the Prairie Provinces. They settled in new territories under the Ukrainian names such as "Ukraina" or "Komarno", giving Ukrainian names "Sich", "Volya", "Mazepa", "Shevchenko" to schools, official establishments and churches. The bulk of newcomers was extensively enlarged by educated Ukrainians, who could not stand the political, economic and social injustice in the home county and tended to provide reforms, so many of them immigrated and were very helpful in educational, community or religious affairs within the newly-established settlements. In fact, they initiated the organization of the first Ukrainian schools, professional groups and trade unions, trying to preserve the authenticity of the immigrants, while adapting them to the realities of the new place of living and trying to learn and teach the basics of English.

The process of acquisition of the English language by the Ukrainians started rather slowly and was going through numerous hardships, but it was the beginning of a new era in the language situation of Canada[1]. Being once

---

[1] Kukushkin V. From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belarusan Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007. P. 16.

the language of a small community of immigrants, Ukrainian started spreading rapidly among the newcomers, the number of whom grew year after year. Within a comparatively short period of time the colonies of the Ukrainians were confined to the Prairie region and on the demographic map of Canada of that time that spot may be marked as the massive settlement of the Ukrainians[2]. Canada's democratic policy gave them an opportunity to use their own language and keep their home-country traditions and customs. On the other hand, living hand by hand with the non-Ukrainian neighbours dictated other rules and conditions, and the comprehension and usage of the English language was the major one.

As many Ukrainians, supported and inspired by their intellectual leaders, started taking interest outside farming and considered other professional fields as their further prospects, the topicality of the language question was inevitably growing. Being considerably limited in the sense of employment within the Ukrainian communities, the settlers were searching for new opportunities to get their children educated and professionally trained. They sent their children to the English schools and got the first specialists of the Ukrainian origin who were educated in Canada. Meanwhile, they were reluctant to lose their national identity, that's why both English and Ukrainian were strongly supported either in the professional sphere or in the everyday life[3]. A good example of such an attitude to both languages can be observed through the bilingual school system adopted in Manitoba province, under which English and another language, Ukrainian in particular, could be in the curriculum of public schools. It enabled the Ukrainian children to master two languages in professional way, and there are some data confirming that some Canadian children chose Ukrainian as their second language in those schools. In 1916 the bilingual schools were abolished and Ukrainian was included into the after-school optional courses, but the popularity of learning it did not decrease at all, moreover the classes were regularly attended and more and more new volunteers joined them. Moreover, special educational hostels were organized for the Ukrainian students, who get their major education at Canadian high schools, colleges and universities, but at the same time had an opportunity to master the major disciplines in the Ukrainian language. Quite often the curriculum of the Ukrainian courses was structured in an exact accordance with the curriculum of the English-speaking establishments. The Ukrainian establishments were called "institutes" and within a decade a network of them was founded in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Saskatoon cities.

[2] Martynowych O. Ukrainians in Canada. *The Formative Period, 1891–1924.* Edmonton : Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991. P. 37.

[3] Makuch A., Popowycz I. Encyclopedia of Ukraine: Index and Errata. Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies., Edmonton, 2001. Vol. 5. P. 27.

Such a high demand for Ukrainian was determined, first of all, by the aspiration of the immigrants to preserve their national authenticity and identity among multi-national diversity of Canada, as the researchers L. Luciuk claims[4]. As a matter of fact, there existed a certain confusion about the Ukrainian settlers as they came from different parts of Ukraine and their claim for being regarded as a separate ethnic group in Canada could not be fulfilled since they lacked a definite level of homogeneity. The majority of them came from Galicia and Bukovyna, which used to be under the rule of the Austria-Hungarian Empire and in the early immigration records those comers were mentioned as Austrians. A later wave of newcomers started arriving from Kyiv City, central and even eastern parts of Ukraine and they got their names according to the places of their origin. In the meantime, their languages were full of dialectical peculiarities and regional features, their traditions and homemaking styles differed greatly, their ideas and desires about their further life in Canada were drastically influenced by the conditions of the past life.

The new life and desire to have a better future in a distant land stimulated their awareness and strive to assert themselves as a distinct ethnic group or entity with its own language, culture and national dignity[5]. They clearly understood that living in a foreign country would demand the knowledge of the local language, abiding the local laws and adaptation to the local lifestyle, but by all means they tended not to lose their own roots. Besides, establishing themselves as an identity, the Ukrainians gained confidence to become a part of the Canadian society and to actively participate in its life from the lowest positions to the level of the politics, diplomacy and, after all, government. There are some outstanding personalities in the Canadian history, who have achieved notable success in various spheres of social life and sciences and they are the representatives of the different waves of immigration from Ukraine or they are Ukrainians born to the families of those immigrants.

Actually, it was the first wave of immigration of Ukrainians to Canada (1891–1914) that managed to build a profound basis for the establishment of them as an ethnic group and for the creation of necessary conditions for life of the next generations of the immigrants[6]. At the same time they introduced their own language to the language situation of Canada and caused a certain degree of bilingualism within their own communities and further at some level outside their national group. Since the moment of their first interaction with the natives a long-lasting and significant process of co-existence and co-influence between English and Ukrainian in Canada has been in progress. It

[4] Luciuk L., Hryniuk S. Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. University of Toronto Press, 1991. P. 18.

[5] Yuzyk P. Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life. Toronto, 1967. P. 82–83.

[6] Subtelny O. Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History. University of Toronto Press, 1991.

is a historically-grounded linguistic process that reflects the periods of assimilation of different waves of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada and, moreover, witnesses the transformations in Canadian English, caused by the presence of Ukrainian.

The second wave of immigration of the Ukrainians to Canada (1922–1939) turned out to be less numerous than the first one and counted around 70 000 people, who kept arriving from Galicia, Bukovyna and a few groups from Volyn. The majority of newcomers were peasants back home, some were just unqualified or partially qualified workers and their arrival to Canada was an attempt to find the necessary conditions for work on the land and develop farming. Their Ukrainian language reminded that of the first wave of immigration and could be described as an illiterate peasants' language impacted by the regional peculiarities and dialectisms. Many of the comers did not get even the basic schooling at home and hoped to fill the gaps in the new country; moreover, they hardly imagine what ordeals they would face in mastering both: more or less educated Ukrainian and basic English. Nevertheless, the significance of Ukrainian started diminishing as the new settlers immersed into the English-speaking surroundings as soon as they had arrived and due to the immediate interaction with the representatives of the first wave, who were more aware of the fact, that they could not do without English in the English-speaking country. According to some researchers, the Ukrainian language of the second wave of the immigrants preserved the traditions of the first wave, but its status was changing: it gradually stopped being the national and ethnic marker of identity and became more as a symbolic language that singled out Ukrainians among other language groups in Canada[7].

In contrast to the first wave of immigrants, hundreds of Ukrainians of the second wave, especially the younger ones, could speak unaccented English and in order to be employed in the Canadian companies started changing, so to say anglicizing their original names. For example, **Horniatskiy** became **Horn**, **Chorniy** – **Black**, **Kowalchuk** – **Coval** and others. Many of them believed that hiding their ethnic identity would improve their social status and increase their employment opportunities, or even enable them to partake in the political and social life of Canada. However, there were those, who remained true to their origin and did not assimilate their names or even demonstrated their pride in being the representatives of the Ukrainian ethnic group. Such family names as **Romanyshyn** or **Havrylyshyn** remain unchanged up to the present and are quite known in the active circles of the Canadian social life.

---

[7] Козачевська Л., Сидоренко О. Мова української діаспори як віддзеркалення мовної свідомості та мовної діяльності носіїв-білінгвів *Мовні і концептуальні картини світу.* 2013. Вип. 46(2). С. 144.

So, regarding the co-existence of Ukrainian and English during the second wave of the immigration it is worth mentioning the fact that the Ukrainians were more active and ideologically conscious and it was being reflected in their language policy. Persistent participation in social-political life of Canada conditioned their keen interest in acquisition of English for the purpose to found some Ukrainian-Canadian national political or social organizations such as Ukrainian Association of Farmers or Association of Ukrainian Democratic Youth. Meanwhile, some Ukrainian religious organization, such as Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (1932) or Ukrainian Independence League (1927) came into being during that period and marked a definite separation between the orthodox and catholic communities of Canada. No matter that quite often those organizations provided the Ukrainian-speaking policy, their inescapable interaction with the Canadian unions and communities of the same character predetermined the use of English.

The Ukrainian language of this wave kept the general first wave traditions, but its status was obviously changing: it started losing the position of the national and ethnic identity marker and acquired some symbolic features[8], just the language differentiating Ukrainians as non-native speakers of English or other languages of Canada did. In other words, it was losing its functional component and was used in more or less general way. Such a situation was predetermined, first of all, by the ideology of the Ukrainians in the second wave, who became more active and conscious towards social and political life of Canada. Their motives and activities reflected the Ukrainian revolutionary trends in Europe and consequently resulted in the appearance of several Ukrainian-Canadian socio-political national organizations such as the pro-communist Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association (1924) that helped the unemployed to get some job opportunities. The conservative United Hetman Organization (1934) was founded to be opposed to the nationalistic republican Ukrainian National Federation of Canada (1932). As the immigrants of the second wave were demonstrating more concerns in the social life, some religious organizations came into being during that period, too. The most influential ones were the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (1927) and the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (1932), together with their women's and youth affiliates representing Orthodox and Catholic division within Ukrainian communities of Canada.

Under such an intensive participation of Ukrainians in social life of Canada the Ukrainian language itself remained the major means of communication and it continued undergoing certain socialization. While during the first wave some classical pieces of the Ukrainian literature were being translated into English, the second wave manifests the appearance of

---

[8] Marunchak M. The Ukrainian Canadians: History. 2nd ed. Winnipeg and Ottawa, 1982. 546 p.

the Ukrainian publishing houses printing the immigrants' works. And just during the late 20s of the past century there was the first attempt to establish the organization of Ukrainian Canadian writers who had by that time completed a number of books in Ukrainian and English describing the destinies of immigrants. There were several books on Ukrainian Grammar and dictionaries as well as some English Grammar references with the Ukrainian interpretation. Among them *"Samouchok i Slovar"* (**"Self-study Guide and Dictionary"**) gained a special popularity among learners of Ukrainian and English.

This period brought numerous mutual borrowings and the process of assimilation between two languages was taking place involving new and new spheres of social life. Just during the interwar period such Ukrainian words as *добродійка* (**dobrodijka** (**a priest's wife**), *лазничка* (**laznychka** (**a washroom**), *забава* (**zabava**), *СУМ* (**SUM**), *Пласт* (**Plast**), *Маланка* (**Malanka**) and many others came into use among bilingual youth[9]. On the other hand, Ukrainian welcomed a series of loanwords from English, e. g. *фарма* (**farm**), *генерація* (**generation**), *візитація* (**visitation**), *фамілія* (**family**), *партія* (**party**), *оказія* (**occasion**), *сеньйор* (**senior**), *атачмент* (**attachment**), *супервайзер* (**supervisor**), *конто* (**account**) etc. Numerous word combinations sounding more like a word-for-word translation of English ones became quite frequent in Ukrainian and the majority of them exist in the present-day Ukrainian in Canada. For instance, *виповнювати форму* (**to fill out a form**), *робити знімку* (**to take a photo**), *о 6 годині рано* (**at 6 a.m.**), *о 5 годині по обіді* (**at 5 p.m.**), *брати курс* (**to take a course**) in the meaning of **to major in smth**., *брати автобус № 405* (**to take #405 Bus**) and others.

The third wave of immigration of Ukrainians to Canada (1946–1961) consisted mainly of the displaced people, the majority of whom were taken by the fascists to Germany for the forced work and used as labourers. The bigger part of those people were kept as war prisoners and had to do various hard works either in the German cities or in the countryside at the farmsteads. Originally from home those displaced people came from almost all parts of Ukraine and represented almost all social groups, though the majority of them were villagers. After the WWII their destiny was rather unfortunate: they could not return to their home country as the communist regime of Stalin considered them to be betrayers, no matter that they had been taken to Germany by force. The dictatorial system did not take into account any circumstances or details of their life situation and just sent to the work camps in Siberia for the rest of their lives those, who dared to return. Escaping such

---

[9] Struk D. Between Ukish and Oblivion: The Ukrainian Language in Canada Today. *First Wave Emigrants: The First Fifty Years of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia.* N. Y. : Nova Science Publishers, 2000. P. 71.

a notorious prospect, a large number of the displaced people were fleeing to the UK, Australia, South America, the USA or Canada. About 37 thousand of refugees arrive in Canada after the surrender of the fascist Germany and over 80 per cent of them were Ukrainians[10].

This wave of newcomers turned out to be the most contributing in the concern of the Ukrainian language: they demonstrated the high level of national awareness; their language was more educated as they managed to refine it in some way while mixing up with Ukrainians from different regions. Moreover, living and working in Germany of that time provoked closeness and unity between total strangers as people were put in hard and frightening conditions. It all helped to enhance their comprehension of the national identity as well as of the importance of the national language. That is why, having come to Canada, they differed substantially from the representatives of the two first waves – their integration into the Canadian life was almost immediate and they were much quicker to pick up English and use Ukrainian at the same time. Many of them entered the English schools and simultaneously were getting some professional training, others managed to get employed and started mastering the language through their occupational activities.

Those were usually educated Ukrainians, a layer of the Ukrainian intelligentsia (in particular, about 2 thousand students, 1.2 thousand teachers and scientists, 400 engineers, 350 lawyers and 300 doctors) left and considered the USA or Canada as a temporary country of residence, although most of them never returned to Ukraine[11]. There is also a significant number of people among immigrants who after the WWII were in the refugee camps and prisoners of war in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain. In general, after Germany was defeated, about 100,000 refugees from Ukraine moved to the USA and Canada. Owing to the large number of intelligentsia and scientists in the third wave of immigration, the Ukrainian political, public, cultural and religious life in the diaspora was developing quite intensively. According to some statistic data, among the immigrants there were 54.5 per cent of people with primary education, the number of Ukrainians with higher education reached 4.12 per cent, and 9 per cent of immigrants from Ukraine had special education). Consequently, this wave of immigrants contributed considerably to the foundation of the numerous Ukrainian schools and heritage centres, professional clubs, cultural centres and churches. Their desire to educate their children in Ukrainian and give them the chance to be the part of the national communities was extremely strong, but at the same

---

[10] Kordan B. Ukrainian Canadians and the Canada Census, 1981–1996. Heritage Press, Toronto, 2000. P. 117.

[11] Єлейко І. Передумови та особливості міграції українського населення до США. *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія «Міжнародні відносини».* 2016. Вип. 39. С. 188.

time they could easily integrate into the English-speaking surroundings and realities. In our research we share the idea of the researcher Kh. Hudyma, who claims that this was the most advanced wave of immigrants that succeeded to enter the Canadian life and adapted to it in the best possible way[12]. Most of the representatives of this wave gave a chance to get higher education to their children, assimilate in the Canadian communities and become highly-qualified professionals in various intellectual as well as working fields. Due to them the national heritage of the previous generations of the immigrants from Ukraine was preserved and handed down to the younger ones. Even nowadays, there are Ukrainian culture centres, Sunday schools for children or clubs for the senior citizens, that were founded by the third generation settlers and only due to their efforts some connections between the Ukrainian life standards and the English ones are still around.

In general, the third wave of immigration turned out to be the most beneficial for the establishment and advancement of the Ukrainian language and integrating it into the Canadian life. Owing to the professionals some universities opened Slavic departments which specialized in profound training in Ukrainian and provided qualified specialists who could afterwards organize Ukrainian schools of all levels. They put the Ukrainian press into the forefront of Canada's ethnic press and through the Canadian branches of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and Shevchenko Scientific Society they advanced the position of the Ukrainian literature, and culture correspondingly. The journalists among the newcomers successfully attempted to develop a number of Ukrainian radio stations throughout Canada and later launched a few Ukrainian TV programs, some of which are still functioning. It was the third wave who were actively building the Ukrainian churches and halls, cultural clubs, concert halls, seniors' homes, credit unions and establishing their position of Ukrainians as the ethnic group with its own language and culture. Due to a high proportion of highly-educated specialists they substantially increased the Ukrainian participation on academic, business and even governmental levels.

Consequently, the Ukrainians merged all spheres of Canadian life, but such a close co-existence and communication resulted in huge assimilation processes either in the language or in the national identity. The researcher M. Marunchak states that the assimilation impact caused enormous harm to the ethnic identity of Ukrainians in the official circles of Canada immediately through the language[13]. Those assimilation processes overwhelmed the Fourth

---

[12] Hudyma Kh. Ukrainian Language in Canada: From Prosperity to Extinction. *Working Papers of Linguistic Circle of University of Victoria*. University of Saskatchewan Press. 2011. P. 182.

[13] Marunchak M. The Ukrainian Canadians: History. 2nd ed. Winnipeg and Ottawa, 1982. P. 231.

Wave of Immigration (1991 – present) and, in our view, have a tendency to survive and grow strong as long as two cultures co-exist within one territory. Thus, 36 % of Canadians recognized themselves as Ukrainians, though they do not use Ukrainian, even at home[14].

After Ukraine's declaration of independence in 1991, immigration from Ukraine to Canada has steadily risen, to a point that, by right, can be regarded as the "Fourth Wave". By some estimation about 60,000 arrivals since 1991 entered the territory of Canada, but the so-called Fourth Wave of Ukrainians in Canada has been little-understood and certainly understudied. Meanwhile, it is worth mentioning as it drastically influences the standards of the life of Ukrainians in Canada and has a substantial reflection in both English and Ukrainian spoken by the newcomers. Viewing the situation in general, it would be correct to claim that this group of post-1991 immigrants from Ukraine are adapting to the local lifestyle and integrating into the pre-existing Ukrainian communities of Canada. But the subject-matter of the study of broader economic trajectories and settlement experiences of this group over the recent years, across different immigration categories, and in different geographical and sociocultural settings remains open.

As for the language situation with the representatives of the fourth wave of immigrants from Ukraine, it definitely differs from that of the previous generations. Among modern newcomers to Canada there is a high percentage of people, especially younger ones, who have University or college degrees and some level of professional training in scientific and applied fields. In accordance with the Ukrainian curriculum and standards of the higher education most of them demonstrate a pre-intermediate or an intermediate level of English and it enables them to find simpler ways to adjust to the living and working conditions in Canada. Within the immigration procedure the level of English proficiency is being estimated and the result is often taken into account during the further studying, professional training or employment.

Meanwhile, knowledge of English can seriously facilitate the initial period of accommodation of newcomers in the English-speaking environment and that's why most of new immigrants, having arrived in Canada, find contacts and connections with the natives, unlike the older generations of Ukrainians, who stuck immediately to the previously formed Ukrainian communities to get acquainted with the surroundings and to probe the situation[15]. That old way was helpful and it benefited the formation and reinforcement of the Ukrainian communities, at some moment it even led to the amalgamation of some of them, but later this tendency was on the decline and by now it has almost lost its meaning. The modern new comers either join their families on

---

[14] Marunchak M. The Ukrainian Canadians: History. 2nd ed. Winnipeg and Ottawa, 1982. P. 232.

[15] Satzewich V. The Ukrainian Diaspora. London. Routledge, 2002. P. 63.

arrival or just immerse into the English-speaking world and their connection with the Ukrainian communities is comparatively scarce or completely unavailable.

In the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada the fourth wave is considered to be the largest, numbering around 180 thousand people[16]. Qualitatively, the structure of new immigrants is distinguished by their educational level, high mobility and the dynamic of economic growth. Despite a certain distancing of the newly arriving immigrants from the well-established Ukrainian communities of Canada the presence of the fourth wave increased the tendencies to preserve the Ukrainian language. The situation seems to be completely different from many other ethnic groups of Canada.

Generally speaking, the fourth wave complemented and strengthened the organized Ukrainian diaspora; they also formed a new community in those areas where previously there was no Ukrainian community. Regardless of the fact, that most of the new comers within the fourth wave have a definite orientation for the English realities of the Canadian life, they manage to keep the Ukrainian language within their families and newly-formed communities, but this is a great support to the availability of it within the existing communities of Ukrainians in Canada. Due to the high level of education of the representatives of the fourth wave some sociolinguists underline the dynamic processes of integration of Ukrainian and English. As the bigger part of the fourth wave was presented by the young people, their social connections and realisation in the educational and professional fields demand co-use of both languages. Moreover, the dynamics of migration of this wave in Canada for the purpose to find the better employment possibilities, on the one hand, and their constant travels back to Ukraine for the family reunion, on the other one, keep two languages updated and in constant use.

Nevertheless, the immigrants of the fourth wave, who moved to Canada after the decline of the former Soviet Union and the recognition of the independence of Ukraine, demonstrate profound native language skills and national consciousness. Many of them, especially those with the university degrees, come with reasonably fluent English and for them the process of assimilation takes place more quickly, avoiding some stages of socialization and integration into a new community. Since more than 50 % of newcomers are from "Greater Ukraine" (the central and eastern Ukraine)[17] the Ukrainian language they are bringing is more or less of the literary standard, free of severe dialectical forms.

---

[16] Isajiw W. Adaptation and Integration of new Immigrants: The Fourth Wave of Immigration from Ukraine in Canada, 1991–2001. *The Call of the Homeland: Diaspora Nationalism, Past and Present*. Brill, Leiden Boston, 2010. P. 291.

[17] Luciuk L., Hryniuk S. Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. University of Toronto Press, 1991. P. 21.

Moreover, the new immigrants are interested in the Ukrainian matters of the diaspora, they strongly intend to pass on a sense of Ukrainian identity to their children by sending them to the Ukrainian schools and dance or singing lessons at the Ukrainian halls[18]. Doing this research, we attended some Ukrainian pavilions during fiesta week in Oshawa, ON and later ODUM Ukrainian summer camp for children in London, ON and we managed to observe what weighty attention is paid and what great efforts are made to the advancement of the Ukrainian culture, and the language in particular. Besides, newcomers are active participants of the Ukrainian organizations and they follow all the political and social events with keen interest. We happened to participate in the protestation against the attempt of the former Ukrainian president Yanukovych to introduce Russian as the second official language in Ukraine in July, 2012 held in front of the Ukrainian Consulate in Toronto. The majority of the rioters were new immigrants from GTA and Ontario and the spirit they were demonstrating gave evident proof of their national identity, of their genuine desire to preserve the language as the core of the national dignity.

Despite all this, at present time there is a certain decline in the use of Ukrainian and its future is under threat. It is mainly explained by the recognition of an independent Ukraine after which the language lost its function of being an identity marker either in Ukraine itself or in Canada as well[19]. Besides, with the inflow of new immigrants from the eastern parts of Ukraine to Canada, more and more frequent cases of "*surzhyk*" (Ukrainian-Russian mélange) use take place. Such a devastating tendency might be crucial for the Ukrainian language in Canada, as it once was and still is the language of eastern Ukraine. The alike phenomenon already exists between English and Ukrainian in Canada and some researchers call it "language switching", consisting in the use or mixing of both languages in conversations between native speakers of two languages[20]. With a sort of mock Ukrainians call it "*half-навпіл»* or we came across its other colloquial names – "*kitchen language*" or "*kitchen Ukrainian*". For instance, *Моя молодша донька вчителює в high school* or *Я маю ходити на therapy тричі на тиждень*.

---

[18] Kordan B. Ukrainian Canadians and the Canada Census, 1981–1996. Heritage Press, Toronto, 2000. P. 119.

[19] Struk D. Between Ukish and Oblivion: The Ukrainian Language in Canada Today. *First Wave Emigrants: The First Fifty Years of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia.* N. Y. : Nova Science Publishers, 2000. P. 73.

[20] Козачевська Л., Сидоренко О. Мова української діаспори як віддзеркалення мовної свідомості та мовної діяльності носіїв-білінгвів *Мовні і концептуальні картини світу.* 2013. Вип. 46(2). С. 149.

2. Lexical, grammatical and phonetic co-impact
between English and Ukrainian in Canada

Those were the general conditions and grounds of co-existence of English and Ukrainian in Canada, but our primary focus within the present study is to trace out the processes taking place in both languages caused by the immediate contacts between them. And we believe that it would be reasonable to observe all the lexical, grammatical and phonetic transformations entering both languages. The bilingual situation in Canada caused by the massive arrival of the Ukrainian language speakers during all waves of immigration had a predictable consequence. The co-influence of both languages was obvious and led to numerous loanwords or cases of assimilation of Ukrainian lexical units and speech patterns towards the English ones and vice versa. Such a tremendous tendency sprang as soon as the first settlers had come in and there was immediate contact with the English native speakers during the first wave of immigration or even upon the arrival of the first Ukrainians. And it started, in fact, with the translation and transliteration of Christian and family names of new-comers. As Prof. Yu. O. Zhluktenko states, the first settlers from Ukraine were dissatisfied with their Slavic names and tried to make them sound more like Anglo-Saxon one[21]. The primary reason for that was the attempt to increase their employment opportunities and to improve the position of their children among the local school-mates. For many this seemed to be unacceptable and they were against it, others kept using their original names at home, but for the official purposes they used their transliterated or translated names[22].

So, as a result of this shift, we witness such names as **William** for *Василь*, **Philip** for *Пилип*, **Cyril** for *Кирило*, **Nicholas** for *Микола*, **Darlene** for *Одарка*, **Helen** for *Олена,* **Christina/Chritine/Christie** for *Христя* and many others. In the group of the Ukrainian family names translated into English there is an unswerving tendency to indicate no difference between the feminine and masculine forms of the same name. This is a strange tendancy towards the Slavic languages with the gender-indicating inflections, while, some cases of translating the Christian names into English occurred. For instance, the female name *Любов* turned into **Love**, *Віра* became **Faith**, *Надія* – **Hope**. The western Ukrainian female name *Слава (Славка)* assimilated into English in two different ways: in some communities it was translated as **Glory**, but somewhere else it acquired a kind of its English equivalent **Sylvia**. So, **Ярема** became ***Jeremy,*** **Хома** – *Thomas,* **Іван** – *John,* **Степан** – *Stephen,* **Петро** – *Peter,* **Данило** – *Daniel,* **Михайло** – *Michael*.

---

[21] Жлуктенко Ю. О. Українська мова на лінгвістичній карті Канади. Київ : Наукова думка, 1990. С. 51.

[22] Gerus-Tarnavetska I. The Canadization of the Ukrainian Language, New Soil and Old Roots. Ukrainian Experience in Canada. Winnipeg : University of Manitoba Press, 1990. P. 52.

Some were not replaced by the English equivalent, but the closest sounding variant for them was found: *William* for **Василь** or *Terry* for **Тарас**. The children of the first wave immigrants were born in Canada and the parents gave them the English names, but tried to find or even create the corresponding Ukrainian variants. In our study we happened to come across some quite specific names. For example, we heard the name **Деруся** or **Дируся** for *Darol*, **Каролька/Кароля** for *Carol*, **Іванка** for *Joana*, **Христя** for *Christine*, **Рузя** for *Rose*, **Славка** for *Sylvia*, **Володимир** for *Walter*.

Besides, retaining the English rule to have the same gender form of a family name for both spouses, names like *пані Терлецький* (**Mrs. Terletsky**), *пані Щуровський* (**Mrs. Schurowsky**), *пані Рудкін* (**Mrs. Rudkin**), *пані Бережний* (**Mrs. Berezhny**), *пані Сімаговський* (**Mrs. Simachowsky**), *пані Самохін* (**Mrs. Samochin**), *пані Скоблі-ковський* (**Mrs. Skoblikowsky**), *пані Яворський* (**Mrs. Jaworsky**) are quite frequent in the language. In our observation we came across numerous situations when the masculine forms for female family names were used by Canadian Ukrainians in their Ukrainian speech.

During the period of socialization in Canada and adopting the Ukrainian names in such a way that they would somehow fit in the system of English naming many Ukrainians used to follow the original tradition of mentioning their patronymics in official documents or sometimes in oral communication. As it is absolutely unimportant for English and the placing of the first and last names are rather strict in it sometimes there are cases of misunderstanding, or so-called "misperception" or confusion between the first and family names of Ukrainians in perception by non-Ukrainians. So, the Ukrainians immigrant, who used to be some government official back in his home country and used to be always addressed by his first name and patronymic, insisted on the same after he came to Canada. So, in some applications he used his full name *Petro Hryhorovych Malets* and was mistakenly registered as *Petro Hryhorovych* and later was addressed *Mr.Hryhorovych*, since the non-Ukrainians treated his patronymic as his last name, omitting his real last name – *Malets*.

Another, quite humorous case happened with the Ukrainian patronymic. An immigration service agent, who was born in Canada in the family of the second wave immigrants and whose command of Ukrainian was almost intermediate, was assisting an elderly lady from the Ukrainian immigrants with filling in the application form for her nephew, whom she was going to invite to Canada. The application was meant for the Immigration Section of the Canadian Embassy to Ukraine and it was both in English and Ukrainian. The Ukrainian section in the document required the patronymic of the invitee and the inviter had no idea what it was and the only thing she was aware of was that the invitee's father was *Oleksandr*, namely she knew the colloquial

variant of the Ukrainian name *Oleksandr – Sashko*. So, following the patronymic-making rules of the Ukrainian language, they composed a patronymic for him – *Sashkovych*, using the name *Sashko* as the nominative literary form of his first name.

For some Ukrainian immigrants of the first and second waves of immigration the tradition of using patronymics has declined and they have completely accustomed to the usage of only the first and the family names[23]. The representatives of the recent waves are more inclined to follow their home style of naming, but gradually they fall out of this habit too or at least resort to the more English way of using their patronymics as just an initial between the name and the surname.

Alongside the patronymics, some Ukrainians also tried to modify their surnames for a better fit into the English system. They either completely changed the surnames (full assimilation), e. g. **Schur Stewart** or omitted one or several syllables, so that a surname would resemble English, e. g. **Starytsky** became **Star, Pidverbetsky** – **Verbetsky**, **Smerechansky – Chansky**[24]. On the contrary, there are those who prefer changing their family names to make them typically Ukrainian or even creating the ones that would reflect the Ukrainian realities. Within the Ukrainian communities it is possible to come across such family names as **Melnyk, Koval, Kalynko, Verba, Dnipro, Sirko, Zyma, Topolya** or the name **Kozak** is so frequent that it is on the list of parishioners in almost every Ukrainian church. Meanwhile, the original birth certificates issued back in Ukraine indicate completely different surnames. Such a tendency manifests the desire of the many to underline their national pride and to have the European background. Turning over the pages of the telephone books in some cities of Canada, one can find a high proportion of the Ukrainian family names and names of business listings of the Ukrainian origin. There are churches, culture centres, halls, lawyers' offices, real estate agencies, dental offices, heritage centres, souvenirs shops, funeral homes, cemeteries, seniors' clubs, books and music shops founded and owned by the representatives of the second or third waves of immigration and inherited by their younger successors.

The Ukrainian language brought by the immigrants considerably enriched English of the Canadian communities with numerous foreign words, names of public organizations, establishments, press. The majorities of those names were transliterated from Ukrainian into English and did not make much sense to the native speakers, but at the same time they were accepted as the official name not only by the representatives of the Ukrainian speaking communities

---

[23] Hudyma Kh. Ukrainian Language in Canada: From Prosperity to Extinction. *Working Papers of Linguistic Circle of University of Victoria*. University of Saskatchewan Press, 2011. P. 181.

[24] Ibid. P. 186.

of Canada, but also by the native Canadians. Among such proper names there are organizations **Chytalnia prosvity** (Ukrainian reading association), **Samoosvita** (self-education group of Ukrainians), **Samopomich** (mutual aid society) as well as the titles of periodicals: **Literaturno-naukovyi Visnyk** (literary-scientific herald), **Dzvin** (sociocultural magazine), **Borotba** (political periodical), **Zemlia i Volia** (economic magazine) and others. Quite often those names were hard to remember or to spell for the non-Ukrainian speakers, but they were accepted and well-respected in the Canadian democratic society.

Another relevant feature of introducing Ukrainian notions into English-speaking surroundings in Canada was naming public organizations, institutions and communities after outstanding historical Ukrainian personalities. Here we can mention **Taras Shevchenko Self-education Association**, **Mykhailo Hrushevsky Students' Community**, **Mykhailo Drahomanov Literary Society**, **Ivan Franko Literary Society**, **Volodymyr Vynny-chenko Drama Society**, **Maria Zankowetska Drama Society**, **Marko Kropywnytsky Drama Circle** and others. Owing to their activities a number of the Ukrainian literary works were translated into English, several drama pieces were staged in the Ukrainian communities as well as in other places and even Canadian theatres. The drama works that gained special popularity in the English-speaking communities were the plays "**Verkhovyntsi**" ("The Highlanders"), "**The Stolen Happiness**" by Ivan Franko and "**Nazar Stodolia**" by Taras Shevchenko.

In fact, the beginning of Ukrainian immigration to Canada gave rise to various co-influencing processes between both English and Ukrainian and at some point caused such a mixture of two languages that there appeared a new hybrid language called "Ukish" by Prof. D. Struk[25]. The term was coined as a blending of two languages, Ukrainian and English, and it reflects the constant tendency of assimilation between them on lexical, grammatical and phonetic levels. Ukish was born as an accent during the first wave of immigration, but it grew into a sort of hybrid language later, during further immigration process. In some scientific research, Ukish is even viewed in two forms: the classical (in speech of the two first waves of immigration) and later form, we would call it modern (used by the immigrants who arrived in Canada after WWII and other later waves).

According to the researcher P. Sekirin, the influence of English and of other social factors on the Ukrainian community has caused language change primarily because the Ukrainian language brought to Canada was far from the

---

[25] Struk D. Between Ukish and Oblivion: The Ukrainian Language in Canada Today. *First Wave Emigrants: The First Fifty Years of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia.* N. Y. : Nova Science Publishers. 2000. P. 71.

literary norm[26]. A profound classification of allomorphic features of Standard Ukrainian and Canadian Ukrainian was offered by the researcher Kh. Hudyma, who singled out the following: 1) Canadian Ukrainian originates from south-western dialect of standard Ukrainian and has numerous borrowings from Polish, Romanian and other neighbouring languages; 2) there are far fewer Russian borrowings into Canadian Ukrainian than into Standard Ukrainian; 3) there is dominating influence of English and other Canadian languages over Ukrainian[27]. These types demonstrate the spread and amalgamation of regional variants of the Ukrainian language within the communities in Canada and later it made the background for the generalized language spoken by the Ukrainian diaspora.

As a matter of fact, the first immigrants brought the Ukrainian language as the major means of the ethnic and national identity and established it as the Canadian variant for all the further waves of immigration, but the linguistic and social statuses of Ukrainian in Canada changed several times throughout its history. In conditions of such intensive processes of integration into all spheres of Canadian life the native language of the immigrants was changing its social and linguistic statuses gradually returning its previous position – the language of the ethnic identity and losing its symbolic features, relevant for the second group of the immigrants. And it was during the third wave when the notion "ethnic language" was replaced by the term "heritage language"[28]. Though, in the view of Prof. Yu. Zhluktenko, identity is the only remaining thing in case if neither a language nor culture is preserved[29], which is rather disputable. Meanwhile, Ukrainian as a heritage language continued getting assimilated with quite powerful influence of Canadian English.

Numerous lexical, grammatical and phonetic units of English persistently intruded the living body of Ukrainian spoken in Canada. The researcher A. Royick managed to collect numerous samples of morphological intrusions into Ukrainian, when the English lexemes undergo the Ukrainian declensions, e. g. *на бек ярді (***in backyard***), по ґарбичах (***on garbages***), перед Крісмусом (***before Christmas***), в салєрі (***in cellar***), кукіси (***cookies***)*, and

[26] Sekirin P. Endangered Dialect: Sociolinguistic Study of the Ukrainian Language in Canada, Sociolinguistic Studies and Language Planning. *Proceedings of the XVIth annual meeting of the Atlantic provinces linguistic association.* Ottawa, 1994. P. 81.

[27] Hudyma Kh. Ukrainian Language in Canada: From Prosperity to Extinction. *Working Papers of Linguistic Circle of University of Victoria*. University of Saskatchewan Press, 2011. P. 184.

[28] Козачевська Л., Сидоренко О. Мова української діаспори як віддзеркалення мовної свідомості та мовної діяльності носіїв-білінгвів *Мовні і концептуальні картини світу.* 2013. Вип. 46(2). С. 144.

[29] Жлуктенко Ю. О. Українська мова на лінгвістичній карті Канади. Київ : Наукова думка, 1990. С. 50.

many others[30]. In our study we observed the tendency of inflecting Canadian proper name **Toronto** according to the Ukrainian declension rule: *у Торонті, за Торонтом, біля Торонта.* Conversely, among the third group representatives bilingualism is quite evident through the borrowing of English original forms into Ukrainian speech. For example, *Мій син з родиною мешкають у Брітіш Коламбія* or *Ми взяли баса біля шопін сента* which is a direct calque of the English "**We took the bus at the shopping center**". There are noticeable phonetic shifts in Ukrainian caused by the influence of the English pronunciation system: the most considerable one among them is the replacement of the Ukrainian voiceless velar /**г**/ with the English glottal /**h**/. We heard the example of this in the Ukrainian folk song «Несе Галя воду» where the Ukraine female name /'galja/ was pronounced as /'halja/. Another shift consists in the replacement of the Ukrainian dental plosives /t/ and /d/ with the corresponding English alveolar plosives. Or the same observation can be done in another Ukrainian folk song «Розпрягайте, хлопці, коней», where there is an obvious replacement of the sound /**г**/ with the glottal /h/ in the word *розпрягайте*, which is pronounced as /rozpria'**h**aite/.

Some typical examples of Ukish are widely-used by Ukrainians either in professional spheres or in everyday life regardless of a speaker's proficiency in English, his social status or situation of communication. To the list of such English lexical units pronounced and used in accordance with the morphological and phonetic laws of Ukrainian we can refer some ***nouns*****:** *teacher* – **тичерка**, *pipe* – **пайпа**, *box* – **бокса**, *lawyer* – **лоєр**, *garbage can* – **гарбич кена**, *hall* – **галя**, *holiday* – **голидей**, *boat* – **бовт**, *cash* – **кеш**, *nurse* – **ньорса**, *fridge* – **фрідж**, *carpentry* – **капендерка**, *Christmas* – **крисмус**, *cookies* – **кукіси**, *backyard* – **бек ярда**; ***verbs:*** *to miss* – **зміступати**, *to drive* – **драйвувати**, *to clean* – **клинувати**, *to fix* – **фіксувати**, *to farm* – **фармарувати**, *to can* – **кенувати**; *to study* – **студіювати**; ***adjectives*****:** *broke* – **брок**, *square* – **сквировий**, *fine* – **файний**, *all right* – **орайт**, *lazy* – **лизі**, *crazy* – **кризі.**

On the phonetic level there is an obvious assimilation and close sound imitation to the original language. For instance, the voiced sound /**г**/ is quite frequent in the majority of positions in the Ukish words, while it occurs only in certain lexemes in Ukrainian. And at the same time the English pharyngeal /**h**/ loses its articulatory value and tends to be replaced by the Ukrainian voiceless /**г**/ in words like **галя** *(hall)* and **голидей** *(holiday).* Such a tendency can be approached as a proof of a two-way influence of the involved languages on each other.

---

[30] Royick A. Lexical Borrowings in Alberta Ukrainian: MA Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1965.

236

Alongside separate words making up the vocabulary of Ukish, there is an abundant corpus of word combinations entering the language and functioning in it as independent lexical units. To understand and interpret the linguistic nature of such units is often possible only through the detailed analysis of their origin and the way of their being translated into the foster language. In a number of cases the adopted word combinations are the result of word-for-word translation of the phrase of the original language. Quite often such translations may sound absurd, funny or contradictory to the norms of the literary language. For example:

to give a ride – **дати райда (підвезти когось),** *to miss a bus* – **змістувати баса (запізнитись на автобус),** *to ride a bike* – **кататись на ровері (їздити на велосипеді),** *to take a course* – **брати курс (вивчати щось),** *to take bus #1* – **брати автобус № 1 (їхати автобусом № 1),** *to make/take a picture* – **робити знімку (фотографувати),** *to fill out an application* – **виповнювати аплікацію (заповнювати анкету),** *to pay attention to* – **зважати (звертати увагу),** *at 6 in the morning* – **о шостій рано (о шостій ранку),** *don't worry* – **не журись (не хвилюйся),** *to be sorry* – **бути сорі (жалкувати),** *to drop smb. off* – **скинути когось (висадити когось),** *to pick smb. up* – **підібрати когось (забирати когось),** *to have an appointment* – **мати апоінтмент (мати призначення),** *to have a birthday* – **мати уродини (мати день народження).**

Some of the lexical constructions of Ukish may lose their popularity or so-called "relevance" due to linguistic as well as extra-linguistic factors. The leading factor in this process is determined by a strong tendency of modern immigrants to try and use the literary forms of the Ukrainian language or just to speak English, the proficiency in which is comparatively high among the Ukrainian speakers. Unlike the previous waves of the Ukrainians to Canada, many representatives of the fourth wave demonstrate the academic training in English and have university degrees in languages. Entering Canada, some of them already hold the TOEFL or IELTS certificates and their further educational and employment prospects are more promising than that of those who come without basic English.

There is a certain observation about the English language spoken by the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada at present moment: a sort of diversity can be traced between the Canadian English and the English language brought by the immigrants. As British English is the teaching norm of the English language in the educational establishments of Ukraine, the immigrants, coming to Canada, strongly preserve the features of this speaking variant in their communication. For native Canadians it is quite noticeable on all the language levels, especially on the phonetic one, since the articulatory as well as the prosodic peculiarities of the British English differ in some way from those of the Canadian English.

It often happens that in the communicative situations the newcomers get confused as for the comprehension of some words used in the Canadian English and unavailable in the British one. For example, one Ukrainian lady could not find **a dressing gown** at Walmart in Canada, since none of the shop assistants could get the idea of what she wanted and her little knowledge of English did not let her describe the thing she needed. One of the random shoppers happened to hear the situation, and being of the British origin, she interfered and explained that the thing the Ukrainian was looking for was **a housecoat,** the word the Canadians use instead of the British **dressing gown**.

A young gentleman, who had just arrived in the province of Ontario, was going through the job interview in U-Haul transportation company. When the interviewer asked him about his previous work experience, he replied that he had been working as **a lorry driver** back in Ukraine. To specify his occupation in Canadian way, the interviewer named it as **a truck driver,** what caused a certain confusion in the interviewee: first, he was sure that "a lorry driver" was the only variant to nominate his alleged job, and then, he mixed up the word "a truck driver" with "a tractor driver", so he was trying to refuse pointblank his being a tractor driver.

Some researchers believe that such lexical confusions are rather frequent at the initial stages of socialization of the immigrants and their integration into the realities of the local life and the language in particular[31, 32]. Meanwhile, the situation seems to be more complicated or even hilarious at times with the phraseological units, set expressions or idioms, the usage of which is specific not only between British and Canadian English, but very often within a small territory of one country. Though phraseology can hardly be considered the typical feature of the English language spoken by the immigrants, there are cases when it takes place and brings in a huge misunderstanding.

In the regard of phraseology we can analyze the case of one Ukrainian girl, whose spoken English was of some intermediate level, but she got into a confusing situation. She happened to have been away from work for about a week as she took some days off and during that time she attended the hairdresser to have her fringe cut. When she returned to work, some of her colleagues noticed a change in her appearance and were wondering if she had a new haircut. In response she mentioned that she had nothing special, but just had her fringe cut. The reaction of her Canadian colleagues turned out to be rather ambiguous, since they started expressing their bewilderment, even shock, expressing words of support and wishes of a speedy recovery. It caused

---

[31] Yuzyk P. Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life. *Ukrainians in Canada.* Toronto, 1967. P. 82.

[32] Lehr J. Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians, Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity / ed. by Stella Hryniuk and Liubomyr Luciuk. University of Toronto Press, 1991.

a complete misunderstanding in the girl and in the end she approached her female workmate to find out why the cutting of her fringe turned out to be such a "tragedy" for all of them.

The explanation of her Canadian friend set her into a total shock and justified the reaction of her colleagues. The thing is that in the Canadian English the expression "**to have one's fringe cut**" has nothing to do with the haircut, but means "to have a surgery connected with the removal of some female internal reproductive organs", while in British English it has a direct meaning of cutting off/shortening some strands of hair hanging down the human forehead. The girl, who got educated in Ukraine and mastered some level of British English, did not even suspect that such an ordinary expression might be polysemantic and might even have some idiomatic colouring. Besides misunderstanding the situation provoked some humorous effect, while a number of similar situations happen in everyday interaction between the native Canadians and the newcomers from Ukraine.

Such a tendency to diversity in phraseology of Canadian and British variants of English is a rather disputable linguistic problem, since there is a general knowledge that Canadian English is closer in its nature to the British English, not to the American one, as mistakenly regarded by many. Though there is a standard stereotype existing in the world that Canadian English is close, if not identical at all, to American English, the reality proves the opposite. The two languages, as two speaking standards in their own territories, serve their speakers and reflect completely different realities or cultural peculiarities. Moreover, there is a substantial percentage of Canadians claiming that their language takes more after British English, they even tend to preserve the British spelling forms of the words such as *centre, colour;* or in the vocabulary such words as *flat, pavement* are more frequently used. Some social groups of Canada strongly keep the prosodic features of British English and for the vast bulk of speakers it may sound like an accent or non-standard form of Canadian speech.

It would be more reasonable to go to the root and see what genuine reasons are behind the situation as the only reliable answer lies in history of Canada itself[33]. In the very beginning on the Canadian territory there lived the indigenous people, whose cultural and language standards were considerably higher than those of the British or the French. During the colonization period the originality of Canadian English was lost and the influence of the brought languages pushed out the local language to some extent, which resulted into the loss of the indigenous language[34]. And it is as late as during the American

---

[33] Boberg Ch. Standard Canadian English. In Raymond Hickey. Standards of English: Codified Varieties Around the World. Cambridge University Press, 2004. P. 43.

[34] Hamilton S. A.M. Canadianisms and their treatment in dictionaries: Thesis (M. A.). University of Ottawa. Ottawa. 1997. P. 124.

war of independence, when some population of America fled to Canada and brought their language with them. Those were United Empire Loyalists and due to the arrival and settling down on the Canadian territories Canadian English was reinforced, on the one hand, but was substantially affected by their American English, on the other one[35].

Meanwhile, the new comers, having abandoned their own country due to their political views, were reluctant to identify themselves with America itself or anything American, and the language in particular. They were trying to create a truly distinct, unlike American version of English and started following the British English standards. The process backed up the position of the English language in the country in some way, but was not welcomed by the indigenous Canadians, who continued using their own Canadian version of English.

A tremendous and the most influential wave that affected Canadian English in more British ways was the end of the War of 1812, after which Britain encouraged immigration to Canada. These new immigrants were quite numerous and the influence of their English was far more noticeable in Canadian English. For example, a best-known Canadian English feature "Canadian Raising" (when the nuclei of two diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ preceding voiceless consonants are pronounced more prominent than usually and the diphthong /aʊ/ tends to be pronounced more like /u:/) goes back to its origin. The feature is considered to be the most relevant in the Canadian phonological system, but was brought to Canadian English by the immigrants from Scotland.

Alongside the diversity in the lexical system of Canadian English and numerous cases of co-influence between it and the lexical system of the Ukrainian language spoken in Canada there is an indeclinable process of borrowings between two languages. The processes of enlarging the vocabulary of Ukish go side by side with the processes of enlarging the vocabulary of Canadian English with the borrowings of the Ukrainian language. By today a certain number of Ukrainian lexemes have established themselves in speech of Canadians and seem to be on the way to complete socialization and codification in the dictionaries. Those lexemes are entering the vocabulary of English in Canada partially assimilating to its syntactic and pronunciation norms. Among such loanwords we can observe the word **тато** spelt as *tato*. In many communicative situations it is used to replace the English *Daddy*, what can cause a certain misunderstanding among the native speakers of English since the word *tato* is pronounced in the way close to the English *tartar*. A similar situation can be detected with the Ukrainian lexeme

---

[35] Dollinger S. Varieties of English: Canadian English in real-time perspective. *In English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook (HSK 34.2), Alexander Bergs & Laurel J. Brinton (eds), 1858–1880*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012. P. 1864.

баба standing for *grandmother* and repeating the sound form of the English *barber.* In our personal observation we came to the conclusion that the word *baba* is quite often used even in the families where none of the members is of the Ukrainian origin. Almost the alike situation, not so frequent though, is with word *dido* (**дідо** in Ukrainian), which, in fact, is not quite the literary word in the Ukrainian language, but more a dialectism typical for some regions in Western Ukraine. The word was evidently brought to Canada by immigrants of the first wave, by those coming from Galicia and Bukovyna. At present it can be heard in the English speech of Canadian children, addressing their grandfathers or mentioning them in conversation. A bit questionable from the linguistic point of view remains the capitalization of the words *Baba* and *Dido* in spelling. On the one hand, it reminds the rule of the German language to capitalize all the nouns, on the other one, it may have some non-linguistic reason. In Ukraine, from the ancient times, there has always been an unbreakable law of respecting the older family members as well as anybody. Therefore, capitalization in this case may manifest this very respect to grandparents as to the oldest family members, living and present in the life of the younger generations.

One of the reasons to explain Ukrainian borrowings in speech of Canadians is the absence of some one-word notions in the English language and their presence in Ukrainian. Let's regard the Ukrainian words **кум** and **кума** standing for the English multi-component lexical units *godfather of one's child* and *father of one's godchild* or *godmother of one's child* and *mother of one's godchild.* In order to avoid so "wordy" constructions the speakers are inclined to find some easier, more laconic forms like *kum* and *kuma.* It can be explained by the universal tendency of speakers to economize the language resources and articulatory efforts. The same linguistic interpretation can explain the introduction of the Ukrainian words **сват** *(svat)* and **сваха** *(svakha)* for the replacement of the English constructions *son-in-law's father* or *daughter-in-law's father* and *son-in-law's mother* or *daughter-in-law's mother.* To the bulk of the loanwords some lexemes denoting the dishes of the Ukrainian cuisine can be referred: *borsch, kasha, holubtsi, varenyky, paska, perogy, kovbasa.* Some elements of the Ukrainian national culture are reflected in borrowings too: *hopak, cossak, hetman, bandura, panakhyda.*

The corpus of the Ukrainian loanwords used in the speech of Canadians is not very numerous, but the tendency to borrow them is predetermined, first of all, by the general linguistic law of economizing speaker's articulatory efforts. In the interpretation of some modern linguistic schools this law goes under the name "Linguistic Darwinism"[36] and reveals the human nature of being "lazy"

---

[36] Gontier N. Selectionist approaches in evolutionary linguistics: an epistemological analysis. *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science.* 26 (1), 2012. P. 72.

to use long words. Consequently, the speakers try to shorten them with the resources of the native language or resorting to borrowings, like in the case with Ukrainian borrowings in Canadian English. The aforementioned examples can be the direct proof of the realization of this law: the word "baba" is more "convenient" in speech than the English "grandmother" or "grandma", since it requires less energy to be pronounced. Moreover, the sound arrangement of it is more euphonic than that of the English words, where there are sound clusters gr-, -nm-, -th-, which are more complicated from articulatory point of view.

Meanwhile, the phonetic shape of the Ukrainian words borrowed into speech of the native Canadians undergoes a certain extent of modification and adjusting to the articulatory laws of English. For example, a strong degree of aspiration is being observed in the initial /t/ of the word "tato" or /k/ in the words "kum" and "kuma". In the word "baba" the sound /b/ loses its original Ukrainian phonetic characteristics and turns into English tense, bilabial stop, what makes it sound unnatural to a native Ukrainian listener. The alveolar /d/ heard in the word "dido" turns it into something unrecognizable at first sight and resembles by its pronunciation the English word "ditto". The typical English pharyngeal sound /h/ in the words "hopak", "halushka", "holubtsi", "hetman" changes the sound form of them to such an extent that at times these words can hardly be recognized in a fluent speech with the sound /h/ being pronounced closer to the Ukrainian /x/ than to /г/.

There is another point of co-influence between English and Ukrainian in Canada, quite noticeable and considerable for the speakers of both languages – intonation. This is a general knowledge that the prosodic systems of English and Ukrainian are totally different and the immediate contact of these two languages leads to some deterioration of the intonation in both of them[37]. At the initial stage of the language acquisition the Ukrainians preserve the general intonation patterns of the native language and mastering the intonation of the English language turns out to be a serious academic task. That is why, they often fail to sound like native speakers of English when they just start to get the basics. Nevertheless, living and communicating in the English-speaking surroundings, they inevitably pick up the intonation of the English language and later even use it in their native speech. Since the social environment is English-speaking and all the realities are inescapably connected with this language the influence of the latter is so crucial that at some point the non-native speakers acquire the appropriate language proficiency, having mastered its articulatory basis and intonation almost perfectly, which enables them to live a full life in the foreign country.

---

[37] Бровченко Т. О., Корольова Т. М. Фонетика англійської мови (контрактивний аналіз англійської і української вимови) : підручник. 2-ге вид. перероб. та доп. Одеса : Вид-во ПНПУім.К. Д. Ушинського, 2020. С. 162.

And it should be admitted, that of all the language difficulties the foreigners are going through, mastering the authentic intonation is considered to be one of the most complicated tasks.

It is very easy to trace the Ukrainian intonation in the English speech first, but then the English intonation patterns appear in the Ukrainian speech and make it sound unnatural or even strange at times. No matter that both languages use falling and rising tones, their implication is not the same in English and Ukrainian. Whenever a Ukrainian speaker brings his/her native intonation into English, the message of the utterance may be lost and quite often it causes misunderstanding and even produces an unfavorable impression of a speaker.

The linguistic reason of this lies in the fact that in the Ukrainian language intonation has less important function than in English. The intentional and attitudinal meaning of the Ukrainian utterance is realized through its semantic and syntactic structures, while the English utterance completely depends on its intonation arrangement and can be correctly accepted by a listener only when an appropriate intonation pattern is applied. So, some newcomers from Ukraine, having a poor command of the English language and be completely ignorant about its intonation system on their arrival in Canada, come across some language situations, in which they are misunderstood or are not understood at all. And as the reality proves, mastering the English intonation takes the immigrants longer time and more efforts than mastering the sound system of Canadian English.

CONCLUSIONS

Getting into the subject matter proper, we share the viewpoint of some researchers who believe that the Ukrainian language in Canada can be preserved only in the form of bilingualism having gone through a transition from being a "native language" for Canadian Ukrainians to becoming a "heritage language' scarcely spoken by the later waves of immigration[38]. All the assimilation processes have proved to be absolutely natural and reflect the inevitability of modifications in all language systems in the conditions of co-existence and co-influence of two or more different languages within one social continuum. Throughout each period of establishing Ukrainian in Canada the nature of the language shifted from functional to symbolic or vice versa, but it has always remained the major means of national identity and integration into a new environment[39]. No matter how social and linguistic

---

[38] Hudyma Kh. Ukrainian Language in Canada: From Prosperity to Extinction. *Working Papers of Linguistic Circle of University of Victoria*. University of Saskatchewan Press. 2011. P. 183.

[39] Pendakur R. Speaking in Tongues: Language Knowledge as Human Capital and Ethnicity. Department of Canadian Heritage, Ottawa, 1990. P. 120.

statuses of Ukrainian in Canada were altering during different stages of socialization, the language was established and it has been functioning fulfilling its essential task – enabling communication. But all in all, co-existence of two or more languages within one territory inevitably leads to the heavy influence on each other and result into irreversible transformations in both languages. The example of Ukish proves such a tendency and manifests the democratic nature of the Canadian society, where any foreign language can co-exist with English and English, in its turn, can undergo certain modifications under the impact of those languages, despite its being the national one.

Generally speaking, the processes of the language interference between Ukrainian and English in Canada can be explained by a number of linguistic as well as non-linguistic factors. A co-existence of two languages within one community of speakers inevitably results into the immediate mutual impact between those languages. As the reality witnesses Canadian Ukrainian once being a mother tongue for a huge community of speakers is losing its popularity and is almost on the way out. It has undergone a series of sufficient modifications having assimilated to the lexical, grammatical and phonetic peculiarities of English and consequently lost its authenticity. It is neither a mother tongue of the Ukrainian community of Canada any longer nor the language of Ukrainian homes or schools, it is just the language useful for the group identification and thus, according to the standpoint of the researcher D. Struk, might not even be transmitted to the next generation[40].

SUMMARY

The present paper dwells upon the problem of the changing linguistic and social statuses of the English and Ukrainian languages in Canada throughout more than a century of their co-existance. A brief overview on the history of the Ukrainian language establishment in the English-speaking continuum is given. The research draws a concise outline of the major reasons of tremendous reciprocal impact between Ukrainian and English. The relevant lexical and phonetic peculiarities caused by the assimilation processes between two languages are in the focus of the study. Meanwhile, the general processes of socialization and adaptation of the Ukrainians of the four waves of immigration to Canada are described with a brief overview of their social, professional, cultural and everyday life. There are also some scientific opinions as for the future co-existance and co-influence of the two languages. The obtained data of the research provide an up-to date portrait of the language situation in Canada.

---

[40] Struk D. Between Ukish and Oblivion: The Ukrainian Language in Canada Today. *First Wave Emigrants: The First Fifty Years of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia.* N. Y. : Nova Science Publishers. 2000.

Bibliography

1. Boberg Ch. Standard Canadian English. In Raymond Hickey. *Standards of English: Codified Varieties Around the World*. Cambridge University Press, 2004. 274 p.

2. Dollinger S. Varieties of English: Canadian English in real-time perspective. *In English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook (HSK 34.2), Alexander Bergs & Laurel J. Brinton (eds), 1858–1880*. Berlin : De Gruyter, 2012. P. 1859–1860.

3. Gerus-Tarnavetska I. The Canadization of the Ukrainian Language, New Soil and Old Roots. Ukrainian Experience in Canada. Winnipeg : University of Manitoba Press, 1990. 182 p.

4. Gontier N. Selectionist approaches in evolutionary linguistics: an epistemological analysis. *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science*. 2012. № 26 (1). P. 67–95.

5. Hamilton S. A.M. Canadianisms and their treatment in dictionaries: Thesis (M. A.). University of Ottawa. Ottawa, 1997. 175 p.

6. Hudyma Kh. Ukrainian Language in Canada: From Prosperity to Extinction. *Working Papers of Linguistic Circle of University of Victoria*. University of Saskatchewan Press. 2011. P. 181–189.

7. Isajiw W. Adaptation and Integration of new Immigrants: The Fourth Wave of Immigration from Ukraine in Canada, 1991–2001. *The Call of the Homeland: Diaspora Nationalism, Past and Present*. Brill, Leiden Boston, 2010. P. 289–347.

8. Kordan B. Ukrainian Canadians and the Canada Census, 1981–1996. Heritage Press, Toronto, 2000. 240 p.

9. Kukushkin V. From Peasants to Labourers: Ukrainian and Belarusan Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007. 283 p.

10. Lehr J. Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians, Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity / ed. by Stella Hryniuk and Liubomyr Luciuk. University of Toronto Press, 1991. P. 30–52.

11. Luciuk L., Hryniuk S. Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity. University of Toronto Press, 1991. 510 p.

12. Makuch A., Popowycz I. Encyclopedia of Ukraine: Index and Errata. *Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies*. Edmonton, 2001. Vol. 5. 678 p.

13. Martynowych O. Ukrainians in Canada. *The Formative Period, 1891–1924*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991. P. 34–55.

14. Pendakur R. Speaking in Tongues: Language Knowledge as Human Capital and Ethnicity. Department of Canadian Heritage. Ottawa, 1990. 127 p.

15. Royick A. Lexical Borrowings in Alberta Ukrainian: MA Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1965. 118 p.

16. Satzewich V. The Ukrainian Diaspora. London. Routledge, 2002. 271 p.

17. Sekirin P. Endangered Dialect: Sociolinguistic Study of the Ukrainian Language in Canada, Sociolinguistic Studies and Language Planning. *Proceedings of the XVIth annual meeting of the Atlantic provinces linguistic association.* Ottawa, 1994. P. 78–86.

18. Struk D. Between Ukish and Oblivion: The Ukrainian Language in Canada Today. *First Wave Emigrants: The First Fifty Years of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia.* N. Y. Nova Science Publishers. 2000. P. 67–74.

19. Subtelny O. Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History. University of Toronto Press, 1991. 283 p.

20. Yuzyk P. Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life. *Ukrainians in Canada.* Toronto, 1967. P. 82–83.

21. Бровченко Т. О., Корольова Т. М. Фонетика англійської мови (контрактивний аналіз англійської і української вимови) : підручник. 2-ге вид. перероб. та доп. Одеса : Вид-во ПНПУ ім. К. Д. Ушинського, 2020. 208 с.

22. Єлейко І. Передумови та особливості міграції українського населення до США. *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія «Міжнародні відносини».* 2016. Вип. 39. С. 187–194.

23. Жлуктенко Ю. О. Українська мова на лінгвістичній карті Канади. Київ : Наукова думка, 1990. 176 с.

24. Козачевська Л., Сидоренко О. Мова української діаспори як віддзеркалення мовної свідомості та мовної діяльності носіїв-білінгвів *Мовні і концептуальні картини світу.* 2013. Вип. 46 (2). С. 142–151.

Information about the author:
Bondarenko Viktor Oleksandrovych,
Candidate of Philological Sciences,
Senior Lecturer at the Department of Foreign and Slavonic Philology
Sumy State Pedagogical University named after A. S. Makarenko
87, Romenska str., Sumy, 40002, Ukraine