

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT: CASE STUDY OF UKRAINIAN IN
SASKATCHEWAN

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ABSTRACT

This study was aimed at examining possible correlations between socio-cultural and demographic factors and Ukrainian language maintenance in the province of Saskatchewan. Total number of 82 respondents with Ukrainian ancestry participated in this research. One issue explored was whether subjects representing demographic groups split by gender, age, highest level of education obtained, occupation, generation of immigration and ethnic identity have language proficiency and language use patterns significantly different from those of other groups. Also, the change of language use in a family from generation to generation was studied. Furthermore, language attitudes of participants towards Ukrainian language and its preservation were ascertained and correlated with demographic factors.

It was found that certain socio-cultural factors correlate with frequency of Ukrainian language use and its proficiency. Moreover, rather positive attitudes towards Ukrainian language and its retention were reported; many of them correlated with demographic factors. Some characteristic patterns in language use in the family split by generation of immigration were found.

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1. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This study investigates the state of Ukrainian language in Saskatchewan, levels of its maintenance and shift, as well as socio-cultural factors (such as education, community, family, etc.) that have the strongest effect on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the language.

While studying in Canada, I observed that some Ukrainian Canadians retain their heritage language for four or even five generations, whereas in some families the use of Ukrainian is discontinued in the second generation. Therefore, my research study is aimed at exploring the factors that may encourage or block the maintenance of the heritage language within Ukrainian ethnic group in Saskatchewan. This study also investigates the attitudes held by the Ukrainian community towards their heritage language in the province.

The research is carried out within the framework of minority language studies (Clyne, 2003; Clyne & Kipp, 1997, 1999; Fishman, 1966, 1980, 1989, 1991; Timm, 1980, Weinreich, 1964, etc.) with the special attention given to the attitudes of speakers towards their heritage language.

1.1 Notions of Ethnolinguistic Vitality, Language Maintenance and Shift

People in all cultures share ideas about the world that surrounds them based on models they have of their physical and social universe. These models are expressed and transmitted to a large degree through language (Bonvillain, 1993). Linguists, philosophers, ethnographers and anthropologists have proved that there is an intrinsic connection between any language and the culture of its speakers. For example, Edward Sapir (1966/1949, p. 68) noted that language is “a guide to ‘social’ reality”. Language according to Sapir (1966/1949, p. 69), is much more than an incidental tool of “solving specific problems of communication or reflection” since the ‘real world’ is “to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group“. Benjamin Worf (1956) also suggested that there are connections between cultural norms and large-scale linguistic patterns. Furthermore, Claude Levi-Strauss, posited that the way we use language could be used as “a matrix of meanings carried by culture” (quoted in Hénaff, 1998, p. 72). Anna Wierzbicka also points out that “there is a very close link between the life of society and the lexicon of the language spoken by it” (Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 1). Ethnographer Cratis Williams defines language as “culture expressing itself in sound” (quoted in Ovando, 1990, p. 341), because it gives individuals and groups their identity.

Since language is closely connected with culture, nations and ethnic groups are striving to protect their languages as an essential component of their group marker (Williams, 1991). In case of minority languages this is extremely hard due to strong external pressures (Taylor, Meynard & Rheault, 1977). In minority communities, shift to the majority language occurs mostly within three generations, whereby the first generation of immigrants is predominantly monolingual in the language of the country of their origin, their children (the second generation) are bilingual in the heritage and the majority language, and the grandchildren (third generation) are predominantly monolingual in the language of the dominant group (Barnes, 2010; Fishman, 1989). However, this is not always the case, and some languages can be maintained across a few generations. For instance, Hutterite ethnic group in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan managed to retain their ancestral German dialect since immigrating to Canada in the early XX century (Ryan, 2011), whereas more than 60% of Dutch immigrants in Australia shift to English within one generation (Clyne & Kipp, 1997).

A large number of research studies were carried out to understand the factors that determine language survival or death (e.g., Fishman, 1966; Lieberman, Dalto & Johnston, 1975; Weinreich, 1964). Some of these conditions were brought together into the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality that was introduced initially by Gilles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) and was developed in subsequent studies of Fishman (1989, 1991), Clyne & Kipp (1999), Crozier (1999), Mackey (2004), Jedwab (2000), Pendakur (1990). Ethnolinguistic vitality denotes a possibility of ethnic group's survival in the intergroup context (Giles et al., 1977; Crozier, 1999). Ethnolinguistic vitality determines largely the behaviour of group members "both amongst themselves and in interactions with members of the other groups" (Crozier, 1999, p. 4). If the vitality of an ethnic group is relatively high, its members will be more likely to act in a way that distinguishes them from others, i.e. eating ethnic food, dancing traditional dances or using their ethnic language. In this case, an ethnolinguistic group is more likely to survive (Crozier, 1999). On the other hand, low ethnolinguistic vitality is an indication of lack of interest within the group in retaining its distinct identity and might cause the group's eventual demise (Giles et al., 1977; Crozier 1999). Giles et al. (1977) suggest three main components that influence ethnolinguistic vitality: status, demography, and institutional support. Status factors include economic, social and sociohistorical values of the ethnic language, as well as its status within and without the ethnolinguistic group (Giles et al., 1977). Demographic factors pertain to statistical information about the group, i.e. its concentration, proportion, size, rates of immigration and emigration, intermarriages, birth rates, etc. (Giles et

al., 1977). Finally, institutional support factors refer to the accessibility of mass media, education and government services in the group's ethnic language, and also its use in less formal contexts such as work place, religion and culture (Giles et al., 1977).

All languages change and evolve over time, some of them spread, others disappear. However, the disappearing language “does not merely vanish leaving a linguistic vacuum” (Fase, Jaspert, & Kroon, 1992, p. 3). Fishman (1966) observed that languages (or language variants) sometimes replace each other, among some speakers, particularly in certain types or domains¹ of language behaviour, under some conditions of intergroup contact. In such contact situation the endangered language is always the dominated one, i.e., the language of minority group (Fase et al., 1992). Within this context, one of the key areas of interest to linguists is to define what causes language maintenance or shift (Weinreich, 1964; Fishman, 1989). The study of these issues is generally conducted within the framework of sociolinguistic analysis examining bilingualism and diglossia, since it is argued that bilingualism is a necessary precursor to a language shift, the logic being that if one cannot speak two languages at one point in time, one cannot shift from one language to another (Penadakur, 1990).

Language shift and maintenance have been a research topic within linguistics for approximately half a century, but there is still no clear and universal definition (Knooihuizen, 2006). Fishman (1966) noted that the study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned first with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, and second, with ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes occurring in the situations of language contact. Therefore, investigating language maintenance is often done through the identification of domains and situations in which the language is no longer used or is gradually replaced by another language. Thus, the term language maintenance is used to describe “a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite the pressure from the dominant or majority language” (Pauwels, 2004, p. 719).

The notion of a language shift has been examined by many scholars, such as Fishman, 1966 and 1980; Weinreich, 1964; Mackey, 2004; Clyne, 2003, etc. Two important aspects of this notion have been identified. First, language shift involves “changing patterns of language use”, i.e., a change in the distribution of languages or their varieties in different domains (Knooihuizen, 2006, p. 6; Fishman, 1989). Second, language shift happens in an ethno-

¹ Domain is a typical social situation of language use, such as home, school, workplace, church and market (Fishman 1966, Coulmas 2005).

linguistic group, and should be studied within its wide social and cultural context, although “psycholinguistic studies at the level of individual speakers are of relevance as well” (Knooihuizen, 2006, p. 2).

Even though languages are spoken by individuals, it is in speech communities that languages either survive or die (Bonvillain, 1993). Therefore, it is important to understand that language shift or maintenance “occur as a result of choices made by individuals in a speech community in accordance with their own motivations, expectations and goals which they may or may not share with other members” (Coulmas, 2005, p. 168). Members of minority communities may individually choose to shift from their language to a new one and finally abandon the old ethnic tongue (Coulmas, 2005). Thus, taken together, choices of individuals “make a collective impact on the future of a speech community and its language.” (Coulmas, 2005, p. 168).

1.2 Factors contributing to language shift

Language use is determined by a set of demographic, social and cultural factors (Pendakur 1990). When studying language maintenance and shift, it is important to detect external pressures which result in choice of language, determine how well a minority language is learned at the community and define the influence of the majority group on the minority language preservation (Weinreich, 1964). Thus, Pendakur (1990, p. 5) suggests that at issue “then are the social and demographic attributes in a society or group which cause a language to be maintained or dropped in favour of another”.

The first main factor contributing either to language maintenance or shift is a family. It is argued to be a primary environment for acquiring native language and passing it over generations (Rohani, Choi, Amjad, Burnett, & Colahan, 2005). Clyne and Kipp (1999) note that home has often been cited as a key element in language maintenance – if a language is not maintained in the home domain, then it cannot be maintained elsewhere. Since language spoken within the family is tied to its cultural self-identity, it is often parents who make a decision on whether to teach their mother tongue to their children, or not (Fishman, 1991). As children attend school, they are exposed to the majority language as the media of instruction. As the result, they may become more assimilated into a majority language and society (Rohani et al., 2005). Furthermore, they may start feeling less positive towards their mother tongue and use it less. Therefore, if true language maintenance is going to occur, the language

must be incorporated into the home life. Otherwise, it may lead to language loss (with the possibility of language revitalization later in life) or language death (Rohani et al., 2005).

As Rohani et al. (2005, p. 2) note “attitudes toward language maintenance vary from one language group to another, and from one family to the next”. Some families are keen to have their children quickly assimilated into majority culture, encouraging majority language learning as soon as possible (for instance Persian-speaking Bahá’ís in the United States (Rohani et al., 2005)), while others are adamant that they retain their native culture, looking for ways and means to maintain fluency in their mother tongue (e.g., Cantonese families in New York (Rohani et al., 2005)). Thus, parents, both consciously and unconsciously, create an environment that will either nurture or impair heritage language acquisition (Rohani et al., 2005).

Economic factor is also important in language shift or maintenance, depending on whether the community members see any financial benefits in learning the minority language (Holmes, 2001). Obtaining work is the most obvious economic reason for learning a majority language. For example, in countries where English is an official or majority language, people would rather learn English than a minority language in order to get better jobs (Holmes, 2001). For instance, Thomson (1990) argues that the fact that Gaelic speakers from Scottish Highlands in search of work went to English-speaking areas in the XIX century was a key factor in the language’s eventual decline. The social and economic goals of people in the community are also very important in terms of the speed of language shifts (Holmes, 2001). Rapid shift occurs when people are willing to merge into a society where knowledge of the majority language is crucial for economic success. Thus, young and upwardly mobile people are most likely to shift fast (Holmes, 2001).

Another important factor that contributes to either language maintenance or shift is the status of language (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap, 2000). For instance, Mukherjee undertook a study of maintenance patterns of Panjabi and Bengali in Delhi. His findings showed that Bengali is retained in more domains than Panjabi. An important discovery of this study was that Bengalis assign their language a higher status than Hindi, a dominant language in Delhi. In contrast, Panjabi in its ethnic community in Delhi has a lower literary and cultural status than Hindi (Mukherjee, 1996 quoted in Mesthrie et al., 2000, pp. 257-258).

There is also a number of demographic factors, such as size, age, gender distribution of the ethno-linguistic group, migration patterns, spatial concentration, endogamy, etc., that affect the degree and rate of shift that particular minority language group experiences (Pendakur, 1990). Demographic factors are also important in accounting for the speed of

language shift (Holmes, 2001). Lieberman (1980) notes the role of age as a correlate of linguistic maintenance: Different age groups shift at different rates. Grenier (1984), for example, claims that few shifts occurred during childhood and after age of thirty-five. Children seem to have lower rates of shift because they are not exposed to the majority language as much as older age groups, whereas those older than thirty-five tend to have made their language choice, having either previously shifted or retained minority language. However, simultaneously, “the survival of a language is generally a product of how well it is passed on to and accepted by the children of a particular language group” (Pendakur, 1990, p. 5).

Pendakur (1990, p. 6) argues that “the role of gender in explaining language usage is somewhat contentious”. Thus, Grenier (1984) suggests that females are more conservative than males in terms of language shifting, because “men spend more time outside the home and are therefore more exposed to the dominant language” (Grenier, 1984, p. 540). Conversely, Williamson and Van Eerde (1980, p. 62) note that “men are more oriented toward the minority language”, because they choose to live in their home region, whereas women often have to follow their husbands and learn their language (usually the dominant one). Females would also shift faster to the majority language because they, as mothers, are closer to children and have to communicate with them in the dominant language, which is acquired by children through the system of education (Williamson & Van Eerde, 1980). More recent studies also argue that females shift to majority language faster than males. For instance, Smith-Hefner (2003) argues that young educated Javanese women are leading the shift toward the use of Indonesian, whereas men prefer retaining traditional Javanese language. However, neither point is well supported by experimental data because “on the one hand, more women are working outside the home than in previous decades, and on the other, there is no proof that language loyalty and choice of living area are necessarily related” (Pendakur, 1990, p. 6).

Inter-linguistic marriages have been identified as an important factor in language shift (Pendakur, 1990; Grenier, 1984). For example, it is reported to be the most important factor in French-English language shift in French and English communities along the border of Québec and Ontario (Pendakur, 1990). In Australian immigrant groups, language shift is considerably higher among descendents from inter-linguistic marriages than from marriages within one ethno-linguistic group (Clyne, 2003).

Migration also plays an important role in language use of minority language groups (Pendakur, 1990). The presence and entrance of new immigrants who have the same minority

language serves to retain its life (Pendakur, 1990). Related components are age at immigration and years since immigrating. Age at immigration is important because those who immigrated as children are more likely to shift to the majority language once they are exposed to it at school and later in professional life (Pendakur, 1990; Grenier, 1984). For example, in the study of Mennonite immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Germany, Daller (2005) reports that although all immigrants he interviewed consider German to be their main language of use, those who immigrated at the age of 45 or older view Plautdietsch² as their second language; those who immigrated at the age of 25-44 use it occasionally; whereas the youngest immigrants (aged 15-24) have only passive knowledge of this variety. Pendakur (1990) also points out that years since immigration is an important factor, because it indicates potential assimilation and therefore language shift.

Spatial concentration of the linguistic group affects language use opportunity (Pendakur, 1990). For example, if the population is dispersed, and contacts between group members are rather infrequent, its members are less likely to retain a minority language (Grenier, 1984). On the other hand, if the community is concentrated in one place and is relatively isolated, there are few contacts with other groups, and therefore the chance of language retention is enhanced (Pendakur, 1990). For instance, the communities in New Zealand where Maori has survived are rather inaccessible, populated almost entirely by Maoris. In these communities before television broadcasting became widespread, schooling was the only domain where English (dominant language) was commonly in use. Maori, on the contrary, was used in everyday interactions, at church, in the shops, for community meetings and in the pub (Holmes, 2001). Thus, the degree of closure or self-sufficiency in a minority community is an indication of how much the minority language can be used, and the degree to which it can meet life functions (Fishman, 1980). If, for instance, a member of a minority group can shop, go to the doctor and access other services in the language of his or her choice, there is less need to shift to the majority language. Additionally, resistance to language shift tends to last longer in rural than in urban areas. This is explained by the fact that rural groups are isolated from cities where majority language prevails, and they can meet most of their social needs using their ethnic (minority) language (Holmes, 2001). Williamson and Van Eerde (1980), for instance, in their study of Gaelic, Friulan, and Rhaetoroman language maintenance, found out that people of rural rather than urban origin are more likely

² Plautdietsch, originally a Low Prussian variety of East Low German, with Dutch infusions which is spoken by Mennonite communities around the world (definition from <http://www.plautdietsch.ca/>).

to retain their minority mother tongue. This could be partly explained by the fact that those who grew up in an urban environment have more need (and opportunity) to communicate in a majority language (Lieberson, Dalto, & Johnston, 1975).

The use of minority language in education, religion, the media or administration may assist attempts to booster its position (Mesthrie et al., 2000). But for minority groups this can only be done at a great cost. In Schrauf's (1999) study of the mother tongue maintenance in North America, settlement patterns and religious practice were identified as one of the most important in predicting language retention. Of all the related variables, Schrauf (1999) argued that religious practice was a considerable factor in minority language maintenance well into the third generation. Other social factors, such as education and class, determine, to a large degree, the level of exposure to other languages, and therefore the likelihood of shift (Grenier, 1984; Pendakur, 1990). Fishman (1966, 1980) points out that various institutions, such as language schools, libraries, print and broadcast media, religious congregations, social clubs and ethnic restaurants and shops, serve to ensure retention of minority language within an ethno-linguistic community. Additionally, Mackey (2004) notes the significant positive impact of providing television and radio broadcasting in minority language, use of it as a language of computer software, and as a language of wired and satellite networks on language maintenance at present.

State policies and political events can also influence the degree of language maintenance (Young, 1988; Pendakur, 1990). For instance, Lachapelle (1988) studied immigrating patterns and state policy in Canada and has noticed that language maintenance is affected by changes in immigration policy. Another example illustrating the influence of political factors on language retention comes from the political situation in India in 1947. As a consequence of the country partition, Sindhi Hindus fled from the Sind, which became part of Pakistan, to India. They spoke Sindhi at home but had to adopt local languages in order to survive in a new environment. This process resulted in language shift leading to language loss among the Sindhis (Bayer, 2005). One more example of political influences on language shift is found in many African countries, where the official languages were often determined by their former colonialists. Colonial education systems were instrument in establishing the colonial language as a powerful tool in pursuing political, economic and cultural goals of the colonial governments. Those languages consequently almost entirely replaced African tribal languages (Migge & Léglise, 2007).

As follows from above, maintenance of a specific minority language may be hard to predict, since it depends on a large array of social, demographic and economic factors

(Pendakur, 1990). The cohesiveness of the group, the ability of non-official language speakers to fulfil their every-day needs using the minority language as well as the age structure and migration patterns of the group all contribute to the lifespan of a minority language (Holmes, 2001; Mesthrie, 2000). Therefore, the “role of the researcher studying heritage language maintenance and shift is to define, operationalize and follow these patterns” in order to ascertain the potential of maintenance and degree of shift from the minority language to the majority one (Pendakur, 1990, p. 9).

1.3 Canadian language policy

Canada has become an increasingly diverse and complex society, composed of a multitude of linguistically and ethnically different groups. At the turn of the century, the population in Canada was predominantly made up of British Canadians (57%) and French Canadians (30.7%) (Chow, 2001). The 2006 census has, however, demonstrated that approximately one third of Canada’s population claimed ethnic origins other than French, British or Canadian and that those whose mother tongue was neither French nor English accounted for nearly 19% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2006).

In most countries where one ethnic group represents a majority, its culture and values shape the society. In Canada, “no single ethnic group forms a vast majority, but the English speaking Canadians are by far the largest group” (Driedger, 1983, p. 183). The Francophones, the second largest group, “amassed most of their population in the one province of Quebec” and have the advantage of French being the second official language in Canada and therefore, have the right to official schooling in French (Driedger, 1983, p. 183; Wardhaugh, 1983). Thus, they can better practise and nurture both their language and their culture. Smaller groups, such as Ukrainians, unfortunately, do not enjoy such a privilege (Driedger, 1983).

According to Chow (2001, p. 1), official multiculturalism in Canada “is situated within the framework of official bilingualism, in addition to the broader context of Aboriginal and other heritage languages.” In pursuing national language policy, the government of Canada “regards language as serving two purposes: (1) It is neutral or utilitarian tool permitting persons of different backgrounds to communicate with one another and thereby participate in the same political community; (2) It is a vehicle for the expression and transmission of a given culture” (Jedwab, 2000, p. 9).

Official Canadian bilingualism language policy originates in the French-English conflict in Canada. When conflict between French and English Canadians increased following the post-war “Quiet Revolution” in Quebec, a Royal Commission on Bilingualism

and Biculturalism was established in 1963 by the Liberal government of Lester Pearson (Reitz & Ashton, 1980). The recommendations of the Commission led to the passage of the Official Language Act in 1969 by Pierre Trudeau's government. In this Act, status of the French language as an official language of Canada was clarified, and two years later, a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was adopted (Reitz & Ashton, 1980; Jedwab, 2000). An unpredictable side effect was the emergence of a protest movement among other ethnic groups in Canada who agreed with a policy of two official languages but objected to the idea of only two officially recognized cultures. Ukrainian Canadian minority group was especially vocal in the protest (Bociurkiw, 1978; Reitz & Ashton, 1980). Although the issue of language as the main expression of ethnic culture was raised, the Official Languages Act, which offered language rights to the French, was not extended to the other language groups (Reitz & Ashton, 1980; Jedwab, 2000; Chow, 2001).

Therefore, the issue of language rights continued to create controversy in the Canadian society. Ethno-linguistic minority groups started to advocate an official policy of 'multiculturalism' and lobbied the government to support their cultural heritage and language education (Reitz & Ashton, 1980). Thus, the federal government provided funds to help provinces set up bilingual educational programs in districts where at least 10% of the population speak the minority language. In practice, it meant that bilingual schools should have been established only in French-speaking areas where at least 10% of the population spoke English, or in other areas of the country where at least 10% of the population were Francophones (Grosjean, 1982; Bonvillain, 1993). Other minority groups had to put up with a minimal amount of schooling in their language. For example, in Saskatchewan, Ukrainian "was offered as a core programme (forty minutes, three times a week in elementary school, and a total of 100 hours per semester in high school) since the 1970s; the decline in enrolments in this programme, from 2,306 in 1980-81 to 451 in 1994-1995, has been offset only slightly by the increased enrolments in the only Ukrainian bilingual school in the province" (Denis, 1998, p. 437).

After the adoption in 1971 of the federal multicultural policy, non-official languages in Canada became identified as 'heritage languages'. Thus, federal funding from the Secretary of State was available up to 1990 for programmes of 'heritage language instruction' (Denis, 1998). However, as Denis (1998, p. 437) observes, this funding "was tied to the old format of after-school and Saturday classes, used since 1918." Nevertheless, many ethnic groups organized their language schooling based on this format. In Saskatchewan, when the federal funds were cut in 1990, "the province moved its own fairly nominal funding for such

programmes from the Department of Culture and Youth to Education, and provided additional funds” (Denis, 1998, p. 437). However, under present conditions, heritage language are declining in high school and university credit classes; and the underfunded out-of school programmes like Ukrainian immersion are barely stable. Furthermore, increase in enrolments in Spanish and Japanese language classes are driven by economic reasons and do not reflect increase in number of native speakers of these languages in Saskatchewan (Denis, 1998).

At present, as Denis (1998, p. 439) notes, “claims of public debt crisis are forcing virtually all governments into debt control which justifies funding cuts to ‘non-essential’ areas such as language; cutbacks and institutional restructuring are likely to restrict access to resources and to continue reducing minority languages to purely symbolic forms with very little meaning in every-day life.” And Canada is no exception.

1.4 Ukrainians and Ukrainian Language in Canada

1.4.1 Ukrainians in Canada

More than 300,000 Ukrainians from different regions of Ukraine, of different cultural and educational background have arrived in Canada since 1891³ (Swyripa, n.d.; Kostyuk, 2007). The immigration of Ukrainians to Canada occurred in 4 waves, each having its own specific features.

The first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada started in the 1890s and lasted until the beginning of World War I in 1914. Most of the new settlers were illiterate peasants from the western Ukrainian regions of Galicia and Bukovina in the Austro-Hungarian Empire who were looking for new lands and better economic conditions. Thus, these immigrants concentrated in the parkland belt of the Prairie Provinces – Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba (Swyripa, n.d.; Hryniuk, 1991; Lehr 1991).

The second wave of immigration occurred during the inter-war years. It brought 68,000 people, primarily peasants from western Ukrainian territories, by then part of Poland and Romania (Swyripa, n.d.). The main flow of immigrants continued to come from Bukovina and Galicia. In addition, for the first time, immigrants began to arrive from Volyn, which also became a part of Poland. Similarly to the first wave, most of these immigrants were farmers, who were pushed out of their homeland by the bleak economic and political

³ year when first Ukrainian immigrants, Ivan Pylypiw and Wasyl Eleniak, visited German settlements in Alberta (Lehr 1983).

future which they faced. They still sought land in Canada, but the good homesteads were gone, and they had to choose between free land, which was poor or too far from settlement, or better land at a higher price. The pull of non-farm jobs was increasing, and more new immigrants were drawn to Canadian cities and towns (Martynovych, 1991; Marunchak, 1982).

The third wave lasted for five post-war years, from 1947 to 1952 (Swyripa, n.d.). These settlers were mostly displaced persons, many of whom had been taken from homes in Ukraine to work as slave labourers in Germany. When the war ended, they did not want to return to their homes because of the Soviet takeover of Ukraine. These immigrants included skilled workers, professionals, scientists and musicians. For the most part they tended to settle in the urban centres (Marunchak, 1982).

The fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada started after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when Ukraine gained its independence. The reasons which made people leave were predominantly social and economic: severe unemployment rate combined with striving for better life and higher wages (Kostyuk, 2007). This group consists of qualified professionals who settled for the most part in big cities of Eastern Canada. In comparison to the first three waves, this group thus far has been the smallest numerically. Furthermore, while immigrants from the first three waves tended to settle in homogeneous clusters, both urban and rural, the latest Ukrainian newcomers to Canada choose predominantly to live in urban centres (Kostyuk, 2007). These factors facilitate losing their ethnic identity in general and rapid language shift in particular (Holmes, 2001).

Originally, almost all Ukrainians in the first wave of immigration went to the Prairies to farm (Swyripa, n.d.). By 1971, according to Dringer (1983) with urbanization and two other waves of immigration, 75% of the Ukrainian population lived in cities and towns. However, of all rural Ukrainians, 80% resided on the Prairies; 10% lived in Ontario and 10% in British Columbia. The Prairies, from the north of Winnipeg to the north of Edmonton, continued to be the rural Ukrainian stronghold (Dringer, 1983).

1.4.2 Ukrainian language in Canada

The Ukrainian language minority has so far resisted full assimilation into Canadian society. Nevertheless, the influence of English and of other social factors on the Ukrainian Canadian community has caused language shift (Sekirin & Courtois, 1994). 2006 Census shows that there were an estimated 1,209,085 persons of Ukrainian origin (3,9% of population) residing in Canada (mainly Canadian-born citizens), making them Canada's tenth

largest ethnic group, and giving Canada the world's third-largest Ukrainian population after Ukraine and Russia. However, the Ukrainian speaking population is much smaller. According to 2006 Canada Census, there were about 141,805⁴ people who claimed Ukrainian to be their mother tongue. The largest Ukrainian speaking population resides in Ontario (about 48,310 people), which makes 0.3% of Ontario's total population; while on the Prairies the percentage is higher (Alberta – 0.9%, Manitoba – 2.03%, Saskatchewan – 1.78%). Very few Ukrainian speakers are present in both Atlantic and Northern Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006a).

Besides total number of speakers, an important parameter of the language vitality is the rate of language shift in a community, a combined rate at which persons of a particular ethno-linguistic group switch from the mother tongue to the majority language. Ukrainian has the language shift rate of 76.5%, exceeded only by Dutch (87.2%). Germans (71.2%), Italians (50.6%), Poles (37.9%) and all the other nationalities have a smaller rate of language shift with Chinese having the lowest rate at 15.5% (Struk, 2000).

According to statistics, from 1961 to 2006, the Ukrainian language in Canada experienced a rapid decline in native speakers (from 361,496 in 1961 to 134,505 in 2006) predominantly due to the fact that the last post-war wave of Ukrainian-speaking immigrants has largely disappeared as a significant statistical category, whereas their children and grandchildren show no interest in retaining the heritage language (Sekirin & Courtois, 1994). In terms of routine family use at home, Ukrainian is also marginal although there are some recent positive developments. The use of Ukrainian as a home language increased nationwide from 31,990 in 1991 to 49,985 in 1996, and finally to 67,665 in 2001, however declining more than by half in 2006 (Kordan, 2000; Statistics Canada, 2001, 2006a). To a degree, this is due to renewed immigration from Ukraine. Thus, a total of 23,435 individuals emigrated from Ukraine to Canada in 1991-2001. The majority of these immigrants (15,875) settled in Ontario, particularly in Toronto (13,835). This represents a significant increase in the number of immigrants from Ukraine over the decade (Makukh, 2003; Kordan, 2000). The more pertinent factor, however, is likely to be a looser interpretation of what constitutes 'home language' (Makukh, 2003). This question was changed after the 1996 Census. Until then, the question asked for "the language spoken most often at home", and this remains as part (a) in 2001 and 2006; another part (part [b]) on "languages spoken on a regular basis at home" has been added since 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2006b).

⁴ single and multiple response

Importantly, there was a dramatic decline in the retention rate of Ukrainian language in the younger generation. A breakdown of Ukrainian language knowledge by age groups indicates that, according to 2001 Census, under a half of those individuals claiming Ukrainian mother tongue (73,930) is age 65 or older (Makukh, 2003). In the 5-24 age category, only 25% of individuals claiming single ethnic Ukrainian origin speak Ukrainian as their mother tongue. Of those who retain Ukrainian as the mother tongue in this age group, only 20% use it at home (Jedwab, 2000). This is by far the steepest decline of a heritage language in any of six linguistic communities⁵. There are two exceptions to what is otherwise the rule amongst youth of Ukrainian descent. In Montreal and Toronto the difference between persons of single ethnic origin and those who can speak Ukrainian is about 40% for the 5-14 age group and 30% for the 15-24 age category. Some 50% of persons in Toronto between the ages of 5 and 14 who speak Ukrainian use it in the home. Once again, this may be explained by the influx of recent Ukrainian immigration concentrated primarily in that city, or, less likely, to a revival of linguistic identity by Ukrainian ethnic group in Toronto exclusively (Jedwab, 2000).

It is important to mention that in the first decades of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the Ukrainian language showed some tendencies to growth, since predominantly rural environment as well as the rate of exogamy slowed the pace of language shift (Petryshyn, 1978). The tendency towards language shift began after the Second World War and continued to escalate by about 15% in each of the last three decades – a rapid rate compared to that of other minority groups. Correlated with the move into the cities and with upward occupational mobility, the rate of language shift increased rapidly, particularly among young people (Petryshyn, 1978). Thus, in 1921, most ethnic Ukrainians in Canada (92%) declared Ukrainian as their mother tongue. By 1971, 50 years later, only one-half (49%) still did so. In 1941, only 5.1% of Ukrainian Canadians could not speak Ukrainian; in 1951, this number increased to 10.6% (Driedger, 1983; Kostash, 1977). In 1971, 58% of rural Ukrainians still reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, whereas 46% of urban Ukrainians did so. These figures show that the use of Ukrainian language is declining overall, but the rate is slower in the rural areas. However, the length of time that Ukrainian immigrants have been in Canada is also an important variable in language maintenance. In 1971, 85% of foreign-born Ukrainians reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue and two-thirds (66%) still used it at

⁵ The research carried out by J. Jedwab (2000) focused on Chinese, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Ukrainian and Polish communities in Canada.

home. However, among Canadian-born Ukrainians, the proportion of speakers of Ukrainian as mother tongue is smaller (41%). The same is true of the Ukrainian language use at home (13%) for this group (Driedger, 1983).

First Ukrainian immigrants received rather unfavourable treatment from some other settlers. They were called names, made fun of and disrespected (Hryniuk, 1991). Moreover, during the First World War, almost 6,000 Ukrainians were sent to internment camps (Kordan, 2002). These incidents discouraged many Ukrainian Canadians from the use of their mother tongue. Many of them decided to change their names into 'less Ukrainian' in order to get accepted into Canadian society more freely (Zhluktenko, 1990).

Another important factor which facilitated the language shift were the adoption of 1918 School Act which restricted the language of instruction in schools to English only and introduction of the official policy of multilingualism in 1971 (Denis, 1998). As a result of this legislation, Ukrainians had almost no opportunity to study their mother tongue at schools (Kostash, 1977). Furthermore, they were not allowed to use it in classroom or during the break and were punished for not following the rule. As Mirna Kostash (1977, p. 89) states "if you were humiliated for speaking your native language, it was apparent that there was something "bad" about it, something undesirable and unworthy". If one was never rewarded for using their minority language, one would stop speaking it in order to achieve what is desirable and depend more and more on English to make one's way through school and to accommodate to the environment that represented achievement (Kostash, 1977).

Although, there are 42 schools and daycares with Ukrainian as a language of instruction⁶ in Canada at present, and the leadership of Ukrainian community continue to call for the maintenance of the heritage language teaching, which they believe to be essential in preservation of the culture, the family remains the core contributor to the language maintenance (School Listing by Province, n.d.; Jedwab, 2000). For instance, Chumak-Horbatsch and Garg (2006) in the experimental research, which involved 20 children of school age, both Canadian- and Ukrainian-born, for whom Ukrainian was the mother tongue, proved that school plays a negligible role in Ukrainian language retention and that parents still have the pivotal role in the maintenance of the minority language. Moreover, one of the most important aspects affecting survival of minority language is the frequency with which parents use the language in the home with their children (Isajiw, 1985).

⁶ including bilingual credited programs and Saturday or evening non-credited programs

The decrease in language use can also be explained by the fact fourth and fifth generations of Ukrainian Canadians or Ukrainians born in Canada, unlike their grandparents, lack a strong commitment to the Ukrainian language (Sekirin & Courtois, 1994). Kuplowska (1980) also considers generation of immigration⁷ to be the principal correlate for knowledge of Ukrainian, although other factors such as income, education and ethnicity of spouse contribute to the overall result. For instance, the percentage of young Ukrainians who are ready to create a mixed ethnic couple rose from 17% to 73% over the last 30 years (Sekirin & Courtois 1994). Moreover, only one-fourth of Ukrainian mothers in Canada pass on their mother tongue to their children (Kralt & Pendakur, 1991). Ukrainian Canadians are, slowly and surely, becoming to think and feel like Canadians (Sekirin & Courtois, 1994).

1.4.3 Ukrainians and Ukrainian Language in Saskatchewan

Census 2006 shows that Ukrainian ethnic origins are reported by 129,265 residents of Saskatchewan (13% of all the population who reported ethnic origins), which makes them the fourth major ethnic group in Saskatchewan after British (411,400), German (286,045), Aboriginal (149,810), or the fifth, if ‘Canadian’ ethnic origin is included (172,365) (Statistics Canada, 2006a).

Ukrainian as the mother tongue is spoken by 17,290 residents of Saskatchewan (about 2% of the population who answered the question about mother tongue and 13% as compared to the number of individuals with Ukrainian ethnic roots). About every seventh person in Saskatchewan with Ukrainian roots speaks Ukrainian as the mother tongue. Ukrainian in Saskatchewan is the fifth major mother tongue language after English (819,080), German (29,780), Cree (26,155), and French (17,575) (Statistics Canada, 2006a).

Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan actively promote their ethnicity, culture and language. For instance, a wide range of cultural activities, such as Vesna Festival, Ukrainian Day in the Park, and Ukrainian pavilion at Folkfest in Saskatoon, are organized every year. On Sundays, there is a weekly 1 hour radio program on Saskatoon Community Radio featuring folk and modern Ukrainian music. The province also houses Saskatchewan Provincial Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Saskatchewan Ukrainian Historical society, Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage,

⁷ although 2nd and all subsequent generations of Ukrainian Canadians were born in Canada and are therefore not “immigrants”, according to sociolinguistic tradition we will be using term *Generation of immigration* to differentiate between different generations of participants.

has a few choirs and over 40 dance groups (Ukrainians in Saskatchewan, 2012). In terms of education, there is one full-time Ukrainian-English bilingual school (Bishop Filevich Ukrainian Bilingual school in Saskatoon), and a few more schools around the province offer courses in Ukrainian. Ukrainian as a foreign language classes are available from St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan.

All in all, efforts are made by Ukrainian Canadian community of the province to preserve their ethnicity and language.

1.4.4 Language attitudes and self-identification of Ukrainian Canadians

Language and ethnicity are known to be closely intertwined (Giles & Coupland, 1991). According to Isajiw (1983, p. 208) “to understand the nature of ethnicity it is essential to understand whether, how and why ethnic identity is retained from one generation to another. Retention of the ethnic identity refers to the prevalence in the second or consecutive generations of attributes – personal or institutional – that can be identified as characteristic of the specific ethnic group”. According to Wsewolod Isaiw (1983), ethnic identity has two aspects: external (includes customs, language, personal networks, participation in ethnic organizations and institutions, and participation in ethnic functions) and internal (refer to identity as a social-psychological phenomenon). In his questionnaire research study conducted in Toronto in 1979 and 1980, Isajiw compared identity retention of first, second and third generations within nine ethnic groups: English, German, Italian, Jewish, Ukrainian, Chinese, Portuguese, West Indian and Canadian. The survey showed that the average identity retention for each generation of Ukrainians is the following: 77.7% for the first generation, 57.2% for the second and 26.1% for the third. Compared with other ethnic groups this proportion is almost the same as that for Italians (21.8%), much higher than that for Germans (5.7%), but much lower than for the Jews (46.5%). As for the language, as a part of external aspect of identity, 80.0% of first generation Ukrainians in Canada claim that they still use their mother tongue in every-day life, 54.0% of second generation and only 3.1% of the third generation still speak Ukrainian. In terms of reading and writing in Ukrainian the percentages vary from 36.2% to 80.3% for first and second generations, however drops to 6.3% for the third generation. On the other hand, retention of the ethnic foodstuffs is the most popular item for the third generation of Ukrainian Canadians and second most popular for the second generation. However, Isajiw (1983, p. 217) also points out that “higher language retention by the first and second generations of Ukrainians (as compared to other ethnic groups) may

possibly reflect the character of the postwar immigration; Among immigrants of this wave, maintenance of language as a symbol of Ukrainian identity has been especially promulgated". Gerus-Tarnawecka (1983, p. 160) also notices some changes of language attitudes of second-generation Ukrainian Canadians, attributing the renewed interest in heritage language to "a sociopsychological process of social rediscovery". The positive language attitudes of Ukrainian of second generations proves Baker's (1992, p. 21) thesis that "language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community". Having a favourable attitude to the minority language becomes an important point in its preservation (Baker, 1992).

At present stage, for the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada, retention of ethnicity from one generation to another does not necessarily mean retention of all its aspects. Thus, for example, a member of the third generation may subjectively identify with his/her ethnic group without having any knowledge of the language, without following its customs, or taking part in the particular group's organizations (Driedger, 1983). Therefore, Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada compensates heritage language loss by extensive use of other aspects of ethnicity and culture, such as Ukrainian folk music, Easter egg ornamentation, embroidery, traditional cookery, and religious festivities (Klymasz, 1983; Struk, 2000).

1.5 Rationale of the study

Literature review of this chapter showed that maintenance and shift of minority language in different situations and under different circumstances has become an important area of language research. Linguistic, sociolinguistic, social, sociological and political factors that have an impact on minority languages are being investigated; and attempts are being made to describe how these factors interact in various language contexts (Fishman, 1989, 1991; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Chumak-Horbatsch 1999; Mackey 2004). Ukrainian language in Canada is one of the oldest heritage languages in the country, and its maintenance was also addressed in numerous research studies (Kuplowska, 1980; Gerus-Tarnawecka, 1983; Isajiw, 1983; Hornjatkevyč, 1985; Zhluktenko, 1990; Pendakur, 1990; Pendakur and Kralt, 1991; Sekirin & Courtois, 1994; Struk, 2000; Jedwab, 2000). However, several gaps emerge in these studies. First of all, most of the studies (Kuplowska, 1980; Gerus-Tarnawecka, 1983; Isajiw, 1983, 1985; Zhluktenko, 1990; Pendakur, 1990; Pendakur and Kralt, 1991; Sekirin & Courtois, 1994) date back to 1980s-early 1990s, and are therefore not representative of the Ukrainian language at the present stage of its development in Canada. Second, very little attention seems to be paid to the language attitudes of the speakers (Isajiw, 1983; Struk,

2000). Most of the researchers dwell on either the problem of linguistic changes within the minority language (Gerus-Tarnawecka, 1983; Zhluktenko, 1990) or on the analysis of Census data representing a profile of Ukrainian in Canada together with other non-official languages (Pendakur, 1990; Pendakur and Kralt, 1991; Struk, 2000; Jedwab, 2000). Finally, while Ukrainian is one of the oldest heritage languages in Saskatchewan with about 17,000 speakers (2% of the population) (Statistics Canada 2006), to the best of my knowledge, no studies of the Ukrainian language maintenance in Saskatchewan are available. Therefore, this study is aimed at a) providing an update on the state of Ukrainian language in the province of Saskatchewan and b) bridging the gap in studies of the attitudes of minority language speakers.

Main objectives of the research are:

- introducing a range of socio-cultural factors related to usage of Ukrainian;
- tracing the relationship between socio-cultural factors and success of the Ukrainian language retention;
- investigating the effect of educational, community and family settings, on the rates of the Ukrainian language maintenance or shift;
- studying language attitudes of Ukrainian speakers and their correlations with demographic factors;
- collecting opinions about possible improvements in Ukrainian language maintenance on personal, communal and governmental levels.

Based on the above, the study has the following null and alternative hypotheses:

1) H_0 : there is no relationship between socio-cultural factors and success of the Ukrainian language retention;

H_A : there is a certain relationship between socio-cultural factors and success of the Ukrainian language retention.

2) H_0 : frequency of Ukrainian language use in a family is the same regardless of generation of immigration;

H_A : frequency of Ukrainian language use in a family is different for respondents of different generations of immigration.

3) H_0 : language attitude of Ukrainian speakers does not correlate with demographic variables, such as gender, age, education, ethnic identity, and generation of immigration;

H_A: language attitude of Ukrainian speakers does correlate with gender, age, education, ethnic identity, and generation of immigration.

These hypotheses will be tested with the methods introduced in the next chapter, which discusses research methodology and procedures.

2. METHODOLOGY

In this section I will describe the methodology employed in the study: a) construction of the questionnaire, b) questionnaire distribution (sampling criteria and recruitment strategies), c) data analysis, d) the demographic characteristics of participants in the sample, and e) ethics approval for the study.

2.1 Questionnaire construction

2.1.1 Principles and sources of questionnaire construction

All participants in this study were asked to fill out a questionnaire that included questions related to ethnolinguistic vitality, language use and language attitudes. A number of previous studies (such as Kuplowska, 1980; Baker, 1992; Crozier, 1999; Rohani et al, 2005; Tuwakham, 2005, etc.) proved that questionnaire is a useful instrument in the studies of minority language retention. All the copies of the questionnaire were printed on 3 double-sided letter-size pages; they contained plain text with no pictures or images. The questionnaire comprises questions of different types, namely closed-ended questions (demographic, yes/no questions, multiple choice, scaled questions), open-ended, matrix questions, and contingency questions. This variety of questions was required to address the objectives of the study and to obtain the data required for research analysis more precisely.

In the questionnaire (Appendix A), the questions were grouped into five large sections with smaller subsections where necessary. The groups include: family and language background, language use, language and media, language attitudes and additional questions.

The sections, in their turn, are constructed from questions adopted from several sources. First, family and language background section was partly adopted from a) Crozier's (1999) research of interrelation between ethnolinguistic vitality and well-being, b) Rohani et al.'s (2005) study of language maintenance and the role of the family amongst immigrant groups in the United States, and c) Kuplowska's (1980) report on language retention patterns among Ukrainian Canadians. Language use section utilized the following sources: a) Baker's (1992) study of language attitudes of people of Wales, and b) Kuplowska's (1980) report. Language media section is created for this study based on Mackey's (2004) assumption about importance of minority language media resources for the language retention. Language attitudes section is adopted from instruments utilized by Baker (1992) and Tuwakham's (2005) in their respective studies of language vitality and language attitudes. Additional questions section is based on the assumption that minority language retention patterns can be

improved by personal, community and governmental efforts (Fishman, 1980; Holmes, 2001). Types of questions used in each section are described below.

2.1.2 Section I: Family and Language Background

In the subsection *The Age, Gender and Family Background*, the informants were asked to answer demographic questions, i.e. to provide personal information such as age group, gender, occupation, highest level of education completed, self-identification, place of permanent residence, as well as the generation of immigration the informant belongs to. In the subsection *The Language Background*, participants were asked about their mother tongue, Ukrainian language competence, other languages known and formal schooling in Ukrainian. This section contains closed-ended (yes/no and multiple choice), open-ended and contingency questions.

2.1.3 Section II: Language Use

This section explores language use within the family, community and also with friends and relatives in Ukraine (if applicable). The section was designed to get insights into the choice of language and the domains of language use. Two languages, Ukrainian and English, and *Other* or *N/A* options were given to subjects as their choices for communication in each domain. In the subsection *Language Environment at Home / in the Family*, informants were given matrix questions in order to choose the language they use when addressing family members and the language that their family members use when addressing participants. Multiple choice and yes/no questions were used to ascertain respondents' willingness to teach Ukrainian to their children and the language used when communicating with family members in Ukraine. The subsection *Language Used with Friends*, examines the quantity of Ukrainian-speaking friends respondents have and the language used when communicating with them. Subsection *Language in the Community*, tried to trace any interrelation between engagement in local community-related activities, preservation of Ukrainian traditions and usage of the Ukrainian language. Two latter subsections contain multiple choice, yes/no and matrix questions.

2.1.4 Section III: Language and Media

In this section informants were asked scaled questions about the frequency of their use of different media sources in Ukrainian. Those include not only traditional resources, such as

books, magazines, TV-channels and radio, but also modern ones, such as internet browsing, chats and social networks.

2.1.5 Section IV: Language Attitudes

In this section respondents were given scaled matrix questions in order to ascertain their attitudes toward the Ukrainian language. The subjects were asked about the importance of Ukrainian in fulfilling different personal needs, attitude to statements about Ukrainian language and the most significant factors contributing to the language maintenance. All scaled questions were presented in the Likert scale form.

2.1.6 Section V: Additional Questions

In this section, informants were given three open-ended questions. The first one asked about possible ways participants can improve their Ukrainian, the second – about their satisfaction with the available opportunities to preserve Ukrainian in the community, and the third – invited respondents to express their suggestions on improvements that the government of Saskatchewan can introduce for better maintaining of Ukrainian language in the province.

2.2 Questionnaire distribution

2.2.1 Recruitment strategies

Participants for the study were selected on a purely voluntary basis via posters (Appendix B) in the University of Saskatchewan and Ukrainian Museum of Canada in Saskatoon, announcements made in several Linguistic and Ukrainian language classes at the University of Saskatchewan, and flyers (Appendix C) sent out together with the Prairie Centre for Ukrainian Heritage newsletters to residents of Saskatchewan (475 flyers). Prospective participants were asked either to contact the researcher in order to obtain a hard copy of the questionnaire or to fill it out online at the following website: <http://ukrainian-survey.webnode.com>, which was created specifically for the purposes of the study.

2.2.2 Eligibility criteria

The main eligibility criteria for the study were Ukrainian heritage of the participant and current residence in Saskatchewan. Additional eligibility criteria were time spent in Canada (for first generation immigrants) and age. In terms of first generation participants in order to be eligible for the study they should have stayed in Canada for at least one year. This eligibility criterion comes from studies of Rohani et al (2005) and Chapdelaine (2010) which

suggested that within a year new immigrants get accustomed to a new environment in general and new majority language in particular. Thus, the study included participants who were permanent residents, who had become Canadian citizens, as well as those who were in process of applying for immigration. In terms of age, since my objective was to study correlation of wide range of socio-cultural factors (education, family, participation in community life, etc.) and language maintenance, I excluded those who are younger than 18 years, since as a number of previous studies, e.g. Clyne & Kipp (1997), Chumak-Horbatsch & Garg (2006), Chambers (2009), etc., showed their language choice is largely predetermined only by two factors – family and peers.

All in all, the study included adult Canadian-born participants and recent immigrants, speakers of Ukrainian and people of some Ukrainian ancestry with little or no knowledge of Ukrainian.

2.3 Data analysis

Data from online questionnaires was automatically transferred into Excel charts and supplemented later with data from paper questionnaires which was entered manually. All the raw data was converted into SPSS 17.0. A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was utilized to assess the relationship between major socio-cultural factors – age, gender, education, occupation, self-identification, community involvement, church service attendance, having Ukrainian-speaking friends and relatives and communicating with them – on the one hand and the knowledge and use of Ukrainian, as well as linguistic attitudes on the other hand. For linguistic attitudes and language environment at home/in the family mean values were calculated and compared for different socio-cultural factors.

2.4 Sample distribution

The demographic and language background information described in this section derived from the data obtained from *Family and Language Background Section* of the questionnaire (see Appendix A) that participants filled out for the study. These survey findings present information about demographic characteristics of the sample as well as describe linguistic biography of participants.

In total, 85 questionnaires were filled out (62 online and 23 as paper copies). However, three of them were eliminated from the study. The reason for not including those questionnaires were the following: a) participant indicated Kyiv, Ukraine as a place of permanent residency, b) participant indicated Toronto, Ontario as a place of permanent

residency and c) respondent had no Ukrainian ancestry, both English and Ukrainian were foreign languages.

Out of remaining 82 respondents, 37.8% (n=31) were in the age group of 18-29 years old; 13.4% (n=11) in the age group of 30-39 years old, the same number of subjects (n=11) indicated their age group as 40-49 years old, 12.2% (n=10) were in age group of 50-59 years old, 8.5% (n=7) between 60 and 69 years old, and 14.6% (n=12) 70 and older. Gender representation was the following: 41.5% (n=34) were males and 58.5% (n=48) were females.

Since the study investigates Ukrainian language maintenance in the province of Saskatchewan, respondents were asked about the place of their permanent residence. Most of the subjects indicated Saskatoon (n=62), participants also represented Regina (n=7), Wakaw (n=3), Yorkton (n=2), Prince Albert (n=2), North Battleford (n=2), Nipawin (n=1), Saint Brieux (n=1), Smuts (n=1) and Aberdeen (n=1).

The respondents represented four different generations of immigration as follows: 20.73% (n=17) were of first generation, 15.9% (n=13) of second, 39.0% (n=32) of third, 22.0% (n=18) of fourth, and 2.4% (n=2) indicated *Other* as their generation.

In terms of occupation, since the question was open-ended, all the answers given by respondents were grouped into three big categories: *student* (those attending university full- or part-time), *employed* (those actively involved in a workforce) and *retired* (those who do not participate in work market due to retirement). The distribution of participants is as follows: 26.8% (n=22) students, 52.4% (n=43) employed and 20.7% (n=17) retired.

Concerning the highest level of education obtained, two respondents did not answer, among the others 22.5% (n=18) have high school certificate, 23.8% (n=19) have some secondary education, 25.0% (n=20) have BA degree and the same number of respondents have MA degree, and 3.7% (n=3) reported PhD degree as the highest level of their education.

Most of the respondents (56.1%, n=46) identified themselves as Ukrainian Canadians, second most popular reply was Ukrainian (24.4%, n=20), and third – Canadian (14.6%, n=12). Four subjects (4.9%) chose *Other* as an indication of their ethnic identity. For 61.7% (n=50) Ukrainian was the first language learnt and 40.2% (n=33) rarely, 31.7% (n=26) still use it often, 19.5% (n=16) half the time, 4.9% (n=4) always, and 3.7% (n=3) never.

Ukrainian language education data showed that 73.42% (n=58) of respondents never attended Ukrainian or Ukrainian-English schools, 56.10% (n=46) have never taken Ukrainian course(s) in a Canadian university and 67.90% (n=55) have never attended any non-credit Ukrainian language courses, workshops or summer sessions.

In terms of language knowledge, 32.9% (n=27) can understand Ukrainian very well, 28.0% (n=23) like a native speaker, 23.2% (n=19) reasonably well, 11.0% (n=9) poorly and 4.9% (n=4) not at all. The ability to speak Ukrainian in the sample is represented as follows: 26.8% (n=22) can speak Ukrainian like a native speaker, 18.3% (n=15) very well, 29.3% (n=24) reasonably well, 19.5% (n=16) poorly, 6.1% (n=5) not at all. The informants' reported the following reading ability: 28.4% (n=23) can read like a native speaker, 23.5% (n=19) can read very well, 21% (n=17) reported ability to read as 'reasonably well' and 'poorly', 6.2% (n=5) cannot read in Ukrainian at all. Finally, the data on the writing ability of the informants shows that 25.6% (n=21) of them can write like a native speaker, 23.2% (n=19) very well, 20.7% (n=17) reasonably well, 22.0% (n=18) poorly and 8.5% (n=7) reported that they cannot write in Ukrainian at all.

2.5 Ethics approval

University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board approval to undertake the following research was obtained on January 12, 2011. Prior to filling out the paper questionnaire the respondents were asked to fill in a consent form (Appendix D). In case of online questionnaires, respondents were asked to read the consent form prior to filling out the questionnaire. Filling out an online questionnaire would correspond to respondent's agreement to participate in the study.

The participants were informed of their rights including the right to anonymity and to withdraw at any point.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Closed-ended questions

Data analysis of closed-ended questions focused on the correlation between socio-cultural factors and language retention patterns as well as on language attitudes expressed by the subjects.

3.1.1 The use of Ukrainian and Ukrainian language proficiency

Question #1 in Language biography section asked respondents if Ukrainian was the sole home language in their childhood. Of the total number of 81 (98.78%) responses, 50 (61.73%) listed Ukrainian as an only mother tongue; 31 respondents (38.27%) answered ‘no’ (i.e., Ukrainian was not their mother tongue, or they were bilingual or multilingual).

The analysis revealed a significant negative correlation between the **Age** factor and the acquiring Ukrainian as a mother tongue (the first language learned at home in childhood), $r(79) = -.420$, $p = .000$. According to results shown in Table 3.1, Ukrainian is a mother tongue to all respondents in 60-69 age group and to almost all aged 40-49 (82%) and 70 and older (92%), however for other age groups Ukrainian was named as a mother tongue in a range from 39% (18-29 age group) to 55% (30-39 age group).

Table 3.1
Age group and Ukrainian as a Mother Tongue

Age group	Ukrainian as a mother tongue		Total for age group, N (100%)
	Yes, N (%)	No, N (%)	
18-29	12 (39%)	19 (61%)	31
30-39	6 (55%)	5 (45%)	11
40-49	9 (82%)	2 (18%)	11
50-59	5 (56%)	4 (44%)	9
60-69	7 (100%)	0	7
70 and older	11(92%)	1(8%)	12

No correlation was reported between **Gender** and Ukrainian learned as a first language at home, $r(79) = .084$, $p = .455$, which means that both males and females had approximately the same rates of Ukrainian being their mother tongue: with men having a slightly higher percentage (67%) than women (58%).

Strong positive correlation was observed between the **Generation** of immigration factor and Ukrainian being the first language learned at home in the childhood, $r(79) = .577$, $p = .000$. This means that fist generation immigrants were much more likely to learn

Ukrainian as their mother tongue (94%) than those who belong to the fourth generation (12%).

The results showed a significant correlation between **Ethnic identity** and learning Ukrainian as the mother tongue, $r(79) = .429, p = .000$. As Table 3.2 shows, 85% of those who identify themselves as Ukrainians learned Ukrainian as their first language; the rate is considerably lower for Ukrainian Canadians (67%) and rather low for Canadians (16%) and *Other* category (25%).

Table 3.2
Ukrainian as a Mother Tongue and Ethnic Self-Identification

Reported ethnicity	Ukrainian as a mother tongue		Total for group, N (100%)
	Yes, N (%)	No, N (%)	
Ukrainian	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	20
Ukrainian Canadian	30 (67%)	15 (33%)	45
Canadian	2 (16%)	10 (83%)	12
Other	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4

Question #2 asked respondents to state how often they use Ukrainian language now. Possible answers include: *always, often, half the time, rarely* and *never*. All participants replied to this question, 33 respondents (40%) use the language *rarely* and 26 (32%) – *often*. The lowest percentage was reported for options *always* and *never* – 5% (4 respondents) and 4% (3 respondents) respectively.

In terms of routine use of Ukrainian in every-day life, no significant correlation was discovered between language use and **Age**, $r(80) = .012, p = .918$. For example, in the 18-29 age group 35% of respondents use Ukrainian often and 32% – *rarely*; in the 70 and older group 50% use it *often*, 17% – *half of the time* and 33% – *rarely*.

No significant correlation was discovered between frequency of Ukrainian language use and **Gender**, $r(80) = .194, p = .080$. However, Table 3.3 shows that men use language between *often* and *half of the time*, whereas for women mean value is higher, which means their language use ranges between *half of the time* and *rarely*.

Table 3.3
Frequency of Language Use and Gender

Gender	Mean value	Total for group, N (100%)
Male	2.82	34
Female	3.23	48
<i>Total</i>	3.06	82

Generation of immigration demonstrates positive correlation with language use, $r(80) = .372, p = .001$. Table 3.4 shows that immigrants of first and second generations tend to report more frequent use of language than those who belong to third and fourth generations.

Table 3.4
Frequency of Language Use and Generation of Immigration

Generation of immigration	Frequency of the Ukrainian language use					Total for group (100%), N
	always, N (%)	often, N (%)	half the time, N (%)	rarely, N (%)	never, N (%)	
First	3 (18%)	8 (47%)	4 (23%)	2 (12%)	0	17
Second	0	6 (46%)	4 (31%)	3 (23%)	0	13
Third	0	6 (19%)	7 (22%)	18 (56%)	1 (3%)	32
Fourth	1 (5.5%)	5 (28%)	1 (5.5%)	9 (50%)	2 (11%)	18
Other	0	1 (50%)	0	1 (50%)	0	2

Positive correlation was discovered between **Ethnic identity** and frequency of Ukrainian language use, $r(80) = .465, p = .000$. Thus, as Table 3.5 indicates, those who identify themselves as Ukrainians use the language more often than those who identify themselves as Ukrainian Canadians or Canadians.

Table 3.5
Frequency of Language Use and Ethnic Identity

Ethnic Identity	Frequency of the Ukrainian language use					Total for group, N (100%)
	always, N (%)	often, N (%)	half the time, N (%)	rarely, N (%)	never, N (%)	
Ukrainian	3 (15%)	10 (50%)	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	0	20
Ukrainian Canadian	1 (2%)	14 (31%)	12 (26%)	19 (41%)	0	46
Canadian	0	1 (8%)	0	8 (67%)	3 (25%)	12
Other	0	1 (25%)	0	3 (75%)	0	4

The analysis showed no significant correlation between **Occupation** and frequencies of language use, $r(80) = -.133, p = .234$. Although, according to Table 3.6, *employed* and

retired have lower mean values, i.e. they use Ukrainian relatively more often than *students* do.

Table 3.6
Frequency of Language Use and Occupation

Occupation	Mean value	Total for group, N
Student	3.32	22
Employed	2.98	43
Retired	2.94	17
<i>Total</i>	3.06	82

The level of **Education** demonstrates negative correlation with the frequency of language use, $r(78) = -.248$, $p = .027$. Thus, the higher the level of education, the more often respondents use Ukrainian language. As shown in Table 3.7, half of those in *HS* category use Ukrainian *rarely* (50%), whereas 100% in the *PhD* degree category use Ukrainian *often*. An interesting result was obtained for the *BA* degree category, where majority of respondents (60%) make use of Ukrainian language *rarely*.

Table 3.7
Frequency of Language Use and Highest Level of Education Obtained

Level of education	How often do you use Ukrainian now?					Total for group (100%), N
	always, N (%)	often, N (%)	half the time, N (%)	rarely, N (%)	never, N (%)	
HS	0	5 (28%)	4 (22%)	9 (50%)	0	18
HS+	2 (11%)	5 (26%)	1 (5%)	8 (42%)	3 (16%)	19
BA degree	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	12 (60%)	0	20
MA degree	1 (5%)	8 (40%)	8 (40%)	3 (15%)	0	20
PhD degree	0	3 (100%)	0	0	0	3

Question #4 asked participants to estimate their language proficiency in the following categories: understanding of spoken Ukrainian, ability to speak Ukrainian, ability to read in Ukrainian, and ability to write in Ukrainian. Table 3.8 shows that in terms of understanding spoken Ukrainian, the majority of respondents (33%) reported their proficiency on the *very well* level; for ability to speak Ukrainian 29% stated *reasonably well* and 27% *like a native speaker* levels; for both abilities to read and to write in Ukrainian most of the answers were on *like a native speaker* level – 29% and 26% respectively.

Table 3.8
Ukrainian Language Proficiency Split by Skill

Language skills	Level of language proficiency					Total for group, N (100%)
	5, N (%)	4, N (%)	3, N (%)	2, N (%)	1, N (%)	
understanding spoken Ukrainian	23 (28%)	27 (33%)	19 (23%)	9 (11%)	4 (5%)	82
ability to speak Ukrainian	22 (27%)	15 (18%)	24 (29%)	16 (20%)	5 (6%)	82
ability to read in Ukrainian	23 (29%)	19 (23%)	17 (21%)	17 (21%)	5 (6%)	81
ability to write in Ukrainian	21 (26%)	19 (23%)	17 (21%)	18 (22%)	7 (8%)	82

Note. Five-point ranking scale was used to assess the language proficiency: 1=*not at all*, 2=*poorly*, 3=*reasonably well*, 4=*very well*, and 5=*like a native speaker*.

Age correlates negatively with some aspects of Ukrainian knowledge, such as ability to write in Ukrainian ($r(80) = -.277, p = .012$) and ability to read ($r(79) = -.223, p = .046$). This means that the older the person is, the worse his or her writing and reading skills are. No significant correlation was discovered between age and ability to understand spoken Ukrainian ($r(80) = .41, p = .717$); and ability to speak ($r(80) = .68, p = .543$).

Gender showed no correlation with any of the language proficiency categories, which means that both males and females report approximately the same Ukrainian language proficiency levels.

Generation correlates positively with proficiency in language, i.e. understanding of spoken Ukrainian, $r(80) = .585, p = .000$; ability to speak Ukrainian, $r(80) = .688, p = .000$; ability to read, $r(80) = .484, p = .000$; and ability to write, $r(80) = .487, p = .000$. As Table 3.9 shows, first generation immigrants report the proficiency in all language skills at the level of *a native speaker*, the second generation – between *very well* and *reasonably well*, whereas the mean values of language proficiency of the third and fourth generations of immigrants range between *very good* and *poor*. This tendency can be also traced for all other language skills, i.e. ability to speak, write and read in minority language.

Table 3.9
Mean Value for Ability to Understand Spoken Ukrainian for Immigrant Generations

Generation of immigration	Mean values	Total for group, N
First	1.06	17
Second	1.92	13
Third	2.75	32
Fourth	3.06	18
<i>Total, N</i>	2.32	82

The results demonstrate a positive correlation of **Ethnic identity** variable with different aspects of language proficiency: ability to speak Ukrainian, $r(80) = .354, p = .001$; ability to

read Ukrainian, $r(80) = .275$, $p = .013$; and ability to write Ukrainian, $r(80) = .320$, $p = .003$. For instance, those who identify themselves as Ukrainians, typically have the language proficiency at the level of *like a native speaker* and *very good*, whereas self-identified Ukrainian Canadians' proficiency level ranges from *very well* to *reasonably well*, and respondents identifying themselves as Canadians tend to have a command of language ranging between *reasonably good* and *poor*.

Positive correlation was observed between **Occupation** and the knowledge of Ukrainian: ability to understand spoken Ukrainian, $r(78) = .274$, $p = .024$; ability to speak, $r(78) = .257$, $p = .021$; ability to read, $r(77) = .279$, $p = .013$; and ability to write, $r(78) = .330$, $p = .003$. Thus, those actively involved in a workforce (employed) have the best Ukrainian language knowledge, whereas those who are not – students and retired – show lower language skills.

Education also showed a positive correlation with Ukrainian language proficiency: understanding of spoken Ukrainian, $r(78) = .252$, $p = .024$; ability to speak Ukrainian, $r(78) = .257$, $p = .021$; ability to read Ukrainian $r(77) = .279$, $p = .013$; and ability to write Ukrainian, $r(78) = .330$, $p = .003$. This means that the higher the level of education obtained, the better is the respondent's knowledge of Ukrainian.

Analysis demonstrated a significant positive correlation between **Frequency of language use** and its knowledge. For instance, language use correlates with ability to understand spoken Ukrainian, $r(80) = .652$, $p = .000$; ability to speak Ukrainian, $r(80) = .719$, $p = .000$; ability to read Ukrainian, $r(79) = .630$, $p = .000$; and ability to write Ukrainian, $r(80) = .600$, $p = .000$.

Question #3 asked respondents about the language they are most comfortable with; no answer variants were given, so respondents could indicate as many languages as they wanted. Responses were later grouped as: *English*, *Ukrainian*, *Ukrainian and English*, and *Other*. As Table 3.10 indicates, 71% of participants are most comfortable with the English language.

Table 3.10
Most Comfortable Language for Respondents

Language	Count, N (%)
English	57 (71%)
Ukrainian	13 (16%)
Both	8 (10%)
Other	2 (3%)
<i>Total, N (100%)</i>	80

The analysis demonstrated a negative correlation between the language respondents are most comfortable now and their **Ethnic identity**, $r(78) = -.390$, $p = .000$. As shown in Table 3.11, 53% of those who report Ukrainian identity are more comfortable with Ukrainian language; 78% of Ukrainian Canadians are more comfortable with English and only 6% – with Ukrainian, whereas 100% of those who claimed ‘Canadian’ as ethnic identity are most comfortable with English.

Table 3.11
Most Comfortable Language and Ethnicity

Ethnic identity	Most comfortable language				Total for group, N (100%)
	English, N (%)	Ukrainian, N (%)	Both, N (%)	Other, N (%)	
Ukrainian	6 (32%)	10 (53%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	19
Ukrainian Canadian	35 (78%)	3 (6%)	7 (16%)	0	45
Canadian	12 (100%)	0	0	0	12
Other	4 (100%)	0	0	0	4

Question #4 variable correlates negatively with **Generation** since immigration, $r(78) = -.464$, $p = .000$. That means that those belonging to first generation are more likely to report Ukrainian as the most comfortable language for them (65%), whereas second, third and fourth generations indicate English as the most comfortable language – 69%, 87% and 94% respectively.

The most comfortable language shows negative correlation with the **First language learned**, $r(77) = -.329$, $p = .003$. Thus, the number of respondents who feel most comfortable with English is divided almost equally between those who have Ukrainian as their mother tongue (49%) and those who don't (51%). However, 100% of those who are most comfortable with Ukrainian learned it as their sole language at home in childhood.

There was no correlation reported between this variable and **Age**, **Gender**, **Occupation**, and highest level of **Education** completed.

3.1.2 Exposure to Ukrainian Language Education

Questions #6-8 asked respondents to indicate whether they have ever attended: a) Ukrainian or Ukrainian-English bilingual school; b) Ukrainian course(s) in a Canadian university; c) any other non-credited Ukrainian language courses, classes, workshops. As Table 3.12 demonstrates, a majority of participants neither received any formal education in

Ukrainian (73% did not attend Ukrainian or bilingual school, and 56% did not take Ukrainian classes at university) nor ever attended any non-credited courses or classes (68%).

Table 3.12
Ukrainian Language Education

Exposure to Ukrainian education	Yes, N (%)	No, N (%)	Total for group, N (100%)
Ukrainian or Ukrainian-English bilingual school	21 (27%)	58 (73%)	79
Ukrainian course(s) at a university	36 (44%)	46 (56%)	82
non-credit language courses, workshops, etc.	26 (32%)	55 (68%)	81

Two out of three variables indicated in Questions #6-8 correlate positively with **Proficiency in the Ukrainian language**. Those are Ukrainian or bilingual (Ukrainian-English) school education and Ukrainian classes at university. For instance, understanding of spoken Ukrainian correlates positively with enrolment in a Ukrainian/Ukrainian-English bilingual school, $r(77) = .320, p = .004$. Ability to speak Ukrainian also has a positive correlation with being enrolled in a school with Ukrainian as a language of instruction, $r(77) = .382, p = .001$. In terms of reading skills, both enrolment in a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-English school and University Ukrainian classes demonstrate positive correlation: $r(76) = .356, p = .001$ and $r(76) = .331, p = .003$ respectively. Writing ability also correlates positively with school and university classes. Thus, enrolment in Ukrainian/English-Ukrainian school means that a person has better writing skills, $r(77) = .382, p = .001$; attending Ukrainian language classes in university shows a positive correlation with ability to write in Ukrainian as well, $r(77) = .366, p = .001$.

3.1.3 Language Environment at Home/in the Family

Question #1 in this section asked respondents to mark what language do/did they use most often in a conversation with specific family members. Table 3.13 represents mean scores for language use/used the most by participants to communicate with the family members, where 1 corresponds to *Ukrainian*, 2 to *English* and 3 to *Other* in questionnaire answer coding. Family members are coded the following way:

- Grandfather on father's side – GFF
- Grandmother on father's side – GMF
- Grandfather on mother's side – GMS
- Grandmother on mother's side – GMM
- Father – F
- Mother – M
- Sibling(s) – S

- Spouse/Partner – P
- Child/Children – C

Table 3.13
Mean Value of Language Used by Respondents with Family Members

Generation	GFF	GMF	GFM	GMM	F	M	S	P	C
First	1.33	1.38	1.25	1.25	1.24	1.24	1.43	1.64 ⁸	1.87
Second	1	1	1	1	1.33	1.25	1.83	1.83	2
Third	1.39	1.31	1.48	1.45	1.72	1.75	1.93	2	2
Fourth	1.82	1.82	1.76	1.76	1.94	2	2	2.1	2

All immigrant generations demonstrate different tendencies in growth of mean values from grandparents to children, i.e. change from Ukrainian to English in conversation with different relatives. Thus, second generation switches from using Ukrainian only with grandparents to more English with parents, predominantly English with sibling(s) and spouse/partner, and finally, only English with children. Third generation switches to English even faster: predominantly Ukrainian with grandparents, predominantly English with parents and almost exclusively English with sibling(s), spouse/partner, and children. Fourth generation uses predominantly English with grandparents and then almost exclusively English or *Other* (as in case of spouse/partner category) with parents, spouses and children. Rather atypical are mean value results for the first generation, especially for grandparent categories. However, as shown in Table 3.14, the number of *Other* (language used is neither Ukrainian nor English) answers for first generation helps us to understand such discrepancy: respondents use Ukrainian to communicate with all family members, English only with their spouse(s)/partner (s) and children, however the *Other* option is present in communication with grandparents, parents, sibling(s), spouse(s)/partner (s) and children. Therefore, mean values for first generation are higher than 1 (code for Ukrainian language) even for those relatives who do not speak English.

Table 3.14
Use of *Other* option by First Generation Immigrants

Language	GFF	GMF	GFM	GMM	F	M	S	P	C
Ukrainian	14	13	14	14	15	15	11	7	4
English	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
Other	1	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	3

⁸ Numbers in red font indicate change in language use from Ukrainian only or predominantly Ukrainian to predominantly English or Other

Respondents of other generations – second, third and fourth – did not use *Other* option as often which is proven when we eliminate this option from the analysis (Table 3.15). The change in mean values are indicated in italics: For first generation alternation occurred in all categories; for second – in language used with Father category; for third – language used with grandfather on father’s side, spouse/partner and children; for fourth – language used with spouse/partner.

Table 3.15
Mean Values for Question #1 without *Other* option

Generation	GFF	GMF	GFM	GMM	F	M	S	P	C
First	<i>1⁹</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1.42</i>	<i>1.2</i>
Second	1	1	1	1	1.18	1.25	1.83	1.83	2
Third	1.33	1.31	1.48	1.45	1.72	1.75	1.93	1.96	1.95
Fourth	1.82	1.82	1.76	1.76	1.94	2	2	2	2

Question #2 asked respondents to indicate what language specific members of family use/used in communication with them. The list of shortening used is exactly the same as for *Question #1*. Results of this analysis, showed in Table 3.16, represent tendencies comparable to those revealed in mean value representations of *Question #1*: With second generation grandparents use Ukrainian only; parents – predominantly Ukrainian; sibling(s), spouse/partner, children – predominantly English. Grandparents of third generation respondents use predominantly Ukrainian; parents use predominantly English; sibling(s), spouse/partner, and children – almost exclusively English. With participants of fourth generation their grandparents use predominantly English; parents, spouses and children – almost exclusively English or *Other* (as in case of spouse/partner category). However, as a rule, mean values are smaller compared to *Question #1* (Table 3.13) especially for second, third and fourth generations. This means that family members use Ukrainian language more often in conversation with participants than participants themselves to communicate with their relatives.

⁹ Results indicating changed are in italics

Table 3.16*Mean Values of Language Used by Family Members with Respondents*

Generation	GFF	GMF	GFM	GMM	F	M	S	P	C
First	1.25	1.38	1.5	1.4	1.25	1.25	1.43	1.69	1.83
Second	1	1	1	1	1.23	1.15	1.92	1.83	1.91
Third	1.31	1.27	1.32	1.3	1.58	1.61	1.97	1.92	1.95
Fourth	1.65	1.59	1.65	1.59	1.94	1.89	2	2.1	2

First generation mean values were again distorted by the *Other* option, after eliminating which we got the following results (Table 3.17): Ukrainian is used as a mean of communication with first generation respondents by their grandparents, parents and siblings, some English is used by children, and more English – by spouses/partners. Not accounting for *Other* option also changed mean values for second generation – father and siblings; third generation – grandfather on father’s side; and fourth generation – spouse/partner.

Table 3.17*Mean Values for Question #2 without Other Option*

Generation	GFF	GMF	GFM	GMM	F	M	S	P	C
First	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.45	1.25
Second	1	1	1	1	1.17	1.15	1.83	1.83	1.91
Third	1.25	1.27	1.32	1.3	1.58	1.61	1.97	1.92	1.95
Fourth	1.65	1.59	1.65	1.59	1.94	1.89	2	2	2

All in all, the results show gradual language attrition starting in the first generation in conversation with spouse/partner and child/children. The attrition spreads more with each successive generation. Thus, the more time a respondent’s family has spent in Canada (i.e. the bigger is the number of generations which lived in Canada), the less Ukrainian language is used in the family.

Question #3 of this section asked participants whether they would like their children to speak Ukrainian. Of the total number of 79 responses, 58 participants (73%) said *yes*, 4 (5%) – *no*, 11 (14%) – *probably* and 6 (8%) – *not applicable*.

Question #4 asked whether respondents have relatives in Ukraine. Of the total number of 81 responses 75 participants (93%) replied *yes* and 6 (7%) – *no*. *Question #5* asked those who stated to have relatives in Ukraine whether they communicate. More than a half (53%) of respondents said *yes* and 47% – *no*. *Question #6* asked those who answered *yes* to both questions above what is the language of their communication with relatives in Ukraine. For 36 respondents (90%) it is *Ukrainian*, for 3 (8%) – *Other* and for 1 (2%) – *English*.

Using Ukrainian as a mean of communication with relatives in Ukrainian demonstrates a positive correlation with **Frequency of language use**, $r(38) = .459$, $p = .002$. However, no correlation is reported for this factor and Ukrainian language proficiency.

3.1.4 Language use by domains

Question #1 from this section asked respondents to specify the amount of their friends who can speak Ukrainian: *none, less than 5, 5-10, 10-20, more than 20*. The result showed (Table 3.18) that 49% of participants have more than 20 friends who can speak Ukrainian, and only 4% of subjects indicated that they have no Ukrainian-speaking friends.

Table 3.18
Ukrainian-Speaking Friends

Number of Ukrainian-speaking friends	Count, N (%)
none	3 (4%)
less than 5	14 (17%)
5-10	14 (17%)
10-20	11 (13%)
more than 20	40 (49%)
Total, N (100%)	82

Frequency of Ukrainian language use correlates positively with number of Ukrainian-speaking friends, $r(80) = .510$, $p = .000$, i.e. the more Ukrainian-speaking friends respondents have, the more often they use Ukrainian. There is also positive correlation with **Ukrainian language proficiency**: understanding of spoken Ukrainian, $r(80) = .430$, $p = .000$; ability to speak Ukrainian, $r(80) = .348$, $p = .001$; read in Ukrainian, $r(79) = .378$, $p = .001$; and write in Ukrainian, $r(80) = .342$, $p = .002$.

The number of Ukrainian-speaking friends variable also shows a positive correlation with the **Language you are most comfortable with** variable, $r(78) = .242$, $p = .048$, which means that the more Ukrainian-speaking friends a person has, the more likely he or she is comfortable with the Ukrainian language.

Questions #2 and #3 asked respondents about the use of Ukrainian language with their Ukrainian-speaking friends a) at home and b) outside the home. Mean values showed (Table 3.19) that when meeting with Ukrainian-speaking friends, respondents use Ukrainian more frequently at home (between *often* and *half of the time*) than outside the home (between *half the time* and *rarely*).

Table 3.19*Language Use with Ukrainian-Speaking Friends*

Domains of Language Use	Mean value
At home	2.9
Outside home	3.22

Question #4 was aimed at finding out whether respondents keep in touch with friends or acquaintances in Ukraine. As shown in Table 3.20, 63% of participants reported to have friends in Ukraine.

Table 3.20*Friends in Ukraine*

Do you have friends in Ukraine?	Count, N (%)
Yes	52 (63%)
No	30 (37%)
Total, N (100%)	82

Question #5 asked those who reported having friends in Ukraine about the language of communication with them. According to Table 3.21, 62% indicated Ukrainian, 21% – English, 13% Ukrainian and English and 4% – other.

Table 3.21*Language of Communication with Friends in Ukraine*

Language	Count, N (%)
Ukrainian	32 (62%)
English	11 (21%)
Both	7 (13%)
Other	2 (4%)
Total, N (100%)	52

Utilising Ukrainian as a mean of communication with friends in Ukraine shows a positive correlation with **Frequency of language use**, $r(50) = .360$, $p = .009$ and ability to speak Ukrainian, $r(50) = .274$, $p = .049$.

Question #1 in this section asked respondents to indicate whether they belong to any Ukrainian language, culture or community groups. As shown in Table 3.22, 54% of respondents answered *yes* and 46% – *no*.

Table 3.22
Participation in Ukrainian Organizations

Do you participate in any Ukrainian organizations?	Count, N (%)
Yes	44 (54%)
No	37 (46%)
Total, N (100%)	81

Participation in Ukrainian language or culture-related organizations or community groups showed a positive correlation with the **Use of Ukrainian language**, $r(79) = .339$, $p = .002$. There is also a correlation between this factor and **Ukrainian language proficiency**, e.g. with ability to understand spoken Ukrainian, $r(79) = .263$, $p = .018$; ability to speak Ukrainian, $r(79) = .224$, $p = .044$; ability to read Ukrainian, $r(79) = .222$, $p = .046$. However no correlation was found between belonging to Ukrainian organizations and ability to write in Ukrainian, $r(79) = .186$, $p = .097$.

Question #2 was aimed at assessing what cultural traditions are maintained in the community. Table 3.23 reports how many participants (in percent) maintain those traditions.

Table 3.23
Maintaining Ukrainian Traditions

Cultural tradition	Percent out of total, %
Easter and Christmas celebration	72.1
Singing Ukrainian carols over Christmas	46.2
Making pysankas for Eater	46.2
Cooking traditional Ukrainian food	72.1
Participating in Ukrainian dance group	23.1
Participating in Ukrainian singing group/choir	31.7
Other	5.8

Two most language-related cultural traditions from the list, i.e. ‘singing Ukrainian carols over Christmas’ and ‘participating in Ukrainian singing group/choir’ showed positive correlations with **Frequency of language use**, $r(79) = .287$, $p = .009$ and $r(79) = .291$, $p = .008$ respectively. However, no correlation was reported with Ukrainian language proficiency.

Questions #3 and #4 asked participants whether they have been to Ukraine. The former was aimed at those who were born in Ukraine and the latter at those who weren’t. Among Ukrainian-born respondents 42% answered *yes* and 58% – *no* (Table 3.24). More non-Ukrainian-born participants, on the contrary, reported visiting Ukraine at least once (and

some indicated more than 15 times) – 60% and 40% said that they have never been to Ukraine (Table 3.25).

Table 3.24
Ukrainian-born Participants and Travelling to Ukraine

Have you travelled to Ukraine after you came to Canada?	Count, N (%)
Yes	10 (42%)
No	14 (58%)
Total, N (100%)	24

Table 3.25
Non-Ukrainian-born Participants and Travelling to Ukraine

Have you travelled to Ukraine after you came to Canada?	Count, N (%)
Yes	35 (60%)
No	23 (40%)
Total, N (100%)	58

Question #3 variable correlate with **Frequency of Ukrainian language use**, $r(22) = .408$, $p = .048$; ability to read in Ukrainian, $r(22) = .414$, $p = .050$; and language respondents feel most comfortable with, $r(21) = -.453$, $p = .030$.

Question #4 correlates with some aspects of **Ukrainian language proficiency**, such as ability to read and write, $r(56) = .277$, $p = .029$ and $r(56) = .329$, $p = .009$ respectively.

Question #5 asked those who were not born in Ukraine and have never been there if they would like to go. Majority of respondents (87%) replied *yes* and 13% said *no*.

Participants were asked whether they attend Ukrainian church (*Question #6 in Language in the Community* section). As shown in Table 3.26, majority of respondents (71%) attend Ukrainian church services and 29% – don't.

Table 3.26
Attending Ukrainian Church

Do you attend Ukrainian church?	Count, N (%)
Yes	57 (71%)
No	23 (29%)
Total, N (100%)	80

This variable shows positive correlation with **Frequency of language use**, $r(78) = .325$, $p = .003$, which means that if a person attends Ukrainian church, he or she uses the Ukrainian language more frequently. There is also a positive correlation between attending a Ukrainian church and understanding spoken Ukrainian, $r(78) = .270$, $p = .015$.

3.1.5 Language and Media

This section of the questionnaire asked eight questions about participants' exposure to different Ukrainian media or media in Ukrainian, e.g. television, radio, music, books, newspapers, magazines, and Internet. As Table 3.27 shows, between 73 ('social networking') and 82 ('music') respondents replied to these questions. The most popular Ukrainian media is Music with the mean value between *half of the time* and *often*, whereas Social networking is the least popular – between *never* and *rarely*.

Table 3.27
Exposure to Ukrainian Media and Media in Ukrainian

Type of Media	Count, N	Mean Value
Music	82	2.33
Browsing Internet	79	1.62
Newspapers	77	1.26
Radio	80	1.18
Books	80	1.1
Television	78	0.91
Magazines	77	0.82
Social Networking	73	0.68

Note. All the questions utilise five-point ranking scale: 0=never, 1=rarely, 2=half the time, 3=often, 4=always.

Reading Ukrainian newspapers or newspapers in Ukrainian correlates positively with use of language, $r(75) = .491$, $p = .000$ and language proficiency, e.g. understanding of spoken language, $r(75) = .443$, $p = .000$; speaking, $r(75) = .471$, $p = .000$; reading (74) = $.538$, $p = .000$; and writing, $r(75) = .559$, $p = .000$.

Reading books in Ukrainian correlates positively with use of language, $r(78) = .570$, $p = .000$ and language proficiency, e.g. understanding of spoken language, $r(78) = .530$, $p = .000$; speaking, $r(78) = .547$, $p = .000$; reading (77) = $.618$, $p = .000$; and writing, $r(78) = .591$, $p = .000$.

Reading Ukrainian magazines correlates positively with use of language, $r(75) = .467$, $p = .000$ and language proficiency, e.g. understanding of spoken language, $r(75) =$

.490, $p = .000$; speaking, $r(75) = .479$, $p = .000$; reading (75) = .503, $p = .000$; and writing, $r(78) = .534$, $p = .000$.

Listening to Ukrainian radio programmes correlates positively with use of language, $r(78) = .365$, $p = .001$ and language proficiency, e.g. understanding of spoken language, $r(78) = .301$, $p = .007$; speaking, $r(78) = .285$, $p = .010$; reading (78) = .258, $p = .022$; and writing, $r(78) = .277$, $p = .013$.

Listening to Ukrainian music correlates positively with use of language, $r(80) = .424$, $p = .000$ and language proficiency, e.g. understanding of spoken language, $r(80) = .341$, $p = .002$; speaking, $r(80) = .347$, $p = .001$; reading (79) = .300, $p = .006$; and writing, $r(80) = .279$, $p = .011$.

Watching Ukrainian television correlates positively with use of language, $r(76) = .415$, $p = .000$ and language proficiency, e.g. understanding of spoken language, $r(76) = .318$, $p = .005$; speaking, $r(76) = .341$, $p = .002$; reading (77) = .380, $p = .001$; and writing, $r(76) = .354$, $p = .001$.

Browsing Internet in Ukrainian correlates positively with use of language, $r(77) = .507$, $p = .000$ and language proficiency, e.g. understanding of spoken language, $r(77) = .500$, $p = .000$; speaking, $r(77) = .560$, $p = .000$; reading (76) = .629, $p = .000$; and writing, $r(77) = .635$, $p = .000$.

Communication in Ukrainian in social networks correlates positively with use of language, $r(71) = .466$, $p = .000$ and language proficiency, e.g. understanding of spoken language, $r(71) = .452$, $p = .000$; speaking, $r(71) = .495$, $p = .000$; reading (70) = .544, $p = .000$; and writing, $r(71) = .556$, $p = .000$.

All in all, as results prove there is a positive correlation between access to and use of Ukrainian media and **Language proficiency** and **Frequency of Use**. This means the more exposure to different media in Ukrainian a respondent has, the more often he or she uses the language and the better the language proficiency is.

3.1.6 Language Attitudes

Question #1 in this section asked respondents to mark how important, in their opinion, Ukrainian language is to fulfill their social needs, such as:

- a) be accepted in the Ukrainian community
- b) become successful
- c) self-identify as Ukrainian Canadian
- d) travel
- e) mingle with friends

- f) maintain traditions
- g) bring together family generations

Results showed (Table 3.28) that Maintaining traditions has the highest mean value (between *important* and *very important*), whereas Becoming successful – the lowest (between *unimportant* and *slightly important*).

Table 3.28
Social Needs and Ukrainian Language

Social needs	Count, N	Mean value
Maintain traditions	82	3.32
Bring together family generations	82	3.23
Be accepted in the Ukrainian community	82	2.73
Identify themselves as Ukrainian Canadian	82	2.72
Travel	81	2.72
Mingle with friends	82	2.34
Become successful	82	1.98

Note. For this question the following five-point ranking scale was used:
1= unimportant, 2=slightly important, 3=important, 4=very important and 5=crucial.

In terms of language attitudes, different social factors demonstrated correlation with different statements from this question. Thus, self-identification correlates negatively with importance of Ukrainian language in mingling with friends, $r(80) = -.304$, $p = .006$, i.e. those who identify themselves as Ukrainians consider Ukrainian language to be more important for mingling with friends than Ukrainian Canadians and Canadians. Age correlates negatively with the perceived importance of Ukrainian language in bringing together family generations, $r(80) = -.281$, $p = .011$ (the younger a respondent is, the more important Ukrainian language is in terms of bringing family members of different generations together). The highest level of education correlates negatively with the perceived importance of Ukrainian in traveling, $r(77) = -.245$, $p = .030$. This means that the higher the level of the participant's education is, the less important the Ukrainian language is for travelling. Ukrainian learned as the first language correlates negatively with the reported importance of Ukrainian for being accepted in the community, $r(79) = -.225$, $p = .044$; becoming successful, $r(79) = -.231$, $p = .038$; and mingling with friends, $r(79) = -.282$, $p = .011$. Thus, those who learned Ukrainian as their mother tongue, unlike those who did not, rank Ukrainian language to be important for being accepted in the community and becoming successful and mingling with friends.

Question #2 in this section asked respondents to rank the following statements using Likert scale:

- a) For a person with Ukrainian roots, it is important to speak Ukrainian;
- b) Ukrainian is essential to fully participate in Ukrainian community life;
- c) Children should learn both Ukrainian and English at the same time;
- d) Speaking Ukrainian can help someone to be economically beneficial;
- e) Using both Ukrainian and English in every-day life is not difficult;
- f) It is a waste of time to keep the Ukrainian language in Canada alive;
- g) I feel sorry for Ukrainian Canadians who don't know Ukrainian.

The mean values shown in Table 3.29 demonstrate that only one statement ('It is a waste of time to keep the Ukrainian language in Canada alive') has a mean value between *strongly disagree* and *disagree*, whereas mean values of six others range between *disagree* and *neither agree nor disagree*.

Table 3.29
Attitudes towards Ukrainian Language

Statements	Count, N	Mean values
Statement c	82	2.89
Statement e	82	2.78
Statement a	82	2.66
Statement g	82	2.49
Statement b	82	2.4
Statement d	82	2.15
Statement f	82	0.46

Note. Five-point ranking scale was used to assess language attitudes: *strongly disagree*=1, *disagree*=2, *neither agree nor disagree*=3, *agree*=4 and *strongly agree*=5.

In terms of correlation, different variables from *Question #2* are reported to correlate differently with social variables. Thus, age correlates positively with the *Statement f* ('It is a waste of time to keep the Ukrainian language in Canada alive'), $r(80) = .231$, $p = .036$, which means that the older a respondent is, the more likely his or her attitude will be negative towards Ukrainian language preservation in Canada. Occupation, for instance, correlates negatively with the *Statement a* ('For a person with Ukrainian roots, it is important to be able to speak Ukrainian'), $r(80) = -.222$, $p = .045$, i.e. retired respondents have the least positive attitude, employed – more positive, and students – the most positive. The highest level of education completed demonstrates negative correlation with *Statement g* ('I feel sorry for Ukrainian Canadians who don't know Ukrainian'), $r(78) = -.287$, $p = .010$ (the lower is respondents' level of education, the more they agree with the statement); and positive correlation with *Statement e* ('Using both Ukrainian and English in every-day life is not difficult'), $r(78) = .343$, $p = .002$ (the higher is respondents' level of education, the less they

disagree with the statement). Ethnic self-identification demonstrates negative correlation with *Statement e*, $r(80) = -.358$, $p = .001$, i.e. those who identify themselves as Canadians agree with this statement less than those who identify themselves as Ukrainian Canadians and Ukrainians. Generation factor correlates negatively with *Statement b* ('Ukrainian is essential to fully participate in Ukrainian community life'), $r(80) = -.259$, $p = .019$, and *Statement e*, $r(80) = -.373$, $p = .001$ (the higher is the immigrant generation, the more likely participants disagree with Statement b and Statement e); and positively with *Statement g*, $r(80) = .263$, $p = .017$, i.e. representatives of fourth generation agree with the statement more than those of second and first. Factor of Ukrainian as the first language learned correlates negatively with *Statement e*, $r(79) = -.274$, $p = .013$, which means that those who report Ukrainian to be their mother tongue agree with this statement more than those who learned another language as their first.

Question #3 in this section was aimed at determining what socio-cultural factors respondents consider to be important or unimportant for Ukrainian language retention in Saskatchewan. As Table 3.30 shows, bilingual schools have the highest mean value followed by Ukrainian-speaking parents and University Ukrainian classes, whereas membership in Ukrainian organization(s) has the lowest, being the only factor which mean value is between *slightly important* and *important*.

Table 3.30
Socio-Cultural Factors and Ukrainian Language Maintenance

Factors	Count, N	Mean values
Bilingual (Ukrainian-English) schools	81	3.90
Ukrainian-speaking parents	81	3.78
University Ukrainian classes	81	3.62
Ukrainian language courses for adults	81	3.56
Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner	82	3.40
Participation in Ukrainian activities	82	3.30
Church and religion	82	3.29
Keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine	81	3.28
Ukrainian-speaking friends	81	3.27
Access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music	81	3.23
Membership in Ukrainian organization(s)	82	2.78

Note. For this question the following five-point ranking scale was used: *unimportant* =1, *slightly important* =2, *important* =3, *very important* =4 and *crucial* =5.

Although no correlation was discovered between *Question #3* variables and social factors, such as age, gender, education, occupation, etc. compared mean values for different groups produced rather interesting results.

For instance, importance of social factors for Ukrainian language maintenance in Canada shows difference across **Gender** (Table 3.31). Thus, females see bilingual education, university Ukrainian language classes and Ukrainian-speaking parents as three most important factors in preservation of the Ukrainian language in Canada. For males it is Ukrainian-speaking parents, bilingual schools and Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner. For males the following factors are more important than to females: access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music, church and religion, keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine, and Ukrainian-speaking friends. Whereas for females more crucial factors are: participation in Ukrainian activities, Ukrainian language courses for adults, and membership in Ukrainian organization(s).

Table 3.31
Socio-Cultural Factor Mean Values Split by Gender

Factors	Mean values	
	Male	Female
Bilingual (Ukrainian-English) schools	3.79	3.98
Membership in Ukrainian organization(s)	2.65	2.88
Ukrainian-speaking friends	3.35	3.35
Ukrainian language courses for adults	3.41	3.66
Keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine	3.47	3.15
University Ukrainian classes	3.44	3.74
Participation in Ukrainian activities	3.15	3.42
Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner	3.53	3.31
Ukrainian-speaking parents	3.85	3.72
Church and religion	3.41	3.21
Access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music	3.26	3.21

Table 3.32 reports mean value for different **Age** groups. Thus, for *18-29*, *50-59* and *70 and older* age groups the sole most important social factor is bilingual schools, whereas for *60-69*-year-old it is Ukrainian-speaking parents. The *40-49* age group has the same highest mean values for three social factors – bilingual schools, Ukrainian language courses for adults and university Ukrainian classes. In terms of the lowest mean values, *18-29*, *30-39*, *40-49* and *50-59* age groups report it to be membership in Ukrainian organization(s), whereas *60-69*-year-olds – church and religion. The lowest mean for the *70 and older* age group is Ukrainian speaking friends.

Table 3.32
Socio-Cultural Factor Mean Values Split by Age Group

Factors	Mean values					
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Bilingual (Ukrainian-English) schools	4.06	3.50	3.91	4.40	3.57	3.90
Membership in Ukrainian organization(s)	2.94	2.00	3.00	2.60	2.71	3.08
Ukrainian-speaking friends	3.45	3.40	3.27	2.90	3.57	2.83
Ukrainian language courses for adults	3.74	3.20	3.91	3.50	3.57	3.08
Keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine	3.55	3.50	3.45	2.80	3.43	3.08
University Ukrainian classes	3.74	3.40	3.91	3.70	3.29	3.33
Participation in Ukrainian activities	3.42	2.82	3.45	3.20	3.00	3.58
Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner	3.35	3.55	3.55	3.30	3.57	3.25
Ukrainian-speaking parents	3.97	3.64	3.55	3.80	4.00	3.50
Church and religion	3.26	3.09	3.45	3.80	2.57	3.42
Access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music	3.37	3.09	3.55	3.10	3.00	3.00

Occupation (Table 3.33) shows results similar to age: membership in Ukrainian organization(s) has the lowest mean value for all groups, whereas bilingual schools – the highest for *employed* and *retired*. It is also the second most important factor for *students*, whereas Ukrainian-speaking parents is the most important.

Table 3.33
Socio-Cultural Factor Mean Values Split by Occupation

Factors	Mean values		
	Students	Employed	Retired
Bilingual (Ukrainian-English) schools	3.95	4.00	3.59
Membership in Ukrainian organization(s)	2.95	2.70	2.76
Ukrainian-speaking friends	3.32	3.38	2.94
Ukrainian language courses for adults	3.64	3.67	3.18
Keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine	3.00	3.57	2.94
University Ukrainian classes	3.67	3.71	3.29
Participation in Ukrainian activities	3.45	3.28	3.18
Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner	3.23	3.53	3.29
Ukrainian-speaking parents	4.00	3.77	3.53
Church and religion	3.23	3.42	3.06
Access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music	3.33	3.35	2.82

In terms of **Ethnic identification** (Table 3.34), *Ukrainians* consider Ukrainian speaking parents to be the most important factor, whereas *Ukrainian Canadians* and *Canadians* – bilingual schools. The latter group also report the same mean value for

university Ukrainian classes. The least important factor for all groups is membership in Ukrainian organization(s).

Table 3.34
Socio-Cultural Factor Mean Values Split by Ethnicity

Factors	Mean values		
	Ukrainian	Ukrainian Canadian	Canadian
Bilingual (Ukrainian-English) schools	4.00	3.91	3.58
Membership in Ukrainian organization(s)	2.95	2.89	2.25
Ukrainian-speaking friends	3.79	3.07	3.08
Ukrainian language courses for adults	3.58	3.52	3.50
Keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine	3.68	3.09	3.00
University Ukrainian classes	3.63	3.59	3.58
Participation in Ukrainian activities	3.20	3.46	2.83
Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner	3.90	3.26	2.92
Ukrainian-speaking parents	4.15	3.67	3.36
Church and religion	3.15	3.50	2.83
Access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music	3.55	3.13	3.00

Table 3.35
Socio-Cultural Factor Mean Values Split by Generation of Immigration

Factors	Mean values			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Bilingual (Ukrainian-English) schools	4.00	3.92	3.75	3.94
Membership in Ukrainian organization(s)	2.76	2.77	2.69	3.00
Ukrainian-speaking friends	3.94	3.31	2.97	3.17
Ukrainian language courses for adults	3.38	3.62	3.47	3.78
Keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine	3.94	3.23	3.25	2.94
University Ukrainian classes	3.50	3.31	3.75	3.61
Participation in Ukrainian activities	3.00	3.38	3.16	3.78
Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner	4.12	3.62	3.06	3.17
Ukrainian-speaking parents	4.35	4.08	3.28	4.00
Church and religion	3.06	3.54	3.13	3.61
Access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music	3.65	3.31	2.97	3.29

Social-cultural factor mean values differ also according to **Generation of immigration** (Table 3.35). Thus, for first, second and fourth generations the most important factor is Ukrainian speaking parents, whereas for the third – it is bilingual schools and university Ukrainian classes. The least important factor for first, second and third generation

is membership in Ukrainian organization(s), and for the fourth – it is keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine.

In terms of highest level of education completed (Table 3.36), bilingual schools is the single most important factor for *HS*, *HS+* and *BA* groups, for *MA* group – it is Ukrainian speaking parents and for *PhD* group – university Ukrainian classes. The least important social factor for *HS*, *HS+* and *MA* groups is membership in Ukrainian organizations(s), for *BA* group – it is church and religion. *PhD* group has three factors with the same lowest mean values – membership in Ukrainian organizations(s), participation in Ukrainian activities, and access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music.

Table 3.36
Socio-Cultural Factor Mean Values Split by Highest Level of Education

Factors	Mean values				
	HS	HS+	BA	MA	PhD
Bilingual (Ukrainian-English) schools	4.06	3.78	4.05	3.80	3.67
Membership in Ukrainian organization(s)	2.78	2.74	3.15	2.55	2.67
Ukrainian-speaking friends	3.44	2.83	3.55	3.35	3.33
Ukrainian language courses for adults	3.83	3.44	3.50	3.55	3.33
Keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine	3.11	2.83	3.65	3.40	3.33
University Ukrainian classes	3.89	3.39	3.60	3.55	4.33
Participation in Ukrainian activities	3.44	3.32	3.30	3.20	2.67
Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner	3.39	2.84	3.70	3.60	3.00
Ukrainian-speaking parents	4.00	3.33	3.80	3.85	3.67
Church and religion	3.33	3.53	3.10	3.15	3.00
Access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music	3.24	3.16	3.00	3.55	2.67

Table 3.37 demonstrates mean values for importance of different social factors to those who learned Ukrainian as a first language and those who didn't. Although both groups share the same lowest mean value (membership in Ukrainian organization(s)), the most important factors are different. For the former group it is Ukrainian speaking parents and for the latter – bilingual schools.

Table 3.37*Socio-Cultural Factor Mean Values Split by Ukrainian as a Mother Tongue*

Factors	Mean values	
	Yes	No
Bilingual (Ukrainian-English) schools	3.84	3.97
Membership in Ukrainian organization(s)	2.82	2.65
Ukrainian-speaking friends	3.43	3.00
Ukrainian language courses for adults	3.47	3.68
Keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine	3.43	3.06
University Ukrainian classes	3.55	3.71
Participation in Ukrainian activities	3.20	3.45
Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner	3.54	3.16
Ukrainian-speaking parents	3.88	3.60
Church and religion	3.30	3.23
Access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music	3.28	3.13

3.2 Open-ended questions

In the questionnaire used for this study three open-ended questions were utilized to elicit information on participants' thoughts about Ukrainian language improvement and maintenance. It is important to notice that those questions were not compulsory to answer and no questionnaires were eliminated from the study if the open-ended questions were not answered. Answers were later grouped into categories according to key words. It is noteworthy that in some questionnaires answers contained not one but several responses that due to key word analysis were assigned into different groups. Some answers were not relevant to the question asked and thus not accounted in categorization.

In *Question #1*, subjects were asked in what way they personally can improve their knowledge of Ukrainian. Forty answers (out of 82 questionnaires) were obtained, out of them six stated either *no*, *not at the moment* or *not applicable*. Groups containing the most frequent answers are:

1. More interaction with other Ukrainian speakers (16 replies)
2. Traveling to Ukraine (6 replies)
3. Taking Ukrainian class (6 replies)

The most frequent item category comprised a wide range of answers including 'more practice with native speakers', 'going to events where you need to speak Ukrainian', 'start speaking Ukrainian to my Ukrainian friends', 'going to picnics' etc. Two other groups contain less diverse items such as 2)'ability to travel to Ukraine' or 'spend more time in

Ukraine' and 3) 'attending Ukrainian classes at the university' or less specifically 'total immersion class'. Another rather frequent group is *Exposure to Ukrainian media* (5 responses), such as 'reading Ukrainian literature', 'more exposure to the language, books, media' and 'access to Ukrainian radio, TV, websites, music, etc.'. One participant also noted that online language tutorials might be useful for language proficiency improvement. However, some respondents stated in their answers to this question that desired efforts should be made either by provincial government or local community, e. g. 'more programs for preschoolers', 'government initiatives such as those given to French communities', 'change of community leadership', 'activities with preschoolers' 'Folkfest!', etc.

In *Question #2* participants were asked to think of what the government of Saskatchewan could do to better maintain the Ukrainian language in the province. Thirty-nine responses were obtained, four respondents replied *no*, *not at the moment* or *not applicable*. Groups containing the most frequent items are:

1. Support of Ukrainian language education (18 replies)
2. Recognition of the community (5 replies)
3. Scholarships, grants & internships (5 replies)

Thus, school issue is the most pressing and included replies such as 'provide Ukrainian language consultants for schools', 'offer Ukrainian language course in all high schools', 'open more bilingual schools', 'offer Ukrainian as a school subject in rural Saskatchewan', etc. *Recognition of Ukrainian community* category contains items, in which respondents stated that the Government of Saskatchewan should recognize 'the important contribution the Ukrainian population has made in the building of this province' and pay homage to Ukrainians who 'contributed to SK economy and culture make up'. Participants also suggest that offering 'grants for Ukrainian education opportunities' and providing 'scholarships and exchange programs with Ukraine' will facilitate the language preservations. These items were included into *Scholarships, grants & internships* category. Some other suggestions were made as well, such as 'just more radio program', 'encourage immigration of newcomers from Ukraine', 'support more language workshops for adults', etc. However, a number of the participants stated that there is nothing a government can do, since 'learning the language and culture starts at home' and 'it is not the role or responsibility of the government of Saskatchewan' to improve the state of Ukrainian language in the province.

The *Question #3* asked what any other organizations can do to maintain the Ukrainian language in the province of Saskatchewan. Twenty-eight answers were obtained; five

respondents replied *no*, *not applicable* or *not at the moment*. The most frequent responses were grouped into the following categories:

1. Organize events that promote language use (10 replies)
2. Organize Ukrainian classes (4 replies)
3. Change language policy (4 replies)

Participants mainly suggested that Ukrainian organizations should become ‘more aggressive’ and ‘proactive’ in terms of language education, start ‘targeting a younger audience’ and carry out ‘events that encourage use of the Ukrainian language’. Some respondents are concerned that Ukrainian community organizations are ‘ready to compromise the language for a greater membership’ and deal only with ‘dancing and singing’. On the contrary, some participants feel that ‘everything that can be done, is being done,’ and government-funded organizations should better dwell on ‘aboriginal languages than [on a language] that is already a state language in a European country’.

3.3 Summary

The analysis of research results proved the alternative hypotheses of the study: there are correlations between certain socio-cultural factors and language maintenance patterns. Thus, *Ukrainian as a sole mother tongue* variable showed correlation with age, generation of immigration and ethnic identity. Language that respondents are most comfortable with was reported to correlate with ethnic identity, generation of immigration, traveling to Ukraine and first language learned. Frequency of Ukrainian language use correlates with ethnic identity, generation of immigration, highest level of education obtained, amount of Ukrainian-speaking friends, communicating with friends and relatives in Ukraine, traveling to Ukraine, participation in Ukrainian organization, attending Ukrainian church services, exposure to Ukrainian media and level of proficiency in Ukrainian. The latter was subdivided into a) understanding of spoken language, b) ability to speak, c) ability read and d) ability to write. Correlations were reported with age, generation of immigration, ethnic self-identification, occupation, highest level of education obtained, attending Ukrainian or bilingual school and classes at a university, number of Ukrainian-speaking friends, communicating with friends in Ukraine, participating in Ukrainian organization(s), traveling to Ukraine, attending Ukrainian church services, exposure to Ukrainian media and frequency of Ukrainian language use.

Calculating mean values of language use with family members marked a gradual shift from Ukrainian towards English through generations: For first – English is used only in communication with spouse/partner and children; for second – with parents, sibling(s),

spouse/partner and children; for third and fourth – with grandparents, parents, sibling(s), spouse/partner and children. Noteworthy, fourth generation uses English language only (and/or other, but not Ukrainian) with mother, sibling(s), spouse/partner and children.

Language attitudes of respondents proved to vary according to gender, age, ethnic identity, generation of immigration, first language learned, level of education and occupation.

Open-ended questions revealed the concerns participants have pertaining to Ukrainian language maintenance. In terms of improving language proficiency, respondents stated that more practice is the most important factor, either by interacting with other Ukrainian speakers, taking a Ukrainian class at the university or traveling to Ukraine. As to government initiatives, participants note that there should be more support for Ukrainian education, better recognition of community contribution and some financial support in form of scholarships, grants and internships. In subjects' view, to support language retention Ukrainian organizations should promote Ukrainian language use through different events, organize classes and change their policies in order to engage more people.

4. DISCUSSION

The analysis of the data yielded results consistent with the earlier studies of minority language preservation, such as Clyne, 2003; Clyne & Kipp, 1997, 1999; Fishman, 1966, 1980, 1989, 1991; Timm, 1980, Weinreich, 1964, etc.. Thus, there were many significant correlations between socio-cultural factors and Ukrainian language maintenance. Furthermore, the use of the Ukrainian language in the family by different generations of immigration follows the well-known pattern (Barnes 2010, Fishman 1989): The more time a family has spent in Canada, the less is the use of minority language in it. However, some new interesting findings were also observed in this study. For example, language attitudes correlate with different demographic factors. The sections that follow contain a more detailed discussion of these results.

4.1 The frequency of Ukrainian use and Ukrainian language proficiency

Results of the analysis indicated that the Ukrainian language is the most likely to be a sole mother tongue for older people (60+) and those belonging to first generation of immigration. This means that younger people belonging to later generations of immigration acquired Ukrainian either as one of their mother tongues or learned it as a second language. Such results are consistent with numerous studies involving Canadian Census data (Jedwab, 2000; Kralt and Pendakur, 1991; Pendakur, 1990) which indicate that in Ukrainian community in Canada heritage language is the first language acquired by older people, but it is not a mother tongue for younger generations.

Another interesting finding in this study is an observed correlation between ethnic identity and learning minority language as a sole mother tongue: The more “Ukrainian” a person is, the more likely that he or she acquired Ukrainian as a first language. Nevertheless, the number of respondents who reported a single ethnic origin (i.e., Ukrainian) is not the same as a number of those who learned Ukrainian as a single mother tongue in the childhood. Thus, in my sample, only 85% of those who reported Ukrainian ethnic origin named Ukrainian language as a sole mother tongue acquired in childhood. This, however, is still higher than a percentage across Canada yielded by census data, for instance according to 1991 Canada Census only 49% of people of single Ukrainian origin reported Ukrainian as their first language (Jedwab 2000).

Language use entries revealed some tendencies of respondents to overreport the frequency of minority language use. Thus, four participants indicated that they *always* use

Ukrainian language, which is rather impossible in a predominantly English-speaking environment. However, positive correlations were obtained for generation of immigration and ethnic identity: First generation Ukrainians use Ukrainian language more often than fourth generation Canadians. This can be explained by the fact that modern technologies such as *Skype* allow first and second generation immigrants to communicate in their mother tongue with friends and relatives in Ukraine quite frequently as well as to have access to media (newspapers, radio, books) in Ukrainian, whereas for participants of third and fourth generations, the use of Ukrainian is rather marginal, especially if the heritage language is not used at home.

An interesting positive correlation between language use and the highest level of education completed can be explained when generation of immigration is also considered. Thus, 13 out of 20 participants with a Masters' Degree are first generation immigrants, whereas 12 out of 18 who have only a High School diploma belong to the third and fourth generations. However, two out of three of individuals with a PhD Degree, are third generation immigrants and still use the Ukrainian language often. This might be explained (without any direct evidence from the study to support these hypotheses) by a) strong language retention within the family and b) affiliation with Ukrainian studies which requires knowledge and use of a minority language.

Surprisingly, gender and age did not show any significant correlation with Ukrainian language use. Therefore, based on the data elicited from the sample it is impossible to say whether there is any significant difference between females and males or participants of different age in terms of heritage language use. However, slight difference in mean values (men use Ukrainian language more often than women) supports earlier findings, e.g. studies of Williamson & Van Eerde (1980) or Smith-Hefner (2003) that females shift to majority language more eagerly.

Occupation shows no significant correlation with language use, but higher mean values for the student category can be explained by the fact that most students (50%) belong to the fourth generation of immigration and Ukrainian language is not their major language of communication.

4.2 Proficiency in Ukrainian split by language skills

Data analysis yielded some interesting results in terms of correlation between language skills and age. According to census data and some studies, such as Jedwab, 2000;

Kuplowska, 1980; Pendakur, 1990, etc., the older is a speaker of Ukrainian the better is his/her knowledge of the language. However, since the study asked participants to assess their language proficiency in four major language skills separately, my results demonstrate that the older the person is, the worse are his/her writing and reading abilities. This might have a number of explanations. First, according to Pan and Gleason (1986) whatever is acquired first is most resistant to loss. In a natural language acquisition process speaking and understanding abilities develop before reading and writing ones (Clark, 2002). Second, writing and reading are written skills and unlike spoken ones (understanding and speaking) have to be specifically taught (Essberger, 2001). Therefore, unless a person obtained a Ukrainian language education (bilingual school, university classes, etc.), which was usually difficult and sometimes seen as rather unnecessary (Kostash, 1977), it is unlikely that reading and writing skills were taught at home. Third, speaking and listening are social skills and they enjoy some support in the community, whereas reading and writing are more marginal, since there is a little need in mastering or even retaining them. Fourth, younger people have more opportunities to practice minority language writing and reading skills with the help of social media, traveling or attending language courses.

As might be expected, generation of immigration showed strong positive correlation with proficiency in Ukrainian language: The later is the generation the worse is the proficiency in minority language. This is consistent with findings reported by Jedwab (2000) and Pendakur (1990).

Positive correlation between ethnic identity and some of the language skills yielded some interesting results. Even though, some of self-reported Ukrainians do not belong to the first generation of immigration, on average, they have better proficiency than self-reported Ukrainian Canadians and Canadians.

Somewhat surprisingly, there were positive correlations reported for language proficiency and both occupation and highest level of education obtained. The former correlation might be explained by the fact that those actively involved in a workforce either belong to first or second generation of immigration or have more exposure to Ukrainian language in the community or in the family, unlike students and retired. As to the latter, generation of immigration should be accounted for the interpretation of the results: The higher is the level of education the more likely a participant belongs to the first generation of immigration. However, the case of the respondents with the PhD Degree does not belong to this pattern and was discussed above.

A result that could be easily predicted is a strong positive correlation between frequency of language use and language proficiency. However, in this particular case it is impossible to identify whether proficiency influences language use (the better person knows the language, the more often it is used) or language use influences proficiency (the more often language is used, the higher is proficiency).

4.3 The most comfortable language for respondents

The results revealed a noticeable discrepancy between different ethnic self-identifications of respondents and the language they are most comfortable with. Thus, English is the most comfortable language for all self-identified Canadians, most of Ukrainian Canadians and only a small part of Ukrainians. These findings conform to Giles & Coupland's (1991) idea of a close tie between ethnic identity and language. Interestingly, almost half of those who reported Ukrainian to be their sole mother tongue feel most comfortable with the English language, which can be explained by predominantly English-speaking environment and few opportunities to practice a minority language either in family or in a community.

As expected, generation of immigration showed a strong positive correlation with language participants are most comfortable with: first generation immigrants mostly choose Ukrainian, whereas fourth – almost exclusively English. However, for all the generations numbers are not absolute, i.e. do not reach 100% for any of the language options. This means that for some first generation immigrants English is a preferred language, which is already a one step towards minority language attrition, whereas Ukrainian as the most comfortable language for representatives of the third and fourth generations signifies rather strong minority language retention patterns for these individuals.

4.4 Exposure to Ukrainian language education

Interestingly, most of the respondents reported no formal education in Ukrainian, with more participants having attended university classes than being enrolled in mono- or bilingual school. However, a closer look at an interrelation between generation of immigration and education reveals some underreporting at least by the first generation immigrants. Thus, seven out of 16 participants reported that they have never been enrolled in a Ukrainian/Ukrainian-English school. Such underreporting does not have any grounds, since all primary and secondary education in Ukraine was and still is based on utilizing Ukrainian language as a means of teaching. When answering this question those first generation

immigrants who responded negatively probably meant that they did not attend any Ukrainian or bilingual school in Canada.

In contrast to recent findings of Chumak-Horbatsch & Garg (2006), which showed that school plays rather a minor role in minority language retention, this study proved that minority language education has some impact on language proficiency and maintenance. Thus, attending Ukrainian or bilingual school shows correlation with all four language skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. Furthermore, taking Ukrainian classes at the university positively correlates with reading and writing abilities. No correlation with listening and speaking in this case can be explained by the fact that most of the respondents regardless of age and generation of immigration have at least some basic knowledge of the language obtained in the family.

4.5 Language Environment at Home/in the Family

In this study, an effort was made to trace the patterns of language use in the families of respondents that belong to different generations of immigration. The results provided an interesting, however not unusual, tendency in minority language shift. Thus, first generation immigrants make use of Ukrainian language in their families most often switching to English only when communicating with spouse/partner and child/children. Interestingly, English is used more often when talking to spouse/partner than to child/children. This might be explained by a conscious decision of first generation immigrants to pass Ukrainian language to the children, whereas in spouse/partner situation intermarriage may have come into play. Second generation immigrants, on the other hand, limit exclusive Ukrainian language use only to their grandparents and utilize more and more English with each new generation. A similar picture can be observed for third and fourth generations: Less Ukrainian and more English is used with each successive generation. Furthermore, other languages are also being used by immigrants of all generations when communicating with different relatives. Similar pattern was observed when respondents were asked what language particular family members use when communicating with them. However, as Figure 4.1 shows, there is a slight difference between *Question 1* (language respondents use most often when speaking to their relatives) and *Question 2* (language family members use most often when communicating with participants) mean values. Thus, for the first and second generation immigrants, the difference is observed only in two instances: spouse/partner and child/children for the first generation and mother, child/children in the second. However, for the fourth and especially third generation of immigrants there are more different values than common ones. In these

two generations, grandparents and parents use more Ukrainian in conversation with participants than participants do in conversation with a family member. This means that, for instance in a conversation with their parents or grandparents, who speak Ukrainian, third generation respondents will likely reply in English.

These findings are consistent with patterns of language shift in a family proposed by Fishman (1989): Usually language shift is complete within three generations. Immigrants of third and fourth generations already completed the cycle, whereas those of first and second follow the same pattern and will more than likely see their children and grandchildren becoming monolinguals in a majority language.

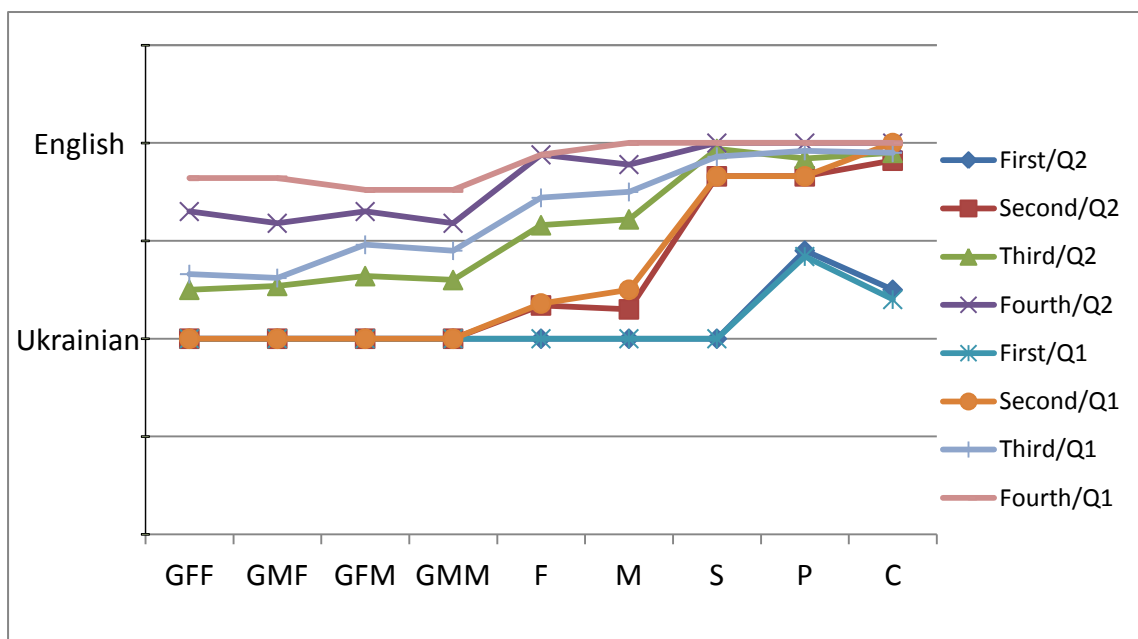


Figure 4.1
Comparison of languages used most often by participants and members of their families

Interestingly, when asked whether they want their children to speak Ukrainian, most participants replied affirmatively, despite belonging to different generations of immigration or not necessarily speaking Ukrainian as a mother tongue. However, the majority of self-identified Canadians do not want their children to know Ukrainian. This makes a striking difference with individuals identifying themselves as Ukrainians and Ukrainian Canadians.

In terms of having relatives in Ukraine, participants belonging to different generations and reporting different ethnic identity represent different patterns. Thus, all Ukrainians that belong to the first generation keep in touch with their relatives in Ukraine, as does almost half of Ukrainian Canadians and those belonging to third generation. However, only 10% of self-identified Canadians, 30% of second generation immigrants and 38% of fourth generation

communicate with their relatives in Ukraine. This, however, does not influence the Ukrainian language proficiency of participants, but rather correlates with the frequency of language use.

4.6 Language used with Friends

The results show that the majority of respondents have Ukrainian-speaking friends. Furthermore, 65 out of 82 participants have at least 5 friends that speak Ukrainian. Therefore, participants have an opportunity to use Ukrainian language with their friends, which is indicated in a strong positive correlation between frequency of language use and number of Ukrainian-speaking friends. Furthermore, the more Ukrainian-speaking friends a participant has, the better is his or her language proficiency, i. e. speaking, listening, reading and writing skills. Thus, respondents not only practice their oral abilities (speaking and listening) by communicating with friends, but also master the written ones (reading and writing). Having Ukrainian-speaking friends also correlates with the language respondents are most comfortable with. However, in this case we can only speak about some relationship between variables, but not about its direction: Either having more Ukrainian-speaking friends results in a higher level of comfort with the Ukrainian language or being most comfortable with the Ukrainian language triggers a higher number of Ukrainian speaking friends.

Noticeably, a place where Ukrainian language is used with friends influences the frequency of its use. Thus, in a closed and controlled environment like someone's home, participants report to use Ukrainian language more often than in an open and less familiar place, such as a mall or a restaurant. This might be an indication of a low perceived status of a language in a sociolinguistic community (Giles et al., 1977).

Since modern technologies allow an instant long-distance communication, participants were asked whether they have any friend or acquaintances in Ukraine and whether they keep in touch with them. Representatives of all generations of immigration reported having friends in Ukraine (50% for third generation, 54% for second, 61% for fourth and 100% for first). First generation immigrants use almost exclusively Ukrainian language when communicating with their friends in Ukraine, whereas in the second, third and fourth generations, English or both languages are in use more often. However, Ukrainian is reported to be the first choice for a language of communication by all the four generations. This facilitates the frequency of language use and speaking skills of respondents.

4.7 Language in the community

The results of the analysis revealed the importance of Ukrainian organizations, culture and community groups in the maintenance of the Ukrainian language. This corresponds to Fishman's (1966) and Schrauf's (1999) findings that taking part in community and cultural activities facilitates minority language use. Thus, in case of Ukrainian, participation in different language, culture or community groups means more frequent use of the language as well as better speaking, listening and reading skills.

The reported rates of Ukrainian tradition maintenance in my study range from rather low for Ukrainian dancing to rather high for Easter/Christmas celebration and cooking traditional food. Two out of 6 activities in the list require the use of Ukrainian language and at least some basic knowledge of it – singing Christmas carols and participating in a singing group or choir. Therefore, these two variables positively correlate with the frequency of language use, which means that these activities provide more opportunities to practice Ukrainian. Attending church with Ukrainian as a language of a liturgy also facilitates more frequent use of language. Moreover, it correlates with understanding of spoken Ukrainian.

Traveling to Ukraine also provides respondents with opportunities to use Ukrainian language more often and practice their written skills, such as writing and reading, since participants are immersed in a predominantly Ukrainian-speaking environment and have to fulfill their needs using almost exclusively Ukrainian language.

4.8 Language and Media

Like never before, modern technologies nowadays enable people to access media resources in their language even if they are on the other side of the world. For instance, a person with Ukrainian background in Canada in order to read a book or newspaper in Ukrainian can go to the library or just look for it online. Therefore, this study tried to ascertain how often respondents access different types of media in Ukrainian provided that it is not as difficult as it was even 20 years ago. Consistent with Fishman's (1966, 1980) and Mackey's (2004) findings results of the analysis also proved that there is a correlation between access to different media in a minority language and retention of this language. Thus, the more access a person has to media in Ukrainian, the more often he or she uses it, and the better is language proficiency. However, mean values for all media types show rather low use: seven out of eight media sources are used with frequencies between *never* and *half of the time*. Therefore, one can assume that accessing media resources in Ukrainian is viewed

by participants as rather unimportant, since preference is given to the ones in English or in other language(s).

4.9 Language Attitudes

Another part of this study attempted to trace any peculiarities in attitudes towards Ukrainian language by respondents that differ in their gender, age, ethnic identity, education, etc. As Baker (1992) stated, attitudes are an important part of language life. Therefore, a closer look at language attitudes might help to reveal characteristic patterns of minority language retention.

Mean values calculated for social needs showed that Ukrainian is considered by respondents to be the language that cannot help one to become successful, but is rather important in maintaining traditions and bringing together family generations. As follows, according to participants' views, Ukrainian language has no economical or socio-economical power, which is not unusual in case of minority languages (Pendakur, 1990). However, its perceived importance in cultural and family settings shows rather positive attitudes of respondents in terms of preservation of traditions.

Moreover, some interesting correlations contradict earlier studies of Ukrainian language in Canada. Thus, unlike Jedwab's (2000) and Kuplowska's (1980) findings, a negative correlation between the importance of Ukrainian in bringing together family generations and the age of participants implies, that younger generations of Ukrainian speakers perceive its importance more than the older ones. This can be explained by the fact that older participants might have had some negative experience based on the minority language they speak, for instance were prohibited to speak Ukrainian at school and/or discouraged to use it at home, and therefore do not express extremely positive attitudes towards it as well. Yet, some findings confirmed the expectations. For example, a correlation between ethnic identity and importance of Ukrainian in mingling with friends: A person who self-identifies as Ukrainian is more likely to have Ukrainian friends than a self-identified Canadian, therefore Ukrainian language is more important for the former than for the latter ethnic group. Another interesting correlation that follows expectations is between having Ukrainian as a mother tongue and fulfilling some social needs, such as becoming successful, being accepted in the community and mingling with friends. Those who acquired Ukrainian as a mother tongue have more positive attitudes and view the language as an important part of their life, unlike those who learned it later in life. Therefore, the former are more likely to retain the language.

When respondents were requested to agree or disagree with the given seven statements, some interesting results followed. It is noteworthy that only one statement ‘*It is a waste of time to keep the Ukrainian language in Canada alive*’ received an explicitly negative response, whereas other six statements were positively evaluated. Participants responded negatively to a negative statement, and mostly positively to all others (Table 4.1). It can be assumed that respondents have rather positive attitudes towards Ukrainian language. However, one statement received predominantly ‘neither agree nor disagree’ response. As Baker (1992, p. 83) states this category is usually used as a “bucket for ambiguous, irrelevant or difficult items”. Since respondents cannot find enough positive evidence to agree with statement that ‘*Speaking Ukrainian can help someone to be economically beneficial*’ they decide not to express a negative attitude, but rather stay neutral.

Table 4.1
Importance of Ukrainian Language in Fulfilling Social Needs

Items	SD	D	NAND	A	SA
For a person with Ukrainian roots, it is important to speak Ukrainian;	2.4%	13.4%	19.5%	45.1%	19.5%
Ukrainian is essential to fully participate in Ukrainian community life;	2.4%	20.7%	23.2%	41.5%	12.2%
Children should learn both Ukrainian and English at the same time;	1.2%	3.7%	22.0%	51.2%	22.0%
Speaking Ukrainian can help someone to be economically beneficial;	3.7%	20.7%	43.9%	20.7%	11.0%
Using both Ukrainian and English in every-day life is not difficult;	1.2%	14.6%	14.6%	43.9%	25.6%
It is a waste of time to keep the Ukrainian language in Canada alive;	69.5%	22.0%	4.9%	-	3.7%
I feel sorry for Ukrainian Canadians who don't know Ukrainian.	3.7%	12.2%	28.0%	43.9%	12.2%

Note. SD – strongly disagree, D – disagree, NAND – neither agree, nor disagree, A – agree, SA – strongly agree

In terms of correlations between statements and different demographical factors, some surprising results were obtained. For instance, in contrast to a number of earlier reported studies (for example Sekirin & Courtois, 1994; Jedwab, 2000; Pendakur, 1990, etc.), in my study, younger people have more positive attitude towards retention of Ukrainian language in Canada than older ones. Moreover, students are the ones who are the most supportive of a statement about the importance of Ukrainian language to a person with Ukrainian roots. However, some other tendencies with a negative impact on language maintenance were also

observed. For example, the higher is the generation of immigration the lower is the perceived importance of the role of the Ukrainian language in a life of community and the freedom of the use of both Ukrainian and English in every-day life.

When subjects were asked to assess the importance of major socio-cultural factors for Ukrainian language retention, no significant correlations with demographic factors were traced. Nevertheless, mean values of 10 out of 11 factors fall between *important* and *very important* points of a scale proving that participants consider all of them to be essential for minority language maintenance. However, comparison of mean values for respondents subdivided into groups according to demographic characteristics yielded some interesting results. Respondents chose mainly either family factors (Ukrainian-speaking parents and/or Ukrainian-speaking spouse/partner) or educational factors (bilingual schools, university classes, courses for adults) to be important in minority language retention. As Table 4.2 shows, in terms of gender, males assign more value to the family, whereas females report education to be more important. Mean values split by age show that only one group, namely 60-69-year-olds value family factor in Ukrainian language maintenance more than education. When occupation is taken into consideration, similar tendencies are revealed, with only one group – the students – choosing Ukrainian-speaking parents as the most important factor. The same is true for those who identify themselves as Ukrainians, whereas two other groups (Ukrainian Canadians and Canadians) give preference to bilingual schools. On the other hand, educational factors are more important only to the third-generation immigrants, whereas first, second and fourth rank family factors higher, as do those with MA Degree as the highest level of education and those who learned Ukrainian as a sole mother tongue in their childhood.

Table 4.2
Difference between Family and Education Factors Split by Demographic Groups

Groups by demographic factors	Family factors	Education factors
<i>Gender</i>	males	females
<i>Age</i>	60-69	18-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 70 and older
<i>Occupation</i>	students	employed, retired
<i>Ethnic Identity</i>	Ukrainian	Ukrainian Canadian, Canadian
<i>Generation of immigration</i>	1 st , 2 nd , 4 th	3 rd
<i>Education</i>	MA	HS, HS+, BA, PhD
<i>Is Ukrainian a sole mother tongue?</i>	Yes	No

This kind of dualism in minority language retention between family factors and education is not new and has been well-reported, for instance in Rohani et al (2005), Clyne and Kipp (1999), Fishman (1991). Although minority language education has proved to be an important facilitator in preventing language shift, family remains the core factor. As some previous studies proved, such as Chumak-Horbatsch and Garg (2006), education in minority language can do little if language is not practiced in a family.

Analysis of the socio-cultural factors with the lowest mean values, i.e. perceived the least important by respondents, also provided some interesting results. As a rule, *membership in Ukrainian organizations* has the lowest mean value for most of the groups. However, some interesting exceptions occurred as well. For instance, church and religion is the factor with the lowest mean value for 60-69 age group; keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine – for immigrants of fourth generation; participation in Ukrainian activities and access to Ukrainian newspapers, books and music – for those who hold a PhD. Rather low perceived importance of membership in Ukrainian organizations, was explained by some respondents in the open-ended questions, but still was not expected, since previous results provided an evidence that participating in different Ukrainian language, culture or community related groups facilitates more frequent use of the Ukrainian language. Only one socio-cultural factor that obtained the lowest mean score for a specific demographic group might have a rather explicit explanation. It is *keeping in touch with relatives in Ukraine* for respondents that belong to fourth generation of immigration. It has been about a century since their families came to Canada, most of their relatives live here and some of them don't even have any family ties in Ukraine. As to all other low scores, no straightforward explanation is available and some additional research might be required.

4.10 Open-ended questions

This section overviews the respondents' insight into what improvements can be achieved in Ukrainian language maintenance on three levels: personal, community and governmental.

In terms of personal improvement, respondents realize that the more exposure to the language they have, the better. Therefore, they list rather achievable goals, such as attending university classes, read more Ukrainian books, talk to Ukrainian-speaking friends in Ukrainian, or traveling to Ukraine.

As to an impact of different organizations on the Ukrainian language retention in Saskatchewan, participants reveal their critical perspective on the current state of affairs. For

instance, they recommend that Ukrainian organizations should put more emphasis on language, organize language-related activities and involve youth. However, there were also those who were completely satisfied with what Ukrainian organizations have been doing to preserve Ukrainian language in the province, or stated that this matter is not as important for Canada as, for example, Aboriginal languages are.

As to the initiatives that government should undertake, French model was frequently mentioned: more immersion schools, introducing the same privileges that French education in the province already enjoys. Another point frequently made by respondents involved recognition of the contribution by Ukrainian pioneers into the development of the province and thus granting more funding and resources to their language. All in all, the majority of suggestions circled around the issue of finances that should be directed to minority language retention programs.

In sum, all the alternative hypotheses were accepted and confirmed. Some socio-cultural and demographic factors presented in the study, such as generation of immigration, education, occupation, number of Ukrainian-speaking friends, attending Ukrainian church, etc., correlate with rates of Ukrainian language retention. Moreover, some demographic factors correlated with different language attitudes, proving that language attitudes are not homogenous across the minority group and should be accounted for in a minority language research. Noticeably, a theory of a gradual language shift with each successive generation was confirmed by minority language use in participants' families. Lastly, some interesting suggestions have been made on how respondents themselves, different organizations and government of Saskatchewan can facilitate the preservation of Ukrainian language in the province.

4.11 Limitations of the study

First and foremost, small size of a sample poses a problem for any claims which could be made in this study. According to 2006 Canada Census 129,265¹⁰ persons of Ukrainian heritage lived in Saskatchewan, so the number of participants is small as compared to the total population. Another problem is the imbalance between different groups according to demographic factors: age, gender, occupation, generation of immigration, etc. This resulted in restrictions on the comparison of differences in language retention tendencies between these groups. Thus, some valuable information might have been missed. For instance, although

¹⁰ Single and multiple response

comparison of rural vs. urban population has proved to be quite successful in sociolinguistic studies such as Kuplowska, 1980; Bociurkiw, 1978, Holmes, 2001 in my research most respondents were from Saskatoon, which made it impossible to check for any correlations between place of residence and levels of language maintenance.

Questionnaire itself posed some difficulties for data analysis. First, open ended questions were presented at the end of the instrument and were not obligatory to fill out. Moreover, some of the respondents felt rather hesitant to express their views in a free form, which resulted in less completed open-ended sections than was expected. Second, the respondents' command of English was not taken into account and participants of different backgrounds, for example first and fourth generation immigrants, were presented with the same questionnaire in English. Cultural and linguistic differences might have caused differences in interpretation of questions and thus had an impact on answers.

Another common problem often occurring in sociolinguistic studies is over- and underreporting by participants. As results showed, at least in two items of the questionnaire respondents either over- or underreported. Therefore this can cast some doubt on the validity of the results.

4.12 Future research

This study only attempted to establish and if possible to ascertain correlations between socio-cultural factors and rates of Ukrainian language maintenance in the province of Saskatchewan. Based on the presented research study, a number of further directions for research design development can be outlined. For instance, further studies could compare language retention rates between major demographic groups split by gender, age, education, occupation, generation of immigration, etc. Another promising direction for future research would involve comparisons of results obtained in this research with data obtained for other minority ethnic groups in Saskatchewan and for Ukrainian communities in other Canadian province(s).

Any future research should, however, take into account all the shortcomings and limitations of this study by controlling the number of respondents according to demographic groups, improving questionnaire design, and attempting to recruit more participants.

4.13 Conclusion

The presented study attempted to provide an update on the state of Ukrainian language in the province of Saskatchewan and to bridge the gap in studies of the attitudes of

minority language speakers. In this study, relationship between socio-cultural factors and success of the Ukrainian language retention were investigated; effects of educational, community and family settings on the rates of the Ukrainian language maintenance were traced; language attitudes of Ukrainian speakers and their correlations with demographic factors were studied; opinions about possible improvements in Ukrainian language maintenance on personal, community and governmental levels were collected.

Data obtained from 82 respondents who reported some Ukrainian background were consistent with numerous previous studies on minority language maintenance and shift: There are correlations between major demographic and socio-cultural factors and levels of language retention. As to Ukrainian language in Saskatchewan, quite positive attitudes towards its retention and importance for the Ukrainian Canadian community are reported. This, according to Baker (1992), will facilitate minority language's vitality. However, the pattern of Ukrainian language use in the family by different generations of immigration is consistent with the one suggested by Fishman (1989) for minority language shift. Therefore, it is of vital importance for the maintenance of Ukrainian in Canada in general and in Saskatchewan in particular that positive attitudes are transformed into real actions in the sphere of language preservation, especially in family settings.

This study might become a useful tool for the Ukrainian community to popularize the maintenance of the Ukrainian language in the province. For example, it was observed that attending bilingual school or taking Ukrainian classes in a university facilitates better proficiency and better language retention respectively. However, enrolment rates in both English-Ukrainian bilingual school and Ukrainian classes are not high. Thus, the findings of this study can be forwarded to these institutions as well as to Ukrainian organizations such as Ukrainian-Canadian Congress or CYMK to encourage enrollment and generate more interest in the language in the community.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire

PART I. FAMILY AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

A) The gender, age and family background

1. Please, indicate your age group:

18-29	<input type="checkbox"/>	50-59	<input type="checkbox"/>
30-39	<input type="checkbox"/>	60-69	<input type="checkbox"/>
40-49	<input type="checkbox"/>	70 and older	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Your place of residence:

3. Your gender: M F
4. Your occupation:

5. The highest level of education you have completed:

6. You identify yourself as:

Ukrainian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ukrainian Canadian	<input type="checkbox"/>
Canadian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (specify).....	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. To what generation of Ukrainian Canadians/Canadians with Ukrainian roots/Ukrainians do you belong?

First (you immigrated to Canada when you were 18 or older)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Second (you were brought to Canada as a child or at least one of your parents immigrated to Canada)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Third (you were born in Canada, at least one of your grandparents immigrated to Canada)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fourth (you were born in Canada, at least one of your grand-grandparents immigrated to Canada)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify what applies in your case in terms of generation and/or territory).....	

8. If you belong to the first generation, please indicate how much time have you spent in Canada.....

B) Language biography

1. Was Ukrainian the sole home language in your childhood Yes No

2. How often do you use Ukrainian now?
 always often half the time rarely never
3. Estimate your proficiency in Ukrainian (check everything that applies):
 a) I understand spoken Ukrainian
 like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all
 b) I speak Ukrainian
 like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all
 c) I read Ukrainian
 like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all
 d) I write Ukrainian
 like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all
4. What is the language that you feel most comfortable with now?

Yes No

5. Have you ever been enrolled in a Ukrainian/Ukrainian-English bilingual school?
6. Have you ever taken Ukrainian course(s) at a Canadian university?
7. Have you ever attended non-credited Ukrainian language courses?

PART II: LANGUAGE USE

A) Language Environment at Home/ in the Family

1. What language do/did you use most often to communicate with the following people?
(Please check where appropriate)

	Ukrainian	English	Other(specify).....	N/A
Grandfather on father's side				
Grandmother on father's side				
Grandfather on mother's side				
Grandmother on mother's side				
Father				
Mother				
Sibling(s)				
Spouse / Partner				
Child/children				

2. What language do/did the following people use most often to communicate with you?
(Please check where appropriate)

	Ukrainian	English	Other(specify).....	N/A
Grandfather on father's side				
Grandmother on father's side				
Grandfather on mother's side				
Grandmother on mother's side				
Father				
Mother				
Sibling(s)				
Spouse / Partner				
Child/children				

3. If you have/going to have child (children), would you want them to speak Ukrainian?

Yes No Probably N/A

4. Do you have relatives in Ukraine? Yes No

a) If yes, do you communicate? Yes No

b) If yes, what is the language of your communication?

Ukrainian

English

Other (specify).....

B) Language used with friends

1. Specify the number of your friends who can speak Ukrainian:

none less than 5 5-10 10-20 more than 20

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

Language Maintenance and Shift: Case Study of Ukrainian in Saskatchewan

**We invite you to take part in our survey! Help us to study
the retention of Ukrainian language in the province!**

*The study takes no more than 20 minutes of your
time, and your participation will be very much
appreciated!*

If you are interested in participating, please fill in
the questionnaire online at
<http://ukrainian-survey.webnode.com> or contact
Khrystyna Hudyma at kh.hudyma@gmail.com to
obtain a paper copy.

Ethics approval for this study by BEH #10-324 was obtained on
January 12, 2011.



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Appendix C: Recruitment flier

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES AND
LINGUISTICS

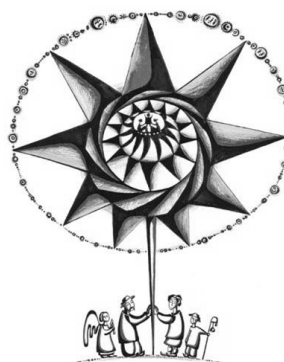
Language Maintenance and Shift: Case Study of Ukrainian in Saskatchewan

Do you live in Saskatchewan? Do you speak
Ukrainian or you used to?

Допоможіть нам дослідити сучасний стан однієї з
найстарших мов у провінції! Візьміть участь в нашому
дослідженні!

*The survey takes no more than 15
minutes of your time, and your
participation will be very much
appreciated!*

Fill in the questionnaire online at
<http://ukrainian-survey.webnode.com>
or contact *Khrystyna Hudyma* at
kh.hudyma@gmail.com to obtain a
hard copy.



У МОБИ НАШ ВСЕСВІТ

Ethics approval for this study by BEH #10-324 was obtained on January 12, 2011.

Appendix D: Consent form

CONSENT FORM

Researcher: Khrystyna Hudyma, Department of Languages and Linguistics; University of Saskatchewan, 966-2198, e-mail: kh.hudyma@gmail.com

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled “*Language maintenance and shift: case study of Ukrainian in Saskatchewan*”. Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask questions you might have.

This is a study of the Ukrainian language, its speakers and socio-cultural factors (such as the use of Ukrainian within families, within and outside the Ukrainian community, etc.) contributing to maintenance of Ukrainian in Saskatchewan. The study will help us to understand the peculiarities of the Ukrainian language usage in the province and to suggest steps for maintenance of Ukrainian.

You will be asked to complete a questionnaire about your use of Ukrainian at home and in other settings. Your participation is purely voluntary. Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply until data has been pooled. After this it is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data. Completion of the questionnaire constitutes consent to participate and permission for the researchers to use the gathered data in the manner described above.

The data will be collected confidentially. Your name will not appear in any form in research materials and publications. All the research materials including questionnaires will be stored at the University of Saskatchewan and not released to any individuals or organizations. Data will be stored by the research supervisor for a minimum of 5 years after the completion of the study.

The data collected will be reported in research papers and academic presentations, mostly in aggregate form. Direct quotations from your questionnaire may be published or used in teaching materials for academic courses (on campus or long distance Internet), but no personally identifying information will ever be released.

If you have any questions concerning this study, please do not hesitate to ask. You may also contact the researchers at the numbers provided if you have questions at a later date. This research project was reviewed and approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board on January 12, 2011. If you have any questions about this study or your rights as a participant, please feel free to call the Research Ethics Office collect at 306-966-2084.

If you agree to participate in this study, please sign below. If you would like to find out about the results of research, please check the box below. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

I would like to have a copy of research results.

I have read and understood the description provided above. I have been provided with an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered satisfactorily. I consent to participate in the study described, understanding that I may withdraw this consent until the data has been pooled. A copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

Signature of participant

Signature of researcher
