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Contours and Consequences of the Lexical Divide in Ukrainian

When compared with its two large neighbours, Russian and Polish, the Ukrainian language presents a picture of striking internal variation. Not only are Ukrainian dialects more mutually divergent than those of Polish or of territorially more widespread Russian,² but on the literary level the language has long been characterized by the existence of two variants of the standard which have never been perfectly harmonized, in spite of the efforts of nationalist writers for a century and a half. While Ukraine's modern standard language is based on the eastern dialect of the Kyiv-Poltava-Kharkiv triangle, the literary Ukrainian cultivated by most of the diaspora communities continues to follow to a greater or lesser degree the norms of the Lviv koiné in

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² De Bray (1969: 30-35) identifies three main groups of Russian dialects, but the differences are the result of internal evolutionary divergence rather than of external influences. The popular perception is that Russian has minimal dialectal variation compared with other major European languages. Maximilian Fourman (1943: viii), for instance, told students of Russian that the language 'is amazingly uniform; the same language is spoken over the vast extent of the globe where the flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics flies; and you will be understood whether you are speaking to a peasant or a university professor. There are no dialects to bother you, although, of course, there are parts of the Soviet Union where Russian may be spoken rather differently, as, for instance, English is spoken differently by a Londoner, a Scot, a Welshman, an Irishman, or natives of Yorkshire or Cornwall. [...] They all speak the same Russian.' While the reference here is to standard Russian, the fact that native speakers of regional dialects acquire the standard so easily testifies to the relative homogeneity of a language which historically colonized vast alloglot regions. By contrast, the dialectal differences in the Ukrainian heartland (i.e. in the inland and mountainous areas away from the Black Sea coast) are comparatively older and deeper. Polish (De Bray 1969: 601) has five dialects of which only Kashubian differs sharply from the standard (and Kashubian is classified by some linguists as a separate Western Slavonic language).

the form it had acquired by 1944, the year that Galicia was definitively joined to the rest of Ukraine.³

Linguists divide the Ukrainian language into three main dialect groups (наріччя): the Northern, the South-Eastern and the South-Western. These are subdivided in turn into dialects (говори).⁴ The South-Eastern group (on which the national standard is based) represents what is historically the most authentic variety of the language, that is to say, the one variety that does not form a transition to a neighbouring Slavonic language.⁵ Its two northerly dialects are Mid Upper Dnieprian (Середньонаддніпрянський говір), centred on Kyiv, Bila Tserkva, Cherkasy and Poltava, and the Slobodian dialect (Слобожанський говір), proper to Sumy, Kharkiv, Izjum and Starobil'sk. The southerly or Steppe dialect (Степовий говір), of the lower Dnieper basin, Donets'k and Crimea, is essentially a colonial variety of Ukrainian introduced into lands formerly occupied by Turkic-speaking peoples.

³ After a brief Soviet occupation between 22 September 1939 and 30 June 1941, Lviv was reoccupied by the Soviets on 27 July 1944. The Soviet-Polish treaty of 16 August 1946 recognized the Soviet Union's annexation of Galicia. In the introduction to her textbook *Modern Ukrainian* (1980) Assya Humesky accurately summarizes the nature of the difference between the standard and (Western-based) émigré varieties of the language: 'The chief differences from the contemporary Soviet usage lie in the spelling conventions, some small grammatical points, word stress, and above all in the choice of vocabulary.' The main period of convergence of the literary languages of Austrian Ukraine and Russian Ukraine was between 1876 and 1905, when tsarist repression of Ukrainian temporarily made Lviv its main centre and Eastern Ukrainian became receptive to borrowings from Western Ukrainian. On the history of the Lviv koiné and its relationship with the literary language of tsarist Ukraine, see Shevelov 1989 (especially the first two chapters) and Sherekh 1949.

⁴ We follow here the divisions outlined in the 3-volume *Атлас української мови* [AUM] (Kyiv, 1984, 1998, 1992).

⁵ De Bray (1969: 78) noted that '[t]he linguistic frontier of Ukrainian is not clearly defined in the West, with Polish, nor in the North-West, with Byelorussian; but it is said to be fairly clear where it borders on the southern dialects of Great Russian.' Luckyj and Rudnyćkyj (1949: 1) similarly noted that '[a]s the immediate neighbours of the Ukrainians are also Slavs, it is sometimes difficult to draw an exact boundary between the Ukrainian and the neighbouring language. This is particularly the case on the Ukrainian-Byelorussian and Ukrainian-Slovak lingual [sic] frontiers'.

The three Northern dialects, West Polesian (Західнополіський говір) of Brest, Kholm, Pins'k,⁶ Kovel and Luts'k; Central Polesian (Середньополіський говір) of Rovno, Sarny and Ovruch; and the East Polesian (Східнополіський говір) of Chernihiv, Nizhyn and Hlukhiv, are all transitional to Belorussian.⁷ The seven South-Western dialects, which form a transition to Polish, are Volhynian (Волинський говір) of Sokal', Dubno, Zbarazh, Zhytomyr and Kozjatyn; Podolian (Подільський говір), spoken in and around Khmel'nyts'kyj, Vinnytsja, Kamjanets' Podil'skyj, Uman' and Balta; Upper Dniestrian (Наддністрянський говір), native to Lviv, Sambir, Drohobych, Ternopil' and Ivano-Frankivs'k (Stanislaviv); Lemko (Лемківський говір), spoken in the south-eastern corner of Poland; Boiko (Бойківський говір) of Bolekhiv and Nadvirna; Hutsul (Гуцульський говір) of Kutu and Rakhiv; and Pokutian-Bukovinian (Покутсько-Буковинський говір) in the Kolomyja and Chernivtsi districts.

While the official view of linguists in Ukraine is that the Ruthenian (Rusyn) or Transcarpathian dialect (Закарпатський говір) is part of the South-Western group, its remarkable archaicity vis-à-vis all Ukrainian dialects inclines some Slavists to treat it as an independent East Slavonic language rather than as a variety of Ukrainian proper.⁸ The lexical characteristics of Rusyn dialects will be not be considered in the present study.

⁶ Varieties of the Northern and South-Western Ukrainian dialects extend over the national borders into adjacent parts of Belarus, Poland and Slovakia.

⁷ An examination of the lexical relationship between Polesian Ukrainian and Belorussian, admittedly an important subject of study, is beyond the scope of the present article but will feature in future research in this series. The Polesians of Ukraine and Belarus generally identify themselves with the nationality of the state in which they live. A movement for the creation and recognition of a separate Polesian language in Soviet Belorussia arose in the 1980s but was largely unsuccessful.

⁸ Controversy turns around the question of whether the archaisms of this vernacular (including preservation of the Old Ukrainian vowels *ū* and *ī* (ы), the feminine and neuter nominative singular adjectival suffixes *-aja*, *-oje* and a range of basic lexemes still shared with Russian but long since replaced by polonisms or neologisms in other Ukrainian dialects) warrant its classification as a distinct language, a status that seems justified on the extra-linguistic level by a strong tradition of cultural diversity in Transcarpathia as part of the Hungarian state. See especially Magocsi 1996. The relationship between Rusyn and Ukrainian proper mirrors that of Ladin in relation to the Padanian (North Italian) language.

On the vernacular level the main dialectal divide, like the literary divide, is related to the essentially ambivalent nature of Ukrainian as an Eastern Slavonic language with a close genetic relationship to Russian yet forming a transition ‘from below’ to Polish, a Western Slavonic language, and sensitive to its influence ‘from above.’ Reginald de Bray (1969: 79) summarized well this ambivalence half a century ago:

The division of the Ukrainian dialects into Eastern, i.e. those belonging to Great or Dniepr Ukraine (Велика or Наддніпряньська Україна), and Western, i.e. those belonging to Galicia (Галичина), Podolia, Polesia, and Volhynia (all formerly within Poland) and a strip in northern Bukovina (formerly under Rumania), and, less closely connected, Transcarpathian Ukraine (formerly in Czechoslovakia and known as Subcarpathian Russia – Podkarpatská Rus) – brings to light another set of differences.

Eastern Ukrainian, which is taken as the basis of the literary language – from the (Southern dialect) regions around Kyiv (Київ) and Poltava, has more features in common with Great Russian. Western Ukrainian, on the other hand, is much more strongly influenced by Polish in every respect, as one would expect, and with its dialects forms a transition to that language. Thus in phonetics, soft *s* and *z* in Western Ukrainian approach Polish *ś* and *ź*. In morphology too, for example, in some dialects the Past tense of verbs takes on personal endings, as in Polish, e.g. (я) мавем (= I had). In vocabulary also Western Ukrainian has far more borrowings from Polish. [...] The influence of Polish culture and language, spreading from the West, has indeed left deep traces on the whole of the Ukrainian language, thereby differentiating it yet more from Russian, which shows very little trace of Polish influences.

De Bray’s emphasis on the Polish connection is pertinent, for while internal variation occurs all over the country, and while Russian influence has been considerable, the main linguistic fault lines in Ukraine are between areas of greater or lesser Polish influence or structural similarity to Polish. Although in its essential structure Ukrainian is a fully distinct Slavonic language, its geographical situation between two neighbours, Poland and Russia, each aspiring at different times to absorb the Ukrainian people politically and culturally, has meant that its internal development could never be independent of the modifying pressures of Polish and Russian. After Lithuania, which had ruled over most of the country since 1321, entered into a political union with Poland in 1569, the established Old Belorussian (Ruthenian, West Russian)

literary language employed by the Lithuanians gave way to Polish, which became for the next two centuries the official language in Ukraine and, consequently, the 'guide language' (*Mustersprache*) for both Ukrainian and Belorussian.⁹

The Russian linguistic ascendancy came later. Russia began to govern Left Bank or Eastern Ukraine only in 1686. By this time the Polish and Western European influences had already transformed the eastern varieties of the language to such an extent that the sense of owning the same language could persist among both Western and Eastern Ukrainians in spite of the political division. Nevertheless, from now on Eastern Ukraine would act as a vector of Russicisms. Of course in Greater Galicia, annexed by Poland in 1349, the Polish influence was older than everywhere else in Ukraine, and it is useful to remember that the South-West has undergone in all 596 years of direct Polish influence, as opposed to only 62 years of Russian influence.¹⁰

The Polish link is therefore most obvious in Galicia, Bukovina and Western Podolia, which formed the territory of the original Galician state of the thirteenth century. Here the connection is a double one, in that the local dialects not only announce Polish in their structures but have undergone the strongest direct Polish influence in their vocabularies.¹¹ In the remaining Ukrainian territories Polish influence is mainly lexical, and is stronger in the Right Bank regions held by Poland until 1793, than in the Left Bank regions of the East, which felt the direct impact of Polish for little over a century. The splitting of Ukrainian into zones of Polish and Russian influence is thus a complex phenomenon, with the geographical boundary between the two zones shifting several times during the history of the language.

Pugh and Press (1999: 4-5) cite the words дякувати 'to thank', рiнок 'porch', нiвiть 'even', мiсце 'place', умiва 'condition', дбати 'to care for/about', будiнок 'building', жартувати 'to joke', допомагати 'to help' and задоволений 'content, satisfied' as examples of straight borrowings from

⁹ De Bray 1969: 69-70; Pugh and Press 1999: 1-6. See also Martel 1938.

¹⁰ This long period of Polish cultural domination was punctuated but not interrupted by the brief tsarist occupation of Galicia in World War I, which gave the region a foretaste of Russian imperialism's plans for the last bastion of 'Little Russian' particularism.

¹¹ Although Podolia was occupied by Russia in 1793, the region's Polish Catholic nobility remained in place and Polish cultural and linguistic influence continued throughout the tsarist period.

Polish, and gives *místo* ‘town’, *кордón* ‘border’, *час* ‘time’, *за́хід* ‘west’ and *схід* ‘east’ as examples of a Polish-inspired semantic shift in native words. These words belong to the primary or ‘pan-Ukrainian’ category of lexical polonisms. Five more broad historically-conditioned categories can be established to illustrate the relexifying action of the ‘Polish wedge’ in Ukraine: (2) ‘Western Ukrainian’ polonisms (found mainly west of the Dnieper); (3) ‘South-Western’ polonisms (typical of Western Podolia, Bukovina, Galicia and Lemkoland); (4) ‘Greater Galician’ polonisms (found in Bukovina, Galicia and Lemkoland only), and (5) ‘Lemko and West Galician’ polonisms, typical only of Lemkoland and the adjacent strip of western Galicia (Sambir region). We give below examples from all these remaining categories, with the Polish etyma and the divergent Eastern/Central Ukrainian terms added for comparative purposes:

(2) Western Ukrainian Polonisms

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| duck | kaczka | ка́чка | у́тка ¹² |
| drake | kaczor | ка́чур | се́лезень, се́лех |
| stork | bocian | бо́цун, бу́цок | чорногу́з, леле́ка |
| handbag | torebka | торби́нка | су́мка |
| oven | kociuba | коцюба́ | кочерга́ |
| rake | | | |
| chimney | komin | ко́мин | дима́р |
| purse | pu(gi)lars, kalita ¹³ | пуля́рес, калі́тка | гамане́ць |
| coffin | trumna | труна́, тру́мна ¹⁴ | домо́вина |
| cemetery | cmentarz | цвинта́р, моги́лки ¹⁵ | кла́довище |

¹² As a synonym of *ка́чка*. See AUM I, Map 321.

¹³ Both archaic; the modern term is *portmonetka*.

¹⁴ Тру́мна or тру́мла in Galicia, and труна́ elsewhere in Western Ukraine. See AUM II, Map 369.

¹⁵ In Volhynia and western Polesia. See AUM II, Map 370

(3) South-Western Polonisms

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>SW Ukrainian</i> | <i>mainstream Ukrainian</i> |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| apple | jablko | я́пко | я́блуко |
| tablecloth | obrus | обру́с ¹⁶ | ска́терть, ска́терка |
| squirrel | wiewórka | виві́рка | бі́лка |
| rooster | kogut | когу́т | пі́вень |
| cold | zimny | зі́мний ¹⁷ | холо́дний |
| uncle (mat.) | wuj(ek) | вуй(ко) | дя́дько |
| swallow, to | łykać | ліга́ти, лика́ти ¹⁸ | ковта́ти |
| catch, to | łapać | лапа́ти | лови́ти |
| swim, to | pływać | плива́ти | пла́вати |
| wait, to | czekać | чекати́ | жда́ти |
| ninety | dziewięćdziesiąt | дев'ятдеся́т | дев'яно́сто |

(4) Greater Galician Polonisms

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>East Galician</i> | <i>mainstream Ukrainian</i> |
|----------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| piece | kawałek | кава́лок ¹⁹ | шма́ток, кусо́к |
| lovely, nice | fajny | фа́йний | га́рний |

(5) Lemko and West Galician Polonisms

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>West Galicia, Lemko</i> | <i>mainstream Ukrainian</i> |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| weed | chwast | хва́ст | бу́р'ян |
| shirt | koszula | кошу́ля | соро́чка |
| whip | bat, bicz | би́ч | ба́тіг, канчу́к |
| bat | gacek | (миш)перга́ч | лі́лик (East Galicia), |

¹⁶ But mostly ска́терть in Bukovina. See AUM II, Map 290

¹⁷ As well as холо́дний, less common. See AUM II, Map 357.

¹⁸ See AUM II Map 383.

¹⁹ As a synonym of кусо́к and related forms. See AUM II, Map 322

кажан

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------|
| lovely, nice | ładny | ладний | гарний |
| forty | czterdzieści | чотирдесять | сорок |

While the most obvious differences between these layers of Polish loanwords (or lexical convergences) are local, there are chronological differences in evidence as well. Thus Galicia, the region that remained in constant contact with Polish, sometimes uses modern polonisms which contrast with older borrowings from Polish preserved in the other parts of Ukraine. Two examples are the Galician words *видіти* ‘to see’ and *імость* ‘priest’s wife’ which correspond to modern Polish *widzieć* and *jejmość* ‘matron’ (ironical);²⁰ the central and eastern Ukrainian *бачити* and *паніматка* being older borrowings from *baczyć*, now ‘to watch’ and *pani matka*, literally ‘lady mother’, an archaic title for a clergyman’s wife. Ukrainian (and especially Galician dialects) have also perpetuated Polish words which have become obsolete or are strictly regional or colloquial in modern Polish, e.g. (Galician) *мешт* ‘shoe’ (< Pol. *meszt*, displaced by *but*), *картопля* ‘potato’ (< colloquial Pol. *kartofel*, for the standard term *ziemniak*), *авто* ‘car’ (< colloquial Pol. *auto*, for standard *samochód*).²¹

Although polonisms cluster in Galicia and the surrounding regions, it should not be assumed that, because South-Western Ukraine was subject to such a powerful Polish influence, this is the only source of its considerable linguistic differences from the rest of the country. In the area of lexis there are many examples of this region disagreeing with both Polish and the remaining Ukrainian dialects. Thus Galician expresses ‘rainbow’ as *весёлка* as against majority Ukrainian *райдуга* and Polish *tęcza*. Galicia and western Podolia pronounce standard Ukrainian *весілля* ‘wedding’ as *весілля́*,²² but this is independent of any Polish influence. The old polonism *картопля* ‘potato’ itself

²⁰ The Polish word has suffered semantic deterioration and from a deferential term literally meaning ‘her ladyship, her grace’ has become ironical; this parallels the change in the meaning of *jegomość*, formerly ‘his grace’ (applied to priests). For this reason the Ukrainian term, still current in Greek Catholic parlance, is disliked as inappropriate by some Polish-speaking Galicians.

²¹ The standard term produced Galician *самохід*, never a popular term.

²² See AUM II, Map 355.

yielded to the popular synonyms б^ульба and бараб^оля in most of Western Ukraine.

Bisuperstratal or 'split' languages, of which Ukrainian is a typical example, are the result of the division of a relatively homogeneous linguistic unity into areas of different political and/or cultural influence. In each section of the divided speech zone the new hegemonic language becomes the superstratum and model for further growth and development of the indigenous dialects. The impact of a superstratum is usually most visible in the area of vocabulary, but phonology, morphology and syntax are also affected. An interesting parallel to Ukrainian is the original Occitano-Catalan language (native to the southern half of Transalpine Gaul), which split in the later Middle Ages into two distinct main varieties, Occitan, subordinated to French, and Catalan, harnessed to Spanish, this development reflecting political change as the northern area was fully absorbed into the orbit of the Kingdom of France and Catalonia and Valencia were subjected (with Aragon) to Castilian rule. Nevertheless the fundamental unity of all dialects of Occitan and Catalan remained intact, so that mutual intelligibility (at least on the level of the written medium) was diminished but not destroyed by the Occitan habit of borrowing new vocabulary from French and the Catalan convention of drawing on Spanish for lexical renewal.

However, the external history of Ukraine contrasts with that of Occitania and Catalonia in that one of the effects of the Polish hegemony was to create within the country a cultural divide which had previously not existed: that of religion. The emergence of the Greek Catholic Church in 1596 brought large sections of Ukrainian Orthodoxy into union with Rome until the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century and the subsequent Russian campaigns of forced reconversion under Nicholas I to Orthodoxy (or, more precisely, of conversion to Russian Orthodoxy) in Right-Bank Ukraine caused the dimensions of Ukrainian Uniatism to shrink to the geographical area of Austrian Galicia. One might have expected the introduction of Catholicism to have led not only to a strong Latin lexical influence on the literary language but also to a change of alphabet. In split languages such as Serbo-Croatian and Hindustani religious orientation impacts directly on writing: Catholic Croats write in the Latin alphabet while the Orthodox Serbs use the Cyrillic; Hindi makes use of the Devanagari script proper to Sanskrit and Hinduism, whereas Urdu is written in the alphabet of Arabic, the sacred

language of Islam. By contrast in Ukraine, despite occasional unsuccessful attempts to introduce the Latin alphabet (most notably that of the easterner Mykhailo Drahomaniv in the late nineteenth century),²³ Catholics remained faithful to the Cyrillic alphabet as a direct consequence of the Vatican-directed Uniate policy of respecting the historic rites of the Church (with their traditional languages) and of minimizing all liturgical and cultural differences between Greek Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy.

The continuing Cyrillic tradition as a factor of unity was emblematic of the strong sense of common nationhood in both parts of Ukraine which led to the modern situation whereby the Ukrainian state officially admits the existence of a single Ukrainian language and all Ukrainian educational and cultural entities in Ukraine now promote a standard form of the language based on the usage of Kyiv. Yet national consciousness and the unifying use of the Cyrillic alphabet merely mask an internal diversity which remains very much alive today. Apart from the continuing spoken use of regional dialects, Ukrainian writers employ a literary idiom which, though more or less unified in terms of spelling and grammar, displays lexical choices which differ according to whether the variety of Ukrainian they make their own is predominantly Russian-influenced or Polish-influenced. From a pedagogical standpoint, these realities mean that the kind of Ukrainian people learn at school or university is likely to be quite far removed from what is spoken by their relatives, friends or associates, even when these are not speaking in dialect, but using standard Ukrainian or an approximation thereof. For non-Ukrainians, and especially foreign students of the language aspiring to communicate with Western Ukrainians, learning Ukrainian therefore presents a particular challenge uncharacteristic of other Slavonic languages.

In order to deal with the problem that traditional Ukrainian polyonymy poses in the pedagogical sphere, it is necessary to examine the contours of the two main superstratal influences. The present study focuses on lexical differences, though the impacts of the Polish and Russian superstrata on phonology, morphology and syntax are also important (if much less

²³ De Bray 1969: 71. Ironically, Drahomaniv (Dragomanov) was an anti-clerical and persona non grata to the Greek Catholic intelligentsia of Galicia. See Subtelny 1988: 320.

pronounced), as are adstratal and neo-superstratal influences on vocabulary (e.g. those of Church Slavonic, German and English).²⁴

The influence of Polish and Russian on the vocabularies of Ukrainian dialects and on the two Ukrainian literary varieties parallels rather closely those of French and Spanish on Occitan and Catalan respectively. In the following list of substratum-induced disagreements between modern Occitan and Catalan, the substrata have either introduced a term for a modern concept, or have reinforced or replaced a term once shared by both varieties of the language:

| <i>example</i> | <i>French</i> >/= | <i>Occitan</i> | <i>Catalan</i> | </= <i>Spanish</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| brother | frère | fraire | germà | hermano |
| butcher | boucher | boquièr | carnisser | carnicero |
| cream | crème | crèma | nata | nata |
| dare, to | oser | gausar | atrevir-se | atreverse |
| film | film | film | pel·lícula | película |
| marry, to | marier | maridar | casar | casar |
| office | bureau | burèu | oficina | oficina |
| overcoat | pardessus | perdessús | abric | abrigo |
| shop window | vitrine | vitrina | aparador | aparador |
| tired | las, fatigué | las, fatigat | cansat | cansado |
| waiter | garçon | garçon | cambrer | camarero |

A similar dynamic of vocabulary change exists in Ukrainian. While internal lexical disagreements occur throughout the Ukrainian speech zone, they are naturally most numerous in the south-western part of Ukraine, the area longest

²⁴ Church Slavonic influences have been mediated by both the Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church and are especially strong in religious and moral terminology. German was a cultural medium in Austrian Ukraine (and widely used in Bukovina) and not replaced as the main language of instruction at the University of Lviv until 1867. German lexical influence has generally come into Ukrainian through a Polish filter, though there are cases of direct borrowing as well. The impact of English has been keenly felt in anglophone diaspora countries as well as more recently in Ukraine through the vogue of English as an international and new second language. The influence of Spanish and Portuguese on the Ukrainian-speakers of Argentina and Brazil respectively mirrors that of English on North American, Australian and British Ukrainian.

exposed to Polish influence. However, what is remarkable about the Ukrainian of this region is the depth of Polish-induced relexification. Obvious borrowings from Polish (as opposed to common Slavonic terms naturally shared by Polish and Ukrainian) extend beyond the realm of cultural loans (technical, scientific and abstract vocabulary), so that the Western and Eastern varieties frequently disagree on basic, everyday items of vocabulary.

In the list below broadly 'western' and 'eastern' lexemes are identified and reflect the lexical options of traditional (i.e. pre-1944) vernacular Ukrainian rather than the typical vocabulary of the Kyiv or Lviv koinai. Most of the lexemes featured are not ones for which polyonymy would be normal in other European languages. Those classed as Western will be found recorded as such (WU) in the comprehensive Ukrainian-English dictionary of Andrusyshen and Krett (1955); some phonetic variants of these forms are also given. No attempt is made (for lack of precise dialectological information) to indicate which of the five categories of polonisms each word belongs to, though it can be stated that all those listed below were familiar to our (Australian) Galician informants:

Time, Nature and Materials

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|----------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| lead (n.) | ołów | оливо | свинець | свинец |
| mist | mgła | мгла, імла | туман | туман |
| marsh | bagno | багно | болото ²⁵ | болото |
| daisy | stokrotka | стокрótка, стокрótъ | маргаритка, ромашка | маргаритка |
| ink | atrament | атрамент | чорніло | черніла |
| pill | piłulka | пігулка | пілюля | пилюля |

Food

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|----------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>fruit</i> | owoc | овоч | плід, фрукт | плод, |

²⁵ As a synonym of багно.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | | | | фрукт |
| <i>orange</i> (n.) | pomarańcza | помара́нча | апелсьсін | апелсьсін |
| <i>lemon</i> | cytryna | цитри́на | лимо́н | лимо́н |
| <i>peach</i> | brzoskwinia | броскві́на | пе́рсік | пе́рсік |
| <i>apricot</i> | morela | мореля́ | абрикосо́ | абрикос |
| <i>date</i> | daktyl | дакти́ль | фіні́к | фіні́к |
| <i>melon</i> | melon | мельо́н | ди́ня | ды́ня |
| <i>vegetable</i> | jarzyna | яри́на | овоч, горо́дина | овощ |
| <i>cauliflower</i> | kalafior | каля́фйор | цвітна́ капу́ста | цветна́я капу́ста |
| <i>sandwich</i> | kanapka | кана́пка | бутербро́д | бутербро́д |
| <i>icing</i> | lukier | люке́р | глязу́ра | глазу́рь |
| <i>tea</i> | herbata | герба́та | чай | чай |

People

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>brother-in-law</i> | szwagier | шва́гер | шу́рин | шу́рин ²⁶ |
| <i>cousin</i> | kuzyn | ку́зин | двою́рідний брат | двою́родный брат |
| <i>daughter-in-law</i> | synowa | сино́ва | неві́стка | неві́стка ²⁷ |
| <i>family</i> | rodzina | роди́на | сі́м'я | се́мья |
| <i>hostage</i> | zakładnik | закла́дник | зало́жник, зару́чник | зало́жник |
| <i>Jew</i> | żyd | жид | евре́й | евре́й |
| <i>lawyer</i> | prawnik | прати́к | ю́рист | ю́рист |
| <i>mayor</i> | burmistr | бурмі́стер | мер | ме́р |
| <i>miner</i> | górnik | гірні́к | шахта́р | шахте́р |

²⁶ Wife's brother only.

²⁷ In relation to a mother; сноха́ in relation to a father.

| | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|---------------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>soldier</i> | żołnierz | жовні́р | солда́т | солда́т |
| <i>hairdresser</i> | fryzjer | фрі́зер, фрі́зер | перука́р | парикма́хер |
| <i>waiter</i> | kelner | ке́льнер | офіціа́нт | офіціа́нт |

Landscape

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|--------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| garden | ogród | горо́д | сад | сад |
| flat (apart- ment) | mieszkanie | (по)ме́шкання | кварти́ра | кварти́ра |
| footpath | chodnik | хі́дник | тро́туар | тро́туар |
| grave | grób | гри́б | моги́ла | моги́ла |
| mine | kopalnia | копа́льня | рудні́к, ша́хта | рудні́к, ша́хта |
| well (n.) | studnia | студня́ | крини́ця, коло́дязь | коло́дець |
| shop | sklep | склеп | крамни́ця, магази́н | магази́н |
| train (n.) | pociąg | по́тяг | по́їзд | по́езд |
| car | auto | а́вто | маши́на ²⁸ | маши́на |

Furniture and Clothing

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|--------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>armchair</i> | fotel | фоте́ль | крі́сло | крéсло |
| <i>counter</i> (shop) | lada | ля́да | прила́вок | прила́вок |
| <i>desk</i> (school) | ławka | ла́вка | па́рта | па́рта |
| <i>earring</i> | kolczyk | ку́льчик | серéжка | серьга́ |
| <i>sink</i> | zlew | злив | ра́ковина | ра́ковина |

²⁸ As a relatively recent substitute for older автомобі́ль (а́вто).

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|
| <i>(water)</i> <i>pipe</i> | rura | ру́ра | труба́ | труба́ |
| <i>pillowslip</i> | poszewka | по́шивка | на́волочка | на́волочка |
| <i>saucer</i> | spodek, podstawka | сподо́к, підставка | блю́дце | блю́дце |
| <i>suit</i> | ubranie | убра́ння | костю́м | костю́м |
| <i>(neck)tie</i> | krawat | крава́тка | га́лстук | га́лстук |
| <i>trousers</i> | spodnie | сподні́ | штани́ | штаны́ |

Objects and Tools

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>bicycle</i> | rower | ро́вер | велосипе́д | велосипе́д |
| <i>can (tin)</i> | puszka | пу́шка | ба́нка | ба́нка |
| <i>drum</i> | bęben | бубо́н | бараба́н | бараба́н |
| <i>form (docu- ment)</i> | formularz | формуля́р | бланк, анке́та | анке́та |
| <i>screw</i> | śruba | шру́ба | гвинт | винт |
| <i>padlock</i> | klódka | коло́дка | вися́чий замо́к | вися́чий замо́к |
| <i>pen(writing)</i> | pióro | перо́ | ру́чка | ру́чка |
| <i>record (disk)</i> | płyta | плита́ | пласти́нка | грампласти́нка |
| <i>ring</i> | pierścień | пе́рстень | кі́льце | ко́льцо |
| <i>safety pin</i> | agrafka | агра́фка | англи́йська шпи́лька | англи́йская була́вка |
| <i>ski</i> | narta | на́рта | лі́жа | лы́жа |
| <i>umbrella</i> | parasol | парасо́ля | зонт, зо́нтик | зонт, зо́нтик |

Adjectives

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|----------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>angry</i> | zły | злий | серди́тий | серди́тый |
| <i>cheap</i> | tani | та́ний | деше́вий | деше́вый |

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>proud</i> | dumny | дúмний | гóрдий | гóрдый |
| <i>shallow</i> | plytki | пліткий | мілкий | мёлкий |
| <i>sour</i> | kwaśny | квасний | кислий | кислый |
| <i>ripe</i> | dojrzały | зрілий | спілий | зрелый, спелый |
| <i>tame</i> | oswojony | осво́сний | ручній | ручной |
| <i>Danish</i> | duński | да́ньский | да́тський | да́тский |

Verbs

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|----------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>close</i> | zamykać | замика́ти | закрива́ти, зачиня́ти | закрыва́ть |
| <i>dress</i> | ubierać | убира́ти | одяга́ти | одева́ть |
| <i>hold</i> | trzymać | тримати | держати | держáть |
| <i>kneel</i> | klęczeć | кляча́ти | става́ти навко́лішки | стоять на коленях |
| <i>smoke</i> | palić | пали́ти | кури́ти | кури́ть |
| <i>touch</i> | dotykać | дотока́ти | торка́ти | трога́ть |

Another significant category of lexical cleavage embraces distinct Western and Eastern variants of a single word, especially words of foreign origin transmitted to local Ukrainian through either Polish or Russian. In several of the examples below more than one of these phonological or structural differences can be observed:

(a) Polish-style feminine versus Russian-style masculine form:

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>flannel</i> | flanela | фляне́ля | флане́ль | флане́ль |
| <i>fleet</i> | flota | фльо́та | флот | флот |
| <i>flu</i> | grypa | гри́па | грип | грипп |
| <i>hall</i> | sala | са́ля | зал | зал |
| <i>lettuce</i> | sałata | сала́та | салáт | салáт |
| <i>envelope</i> | koperta | копе́рта, | конве́рт | конве́рт |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | | ковёрта | | |
| <i>merry-go-round</i> | karuzela | карусéля, карузéля | карусéль | карусéль |
| <i>method</i> | metoda | метóда | мéтод | мéтод |
| <i>snapshot</i> | zdjęcie | знімка | знімок | снімок |
| <i>plasticine</i> | plastelina | плястиліна | пластилін | пластилін |
| <i>prescription</i> | recepta | рецепта | рецепт | рецепт |
| <i>soup</i> | zupa | зупа | суп | суп |
| <i>toilet</i> | toaleta | туалéта | туалéт | туалéт |
| <i>vitamin</i> | witamina | вітамíна | вітамін | вітамін |

Occasionally, the opposite rule applies:

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>lolly, sweet</i> | cukierek | цукéрок | цукéрка | конфéта |
| <i>key (of keyboard)</i> | klawisz | клявіш | клявіша | клявиш(а) |

(b) Polish-style /g/ versus indigenous /h/:²⁹

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>plaster</i> | gips | гіпс | гіпс | гипс |
| <i>glucose</i> | glukoza | глюкóза | глюкóза | глюкóза |
| <i>garrison</i> | garnizon | гарнізón | гарнізón | гарнизón |
| <i>colleague</i> | kolega | колéга | колéга | коллéга |
| <i>English</i> | angielski | англі́йський | англі́йський | англи́йский |
| <i>luggage</i> | bagaż | бага́ж | бага́ж | багаж |

(c) Polish-style /l/ versus Russian-style /l/:

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>lamp</i> | lampa | ля́мпа | ла́мпа | ла́мпа |
| <i>lavender</i> | lawenda | лявéнда | лавáнда | лавáнда |
| <i>class</i> | klasa | кля́са | клас | класс |

²⁹ But arguably also Russian-style /h/, in that Ukrainian /h/ corresponds generally to Russian /g/.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| <i>planet</i> | planeta | пляне́та | плане́та | плане́та |
| <i>platform</i> | platforma | платфо́рма | платфо́рма | платфо́рма |
| <i>dollar</i> | dolar | доля́р | доля́р | доля́р |

(c) Polish-style paroxytonic stress versus native/Russian-style proparoxytonic or oxytonic stress:

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>gold</i> | żłoto | зло́то | зо́лото | зо́лото |
| <i>friend</i> | przyjaciel | прия́тель | прия́тель | прия́тель |
| <i>cement</i> | cement | це́мент | це́мент | це́мент |
| <i>catarrh</i> | katar | ка́тар | кага́р | кага́р |
| <i>violet (adj.)</i> | fioletowy | фіоле́товий | фіоле́товий | фиоле́товый |
| <i>I go</i> | chodziem | ходжу́ | ходжу́ | хожу́ |
| <i>but</i> | ale | але́ | але́ | (но) |
| <i>or</i> | albo | а́льбо | або́ | (или) |

(d) Different suffix or ending:

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>fork</i> | widelec | виде́лка, виде́лко | ві́лка | ві́лка |
| <i>rice</i> | ryż | риж | рис | рис |
| <i>fisherman</i> | rybak | риба́к | риба́лка | рыба́к |
| <i>granny</i> | babunia | бабу́ня | бабу́ся | бабу́шка |
| <i>medicine (drug)</i> | lekarstwo | ліка́рство | лі́ки | лека́рство |
| <i>vineyard</i> | winnica | вінни́ця | виногра́дник | виногра́дник |
| <i>swim, to</i> | plywac | пли́вати | пла́вати | пла́вать |

(e) Polish-style /f/ versus native /x/, /kv/ or /p/:

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>fur</i> | futro | фу́тро | ху́тро | (мех) |
| <i>wave (n.)</i> | fala | фа́ля | хви́ля | волна́ |

| | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| <i>cart</i> | fura | фу́ра | ху́ра | (воз) |
| <i>parish</i> | parafia | пара́фія | паро́хія | (прихо́д) |
| <i>bean</i> | fasola | фасо́ля | хвасо́ля, квасо́ля | фасо́ль |
| <i>bottle</i> | flaszka ³⁰ | фля́шка | пля́шка | фля́жка |

(f) Polish versus Russian variant of foreign term:

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>fireworks</i> | fajerwerk | фо́ерверк | фе́ерверк | фейерве́рк |
| <i>hurray!</i> | hura! | гура́ | ура́ | ура́ |
| <i>jasmine</i> | jaśmin | ясмíн | жасмі́н | жасмі́н |
| <i>Latin (language)</i> | łacina | лати́на | лати́нська мова | лати́нский язы́к |
| <i>liquorice</i> | lukrecja | люкре́ція, люкри́ця | локри́ця | лакри́ца |
| <i>pumice</i> | pumeks | пу́мекс | пе́мза | пе́мза |
| <i>quarantine</i> | kwarantanna | кваранта́на | каранте́на | каранти́н |
| <i>sauce</i> | sos | сос | со́ус | со́ус |
| <i>sideburns</i> | bokobrody | бокобо́роди | бакенба́рди | бакенба́рды |
| <i>station</i> | stacja | ста́ція | ста́нція, вокза́л | ста́нция, вокза́л |
| <i>varnish (n.)</i> | lakier | ля́кер | лак | лак |

(g) Polish versus Russian variant of international or proper name

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Bucharest</i> | Bukareszt | Букаре́шт | Бухаре́ст | Бухаре́ст |
| <i>Geneva</i> | Genewa | Гене́ва | Жене́ва | Жене́ва |
| <i>Lisbon</i> | Lizbona | Лізбо́на | Лісабо́н | Лиссабо́н |
| <i>London</i> | Londyn | Лонди́н | Лондо́н | Лондо́н |
| <i>Thames</i> | Tamiza | Тамі́за | Те́мза | Те́мза |

³⁰ In Polish a bottle of spirits, whereas the Ukrainian derivative has a general meaning (= Pol. *butelka*).

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Great Britain</i> | Wielka Brytania | Вели́ка Брита́нія | Великобрита́нія | Великобрита́нія |
| <i>Ireland</i> | Irlandia | Ірля́ндія | Ірля́ндія | Ірля́ндія |
| <i>Wales</i> | Walia | Ва́лія | Велз | Уэ́льс |
| <i>Scotland</i> | Szkocja | Шко́ція | Шотля́ндія | Шотля́ндія |
| <i>Switzerland</i> | Szwajcaria | Швайца́рія | Швейца́рія | Швейца́рія |
| <i>Lebanon</i> | Liban | Ліба́н | Ліва́н | Ліва́н |

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Stephen</i> | Stefan | Стефа́н | Степа́н | Стефа́н, Степа́н |
| <i>Irene</i> | Irena | Іре́на | Іри́на | Ири́на |
| <i>Barbara</i> | Barbara | Барба́ра | Варва́ра | Варва́ра |

While the two main literary varieties of Ukrainian thus disagree lexically because of single or double superstratal influence, it would be an error to conclude that Ukrainian vocabulary, by virtue of its basic divide, really represents nothing more than the convergence of Polish and Russian lexical currents. Such a conclusion could be used (and has been used in the past by ‘Great Russian’ propagandists) to deny the very existence of Ukrainian as a distinct Slavonic language.³¹ The impression that Ukrainian vocabulary reproduces wholesale that of Polish in the West and of Russian in the East is contradicted by the large number of interdialectal divergences with no bearing on superstratum.

Moreover, uniquely Ukrainian terms (i.e. those unknown or unusual in Russian and Polish) tend to cluster in the South-Eastern dialect group on which the standard language is founded, so that while the West (or South-West) opts for a Polish term, or agrees lexically with Polish, the standard Ukrainian term is distinct from both the Polish and the Russian terms:

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|

³¹ And not just by Russians. De Bray (1969: 70) recalls that in the first half of the nineteenth century Ukrainian ‘was still not generally recognized as a separate language; and Josef Dobrovský, the Czech scholar and the father of modern Slavonic studies, persisted until his death [in 1829] in refusing to admit it as anything more than a dialect of Russian’.

| | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>icicle</i> | sopel | со́мпель | кружінка, буру́лька | сосу́лька |
| <i>strawberry</i> | truskawka | тру́скавка | суніця, полу́ниця | клубні́ка |
| <i>fennel</i> | koper | копе́р | чорну́шка | фе́нхель |
| <i>flour</i> | mąka | мука́ | бо́рошно ³² | мука́ |
| <i>jam</i> | marmolada | мармеля́да, мармоля́да | повидло | варе́нье |
| <i>parents</i> | rodzice | ро́дичі | ба́тькі | ро́дители |
| <i>relative (n.)</i> | krewny | крёвний | ро́дич | ро́дственник |
| <i>dragonfly</i> | ważka | ва́жка | ба́бка | стрекоза́ |
| <i>rat</i> | szczur | щур | пацю́к | кры́са |
| <i>slap</i> | klaps | кляпс, хляпс | ляпане́ць | шлепо́к |
| <i>barn</i> | stodoła | стодо́ла | комо́ра | амба́р |
| <i>pub</i> | knajpa, karczma | кнайпа, ко́рчма | шинк, ши́нок | пивна́я |
| <i>ceiling</i> | sufit | суфі́т | сте́ля | потоло́к |
| <i>ladle</i> | chochla | хо́хля | ківш, черпа́к | поло́вник |
| <i>lace</i> | koronka | коро́нка | мере́живо | кружево |
| <i>necklace</i> | naszyjnik | наший́ник | намі́сто | ожере́лье |
| <i>string</i> | sznurek, szpagat | шну́ро́к, шпага́т | моту́жка, мотузо́к | бече́вка |
| <i>watch (n.)</i> | zegarek | зегаре́к | годи́нник | часы́ |
| <i>better</i> | lepszy | лі́пший | кра́щий | лу́чший |
| <i>sad</i> | smutny | смут́ний | сумні́й | печа́льний |
| <i>sick</i> | chory | хо́рий | хво́рий | больно́й |
| <i>lame</i> | kulawy | кульга́вий | криві́й | хромо́й |
| <i>mad</i> | szalony | шалéний | божеві́льний | сумасше́дший |
| <i>comfortable</i> | wygodny | вигі́дний | зру́чний | удоб́ний |
| <i>hide, to</i> | ukrywać | укривати | ховати́ | пря́тати |
| <i>load, to</i> | ładować | ладува́ти | ванта́жити | грузи́ть |
| <i>wake, to</i> | budzić się | буді́тися | прокида́тися | просыпа́ться |
| (vi.) | | | | |
| <i>stop, to (vt)</i> | zatrzymać | затри́мати | зупиня́ти | остана́влювати |

³² As a synonym of мука́.

In the by no means rare cases where Western Ukrainian agrees with both Polish and Russian against Eastern Ukrainian, one is usually dealing with old Slavonic terms preserved in the western regions, the spread of corresponding South-Eastern neologisms having been blocked by the influence of Polish.

| <i>meaning</i> | <i>Polish</i> | <i>Western Ukrainian</i> | <i>Eastern Ukrainian</i> | <i>Russian</i> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>star</i> | gwiazda | звізда́ | зірка | звезда́ |
| <i>March</i> | marzec | ма́рець | бе́резень | ма́рт |
| <i>May</i> | maj | ма́й | тра́вень | ма́й |
| <i>rose</i> | róża | ро́жа | тро́янда | ро́за |
| <i>husband</i> | mąż | му́ж | чолові́к | му́ж |
| <i>wife</i> | żona, małżonka | жі́нка | дру́жина | же́на |
| <i>monk</i> | mnich | мона́х | черне́ць | мона́х |
| <i>twins</i> | bliźnięta | блізня́та | дві́йнята | блізнецы́ |
| <i>curl (n.)</i> | lok, loczek | льо́к(он) | ку́чер | ло́кон |
| <i>scar</i> | szrama, blizna | шра́м | рубе́ць | шра́м |
| <i>shame</i> | wstyd | (в)сти́д | со́ром | сты́д |
| <i>difficult</i> | trudny | тру́дний | тяжкі́й | тру́дний |
| <i>divorced</i> | rozwódziony | розве́дений | розлу́чений | разве́дений |
| <i>heavy</i> | ciężki | тяжкі́й | важкі́й | тяже́лый |
| <i>lazy</i> | leniwy | лі́нівий | леда́чий | ле́нівий |
| <i>married (of man)</i> | żonaty | жона́тий | одру́жений | же́натий |
| <i>silly</i> | głupi | глу́пий | ду́рний | глу́пий |

The effects of the Polish and Russian superstrata on the Ukrainian vocabulary were not identical, and it is enlightening to examine the social and cultural contexts of the two historical zones of Ukraine in an attempt to understand the inner dynamic of this polyonymy, a feature which makes Ukrainian unique among the Slavonic languages.³³ While the desired but

³³ Ukrainian's internal lexical cleavage far outstrips quantitatively and qualitatively that of the three modern variants of the former Serbo-Croatian language whose vocabulary remains remarkably uniform, at least on the colloquial level: even the recent linguistic

somewhat artificial unity of literary Ukrainian was made possible by similar reactions of the intelligentsia in both sections of the nation to Russian and Polish oppression, historically Russian and Polish linguistic influences were exerted in different ways. On balance it seems legitimate to argue that Polish cultural imperialism (which effectively came to an end in Galicia in 1944) had a less traumatic impact on the history of the Ukrainian language than did Russian imperialism.

The Poles, whether as direct rulers or as the hegemonic group in Austrian Galicia, sought to assimilate the Ukrainian nobility and upper classes, who in turn became the main agents of Polish linguistic influence among the masses. Polish policy was not to identify Ukrainian as a variety of the Polish language, but to recognize the fundamental ethnic difference between the two nationalities. Significantly, the Polish authorities permitted, albeit grudgingly, the free operation of the Greek Catholic Church, a major champion of the Ukrainian language after the waning of Russophilism and the emergence of the clerical *Narodovci* or Populists in the 1860s.³⁴ This meant that while the Ukrainian language under Polish rule was subjected to intense polonizing pressures, widespread borrowing and wholesale relexification, it was not threatened *per se* by having its identity denied. Indeed the aristocratic Polish oppressors of the Ukrainian people in Galicia and Podolia had a vested interest in keeping the subject peasantry Ukrainian-speaking and illiterate and hence politically passive.³⁵

Tsarist Russia, by contrast, considered Ukrainian to be a mere 'Little Russian' dialect of 'Great Russian', and the destiny of all Ukrainian speakers

reforms in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia have not altered the three literary standards there to the extent of seriously impairing their traditional mutual intelligibility.

³⁴ The higher clergy and upper-class Ukrainians espousing this tsarist-promoted movement did so in opposition to Polish oppression after 1848. However, in scorning the vernacular in favour of a variant of Old Church Slavonic (*jazychije*) which was too artificial to succeed as a modern literary medium, they ironically had to fall back on the use of Polish and hence prolonged the Polish linguistic hegemony 'because Little Russian is the language of the peasants and we do not know Russian, therefore we speak in the civilized language of the Poles' (Subtelny 1988: 319). Useful contributions to the study of the historical relationship of Poles and Ukrainians are made in Potichnyj 1980.

³⁵ See Subtelny 1988: 315-6.

to be assimilated gradually to the ‘true’ Russian linguistic norm given their ‘Russian’ linguistic identity.³⁶ Russian linguists commonly adopted the ‘polonization’ theory of the eighteenth century Enlightenment scholar Mikhail Lomonosov, who had denied the fundamental individuality of Ukrainian by reducing its differences from Russian to Polish influence.³⁷ Whereas Ukrainian was merely marginalized under the Poles, the tsarist regime went so far as to ban it from public use by the *ukaz* of 1876, which remained in force until 1905. The Soviets temporarily reversed the old policies of repression and suppression in the Leninist period of the 1920s, when there was a vigorous

³⁶ This general attitude, which also characterized the native aristocracy and gentry in Russian Ukraine, was lamented by Petro Hulak-Artemovsky in the 1830s: ‘The thought that perhaps the time is near when not only traces of Little Russian customs and antiquity will disappear forever, but also the language itself will merge with the huge river of the mighty, dominant Russian language and will not leave any trace of its existence, plunges me into such a melancholy that there are moments when I feel like renouncing all my ambitions and going away to the peaceful refuge of the simple villager in order to catch the last sounds of the native tongue which is dying every day’ (Luckyj 1971: 44).

³⁷ On the Ukrainian side some have gone to the opposite extreme of claiming that the enormous Polish element in Ukrainian is largely a result of contiguity within the Slavonic continuum. See for instance the *Wikipedia* article on ‘Ukrainian Language’: ‘Ukrainian and Polish language do share a lot of common or similar words, but so do all Slavic languages, since many words are carried over from the extinct Proto-Slavic language, the common ancestor of the modern ones. A much smaller part of their common vocabulary can be attributed to the later interaction of the two languages.’ The latter statement does not ring quite true in relation to the dialects of Western Ukraine (at least in their pre-World War II form) or to the typical literary Ukrainian of the diaspora. The fact that no amount of borrowing from Polish can alter the essential individuality of Ukrainian was well expressed several decades ago by William Matthews in his entry ‘Ukrainian Language’ for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1965, Vol. 22, 669): ‘Like White Russian, it [Ukrainian] has a large body of Polish words and expressions, although here again the fundamental linguistic features are of independent development’. It should be emphasized that Ukrainian is distanced from Russian not only because of its copious borrowings from Polish, but also because Russian has borrowed more widely from Church Slavonic and from Turkic languages than has Ukrainian, and because of a certain amount of Russian lexical innovation in its Slavonic vocabulary which today contrasts with Ukrainian conservatism, cf. lexemes like ‘Sunday’ (Ukr. неділя ~ R. воскресенье), ‘horse’ (Ukr. кінь ~ R. лошадь), ‘eye’ (Ukr. око ~ R. глаз), ‘big’ (Ukr. великий ~ R. большой).

revival of the language in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, with Kharkiv as its centre. However, the Stalinist regime reverted to the old tsarist abolitionism, though often in a less overt manner.³⁸

Yuri Sherekh (George Shevelov) has pointed out that the Soviets from the 1930s on, in addition to implementing what he calls ‘classic’ methods of linguistic domination, such as banning Ukrainian from public use and imposing the state language through education or career opportunities, ‘introduced interference into the structure of the Ukrainian language by prohibiting certain words, syntactic constructions, grammatical forms, spelling and orthoepic standards, while promoting others patterned on Russian or directly transplanted from Russian.’³⁹ Ukrainian suffered a major setback in its own territory in 1958, when the Soviet education system was restructured. Orest Subtelny observes in his history of Ukraine that up to this time

students in the USSR were required to study their native language as well as Russian. Khrushchev’s seemingly liberal reform proposed that parents be given the right to choose their children’s language of instruction. In effect, this meant that one could be educated in Ukraine without learning Ukrainian. Given the variety of formal and informal pressures to learn Russian, it was to be expected that many parents would choose to have their children study in Russian and not to burden them with a second, albeit native, language. Despite a storm of protest and indignation in which even Ukrainian party officials joined, the regime pushed through this blow to the study of non-Russian languages, indicating that even in times of liberalization it was ready to modify but not abandon completely its policy of Russification.⁴⁰

In the meantime the diaspora writers who cultivated and developed literary Ukrainian in Western Europe, the Americas and Australia after World War II generally held fast to the conventions of the polonizing Lviv koiné, a choice dictated as much by opposition to Soviet Russian imperialism as by the fact that a majority of émigrés were from Western Ukraine and that both the Galician Greek Catholic and Volhynian Ukrainian Orthodox clergy belonged to the Polish-educated generations. In the postwar period, contacts with Soviet

³⁸ On these two periods in the history of the Ukrainian language see Chapters 5 and 6 of Shevelov 1989.

³⁹ Shevelov 1989: 220.

⁴⁰ Subtelny 1988: 502.

Ukraine were difficult, and though diaspora writers were familiar with many Soviet Ukrainian publications, it was considered politically unacceptable by most to adopt the same russified idiom that was being promoted in contemporary Ukraine. The post-1928 Soviet orthographical reforms were also carefully eschewed. Thus the two parallel literary standards continued to flourish, and although a certain amount of convergence between the Kharkiv and Lviv schools had already been achieved by 1944,⁴¹ the synthesis remained incomplete, with avowed nationalistic ideals of one unitary language paralysed by the political realities of the Cold War.

As one might expect, after Ukraine gained independence in 1991, the country's political elites tried to reverse the prevailing policy of enforced russification. To quote Maksym Strikha in his article 'Language and Language Policy in Ukraine':

After the [1999] elections some attempt was made to strengthen the position of the Ukrainian language. Two prominent figures in Viktor Yushchenko's Cabinet, vice-Premier Mykola Zhulynsky and the head of the State Committee on Information, Ivan Drach, paid much attention to the problem of language in their public speeches. Government measures in support of the Ukrainian language, however, were completely ineffective, although they sparked a storm of protests from pro-Russian political groups in Ukraine and from Russia. In 1999 and 2000 an attempt was made to restore some rules of Ukrainian grammar that had been abolished as 'nationalist' by the Bolsheviks in the early 1930s. This also failed because of criticism from the left and those Russophones who thought the proposed changes artificial and oriented to the diaspora in the West, as well as from many Ukrainophones who feared that the changes would complicate the position of the Ukrainian language by discouraging many people from using it.⁴²

As recently as the 1990s Laada Bilaniuk, referring to informants for her linguistic research, reported that they 'complained that during the last few decades the Ukrainian language was neglected. Meanwhile, much attention was given to Russian, both in television programs and in publications that discussed correct usages. These informants attributed the low status of Ukrainian to "its shabby state", which was the result of the state's lack of

⁴¹ Sherekh 1949: 1-2.

⁴² Strikha 2001: 247.

attention.⁴³ Neglect of Ukrainian has led to a de facto diglossic situation whereby many speakers have a better knowledge of Russian vocabulary and idiom than Ukrainian ones. The consequent tendency to relexify imperfectly-known Ukrainian with Russian words and idioms has given rise to the phenomenon of the highly russified variety of colloquial Ukrainian called *surzhyk* (суржик).⁴⁴ A large number of *surzhyk* speakers whose attitudes towards Ukrainian are generally positive use this linguistic half-way house *faute de mieux*. However, there are others, victims of a cultural cringe towards all things Russian, who use *surzhyk* with the belief that those traditional elements of their language that do not have a direct counterpart in Russian are somehow ‘substandard’ or ‘out of date’ and best replaced by russicisms. In either case the spread of this hybrid instead of genuine Ukrainian is considered insidious because the logical and inevitable consequence of recognizing the unattainability of good Ukrainian or its supposed inadequacy is the tendency to give up what is perceived as a second-rate and derivative language in favour of the ‘real’ language, Russian, one in any case far better resourced than Ukrainian in terms of literature.

In assessing the present state of the language one must thus take stock of both the persistent trends towards russification in Ukraine itself, and the continuing resistance to it within Ukraine (especially in the western regions) and on the part of so many diaspora writers who write out of habit (when not actively favouring) the Western, polonized lexical canon inherited from pre-war Galicia. Given these realities, and the fact that the use of dialect is far from dead either in Ukraine or abroad, what response can be made by linguists and teachers of Ukrainian?

First and foremost, the internal diversity we have described needs to be frankly recognized and studied in a scientific way, rather than ignored in the interests of an out-of-date ideology that confuses unity with uniformity. There persists in Ukraine and in sections of the diaspora a politically correct tendency to underplay or even deny the internal differences within the Ukrainian language, as if this reality were a ‘weakness’ and fuel to the fire of those who would deny the individuality and integrity of Ukrainian as a language.

⁴³ Bilaniuk 1997: 96.

⁴⁴ This word originally denoted a poor-quality bread made of mixed flour.

We would suggest that such defensive attitudes, while understandable given the challenges still facing Ukrainian, are both unhelpful and unnecessary in the light of the large degree of common standardization achieved in both historic variants of the literary language. Thanks to a century of convergence and synthesis and closer mutual contact since the end of the Cold War, today standard Eastern-based Ukrainian and its diaspora Western-based variant are closer than ever before, at least on the levels of orthography and grammar. This fact should inspire sufficient confidence in the achievements and potential of the language to allow writers and educators to embrace the rich lexical diversity within the language and see it as an asset rather than as a problem.

At the same time the pedagogical challenges posed by this embarrassment of lexical riches and the continuing co-existence of the two literary varieties invite a practical response from scholars of Ukrainian. A major defect of the Ukrainian language courses and dictionaries published to date is their failure to inform users about the regional distinctions within the language they are trying to learn. To give some examples, the Ukrainian course of Jurij Žluktenko, N. Toc'ka and T. Molodid (1978), a product of the Soviet era, teaches russified Eastern Ukrainian and simply ignores the existing Western variety. The Canadian productions of the Cold War era, for instance those of George Luckyj and Jaroslav Rudnyčkyj (1949) and of Borislav Bilash (1961), generally taught the Lviv koiné, i.e. standard Ukrainian phonology, morphology and syntax with a basically Galician vocabulary but not excluding various Eastern Ukrainian words well established in the literary language. Thus in the 1949 textbook the words given for 'chair', 'lesson', 'female cat', 'desk' and 'glass' are the Galician крісло, лекція, кітка, лавка, шкло not the Eastern стілець, урок, кішка, партя, скло, though both Western атрамент, зімний and Eastern чорніло, холодний are proposed for 'ink' and 'cold' respectively. However, the student is not informed about the origin and identity of these synonyms.

Of the two more recent diaspora language courses (also written in Canada), that of Danylo Struk (*Ukrainian for Undergraduates*, 1978), maintains the Lviv koiné tradition without any clarificatory comment on the phenomenon of polyonymy. By contrast Assya Humesky's course (*Modern Ukrainian*, 1988) teaches a more standard Ukrainian and tries to give helpful information about Western variants, though not in a systematic way. The Routledge publication *Ukrainian: A Comprehensive Grammar* by Stefan Pugh and Ian Press (1999) is firmly grounded in the Eastern variant of the literary

language, and though alluding in the introduction to differences in vocabulary due to superstrata, does not deal in the body of the work with the internal variations within the morphology and syntax of Ukrainian.

As regards dictionaries, *Орфографічний словник української мови* (1994) of the Ukraine National Academy for the Sciences and Humanities mixes together words from both varieties (though fewer typical Western than Eastern terms) without any system of marking or identifying them. By contrast C. Andrusyshen's and J. Krett's monumental and scholarly Ukrainian-English dictionary (1955) is careful to mark peculiarly Western forms and direct polonisms. However, when it comes to English-Ukrainian dictionaries, precisely in the area where the student needs to know which term to use for, say, 'frying pan', depending on the linguistic habits of the Ukrainians he or she is dealing with, there is an unfortunate lacuna in our lexicographical literature. Here again, the English-Ukrainian dictionaries written and published in Ukraine (e.g. those of M. Podvez'ko, 1957 and M. Podvez'ko and M. Balla, 1974) simply ignore the differences between the two main varieties,⁴⁵ as does the online English-Ukrainian dictionary now available on the internet. Maria Dejko's Australian-published dictionary (*Англійсько-український словник широкого вжитку*, 1979) gives terms from both varieties, but without consistency and without identifying them for the user. For example, if one looks up the words *сковорода* and *пательня* in Dejko's dictionary, one is given the equivalency 'frying pan', but then finds only *сковорода* when seeking the term for 'frying pan' in the complementary English-Ukrainian volume. Students of the language are thus given no indication that there are two common terms, the first used in the eastern regions (and the standard term) and the second (from Polish *patelnia*) in the western region and preferred by most diaspora speakers.

Wasył Niniows'kyi's *Ukrainian-English and English-Ukrainian Dictionary*, published in Canada in 1985, gives Western and specifically Galician equivalencies of English words rather than standard Ukrainian equivalencies, and it suffers from numerous gaps, including omissions of some very common English headwords. The first volume of the short English-

⁴⁵ The smaller dictionaries compiled or edited by Jurij Žluktenko (a Ukrainian-English dictionary of 1982 and an English-Ukrainian one of 1984) are also based squarely on standard Eastern Ukrainian.

Ukrainian dictionary of Wasylj Lew and Iwan Werbianyj (*Англійсько-український та українсько-англійський словник*), published in West Germany in 1947, generally translated English words into literary Galician, but strove to include Eastern Ukrainian synonyms where these were already accepted in the literary idiom of Western Ukrainians.⁴⁶ In a large number of entries both western and eastern terms are given, though they are never identified as such. To some extent this work is the obverse of Hryhorij Holoskevych's *Правописний словник* of 1930, adopted as the literary standard by the Diaspora and reprinted in New York in 1955, which is founded on the eastern lexical canon but does include some western Ukrainian variants occasionally identified as such.

In sum, only Jaroslav Rudnyc'kyj's etymological dictionary of 1966, not intended for ordinary learners of the language, gives comprehensive information about regional variants and synonyms in Ukrainian (listing even English and Portuguese loanwords in overseas varieties), and as George Shevelov noted in a study of 1955, there is no complete lexicographical description of any regional variety of Ukrainian.⁴⁷ The best remedy for this gap would be a comprehensive English-Ukrainian dictionary which, based on painstaking research involving a wide variety of informants, would render for each English word the Standard Ukrainian term as well as supply the other current regionalisms, marking them appropriately. However, as such a dictionary would be many years in production, what the present writers propose as an interim solution is a usage manual targeting the most problematical lexical concepts in the language, i.e. those which are polyonymous, with different synonyms established in various regions of the country.⁴⁸ While it would be pointless to treat in such a manual lexical concepts which are mononymous in all varieties of Ukrainian (e.g. небо 'sky', земля 'land', тіло 'body', рука 'hand', церква 'church', великий 'big', червоний 'red', робити 'to make' and їсти 'to eat'), the range of entries in the

⁴⁶ By contrast V. Zacharkiw's small Ukrainian-English dictionary, authorized by the Allied Military Government in Regensburg (Germany) in September 1945 gives typically Galician vocabulary.

⁴⁷ Sherekh 1949: 1-2.

⁴⁸ The usage manual *Як ми говоримо* compiled by Borys Antonenko-Davydovych (1979), though published in Canada, deals with doubts concerning usage in Standard (Eastern) Ukrainian and makes very few references to Western Ukrainian synonyms.

proposed manual would still be necessarily broad, given the sheer extent of Ukrainian polyonymy.

Ideally such an undertaking would have both diachronic and synchronic concerns. On the one hand there is the need to identify the traditional Western Ukrainian lexemes ('occidentalisms', not all of which are simple Polish loanwords) in present-day Ukraine and to investigate their currency today, given that concomitant russifying and de-polonizing trends have had a strong impact even in Galicia, especially in urban speech, since 1944. The task of establishing the current status of these terms would be facilitated by sorting them into the three broad categories of (1) occidentalisms still current in Galicia; (2) occidentalisms now obsolescent in Galicia; and (3) occidentalisms already obsolete in Galicia and now typical only of diaspora Ukrainian speech. Within the regional dialects and sociolects of Galicia a considerable grey area of divergence and mutual contradiction can be anticipated. The other focus of the proposed research would be a thorough investigation of the modern technical terms currently used in Ukraine (e.g. those relating to the media, sports, computers etc.), many of which are unfamiliar or unknown to diaspora Ukrainians. This would require a close study of the numerous anglicisms now penetrating the Ukrainian vocabulary, both directly and via Russian.

In providing much valuable material for learners and diaspora writers of the language, the proposed manual would complement the existing course books and dictionaries. It would also be of interest to the compilers of future courses, grammars and dictionaries of Ukrainian. Moreover at a time when the Ukrainian language finds itself in a state of flux because of rapid social change in the home country, it would also provide a repertory of traditional and regional alternatives to russicisms recently enshrined in Standard Ukrainian which language reformers in Ukraine might wish to replace or complement with words that arguably have a better pedigree in the national linguistic tradition.

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