

**Morphosyntactic analysis of Surzhyk, a Russian–Ukrainian
mixed lect**

**A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY**

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**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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August 2012

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the assistance of the following professors:

- Dr. J.P. Marcotte for his invaluable guidance on the earlier drafts of this dissertation.
- Dr. Nancy Stenson for many hours of time and guidance. Her knowledge and expertise in the area of language contact and field research made this dissertation possible.

I would like to thank my research participants in Ukraine for providing me with hours of corpus data and for sharing their life stories with me. Their stories enriched me professionally, culturally, and spiritually.

I would like to thank my colleagues from the Classical Private University in Ukraine for their help with collecting data and recruiting research participants for my study.

I would like to thank my parents, Viktor and Svitlana Dyatlov, for help and support throughout these years of graduate studies. They spent countless hours helping me recruit the research participants, driving me to my research sites all over Ukraine, and watching my son so that I can spend time writing.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Daniel, and my son, Motya, who watched me sit in front of the computer and write, who supported me through all of the difficult times and stress that dissertation writing can cause. I love you both.

Dedication

To my parents:

You taught me to persevere no matter what.

To Daniel and Motya:

Thank you for motivating and supporting me every step of the way.

Abstract

Surzhyk is a stigmatized Russian–Ukrainian language variety spoken in Ukraine. Although several authors have conducted research on Surzhyk, an agreed-upon classification of this language variety has not been found. Scholars classify any combination of Russian and Ukrainian elements in the same utterance as Surzhyk. Having classified spoken data that combined Russian and Ukrainian language juxtapositions, I identified what constitutes Surzhyk Proper and what are cases of Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching and lexical borrowing. Surzhyk Proper has a systematic internal structure. Its morphosyntax is supplied by Ukrainian, while lexical items are supplied either by Ukrainian or by Russian.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

| | |
|--------|-----------------|
| 1 | 1st person |
| 2 | 2nd person |
| 3 | 3rd person |
| ACC | Accusative |
| CONT | Continuous |
| DAT | Dative |
| DIMIN | Diminutive |
| FEM | Feminine |
| GEN | Genitive |
| IL | Interlanguage |
| INST | Instrumental |
| INTENS | Intensifier |
| L2 | Second language |
| LOC | Locative |
| MASC | Masculine |
| NEG | Negation |
| NEUT | Neuter |
| NL | Native language |
| PL | Plural |
| SG | Singular |
| TL | Target language |
| TOP | Topic |

CHAPTER 1

THE CONTEXT OF RESEARCH: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

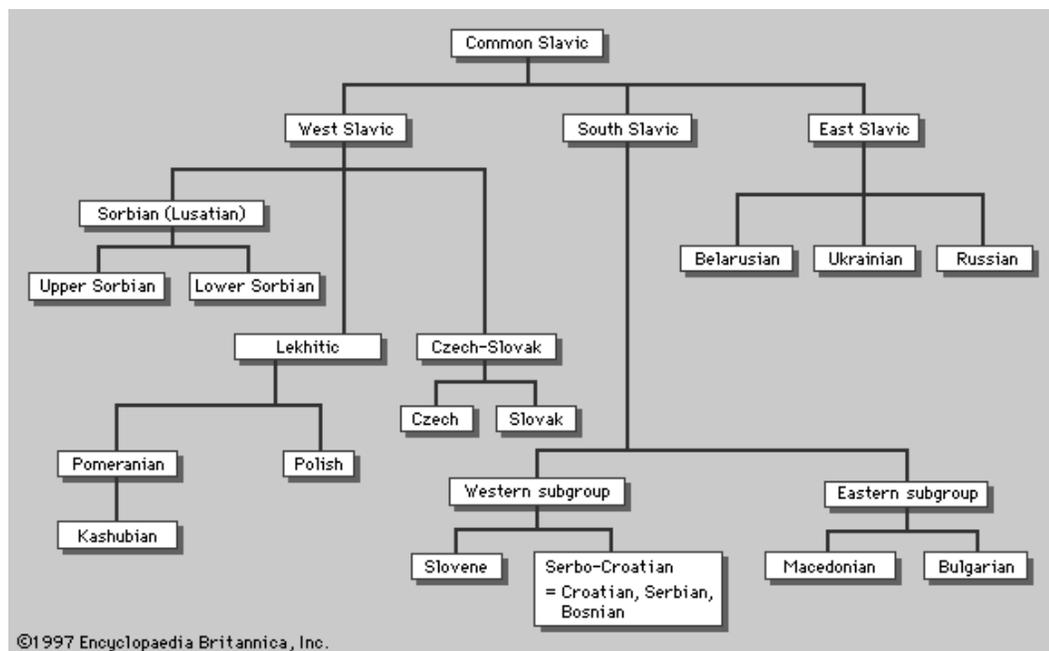
The term ‘surzhyk’ comes from a Russian term denoting a type of flour. A dictionary of the Russian language defines Surzhyk as a ‘mixture of wheat and rye flour; adulterated wheat flour’ (Ushakov 1940). Now Surzhyk is used to denote a Russian-Ukrainian language mixture. *The Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Language* defines Surzhyk as a colloquial Ukrainian variety that combines a large number of Russian elements and has become the main means of communication for some of the Ukrainian population (Rusanivs’kyi 2000: 689). The word has a negative connotation and opposes the language mixture with varieties of language perceived as pure, such as the standard variety of Ukrainian. According to Bilaniuk (2004), current public discourse associates Surzhyk with parochialism, lack of education, and a low culture. Since there exist some other Ukrainian dialects not generated in contact with Russian, ethnographers and anthropologists use the term ‘surzhyk’ to indicate a language variety ‘in which the entire grammar of Ukrainian—phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon—contains Russian-influenced elements’ which are not present in the Standard Ukrainian variety (Flier 1998: 114, Bilaniuk 2004). Long coexistence of Ukrainian and Russian and language policies implemented by the Russian Empire and the Soviet government created favorable conditions for development of a mixed language variety. However, in both public discourse and linguistic literature anything from occasional borrowing to codeswitching

to language mixing is identified as ‘surzhyk’.¹ I claim that Surzhyk is a mixed lect spoken primarily in Central and Southeastern Ukraine and that the term ‘surzhyk’ has been used too broadly. In this dissertation I will tease apart various linguistic forms previously identified as ‘surzhyk’ and establish what can be classified as true Surzhyk and what constitutes other contact phenomena, such as codeswitching and borrowing. I will also classify Surzhyk with regard to other contact phenomena such as lexical borrowing, codeswitching, mixed languages, interlanguages, and creoles. Since Surzhyk is considered to be an offspring of Ukrainian and Russian and a product of Russian political, cultural, and linguistic hegemony, one should also consider the historical development of Ukrainian and language policies during the Tsarist and Soviet Eras that aided in the origin of Surzhyk.

Ukrainian, Russian, and Belorussian comprise the East Slavic branch of the Common Slavic language family.

¹ Since the term ‘surzhyk’ has been applied indiscriminately to any language variety containing Russian and Ukrainian elements, I will use the term Surzhyk (uppercase) to refer to a specific language mixture that is characterized by the use of Russian bound morphemes with Ukrainian free morphemes (among other features described in Chapter 3). I will use ‘surzhyk’ (lowercase and in quotes) to refer to any Russian–Ukrainian mixing in a broad sense. This measure is necessitated by the inconsistency with which various authors (Flier 1998, Stavytska & Trub 2007, Gasparov 2006, inter alia) define and use the term ‘surzhyk’. There are three at least three different ways in which ‘surzhyk’ is used in linguistic literature: surzhyk (no quotes, lowercase), ‘surzhyk’ (in quotes, lowercase), and Surzhyk (no quotes, uppercase). When I discuss the work of other authors I will use the term ‘surzhyk’ without regard to how the term is used by that author. Summarizing, ‘surzhyk’ will be used in the broad sense and Surzhyk will be used in the narrow sense to apply to the language variety I call Surzhyk Proper.

FIGURE 1.1
The Slavic language family



(Slavonic Languages, <http://www.rkp-montreal.org/en/05slavoniclanguages.html>)

The formation of the standard Modern Ukrainian language dates back to the 18th century when Ukrainian lands were partitioned between the Russian and Austrian (later Austro–Hungarian) Empires. Ukrainian was devalued under the imperial powers in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the Russian Empire, four decrees of 1720, 1863, 1876, and 1881 banned any publications and education in Ukrainian, as well as public use of this language, causing the extensive Russification of Ukraine (Pivtorak 1998, Pugh 2007). The Ukrainian language had the status of a peasant language and was forced out of urban centers. The Austro–Hungarian Empire’s more lenient language policies aided in the development of the standard Ukrainian language, culture, and distinct national identity. This uneven development caused the current dichotomy in language use and language

attitudes in Ukraine with a Ukrainian speaking west and a predominantly Russian speaking east (Bilaniuk 1998, Taranenko 2007).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ukrainian government and the national elite promoted the use of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of political and social life, encouraging more people in urban areas to speak and study Ukrainian. Education programs in Ukrainian raised the level of literacy of the rural population. The government promoted publication of literature in Ukrainian; a great number of universities opened departments of Ukrainian studies (Pivtorak 2001). The situation changed with the advent of the Stalin regime, which thwarted the development of Ukrainian as an independent language. Although the second half of the 20th century was marked by more lenient policies towards the titular languages of the Soviet Union, the implicit Russification of Ukraine continued until 1989 (Bilaniuk 2004, Zon 2001).

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine adopted the Language Law in 1989 stipulating Ukrainian as the official language of Ukraine. Ukrainian became the symbol of a new national identity. Its use spread to public, educational, and official spheres. However, a larger proportion of the population residing in Central, Eastern, and Southern Ukraine reported having greater proficiency in Russian than in Ukrainian (Bilaniuk & Melnyk 2008). The fight for purity of the standard Ukrainian variety drew a lot of attention to ‘surzhyk’ in the second half of the 1990s. A wave of publications appeared calling to obliterate ‘surzhyk’ as an impure language of the poorly educated masses. A sociological survey showed that 11–18 percent of the residents of Ukraine (5–8 million people) reported speaking ‘surzhyk’ as their primary language (Bilaniuk & Melnyk 2008). The researchers contend that ‘surzhyk’ is spoken in scattered communities

by mainly rural or suburban dwellers of Central and Southeastern Ukraine (Bilaniuk 2004, Stavyt'ska & Trub 2007). Virtually no linguistic research was done to describe this variety until the late 1990s. Although in public discourse the term 'surzhyk' is used broadly to indicate anything from occasional borrowing to mixing Russian and Ukrainian in the same utterance, the linguistic literature strives to pinpoint certain identifying features of Surzhyk and give a more precise characterization of it.

I offer an analysis of Surzhyk as a linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomenon. In terms of sociolinguistic research, I will consider the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Surzhyk-speaking community as well as Surzhyk's status by examining Surzhyk language attitudes and comparing them to attitudes toward Russian and Ukrainian (Chapter 2). I will also describe sociolinguistic characteristics of the speakers who provided me with data. In terms of linguistic research, I will examine the structure of Surzhyk (Chapter 3) using two frameworks for the analysis of contact phenomena, Auer (1999) and Myers-Scotton (2002). Since the term 'surzhyk' has been applied too broadly to mean any combination of Russian and Ukrainian in an utterance, I will tease out the elements that can be attributed to Surzhyk and those that can be analyzed as Ukrainian–Russian codeswitching or lexical borrowing (Chapter 3). In Chapter 4 I will propose a proper theoretical classification of Surzhyk. Then I will draw my conclusions and outline steps for future research (Chapter 5). Structural and sociolinguistic analyses complement each other, providing a more complete picture of what characterizes Surzhyk and the Surzhyk-speaking community.

In the remainder of this chapter I will lay out the goals of the dissertation (§1.1). Then I will consider the differences between the Russian and Ukrainian languages (§1.2),

and the geographical, as well as sociopolitical conditions for the genesis of Surzhyk (§1.3). In (§1.4) I will review the existing analyses of the language variety scholars term ‘surzhyk’. In (§1.5) I will briefly summarize the chapter.

1.1 Research questions and goals of the dissertation

Question 1: What are the structural characteristics of Surzhyk based on spoken data?

Some researchers hypothesize that Surzhyk has an internal structure (Stavytska & Trub 2007, Bilaniuk 2004, Flier 1998). Scholars have mainly focused on the differences between the phonological systems of ‘surzhyk’ and those of Russian and Ukrainian (Flier 1998, Gaparov 2006). To answer Question 1, I analyzed the morphosyntactic structure of Surzhyk. I specifically considered the subsystems of discourse markers (e.g. *however, actually, for example*, etc.) and complementizers (e.g. *that, but, because*), verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and modifiers of the noun phrases.

The analysis shows that the verb *be* in Surzhyk comes from Russian in the Present tense and from Ukrainian in the Past and Future tense. Verbal derivational affixes that mark viewpoint aspect are supplied by Russian on both Ukrainian and Russian verb stems. Ukrainian verbs of motion indicating movement to/into/towards an object or a place select only for the Russian preposition instead of the Ukrainian one. Discourse markers and complementizers are supplied by Russian, which indicates vocabulary replacement.

Question 2: What is Surzhyk?

Linguistic literature and public discourse do not agree on the definition of Surzhyk. Basically, any presence of both Russian and Ukrainian elements in the same

utterance is considered ‘surzhyk’. Such universal language contact phenomena as lexical borrowing and codeswitching are often termed ‘surzhyk’. Various scholars have also postulated that Surzhyk can be classified as a mixed language, language interference, creole, social dialect, or interlanguage of second language (L2) learners (Bilaniuk 2004, Masenko 2008, Vakhtin et al. 2003, Gasparov 2006, Stavytska & Trub 2007, inter alia). One of the goals of this dissertation is to tease out what Surzhyk truly is and what it is not.

After comparing each of the language contact phenomena mentioned above to Surzhyk, I conclude that it can be best classified as a mixed lect. A mixed lect (Auer 1999) is a speech of bilinguals that contains elements of two or more languages, has an internal structure but is not stable enough to be considered a mixed language. Russian borrowing into Ukrainian is not Surzhyk because unlike Surzhyk, borrowed items (from Russian or other languages, such as English) are used throughout the territory of Ukraine and are often stipulated in the dictionaries. Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching is not Surzhyk because in codeswitching it cannot be predicted when a turn from one language to another will occur. Due to the fact that Surzhyk has an internal structure, it is possible to predict what elements will be supplied by Russian and what elements will most likely come from Ukrainian, among other differences. Surzhyk cannot be classified as a creole because it differs in structural features from established creoles, and its sociohistorical conditions differ from those of creole genesis. Surzhyk could be classified as a social dialect because it is spoken by people of a certain socio-economic background—mainly by residents of semi-urban or rural areas who have a High School Diploma or Vocational degree. However, due to pervasive presence of Russian elements in otherwise Ukrainian

speech, it is erroneous to classify Surzhyk as a dialect of Ukrainian. Surzhyk might also very well be classified as interlanguage—a linguistic system originating in the process of second language learning, which contains forms different from both the first (native) and the second (target) languages. From the diachronic perspective, Surzhyk might have originated as a fossilized interlanguage when Ukrainian speaking peasants started moving to the urban centers where they switched to Russian. But from a synchronic perspective, Surzhyk is best described as a mixed lect.

Question 3: What are the attitudes towards Surzhyk?

Surzhyk entered the arena of public and linguistic interest only at the end of the 20th century when the sphere of linguistic dominance was contested by Russian and Ukrainian. The Ukrainian language, fighting for the status of the language of prestige for three centuries, has finally started gaining such status. The Russian language has been and still remains the language of business and commerce. Surzhyk is seen as a bastard child of Russian dominance and a potential threat to the purity of Ukrainian. Since language attitudes shape language ideology and contribute to ethnolinguistic vitality of the linguistic variety, one of the questions in this dissertation is devoted to language attitudes and how attitudes toward ‘surzhyk’ compare to those toward Ukrainian and Russian.

Consistent with the literature on the status of ‘surzhyk’ in Ukraine (Masenko 2004, 2008) the results showed that attitudes towards ‘surzhyk’ are significantly different from attitudes towards Russian and Ukrainian. Moreover, urbanites rate ‘surzhyk’ significantly lower than rural dwellers do.

1.2 Differences between the Russian and Ukrainian languages

Even though Russian and Ukrainian are similar, there are some differences that prove critical to understanding Surzhyk. In what follows I will sketch the differences in lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax.

One problem in the classification and analysis of Surzhyk lies in the fact that two closely related languages, Russian and Ukrainian, comprise its morphosyntactic structure: word order, case systems, verb conjugation patterns, etc., are very similar. In this section I will identify the differences between Russian and Ukrainian that are relevant for the analysis of Surzhyk. Both Russian and Ukrainian originated from the Common East Slavic language (Pugh 2007, Ohienko 2001, Shevel'ov 2002). Although in the course of their historical development and due to geographical proximity, common ancestry, and prolonged language contact, Russian and Ukrainian retained a number of similarities, there are significant differences to be pointed out.

1.2.1 Lexicon

Two languages are deemed to be not mutually intelligible if their lexical similarity is less than 85 percent (Lewis 2009). According to Tyshchenko (2000), the lexicons of Russian and Ukrainian differ by 38 percent, as shown in Table 1.1 below.

TABLE 1.1
Different Lexemes in Ukrainian and Russian

| Ukrainian lexemes | Russian lexemes | Gloss |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| kvitka | tsvetok | flower |
| khlopets' | mal'chik | boy |
| sporuda | Zdanie | building |
| kravatka | galstuk | tie |
| chuty | slyshat' | to hear |
| bachyty | videt' | to see |
| diakuvaty | blagodarit' | to thank |
| vitaty | privetstvovat' | to greet |
| zhakhlyvyi | uzhasnyi | horrible |
| shvydko | Bistro | fast (adv.) |

To compare with other European languages belonging to a single subfamily of Indo-European, Spanish and Portuguese differ by 25 percent and Spanish and Italian by 33percent (Tyshchenko 2000: 266–267). The remainder of the Ukrainian lexicon contains 44 percent of lexical units morphemically identical to Russian, such as the stem of the verb ‘sleep’ *spa*, which is identical for both Ukrainian and Russian and 18 percent are morphemically similar. Table 1.2 below illustrates a few more examples of morphemically identical lexemes.

TABLE 1.2
Morphemically identical lexemes in Ukrainian and Russian

| Ukrainian lexemes | Russian lexemes | Gloss |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| sontse | sontse | Sun |
| sobaka | sobaka | Dog |
| balova | balova | Spoil |
| skaza | skaza | Say |
| bezdomnyi | bezdomnyi | Homeless |
| poparno | poparno | in pairs (adv.) |

Among the 18 percent of all lexical items that are morphemically similar to Russian, for instance, both Ukrainian and Russian have a number of stems that differ only in one phoneme.

- (1) a. /kin^j/ (U)
 ‘horse’
 b. /kon^j/ (R)
- (2) a. /d^jid/ (U)
 ‘old man’
 b. /d^jed/ (R)
- (3) a. /m^jist/ (U)
 ‘bridge’
 b. /most/ (R)

The reason for differentiation between /i/ in Ukrainian and /o/ and /e/ in Russian in Examples (1)–(3) is historical sound change of etymologically related morphemes (the morphemes are known as *jers* in Proto Slavic) in both languages (Pugh 2007). According to Lewis’ classification of languages’ mutual intelligibility, Russian and Ukrainian are mutually unintelligible.

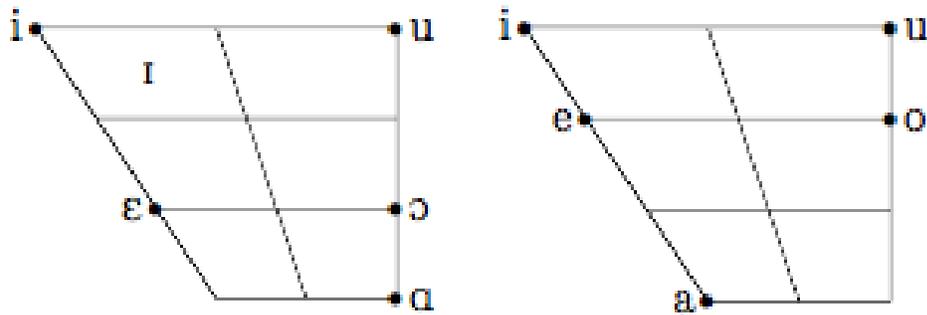
1.2.2 Phonology

VOWEL SYSTEM. The phonological systems of Russian and Ukrainian are different in both inventory and phonetic detail. The Russian vowel system has five vowels,² while

² There are two opposing views on the number of phonemes in the Russian phoneme inventory. The Saint Petersburg School of Linguistics distinguishes a 6 phoneme inventory (/i/ /e/ /a/ /u/ /o/ /ɨ/) while the Moscow School of Linguistics distinguishes 5 phonemes with [ɨ] being an allophone of /i/ due to its limited distribution (Matusevich 1976). For the purposes of this thesis I will follow the position of the Moscow School of

Ukrainian is a six-vowel system (Bilous 2010, Zilynskyj 1979, Pugh 2007, Ponomariv 2001).

FIGURE 1.2
Vowel phoneme inventory of Ukrainian (left) and Russian (right)



Even though both systems are phonemically similar, they are phonetically distinct. In Russian the vowel /o/ is reduced to [a] or [ə] in an unstressed syllable, the process known as ‘akanie’. In Ukrainian this reduction of /ɔ/ does not occur. Instead, /ɔ/ surfaces as [o] in unstressed syllables. Example (4) demonstrates the pronunciation of the Russian and Ukrainian words for *milk*, although orthographically these words are identical in both languages as ‘молоко’ (Bilaniuk & Melnyk 2008).

- (4) a. [mala'ko] (R)
/moloko/
b. [molo'kɔ] (U)
/mɔlɔkɔ/

Linguistics. However, the number of phonemes in the inventory does not matter since it is quality of phonemes that make the inventories different.

CONSONANT SYSTEM. Similar to the vowel systems, Russian and Ukrainian consonants differ both in quantity and quality. Compare the two tables below illustrating Russian and Ukrainian consonant inventories.

TABLE 1.3
Russian consonant phoneme inventory

| | Labial | | Labiodental | | Denti-alveolar | | Alveolar | | Palatal | | Velar | |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------|----------------|---------|----------------|-------|----------------|
| | Hard ³ | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft |
| Plosive | p | p ^j | | | t | t ^j | | | | | k | k ^j |
| | b | b ^j | | | d | d ^j | | | | | g | g ^j |
| Nasal | m | m ^j | | | n | n ^j | | | | | | |
| Trill | | | | | | | r | r ^j | | | | |
| Fricative | | | f | f ^j | s | s ^j | | | ʃ | ʃ ^j | x | x ^j |
| | | | v | v ^j | z | z ^j | | | ʒ | ʒ ^j | | |
| Affricate | | | | | ts | tʃ | | | | | | |
| Approximant | | | | | | | | | | j | | |
| Lateral Approximant | | | | | l | l ^j | | | | | | |

Palatalization is phonemic in Russian and Ukrainian. Most of the consonants in the inventory form contrastive non-palatalized–palatalized pairs, as shown in Table 1.3. For instance, /p/ is a non-palatalized counterpart of /p^j/, which is palatalized. The only consonants that are not paired for palatalization are /ʃ, ʒ, ts, tʃ, f, ʃ^j, ʒ^j, j/. Phonemes /ʃ, ʒ, ts/ are never palatalized, while /ʃ^j, ʒ^j, j/ are always palatalized. Phonemes /ʃ^j/ and /ʒ^j/

³ Hard and soft specifications for consonants in Tables 1.3 and 1.4 refer to phonemic palatalization. One of the examples of contrastive palatalization in Russian are lexemes /mel/ ‘chalk’ and /mel^j/ ‘shallow place’. Note that only the presence of the palatalized /l^j/ or non-palatalized /l/ phonemes causes difference in meaning.

are not the palatalized equivalents of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ and are the only long consonants in Russian.

TABLE 1.4
Ukrainian consonant phoneme inventory

| | Labial | | Labiodental | | Denti-alveolar | | Alveolar | | Palatal | | Velar | | Glottal | |
|---------------------|--------|------|-------------|------|----------------|------|----------|------|---------|------|-------|------|---------|------|
| | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft | Hard | Soft |
| Plosive | p | | | | t | tʲ | | | | | k | | | |
| | b | | | | d | dʲ | | | | | g | | | |
| Nasal | m | | | | n | nʲ | | | | | | | | |
| Trill | | | | | | | r | rʲ | | | | | | |
| Fricative | | | f | | s | sʲ | | | ʃ | | x | | | |
| | | | v | | z | zʲ | | | ʒ | | | | ɦ | |
| Affricate | | | | | ts | tsʲ | | | tʃ | | | | | |
| | | | | | dz | dzʲ | | | tʃ | | | | | |
| Approximant | | | | | | | | | | j | | | | |
| Lateral Approximant | | | | | l | lʲ | | | | | | | | |

Ukrainian has contrastive non-palatalized–palatalized pairs only for denti-alveolar and palatal phonemes (Pugh & Press 1999). The rest of them are non-palatalized (with the exception of /j/, which is always soft). The two tables above illustrate the differences in consonant phoneme inventories of Russian and Ukrainian. Ukrainian has more affricates and a glottal fricative,⁴ which is absent from the Russian system.

Unlike Russian, Ukrainian does not have a voiced velar stop /g/ in native Ukrainian words; it appears only in loanwords and assimilated loanwords as in (5).

⁴ Pugh (2007) identifies this phoneme as pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/. For the purpose of this paper, I will accept the treatment of this phoneme as a glottal fricative, following Bilous (2010) and Czaplicki (2006).

- (5) a. /grɪnɔ̯ɔli/
 ‘sleigh’ (Ruthenian loanword into Standard U)
- b. /gudzɔ̯ɔk/
 ‘button’ (Polish loanword into U)

The differences between /fi/ and /g/ reflect predictable historical sound change since the two morphemes derived from the same Proto Slavic form. The glottal fricative /fi/ is used in native Ukrainian words (Shevel’ov 2002). In other words, in common east Slavic words Russian /g/ systematically corresponds to Ukrainian /fi/, as shown in (6) and (7).

- (6) a. /fɪrɔ/
 ‘game’ (U)
- b. /ɪgrɔ/
 ‘game’ (R)
- (7) a. /bɪfɪtɪ/
 ‘to run’ (U)
- b. /bɛgɪtʲ/
 ‘to run’ (R)

Another phonological process that differentiates Russian and Ukrainian is final consonant devoicing. Russian voiced consonants devoice in word-final position, while in Ukrainian final devoicing does not occur, as in (8) and (9) below. Compare the phonetic and phonemic form in each language.

- (8) a. [dɪd] - /dɪd/
 ‘old man’ (U)
- b. [dɛt] - /dɛd/
 ‘old man’ (R)
- (9) a. [snɪfɪ] - /snɪfɪ/
 ‘snow’ (U)

- b. [snex] - /sneg/
‘snow’ (R)

One of the widespread phonetic features in Ukrainian is doubling of a consonant (in orthography) due to assimilation of [j] to the preceding consonant (Pugh 2007, Pugh & Press 1999). This feature originated in Ukrainian and Belarusian but is not found in Russian and does not affect phonemic systems, i.e. the consonant length is not distinctive. See example (10) from Ukrainian.

- (10) a. /nasinnia/
‘seeds’ (U)

- b. /volossia/
‘hair’ (U)

1.2.3 Morphology and Syntax

In addition to differences in their phonological systems, Russian and Ukrainian also diverge in morphology and syntax when it comes to case system, gender, noun declensions, tense, etc. Russian has six cases: Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Instrumental, and Locative. Ukrainian has these six cases in common with Russian and retained one additional case from Proto-Slavic: Vocative. The Russian Vocative case was lost in the course of historical development. In Modern Russian, Vocative case is retained only in the word for God (Table 1.5); for all other words the Nominative case is used.

TABLE 1.5
Vocative case in Russian and Ukrainian

| Case | Russian | | Ukrainian | |
|------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Nominative | /bog/ ‘God’ | /Taras/ ‘Taras’ | /bofi/ ‘God’ | /Taras/ ‘Taras’ |
| Vocative | /boʒ-e/ ‘Oh, God’ | /Taras/ ‘Taras’ | /boʒ-e/ ‘Oh, God’ | /Taras-ɛ/ ‘Oh, Taras’ |

Ukrainian can form the future tense in two ways: by means of an auxiliary verb (11a) or by suffixation (11b). The Russian future tense is formed only by means of an auxiliary verb (12).

(11) a. /bud-u tʃita-ti/
 be-1.SG.FUT read-INF.
 ‘I will read’ (U)

b. /tʃitati-mu/
 read-1SG.FUT

(12) /bud-u tʃita-tʃ/
 be-1SG.FUT read-INF
 ‘I will read’ (R)

The viewpoint aspect of the two languages is similar. It is conveyed mainly through verbal affixes that carry some additional meaning besides a mere perfectivizing function. There are 27 verbal prefixes in Russian and 24 in Ukrainian (Ozerova 2003). Even though most of them are cognate, the number of verbal prefixes, the meaning they convey, and their compatibility with lexical verb classes somewhat differ in Russian and Ukrainian (see Chapter 3 for more on verbal prefixes).

(13) a. /**u**⁵- jeha-tʃ/
 PREF-leave-INF
 ‘leave’(R)

b. /**po**- jiha-ti/
 PREF-leave-INF
 ‘leave’(U)

In (13), the Russian and Ukrainian verbs convey the same spatial characteristics (moving off/away) by two different prefixes.

⁵ Relevant segments are bolded.

The case assigned by some verbs also differs in Russian and Ukrainian. In Russian (14) the verb *thank* requires the Accusative case, while in Ukrainian (15) *thank* requires the Dative case.

Russian

- (14) a. [blagadari-tʲ]
thank-INF
- b. [blagadari-tʲ gast- **ej**]
thank-INF guest-PL.ACC
'to thank the guests'

Ukrainian

- (15) a. [dʲakuvat-ɪ]
thank-INF
- b. [dʲakuva-tɪ fɔstʲ- **am**]
thank-INF guest-PL.DAT
'to thank the guests'

Russian and Ukrainian verbs with similar stems require different prepositions.

Russian [pribitʲ] 'arrive' (16a) requires the preposition *v-* 'to', as in (16a), while its Ukrainian equivalent [pributɪ] (17a) takes either the preposition *do-* 'to' (17b) or *v-* (17c) (see Chapter 3 for more discussion of motion verbs with prepositions *v-* and *do-* in Russian, Ukrainian, and Surzhyk).

Russian

- (16) a. [pribi-tʲ]
arrive-INF
- b. [pribi-tʲ v Lutsk]
arrive-INF to Lutsk.ACC
'arrive in Lutsk'

Ukrainian

- (17) a. [pɾibu-tɪ]
arrive-INF
- b. [pɾibu-tɪ do Lutsk-a]
arrive-INF to Lutsk-GEN
'arrive in Lutsk'(U)
- c. [pɾibu-tɪ v Lutsk]
arrive-INF to Lutsk.ACC
'arrive in Lutsk'(U)

Another important distinction is the difference in case assignment by prepositions in Russian and Ukrainian. For instance, the preposition *po* 'through' assigns the Dative case in Russian (18a) and the Prepositional case to plural nouns in Ukrainian (18b) (case morpheme is bolded in both examples).

- (18) a. [jɛha-tʃ po gorod-**am**]
go-INF. through city-PREP
'drive through cities'(R)
- b. [jiha-tɪ po mist-**ah**]
go-INF through city-PL.PREP
'drive through cities'(U)

A different case assignment is observed with the phrasal verb 'play (an instrument)': ([igratʃ na] in Russian and [ɦratɪ na] in Ukrainian). In Russian this phrasal verb requires the Prepositional case while in Ukrainian the Accusative case (case endings are bolded) must be used.

- (19) a. [igra-tʃ na skripk-**e**]
play-INF on violin-PREP
'to play the violin'(R)

b. [fira-tɪ na skrypɫ-u]
 play-INF on violin-ACC
 ‘to play the violin’(U)

The differences identified above pertain to the Standard Russian and Standard Ukrainian languages. Due to the centuries-long contact and extensive Russification of Ukraine, a Ukrainian variant of the Russian language emerged (Radchuk 2000, Masenko 2008). The existence of this Ukrainianized Russian was denied under the Soviet regime in accordance with the Soviet propaganda to spread the Russian language in all titular states. During the Soviet Union era, a comprehensive study was conducted to examine the extent of Russian–Ukrainian bilingualism in Ukraine (Basova et al. 1988). The study reported balanced bilingualism among the Ukrainian population and equal access to both Russian and Ukrainian. The study also denied the existence of the national variant of the Russian language, claiming that the Standard Literary Russian variety is spoken in Ukraine. Only after the collapse of the Soviet Union did scholars (Stavytska & Trub 2007, Masenko 2008) start talking about the process of influence from Ukrainian on the Russian language (and vice versa) and the uneven nature of Russian–Ukrainian bilingualism in its diglossic form.

Although genetic and typological proximity and centuries-long language contact led to similarities in Russian and Ukrainian, differences in morphology, syntax, and phonology of these two languages are an important reference point for the analysis of such a language variety as Surzhyk. However, the existence of the Ukrainian variety of Russian and the lack of research detailing features of this variety complicate the analysis of Surzhyk because it is not always clear whether one is dealing with the Ukrainian variety of Russian or a separate language altogether. One way to control for the features

of the Ukrainian variety of Russian and separate them from Surzhyk is to obtain a spoken corpus of this variety and compare it with both Ukrainian and Russian.

1.3 Geographical and sociopolitical conditions for the genesis of Surzhyk

The language variety termed ‘surzhyk’ became the object of linguistic, anthropological, sociological, and sociolinguistic research only in the last two decades, after the proclamation of Ukrainian independence in 1991. Since this linguistic phenomenon has not been extensively researched, there is no agreed upon classification of what constitutes ‘surzhyk’, nor consensus on whether it is a single variety or a system of contact phenomena that includes lexical borrowing, codeswitching, or a mixed language.

The origin of Surzhyk is connected with the development of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian–Russian language contacts caused by geographical proximity and colonization of Ukraine. Scholars agree that ‘surzhyk’ as a linguistic phenomenon separate from Ukrainian and Russian dates back to the 17th and 18th centuries (see Introduction of this chapter for a more detailed description of Russian–Ukrainian language contact). The first glimpses of mixing of Ukrainian and Russian in one’s speech appear in the philosophical works of Skovoroda (1722–94), whose literary language features the mixture of Old Church Slavonic, Ukrainian, and Russian, as well as occasional borrowings from Latin and Greek (Bilaniuk 2005). At the end of the 18th century, the Central, Eastern, and Southern provinces of Ukraine were annexed to the Russian Empire. Masenko (2008), reporting research based on literary works and published correspondence of that period, concludes that ‘surzhyk’ at that point functioned as a social dialect among municipal officials in Ukrainian cities and towns as well as

Ukrainian military in the Russian Tsarist Army. Regional dialects of Ukrainian functioned as the colloquial variety for the majority of the population.

The use of 'surzhyk' is traced through the works of Kotliarevskyi, the first author who used vernacular Ukrainian in literary works. In his plays government officials were portrayed as speaking a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian, which was the language of authority and power. This mixed language was contrasted to the pure vernacular Ukrainian of village dwellers. Bilaniuk (2005) affirms that the influence of the Russian language and its symbolic power did not affect language attitudes and use in Ukrainian villages in the 18th century.

The situation changed in the 19th and the 20th centuries with the advent of industrialization and subsequent urbanization. The development of industries, such as railroads and sugar refineries, led to an increase in contacts between rural dwellers and Russian-speaking authorities (Bilaniuk 2005). The industrialization of the Russian Empire also brought settlers from Russian provinces to Central and Eastern parts of Ukraine. It also prompted Ukrainian peasants to move from the villages to the city centers in search of new employment opportunities (Masenko 2008, Bilaniuk 2004). According to historians (e.g. Hrytsak 1996), the composition of Ukrainian cities at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries consisted mostly of Russians and Jews, with Ukrainians comprising only 20 percent of the urban population. Low ethnic diversity in the cities and existing Russian–Ukrainian diglossia, with Russian being the high language and Ukrainian being the low language, prompted rapid assimilation to Russian, which widened the domain of 'surzhyk' usage from a limited social dialect to a separate variety with wider usage in urban centers (Bilaniuk 2004, Masenko 2008,

Vakhtin et al. 2003). According to Bilaniuk (2005), speaking Ukrainian came to be viewed as an iconic characteristic of uneducated village dwellers. Ukrainian speaking peasants were ashamed to use their language, and when talking to people of higher social standing, tried to insert Russian words (Shevel'ov 1989). Bilaniuk (2005: 109) states the following:

The impetus for Ukrainians to use Russian existed not only in the city and when among Russians but also became a factor in interactions among Ukrainian peasants. In choosing among linguistic forms with one another, villagers faced an internal struggle between the state-backed symbolic power of Russian and the value of Ukrainian as a language of in-group solidarity. The negative value of Russian as an imposed outsider's language was counterbalanced by the negative connotations of Ukrainian as a backward village language.

The Soviet regime of the 1920s and 1930s brought a brief lull in imperial language policies (recall from the Introduction of this chapter that the Russian Empire banned the use of Ukrainian). Ukrainian was reintroduced as the language of school instruction, publications, and social and political spheres. This renewed development of Ukrainian was short-lived, however; in 1933 Soviet Russia relaunched its Russification campaign ever more fervently. The Russification policy hampered development of the standard Modern Ukrainian language and fostered favorable conditions for spreading of a Russian–Ukrainian mixed language variety (Masenko 2008, Flier 2008, Stavytska & Trub 2007). Soviet Russia introduced the reform that made Ukrainian more similar to Russian by adopting some Russian spelling features, syntactic constructions, and a large number of lexical items (Masenko 2008). By eradicating differences between Russian and Ukrainian, the Soviet government attempted to instill symbolic power to Russian as a superior language and subjugate Ukrainians by eliminating their Ukrainian-ness and assimilating them to Russia. Bilaniuk offers some examples of Russified linguistic forms

that were imposed on the Standard Ukrainian language during the reform in the 1930s, as shown in Table 1.6.

TABLE 1.6
Changes imposed during the Linguistic Reform of 1930

| Original Ukrainian | Imposed Form | Russian | English Translation |
|--------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|
| arsen | mɪʃjak | mɪʃʲak | Arsenic |
| vakatsiji | kanʲikulɪ | kanʲikulʲi | Vacation |
| tsinamon | korɪtsʲa | karʲitsa | Cinnamon |
| Narostok | sufʲiks | sufʲiks | Suffix |
| riska | tɪrɛ | tʲirʲe | Dash |

(Balaniuk 2005: 89, citing Karavans'kyi 1994)

The reform replaced Ukrainian lexical items with borrowed Russian ones, causing blurring of linguistic boundaries and aiding in development of a mixed variety.

To recapitulate, there were two leading forces that fostered the development of 'surzhyk':

- i) symbolic prominence of the Russian language due to its status as the language of power and prestige
- ii) blurring of linguistic boundaries due to language reform and hindered development of the Literary Ukrainian language.

Scholars (Bilaniuk 2004, Flier 2008, Vakhtin et al. 2003) consider the second half of the 20th century to be the time when 'surzhyk' spread throughout Eastern, Southern, and Central Ukraine and served as the main means of communication for a large segment of the population. In fact, Masenko (2008: 36), reporting on the census conducted by the Kiev National Institute of Sociology in 1996–99, says that the number of people who identified themselves as 'surzhyk' speakers constituted 18 percent of the overall number

of interviewees. The scholars attribute the spread of ‘surzhyk’ to urbanization in the late Soviet period (Bilaniuk 2005). Rural dwellers who moved to the urban centers usually spoke Ukrainian, which also had the status of the low language, or ‘surzhyk’. Trying to assimilate their speech to that of urbanites, the villagers, who were passive bilinguals of Ukrainian and Russian, ended up producing a language variety that resembled both Ukrainian and Russian but did not quite correspond to the grammars of either.

Some of my research participants reported being looked down upon for speaking Ukrainian (or ‘surzhyk’⁶) when they came to work in Kyiv. Although some research participants said that they had noticed the stigma attached to Ukrainian language, other research participants said that they had been able to use Ukrainian without being marginalized or looked down upon.

Researchers (Bilaniuk 2004, 2005, Masenko 2004, 2008) believe that due to the Ukrainianization campaign launched in 1990s the diglossic situation has been reversed with Ukrainian now serving as a high language and Russian being a low language. However, ‘surzhyk’ is still found widely in both urban and rural areas of Eastern and Central Ukraine. *The Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Language* (2000) reports that ‘surzhyk’ served not only an oral tradition but also was used as a written form in personal correspondence, advertisements, and documentation. During the period of post-independence the development and changing status of the Ukrainian language has been tightly connected with the notion of national identity. Such scholars as Kuzio (1998), Zon (2001), Dziuba (2003), Weller (2002), Snezhkova (2005), and Janmaat (1999) consider

⁶ Some research participants who spoke Surzhyk self-identified as Ukrainian speakers. For more detail see Chapter 2.

the period of independence as the period of creation of the national identity. They argue that ‘the essential nationality problem for Ukraine is the lack of a coherent national identity’ (Kuzio 1998: 134). Thus, the survival of the Ukrainian language is seen as security for Ukrainian identity and culture. Against this background of emerging national identity and increasing status of Ukrainian, language purists came forward with anti-‘surzhyk’ campaign, comparing this linguistic variety to a disease and atrocity and calling ‘surzhyk’ speakers uneducated oafs deprived of culture and morality (Stavytska & Trub 2007, Masenko 2004, Dziuba 2003). Thus, at the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st century the diglossia shifted from an opposition between Russian and Ukrainian to Russian and Ukrainian on one hand and ‘surzhyk’ on the other. At that time ‘surzhyk’ emerged as the low language with Russian and Ukrainian having equal status of high languages (Stavytska & Trub 2007).

Similar to the earlier image of Ukrainian as the language of rural areas and peasants, ‘surzhyk’ became the symbol of a modern Ukrainian village and its dwellers. This symbolic status of ‘surzhyk’ was captured in a joint Ukrainian–Russian film production called ‘*Vid liubovi do kohannia*’ (‘From love to love’),⁷ which aired in Ukraine in the summer of 2009. The movie portrays a village that was split in half by the border between Russia and Ukraine. The villagers on the Ukrainian side speak ‘surzhyk’ and are portrayed as simple-minded and not-so-educated. The villagers on the Russian side speak Russian. Both sides of the village plot against each other and play tug-of-war

⁷ Both lexemes mean ‘love’ but *liubov* is a cognate that exists in both Russian and Ukrainian, while *kohannia* exists only in Ukrainian (possibly, a loanword to Ukrainian from Polish).

for power but in the end love between some younger villagers unites the two sides. Apart from portraying the image that ‘surzhyk’ and its speakers have in Ukrainian and Russian societies, the film also alludes to the power struggle between Russia and Ukraine.

This survey of the sociopolitical conditions of Surzhyk’s genesis indicates that both the development and the current and future status of this linguistic phenomenon are tightly connected with language policy and planning as well as with the political situation in Ukraine. Although sociological and sociolinguistic research—informed by Ukrainian history, literature, and the history of the Ukrainian language—give very comprehensive insight into the origin of Surzhyk and the stages of its development, a precise definition and structural analysis of Surzhyk’s corpus has yet to be done.

1.4 Definition and existing analyses of ‘surzhyk’

The main disagreement among scholars is about the nature and number of ‘surzhyk(s)’. Thus, some (Flier 1998, Stavytska & Trub 2007, Vakhtin et al. 2003, Gasparov 2006, Monakhova 2004) agree that there is only one linguistic variety called ‘surzhyk’. However, they vary on what the nature of this variety is. Stavytska and Trub, Vakhtin et al., and Monakhova describe ‘surzhyk’ as the result of interference from Ukrainian into Russian. Flier and Gasparov maintain that ‘surzhyk’ is a mixed language. Other scholars (Bilaniuk 2004) suggest that ‘surzhyk’ is not a monolithic linguistic phenomenon and propose several different types of ‘surzhyk’. There is yet a third group of researchers (Serbenska 1994, Masenko 2004, 2008) who maintain that ‘surzhyk’ is not a separate language but simply an ad-hoc combination of Russian and Ukrainian morphemes without any consistent structure.

Bilaniuk (2004: 415) proposed a typology containing five subcategories of ‘surzhyk’: urbanized peasant ‘surzhyk’, village dialect ‘surzhyk’, Sovietized Ukrainian ‘surzhyk’, urban bilinguals’ ‘surzhyk’ and, post-independence ‘surzhyk’, as shown in Table 1.7 below. Urbanized peasant ‘surzhyk’ originated in the urban context when Ukrainian-speaking peasants started moving from villages to urban centers. Trying to assimilate to Russian-speaking cities, they switched from Ukrainian to Russian. The resulting language variety had the structure of Ukrainian with admixture of Russian elements. Village dialect ‘surzhyk’ flourished in the rural setting and resulted from the contact of Ukrainian-speaking peasants with Russian-speaking administration and media. Similar to urbanized peasant ‘surzhyk’, village dialect ‘surzhyk’ had the structure of Ukrainian with admixture of Russian. Sovietized Ukrainian ‘surzhyk’ was a result of the planned Linguistic Reform that introduced Russian lexical items into Ukrainian (see section 1.3 of this chapter). Urban bilinguals’ ‘surzhyk’ and post-independence ‘surzhyk’, which appeared in Ukrainian urban centers in the Soviet and Post-Soviet period, are characterized by native speakers of either Russian or Ukrainian switching to the other language (native speakers of Ukrainian switching to Russian in some situations, native speakers of Russian switching to Ukrainian). These two types of ‘surzhyk’ have either Ukrainian structure with Russian elements or Russian structure with Ukrainian elements.

TABLE 1.7
Five ‘surzhyk’ prototypes

| Types of ‘surzhyk’ | Historical/Demographic Context | | | Direction of Influence |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Specific Description | Rural-Urban Context | Era | |
| Urbanized peasant | Working class urbanized U peasants | rural→urban | 19th c. to present | R onto U base |
| Village dialect | U villagers in contact with R administration & media | rural | 19th c. to present | primarily R onto U base |
| Sovietized Ukrainian | Codified U with planned R influence | urban (institutional) | 1930s to present | R onto U base |
| Urban bilinguals’ | Urban bilinguals with either native language | urban | Soviet & post-Soviet | both directions |
| Post- Independence | Russophone urbanites newly using U in public | urban | Post-Soviet | both directions |

(Bilaniuk 2004: 415)

Bilaniuk’s typology is helpful in that it helps pinpoint stages of ‘surzhyk’s’ development.

However, Bilaniuk applies the term ‘surzhyk’ to mean several different contact phenomena. For instance, I disagree with her on classifying Sovietized Ukrainian as ‘surzhyk’. I consider it a case of Russian borrowing into Ukrainian, even though a planned one. I would classify ‘surzhyk’ of urban bilinguals as a case of Ukrainian–Russian codeswitching. As the name of this ‘surzhyk’ type presupposes, its speakers were proficient in both Ukrainian and Russian. The three ‘surzhyk’ prototypes—urbanized peasant, village dialect, and post-independence ‘surzhyk’—are possible candidates for what I consider Surzhyk (Proper) in this paper because their sociolinguistic characteristics match the data I collected during my field research. It is impossible to verify and compare the structural properties since Bilaniuk provides very scarce or no data.

Flier (1998, 2008) disagrees with Bilaniuk, stating that there is only one linguistic variety termed ‘surzhyk’. However, the author allows two distinct subcodes within a

single structure. Flier maintains that ‘...there are two different systems or codes of ‘surzhyk’, namely, Russian–Ukrainian ‘surzhyk’, a Russian base with a Ukrainian admixture, symbolically R/U; and Ukrainian–Russian ‘surzhyk’, Ukrainian base with a Russian admixture, symbolically, U/R ... the Russian admixture in the latter is itself Ukrainianized; therefore, Ukrainian–Russian ‘surzhyk’ is more accurately symbolized U/R^U’ (Flier 2008: 44). The author analyzes only Ukrainian–Russian ‘surzhyk’ in detail (omitting Russian-based Ukrainian ‘surzhyk’ altogether) and argues that it demonstrates a set of structural features—lexical extensions, lexical calques, lexical transfers, syntactic calques, morphological selection, morphophonemic attraction, phonological integration—that allows him to classify it as a monolithic phenomenon (Flier 2008). The author also argues against Bilaniuk’s typology. He states that all five subcategories are the same, having Ukrainian as the Matrix language and Russian as the Embedded Language. Although the author’s arguments against multiple prototypes of ‘surzhyk’ seem very sound, he does not provide any spoken data to support his claim. The literary data used in the argument is drawn from the work of writers from various epochs who were educated and proficient either in Ukrainian or in both Ukrainian and Russian. They used ‘surzhyk’ for stylistic effect in their works. My analysis of ‘surzhyk’ (see Chapter 3 for more details) also shows that there is only one variety of Surzhyk—Ukrainian-based with admixture of Russian elements. I have not found the Russian-based Surzhyk in my sample.

Gasparov (2006), following Flier, states that ‘surzhyk’ displays some regional variation. Namely, ‘surzhyk’ spoken in Central Ukraine has more Ukrainian features than ‘surzhyk’ spoken in Eastern Ukraine where the influence of Russian is more pronounced.

This postulation is consistent with treatment of ‘surzhyk’ as a mixed language since dialect continuum variations are expected in every language. However, the author stipulates that ‘surzhyk’ spoken in the eastern part of Ukraine and southeastern part of Russia along the Ukrainian border has Russian as the Matrix language and Ukrainian as the Embedded Language (Gasparov 2006, following Flier 1998 and 2008). Gasparov supports this conjecture with some phonetic and phonological observations from the Rostov region in southeastern Russia.

According to Gasparov’s observations of ‘surzhyk’ speakers residing in Russia along the Ukrainian border, this language variety is characterized by neutralization of the phonemes /o/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables, a feature found in Russian but absent in Ukrainian. Another characteristic of this variety is the use of pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ instead of the velar fricative /ɣ/ common to the area. The third feature is lack of palatalization of [r] before the etymological [i], which is common to Ukrainian. In Russian, [r] is palatalized before etymological [i], as in (20) below.

- (20) a. [pʰiːkas]
 ‘order, decree’ (R)
- b. [pɾikas]
 ‘order, decree’ (S)

Gasparov’s study is the only one that tackles the problem of ‘surzhyk’ spoken outside of Ukraine, suggesting a greater extent of this linguistic phenomenon than is usually considered. The limitation of this study is the lack of a section on methodology explaining how Gasparov obtained his results. The strength of the study is the

sociolinguistic questions Gasparov raises about the demographics of ‘surzhyk’ speakers and the sociopolitical setting of this language phenomenon.

Vakhtin et al. (2003) conducted extensive field research which, according to them, showed that ‘surzhyk’ is a Ukrainian-based variety containing Russian lexical items and mostly Ukrainian morphosyntax. The researchers suggested that ‘surzhyk’ can be classified as interference. Interference (or language transfer) is defined as permanent (static) or temporary (dynamic) transfer of some native language features onto the second language (Grosjean 1992). ‘Surzhyk’, then, according to Vakhtin et al., is the result of Ukrainian influence on Russian.

Although this study was the first one to use actual spoken data for the analysis, the analysis itself was mainly descriptive. The authors did not propose any general conclusion about the structure of ‘surzhyk’ or constraints on it. However, they provide a list of morphemes and their origin, which is very useful for comparative study of spoken data in different regions. Their conclusion about the universally Ukrainian-based nature of ‘surzhyk’ disagrees with the claims of Flier (1998, 2008) and Gasparov (2006): that ‘surzhyk’ has different Matrix languages depending on the region where it is spoken.

Stavytska and Trub (2007) define ‘surzhyk’ as a colloquial variety that originated as a result of Russian–Ukrainian bilingualism with diglossic relationships. ‘Surzhyk’ is a result of systemic interference of phonetic, morphosyntactic, and lexical levels of the grammatical system. ‘Surzhyk’ is represented through ‘surzhyk’ lexemes that are incorporated into Ukrainian or Russian grammars. The authors identify interference at different levels of grammatical structure:

- Lexical and phonetic interference: Russian lexemes introduced into Ukrainian are pronounced according to Ukrainian phonological rules,⁸ e.g. [bɔlʲnytsʲa] ‘hospital’ instead of [likarnʲa], a Ukrainian equivalent or [bɔlʲnytsa], a Russian equivalent; [pɔlezno] ‘usefully’ instead of [korysno] (U) or [palezna] (R); [pozavtrikav] ‘he had breakfast’ instead of [posnidav] (U) or [pazavtrakal] (R)
- Lexical and grammatical interference: Russian lexemes appear with Ukrainian agreement markers (bolded segments): [ponʲav] ‘he understood’ instead of a Russian past tense agreement marker –l [ponʲal]; [poluchaje] ‘he/she receives’ instead of a Russian present tense agreement marker –jet [paluchajet] (Stavytska & Trub 2007: 75).

Although Stavytska and Trub do not consider ‘surzhyk’ to be codeswitching, they state that the following codeswitching scenarios are possible: Russian–Surzhyk, Russian–Ukrainian–Surzhyk, or Ukrainian–Surzhyk.

Monakhova’s research (2004) is an excellent illustration of how the various language contact phenomena, such as language mixing, codeswitching, or occasional borrowings, are variously termed ‘surzhyk’ in Ukraine. Some of the features of ‘surzhyk’ proposed by Monakhova include neutralization of /o/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables; palatalization of consonants before etymological /ě/ (‘jat’); devoicing of final voiced consonants; pronunciation of /ɦ/ as a velar stop /g/, etc. Notably, all of the features

⁸ Relevant segments are bolded.

identified by the author are features of Russian and are not present in Standard Ukrainian. What the author calls ‘surzhyk’ in the study is simply an accent of the Russian-speaking students when using Ukrainian. This study reinforces the claim above that any deviation from Standard Ukrainian is often labeled as ‘surzhyk’.

Masenko (2004, 2008) following Serbenska (1994) argues that ‘surzhyk’ is not a separate linguistic variety but simply a ‘chaotic’ mixture of Ukrainian–Russian idiolects based on the analysis of interviews with Ukrainian peasants born in 1920s and 1930s recorded by historian William Noll. The author argues that parallel usage of both Russian and Ukrainian lexemes in the speech of the peasants, especially when they talk about Soviet collectivization practices, allows for classification of ‘surzhyk’ as unstable phenomenon devoid of systematic structure (Masenko, 2008). Consider the excerpt below.⁹

A potim komsomol’ tsi na *svoiom* komsomol’ skim *sobranii* rishyly, znachyt’, todi v trytsiat’ tretiomu, shos’ na hudobu blo ploho todi, dohnut’ koni z holodu, slabi, i siiat’ treba. I ia pryishov todi u *kolkhoz*, meni dali koni, a u nykh plechi pobyti, priamo taki rany na plechakh tut (Masenko 2008: 16, citing Noll 1999: 177).¹⁰

And then Komsomol party members at *their* komsomol *meeting* decided, then, in 1933 something was bad for the cattle, the horses died of starvation, weak, and we had to sow. And I came to the *collective farm*, they gave me horses, and their shoulders were damaged, they had wounds on their shoulders here.

The Russian phrase *na svoiom sobranii* ‘at their meeting’ is *na svoikh zborakh* in Ukrainian. The Russian noun *kolkhoz* ‘collective farm’ is *kolhosp* in Ukrainian. This excerpt shows that the interviewer’s speech was mainly Ukrainian with only three Russian lexemes. I argue that this is an example of codeswitching and not a case of

⁹ Russian lexemes and their translations are italicized. Ukrainian lexemes are in roman.

¹⁰ The quote is a translation from Ukrainian. Hereinafter all translations from Ukrainian or Russian in this dissertation are done by the author of the dissertation, Kateryna Kent.

Surzhyk (see Chapters 3 and 4 for more information on the major difference among various contact phenomena and Surzhyk).

1.5 Conclusion

Undertaking the analysis of Surzhyk is challenging at several different levels. First, it is a mixture of two closely-related languages, Russian and Ukrainian. Second, the proximity of Russia and Ukraine as well as historical subjugation of Ukraine created favorable conditions for fostering linguistic contacts which resulted in pervasive bilingualism of the Ukrainian population and Russian borrowing into Ukrainian. Surzhyk is a misunderstood offspring of Russian–Ukrainian language contact.

Most of the authors whose research on Surzhyk I summarized gave it different definitions. Only Stavyt'ska and Trub (2007) as well as Vakhtin et al. (2003) agreed on classifying ‘surzhyk’ as interference. However, interference is an umbrella term that comprises various language contact phenomena, such as codeswitching, etc.

Like Flier (1998), I found that Surzhyk’s morphosyntactic structure is Ukrainian with some content words being supplied by Russian. Unlike Masenko (2004, 2008), I reject the claim that Surzhyk is an ad-hoc mixture of Russian and Ukrainian elements because it is very systematic in its use of Ukrainian agreement markers, Russian verbal derivational affixes, the Russian verb *be*, etc. Disagreement in the linguistics literature on what can be classified as ‘surzhyk’ adds to complexity of this language variety, which can be eliminated through systematic corpus-based analysis.

In Chapter 3 I will present the findings of corpus-based analysis on Surzhyk. But first, I will analyze the current sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine in terms of Surzhyk’s place among Russian and Ukrainian and language attitudes to those three languages. I

will also discuss sociolinguistic characteristics of Surzhyk speakers who provided spoken data for my analysis.

CHAPTER 2

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SURZHYK AND ETHNIC IDENTITY OF SURZHYK SPEAKERS

2.0 Introduction

Language attitudes intrinsically shape language choice and linguistic identity (Bilaniuk 2003). Attitudes are evaluations of a language's worth by its speakers and a larger community (Meyers-Scotton 2006). The notion of attitude is tightly connected with the notion of language ideologies. Since language is one of the most salient symbols of a group (or nation)—and it plays an important role in symbolizing a positive or negative group identity—language ideology constructs conceptions of power and authority.

Language ideology is composed of culturally and socially rooted metalinguistic concepts of language and language use, constructed in the interest of a specific group (Schieffelin & Doucet 1998, Blommaert 2007, Myers-Scotton 2006). The communicative behavior of speakers of a particular language is guided by a set of conceptions, such as value, status, norms, and functions. Blommaert (2007: 242) maintains that 'language use is ideologically stratified and regimented, and the 'best' language/language variety is distinguished from 'less adequate' varieties in every instance of use'. Such stratification leads to preference for the written over the spoken variety of language, and of the standard over the vernacular. So language attitudes shape the ideological standing of language in a society. A few studies have examined language attitudes in Ukraine, measuring language attitudes toward standard language varieties: Ukrainian, Russian, and English (Bilaniuk 2003, Goodman & Lyulkun 2010, Søvik 2007). None of them focused on Surzhyk as one of the spoken languages in Ukraine.

This chapter discusses language attitudes towards Surzhyk, Ukrainian, and Russian, to compare the place of Surzhyk with respect to those two other languages. To measure attitudes, I conducted a survey in Eastern Ukraine using the semantic differential method. In addition, I conducted qualitative interviews discussing the use of Surzhyk and attitudes towards it.

First, I will discuss the sociolinguistic standing of Surzhyk in terms of language ideology and ethnolinguistic vitality of its speakers (§2.1), followed by the methodology of the study on language attitudes (§2.2). In section (§2.3) I will present the results of the study. I will also discuss the blurred definition of the concept ‘native language’ in a situation of pervasive bilingualism (§2.4). In (§2.5) a sociolinguistic characteristic of the speakers from whom Surzhyk spoken data was obtained, followed by the conclusion (§2.6).

2.1 Language ideology and ethnolinguistic vitality

The issue of Surzhyk is often lost in the complex relationship of Ukrainian and Russian ethnic and linguistic identity (Taranenko 2007, Snezhkova 2005, Rodgers 2006, Kuzio 2006, Fournier 2007, Janmaat 2008). Since Chapter 1 gives a detailed overview of the historical tug-of-war between Russian and Ukrainian governments for political and linguistic dominance in Ukraine, here I will only summarize and expand on relevant points.

After the adoption of the Language Law in 1989, the Ukrainian language was stipulated as the only official language in the Constitution, even though only about 44–57 percent of the population spoke it (Taranenko 2007). A ‘one state one language’ policy was adopted to assert a Ukrainian identity that is distinct from Russian. The historical

geopolitical division of Ukraine between Poland and the Russian Empire caused a divide in the language ideology and ethnic identity of Ukrainians. Western Ukraine (formerly a part of Poland) has a strong Ukrainian identity with political orientation towards Western Europe. Southeastern and Central Ukraine (formerly a part of the Russian Empire) is mainly Russian-speaking, with ‘Soviet’ identity and pro-Russian political orientation (Kuzio 1998, Taranenko 2007, Bilaniuk 1998).

A fervent Ukrainianization campaign raised the status of Ukrainian, stipulating its use in political, educational, and public spheres of life. Even though the use of Ukrainian increased, Russian still has a very strong presence in business, literature, and the media (Pavlenko 2008). According to the Ukrainian Census of 2001, 68 percent of the Ukrainian population considers Ukrainian their native language (as shown in Table 2.1). Thirty percent of the population reported Russian to be their native language (All-Ukrainian Population Census 2001). The census did not ask which language was actually spoken by individuals. People often report having Ukrainian as their native tongue because they consider themselves ethnic Ukrainians and not because they actually use Ukrainian as their everyday language (Bilaniuk & Melnyk 2008).

TABLE 2.1.
Linguistic composition of Ukraine according to 2001 Census (%)

| Native Language | Ethnicity | | | Total Population |
|-----------------|------------|----------|-------|------------------|
| | Ukrainians | Russians | Other | |
| Ukrainian | 85.2 | 3.9 | 11.8 | 67.5 |
| Russian | 14.8 | 95.9 | 31.1 | 29.6 |
| Other | 0.0 | 0.2 | 57.1 | 2.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

(Khmelko 2004: 2)

Other ethnicities and their languages include Belarussians, Moldavians, Crimean Tatars, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Romanians, Poles, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Tatars, Gypsies,

Azerbaijanians, Georgians, Germans, Gagausians, and others. The census did not focus on the number of Ukrainian–Russian bilinguals or Surzhyk speakers in Ukraine. In fact, the Ukrainian government does not recognize Surzhyk as a separate spoken language.

Kiev International Institute of Sociology conducted surveys between the years of 1999 and 2001 (N=5226) measuring the number of Ukrainian and Russian speakers (adults only, unlike the census, which surveyed both adults and children) as well as the number of Russian-Ukrainian bilinguals. Table 2.2 summarizes the findings.

TABLE 2.2.
Native language self-identification for adult population of Ukraine

| Native Language | Ethnicity | | | Total Population |
|-----------------------|------------|----------|-------|------------------|
| | Ukrainians | Russians | Other | |
| Ukrainian | 71.3 | 2.8 | 7.8 | 54.4 |
| Russian | 14.9 | 87.6 | 36.6 | 30.4 |
| Ukrainian and Russian | 13.6 | 9.5 | 6.3 | 12.4 |
| Other | 0.2 | 0.1 | 49.3 | 2.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

(Khmelko 2004: 5)

About 14 percent of ethnic Ukrainians and 10 percent of ethnic Russian self-identify as speaking both Russian and Ukrainian. This number might actually be much higher.

Bilingualism is pervasive in Ukraine but choosing one language or another in a conversation often means emphasizing one's identity and political affiliation. Often codeswitching is also viewed as speaking Surzhyk since such speech is considered to be riddled with both Russian and Ukrainian elements, making it impure. To alleviate these tensions, a practice of 'non-accommodating' bilingualism is followed in Ukraine (Bilaniuk & Melnyk 2008). Since everyone can understand both Russian and Ukrainian, people in a conversation just keep speaking their language of preference without

switching to the language of the interlocutor. For instance, many entertainment shows on Ukrainian television have two hosts, one of whom speaks Ukrainian and the other of whom speaks Russian. Another reason why so few people self-identify as bilingual is the different—a much narrower—definition of bilingualism in linguistic literature in Ukraine. The Soviet School of Linguistics defines it as the ability to use two or more languages with native-like proficiency (Akhmanova 1966: 74). A lot of people believe that unless they are balanced bilinguals, they cannot be considered to be speakers of both Russian and Ukrainian.

Another group not accounted for by the Ukrainian census are Surzhyk speakers. Khmelko (2004), based on surveys conducted by Kiev International Institute of Sociology, reports that in 1996-99 18.2 percent of Ukrainians self-identified as Surzhyk speakers, while in 2000-03 their number significantly decreased to 14.7 percent ($p < 0.01$). The fact that the number of Surzhyk speakers significantly decreased over a six-year span is the result of low ethnolinguistic vitality of the Surzhyk-speaking community.

Ethnolinguistic vitality ‘...makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations’ (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor 1977: 308). High ethnolinguistic vitality has positive correlation with the community of speakers’ separate ethnic identity in intergroup communication. Low ethnolinguistic vitality may mean that certain ethnolinguistic groups will not set themselves aside from other groups. The concept of vitality has three dimensions: status of the group, demographic structure of the group, and institutional support (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor 1977). In what follows I will discuss ethnolinguistic vitality of Surzhyk-speaking community through each of the

dimensions and compare it to ethnolinguistic vitality of Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking communities in Ukraine.

2.1.1 Factors of the status dimension of ethnolinguistic vitality

Four status factors determine the symbolic power of a language group: economic status, social status, sociohistorical status, and language status. Economic status refers to the access to and control of economic resources in the nation or community by the linguistic group in question. For instance, the French-speaking population in Quebec did not always have the economic status they have these days because English speakers used to control most of the economic resources (Smith, Tucker, & Taylor 1977). Since Surzhyk speakers do not form a separate ethnic identity—only a linguistic one—they do not comprise a separate organized group. Ukraine’s nationalist language ideology favoring the official language allocates economic resources to the development of Ukrainian. In the 1990s after the proclamation of Independence the number of books published in Ukrainian increased (Kuzio 1998). Government-run and independent television channels increased their broadcasting in Ukrainian. Surzhyk speakers, as speakers of a variety which is not acknowledged as a separate language in Ukraine, do not have any access to economic resources.

The second factor, social status, has to do with esteem of the linguistic group, which is either self-attributed or, more often, attributed by out-group members. In Ukrainian scientific literature and public discourse Surzhyk speakers are portrayed as uneducated peasants or rural dwellers who are devoid of cultural awareness and love for their language (Ukrainian). Masenko, writing about language and politics in Ukraine, states that ‘Surzhyk is a wounded language spoken by Ukrainian peasants ... that

symbolizes the accomplishments of the policy of balanced bilingualism implemented by the totalitarian Regime' (1999: 29-32) [Translation from Ukrainian by Kateryna Kent]. The author implies that Surzhyk is the product of centuries-long bilingualism. It is quite common in Ukraine to view bilingualism as a negative concept (Taranenko 2007). A bilingual is viewed as someone who is two-faced, who cannot commit to one ethnic and cultural identity (Masenko 1999, Taranenko 2007). As the Ukrainian language became more established in public, social, and educational arenas, the view of bilingualism has also shifted. My field research conducted in Ukraine (See Chapter 3 for more information) showed that it is considered prestigious to be a balanced Russian–Ukrainian bilingual. However, the status of Surzhyk speakers has not changed. Stavytska and Trub (2007) reporting on the associative study of the concept 'surzhyk' conducted among Ukrainian students, noted that the concept was associated with uneducated, dishonorable people who disrespect themselves and Ukraine. Quoting some of the responses from the study, 'I consider people who speak Surzhyk dishonorable by nature. They purposefully refuse to speak beautiful and pure language. I think communication with these people should be avoided' (Stavytska & Trub 2007: 38). This quote summarizes the main sentiment that society has towards Surzhyk speakers—that they choose to speak this language variety and thus are at fault for littering Ukrainian.

The third component of the status dimension of ethnolinguistic vitality, sociohistorical status, considers the history of the linguistic group, which under some circumstances can become a mobilizing force uniting the group into a cohesive entity (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor 1977, Fishman 1977). The history of Surzhyk speakers is indistinguishable from the history of Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking ethnic Ukrainians.

Scholars contend that several changes in the linguistic landscape of the 18th–19th centuries aided the development of Surzhyk (Stavytska & Trub 2007, Bilaniuk 2004, Masenko 2008). First, due to the increasing number of Russian settlers in the big cities of Ukraine and due to Russian–Ukrainian diglossia with Russian as the language of prestige, Ukrainian cities started switching from Ukrainian to Russian. Second, due to increasing Russian–Ukrainian contacts in Ukrainian villages, some Russian elements were incorporated into the Ukrainian language. Third, village dwellers that moved to the cities in search of employment switched from Ukrainian to Russian (Stavytska & Trub 2007). Chaplenko, describing his own experience with urbanizing villagers, states, ‘when I took my poorly educated sister from the village to the city, she started learning Russian words and expressions very fast and started speaking with me, Professor of Ukrainian and writer, in this horrible Russian–Ukrainian jargon’ (1959: 26) [Translation from Ukrainian].

Some of my research participants also reported switching to Russian when visiting Kiev because of their desire to blend in with the urbanites or fear of being ridiculed as an oaf. One of the research participants states,¹¹

U nas mishna ... i belarus'ka ... otse jak selo, tak i druha mova. Chysto ukrajins'ka ... u nas ne bulo takoho. Ja koly pryjihala, ne lamala movy. Bo druhi z malchikam, naprimer, zustrichajutsia, tak na rus'ki ... nachnut' po rus'ki hovoryt'. A ia iak hovoryla, tak i hovoriu'.

We have a mixed [language]... Belarusian (the village is close to Belarus) ... every village has its language. We did not have pure Ukrainian. But when I came [to the city] I didn't distort my language. When others would start dating boys, they would speak Russian to them. I spoke the way I spoke.

¹¹ Unless stated otherwise, all of the qualitative comments from the data are transliterated either from Ukrainian or Surzhyk.

Another research participant reported being ridiculed for speaking Ukrainian in a then-all-Russian Kiev.

V ti chasy bulo jak po ukrajins'ki budesh rozmovliat', tak dyvliatsia na tebe, tak take iakes' selo... khakhly, khakhly vse nas nazyvaly. Tse zaraz uzhe, a ranishe tykh kyjvlian ne pochujesh, shob vony rozmovlialy ukrajins'koju movoju. Vsi po rus'ky.

At that time if you spoke Ukrainian, they looked at you like you were [from] the village... Ukrainians (derogatory) they used to call us. It's different now, but in the past you wouldn't hear Kievans speaking Ukrainian. Everything was in Russian.

The evidence provided by other scholars and testimonies of Surzhyk speakers and Russian–Ukrainian bilinguals indicate that people who spoke a Russian–Ukrainian mixture did not try to unite in separate communities; on the contrary, they tried to assimilate to the Russian-speaking population. Ethnic minorities, such as Ukrainians and Russians in the United States, try to preserve their language and cultural identity by organizing cultural events, publishing newspapers in their languages, and participating in lives of their communities (Andrews 1998). Surzhyk speakers, Ukrainians by ethnicity, did not feel the need to unite or assert their distinct identity.

The fourth factor, language status, indicates how much power a language variety has. In Ukraine, both Ukrainian and Russian have high status, while Surzhyk has a very low status (Taranenko 2007). Bernsand describing Surzhyk's place in Ukrainian nationalist ideology states,

Resulting from language contact between a high status Russian and low status Ukrainian language, surzhyk is regarded as a consequence of Russian and Soviet political and cultural dominance. The nationalist language ideologists strive to cleanse the Ukrainian language of surzhyk elements by raising the linguistic awareness of Ukrainian speakers (2001: 43).

2.1.2 Factors of demographic dimension of ethnolinguistic vitality

This set of factors analyzes the demographic distribution of the speakers as well as demographic numbers such as birth and death rates, immigration, etc. Since the National Census does not have a separate category for Surzhyk and its speakers, no data are available on birth and death rates, number of mixed marriages, and the immigration of the Surzhyk speakers. We do, however, know something about the distribution of this linguistic group. Scholars agree that Surzhyk is concentrated primarily in Ukrainian villages, even though some cities of Ukraine (located in the Eastern, Southern, and Central Ukraine) have a significant number of Surzhyk speakers among their populations (Bilaniuk 2004). Kiev International Institute of Sociology reported on the distribution of Ukrainian, Russian, and Surzhyk speakers in different regions in Ukraine in 2003 based on N=22,462 interviews.

TABLE 2.3.
Distribution of Surzhyk speakers in different regions of Ukraine (%)

| Ethnolinguistic groups | Regions | | | | | Adult Population |
|-------------------------------|---------|----------------------------|--------------|----------|---------|------------------|
| | Western | West-Central ¹² | East-Central | Southern | Eastern | |
| Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians | 91.7 | 59.3 | 30.8 | 5.3 | 3.6 | 38.5 |
| Surzhyk-speaking Ukrainians | 1.5 | 13.0 | 20.6 | 11.3 | 8.3 | 10.7 |
| Russian-speaking Ukrainians | 1.3 | 17.2 | 33.5 | 40.0 | 48.6 | 28.0 |
| Russian-speaking Russians | 1.5 | 5.8 | 11.1 | 31.3 | 34.1 | 16.9 |
| Other groups | 4.0 | 4.7 | 4.0 | 12.2 | 5.4 | 6.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

(Khmelko 2004: 13)

¹² In the survey the Central Ukraine was split into East-Central and West-Central.

According to Table 2.3, the East-Central region (marked in red/brown on the map below) has the highest number of Surzhyk speakers, followed by West-Central (marked in blue) and Southern regions (marked in beige). Eastern (green) and Western (gold) regions have the smallest number of Surzhyk speakers.

FIGURE 2.1
Distribution of Surzhyk speakers by region



Apart from somewhat uneven concentration of Surzhyk speakers across the territory of Ukraine, they are dispersed among Russian and Ukrainian speakers and do not form separate linguistic communities.

2. 1.3 Factors of institutional support dimension of ethnolinguistic vitality

Institutional support dimension consist of formal (mass media, education, and government services) and informal (industry, religion, and culture) factors. Surzhyk has no formal institutional support. There are no newspapers in Ukraine that are published in Surzhyk, nor there are television or radio broadcasts in Surzhyk. The number of schools with primary instruction in Ukrainian has increased since Ukrainian independence and the launch of the Ukrainianization campaign, and anecdotal evidence provided by my research participants indicates that some teachers of Ukrainian in schools (especially in rural areas) speak Surzhyk instead of Ukrainian. But there has been no research to corroborate or disprove this information. The language of government services is Ukrainian. Interestingly, a lot of politicians in the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian legislative organ) speak Russian as their first language, especially those who are from the Russian-speaking regions. But they are forced to speak Ukrainian in public or during parliamentary sessions. As a result, their Ukrainian is riddled with Russian elements and some have a strong accent. Stavytska and Trub (2007) following Semeniuk (2001) distinguish Parliamentary Surzhyk—a code spoken by the politicians. Even though Ukrainian linguistic literature may consider it Surzhyk, I would classify it as Ukrainian–Russian codeswitching because this code is characterized mainly by presence of Russian lexical items (see Chapter 3 for more discussion on what is Surzhyk Proper). Apart from some politicians at the state or regional level who might be Surzhyk speakers, this variety does not function as an official language in government services.

As for informal institutional support, Surzhyk has found an outlet in popular culture. Due to Surzhyk being viewed as a humorous language, it is often used by

comedians, such as the stand-up comedian, Andriy Danylko, who assumes the female Surzhyk-speaking persona of Verka Serduchka—a poorly educated, simple minded train conductor. Surzhyk is also used by the comedy group 95 Kvartal, mainly to parody Ukrainian politicians. Surzhyk has made its way into several other comedy shows, usually to portray village simpletons. Apart from television, Surzhyk is used in some Ukrainian novels and short stories (Volodymyr Danylenko, Mykola Zakusylo, Oksana Zabuzhko, Bohdan Zholdak, inter alia) to convey the language of the characters (Flier 1998). The use of Surzhyk in popular culture has both a positive and a negative side. On the positive side, it draws more attention to this language phenomenon, acknowledging its presence as an integral part of Ukrainian culture. On the negative side, the use of Surzhyk to convey the language of poorly educated rural dwellers perpetuates negative stereotypes about its speakers.

Summarizing, Surzhyk-speaking communities score low on the three dimensions of ethnolinguistic vitality and definitely lose to Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking communities in status, demography, and institutional support. If this trend continues, it might be expected that Surzhyk will eventually cease to exist as the younger generation is educated either in Russian or Ukrainian and is bi- or multilingual (either Surzhyk–Russian, Surzhyk–Ukrainian, or all three languages). I conducted a study on language attitudes towards Surzhyk, Russian, and Ukrainian to augment existing research on language attitudes in Ukraine and specifically to fill the gap in attitudinal research on Surzhyk. The research was conducted in Ukraine in March and April of 2011. The methodology and results of the study are presented below.

2.2 Methodology

Studies of language attitudes focus on language-oriented attitudes, community-wide stereotypes toward a language variety, and behavior towards a language (Agheysi & Fishman 1970: 141). The concept of attitude consists of cognitive, evaluative, and conative components (Lambert & Lambert 1964, Knops & van Hout 1988). Language attitudes influence language policy and planning, language maintenance and shift, language use, and the definition of the ethnolinguistic communities.

To measure attitudes towards Surzhyk, Ukrainian, and Russian I conducted a survey using the semantic differential method in the Zaporizhzhia Region in Eastern Ukraine. Even though the largest number of Surzhyk speakers resides in East-Central Ukraine, according to Khmelko (2004), anecdotal evidence presented by my Ukrainian colleagues from several universities located in Eastern and Central Ukraine suggests that Eastern and Southern Ukraine have more Surzhyk speakers than the central part. That is why I chose the Eastern Ukrainian Region (considered Southern Ukraine by Khmelko) to conduct the language attitude study. The sample consisted of students (N=189) attending three educational establishments: the Classical University located in the city of Zaporizhzhia (population 772,258), a Technical Vocational School located in the mid-sized city of Tokmak (population 33,153) and an Agricultural Vocational School located in the small town of Molochansk (population 7,090). Out of 189 responses, 180 were valid and usable for inferential and descriptive statistical analysis. Students were selected as the participating population because they were born in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which means that their schooling occurred during the Ukrainianization campaign when schools were changing the language of instruction and curriculum requirements. It also

means that these students are more likely Russian–Ukrainian bilinguals who, residing in a Russian-speaking region, had extensive school instruction in Ukrainian. Table 2.4 shows the distribution of the students participating in the survey in each educational institution.

TABLE 2.4

Distribution of the students according to the institution they attend

| Institution | Number | Percent of total |
|--------------------------------|--------|------------------|
| Classical University | 94 | 52.2 |
| Technical Vocational School | 32 | 17.8 |
| Agricultural Vocational School | 54 | 30.0 |
| Total | 180 | 100.0 |

The majority of the students attending Classical University are residents of large urban centers, with only four being from rural areas. The majority of the students attending both Technical and Agricultural Vocational Schools are residents of Tokmak and Molochansk, with 10 residing in rural areas around these two towns.

The survey asked about the participants' native language, their use of Ukrainian, Russian, and Surzhyk in several domains (such as communication with parents, spouses, friends, language of education), and the semantic differential scale (Osgood et al. 1957, McCallon & Brown 1971), which elicited their attitudes toward three concepts: UKRAINIAN, RUSSIAN, and SURZHYK. Sociolinguistic questions about language use were adopted from the survey developed and implemented by Basova (1988). I elicited data on language use to correlate it with language attitudes.

The semantic differential scale consisted of 10 bipolar adjectives (the same for each concept) placed at opposite ends of a four-point continuum: Unpleasant–Pleasant, Impure–Pure, Bad–Good, Not valuable–Valuable, Weak–Strong, Useless–Useful,

Dissonant–Melodious, Ungrammatical–Grammatical, Uneducated–Educated, and Chaotic–Orderly, as shown in Figure 2.2.

FIGURE 2.2
Semantic differential scale for concept RUSSIAN

| 1. RUSSIAN | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------|
| Unpleasant | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Pleasant |
| Impure | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Pure |
| Bad | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Good |
| Not valuable | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Valuable |
| Weak | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Strong |
| Useless | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Useful |
| Dissonant | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Melodious |
| Ungrammatical | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Grammatical |
| Uneducated | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Educated |
| Chaotic | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Orderly |

The participants were instructed to rate the concept (e.g. RUSSIAN) against each adjectival pair. If they felt that the concept was closer to the negative pole, they placed a mark on the left side of the scale. If they rated the concept as positive, the mark was placed on the right side of the scale. The same scale was repeated for all three languages (concepts). The adjectives were selected from epithets describing languages in linguistic literature and public discourse (Stavytska & Trub 2007, Masenko 2008). The survey was implemented in Ukrainian, since it is the official language of the state, and implementation of the survey in Russian might be construed as favoring the Russian language thus skewing the results of the survey (see Appendix A for the full English version of the survey and Appendix B for its Ukrainian translation).

2.3 Findings

2.3.1 Native language and language use

When asked to identify their native language, most research participants (41 percent) named Russian while 39 percent chose Ukrainian (see Table 2.5). About 10 percent reported being bilingual in Russian–Ukrainian, Russian–‘surzhyk’,¹³ or Russian–Ukrainian–‘surzhyk’ multilingual. No one reported being Ukrainian–‘surzhyk’ bilingual, perhaps, due to the fact that ‘surzhyk’ is perceived as being very close to Ukrainian (impure or bastardized Ukrainian). Interestingly, even though only 41 percent of the participants identified Russian as their native language, 68 percent reported speaking Russian in their family.

TABLE 2.5
Native language and language use

| Language | Native language | | Language spoken in the family | | Language spoken by parents | | Language spoken by friends | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Ukrainian | 70 | 38.9 | 12 | 6.7 | 11 | 6.3 | 4 | 2.2 |
| Russian | 73 | 40.6 | 122 | 68.5 | 115 | 65.7 | 122 | 68.5 |
| ‘surzhyk’ | 19 | 10.6 | 41 | 23.0 | 31 | 17.7 | 31 | 17.4 |
| Ukrainian and Russian | 14 | 7.8 | 1 | .6 | 11 | 6.3 | 10 | 5.6 |
| Russian and ‘surzhyk’ | 1 | .6 | 2 | 1.1 | 6 | 3.4 | 6 | 3.4 |
| Russian, Ukrainian, and ‘surzhyk’ | 3 | 1.7 | – | – | 1 | .6 | 5 | 2.8 |
| Total | 180 | 100.0 | 178 | 100.0 | 175 | 100.0 | 178 | 100.0 |

¹³ Since in public discourse the term ‘surzhyk’ usually means any Russian–Ukrainian language mixture, I will use the broad term ‘surzhyk’ in this chapter rather than Surzhyk to indicate the language of the participants. Even though their understanding of ‘surzhyk’ is broad, it still sheds light on true attitudes toward Surzhyk.

This discrepancy in identifying one's native language raises a larger methodological issue of what constitutes the notion 'native language' (Kmelko 2004, Bilaniuk & Melnyk 2008). For Ukraine, with its highly contested linguistic space and pervasive Russian–Ukrainian bilingualism, 'native language' often means the language of one's ethnicity. Thus, Russian-speaking Ukrainians often consider Ukrainian to be their native language even though Russian is the language of everyday communication. This often leads to skewed results in polls and surveys.

The majority of students in the study must have interpreted the concept 'native language' as the language of their nationality/ethnicity. Out of 39 percent who reported Ukrainian as their native language, only one-fifth (7 percent) speak it at home. Interestingly, the number of people who speak 'surzhyk' at home is double (22.5 percent) the number who consider it their native language (10 percent). The language spoken by parents and friends shows that research participants' linguistic surrounding is primarily Russian- and 'surzhyk'-speaking with very few Ukrainian speakers, 6 percent and 2 percent respectively.

2.3.2 Language attitudes

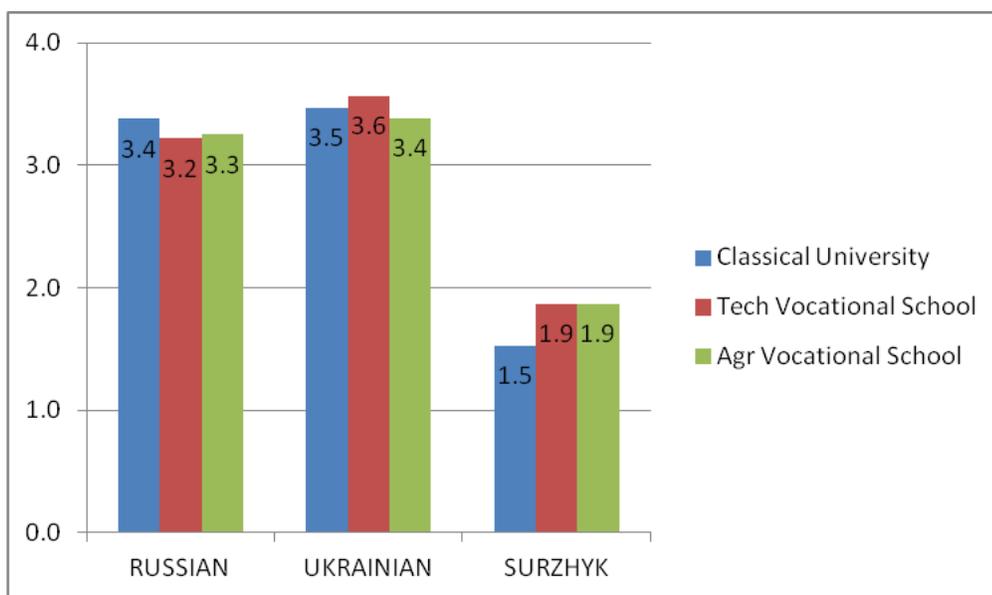
The analysis of the semantic differential portion of the survey provided a mean score for each of the languages (RUSSIAN, UKRAINIAN, SURZHYK) on the scale of 1 to 4. Several statistical analyses were performed to corroborate or disprove the following hypotheses:

- i) Students attending the Classical University in Zaporizhzhia have more negative attitudes toward ‘surzhyk’, since ‘surzhyk’ is more common in semi-urban and rural areas (Stavytska & Trub 2007, Bilaniuk 2004)
- ii) The mean score for the concept SURZHYK is predicted by one’s native language, the language spoken in the family, and the institution attended

The summary of the mean score distribution by the institution is illustrated in Figure 2.3 below.

FIGURE 2.3

Mean score for RUSSIAN, UKRAINIAN, and SURZHYK at three institutions



The mean score for ‘surzhyk’ differs more between Classical University and the Technical and Agricultural Vocational Schools than mean scores for Russian and Ukrainian. An analysis of variance showed that the effect of institution was significant for the mean score for ‘surzhyk’, $F(2, 177) = 6.28, p=.002$. Notably, the effect of institution was not significant for the Ukrainian mean score $F(2, 177) = 1.10, p>.05$ nor for the Russian mean score $F(2, 177) = 1.54, p>.05$. Even though a One-Way ANOVA

showed that the ‘surzhyk’ score was significantly lower than the Russian and Ukrainian scores, it is still not clear for which two institutions the mean difference was significant. The post hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the Surzhyk mean score was significantly higher for students from the Technical and Agricultural Vocational Schools than for students from Classical University, as shown in Table 2.6 below.

TABLE 2.6
Bonferroni Post Hoc Criterion of Significance

| Mean Score | | | Mean Difference | |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------|
| | (I) Institutions | (J) Institutions | (I-J) | Std. Error |
| Russian | Classical University | Tech Voc School | .1586 | .1099 |
| | | Agr Voc School | .1274 | .0917 |
| | Tech Voc School | Classical University | -.1586 | .1099 |
| | | Agr Voc School | -.0313 | .1198 |
| | Agr Voc School | Classical University | -.1274 | .0917 |
| | | Tech Voc School | .0313 | .1198 |
| Ukrainian | Classical University | Tech Voc School | -.0977 | .1128 |
| | | Agr Voc School | .0833 | .0941 |
| | Tech Voc School | Classical University | .0977 | .1128 |
| | | Agr Voc School | .1810 | .1230 |
| | Agr Voc School | Classical University | -.0833 | .0941 |
| | | Tech Voc School | -.1810 | .1230 |
| ‘surzhyk’ | Classical University | Tech Voc School | -.3406* | .1321 |
| | | Agr Voc School | -.3415* | .1102 |
| | Tech Voc School | Classical University | .3406* | .1321 |
| | | Agr Voc School | -.0009 | .1440 |
| | Agr Voc School | Classical University | .3415* | .1102 |
| | | Tech Voc School | .0009 | .1440 |

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

As Table 2.6 illustrates, the mean difference for Russian and Ukrainian between any two pairs of institutions (Classical University and Technical Vocational School; Classical

University and Agricultural Vocational School; and Agricultural Vocational School and Technical Vocational School) was not significant. The mean difference for ‘surzhyk’ was significant for the Classical University and Technical Vocational School pair and for the Classical University and Agricultural Vocational School pair with the difference being $M(I)-M(J) = -.3406$ and $M(I)-M(J) = -.3415$ respectively with $p < 0.05$ for both cases. Students at both Vocational Schools rated ‘surzhyk’ lower than Russian and Ukrainian, but students at Classical University rated ‘surzhyk’ significantly lower than the Vocational School students.

One of the possible explanations for a significantly lower score is pervasiveness of ‘surzhyk’ in semi-urban and rural areas. Students attending Vocational Schools grew up being exposed to more ‘surzhyk’ than students from a big city. Also, it is very likely that Vocational School students use ‘surzhyk’ at home or with friends even though they reported speaking Russian and Ukrainian in the survey. Another possible explanation is the nationalist educational doctrine propagating the linguistic purity and worth of the Ukrainian language, which, even though adopted by all educational establishments in Ukraine, is more visible at Classical University than at Vocational Schools. Since the primary purpose of vocational education is to develop necessary technical skills for manufacturing or agricultural industries, the focus on language and communication skills might not be as strong as at the University (Raimondos-Møller 2009).

Multiple regression analysis was used to test if one’s native language, language spoken in the family, and the institution attended predicted participant’s score of ‘surzhyk’ ($F(3, 174) = 6.0, p = .001$). The results showed that language spoken in the family ($\beta = .215, p = .011$), and the institution attended ($\beta = .176, p = .002$) are significant predictors

of the mean score for ‘surzhyk’. Native language of the participants was not a significant predictor. This finding supports my earlier contention that participants understand ‘native language’ not as ‘first language’ but rather as ‘language of my ethnicity’. The results also showed that people who reported speaking ‘surzhyk’ in the family (N=43) ranked ‘surzhyk’ significantly higher ($M=1.8, SD=.70$), than those who reported not speaking ‘surzhyk’ (N=135) ($M=1.6, SD=.63$), $t(23)=-3.3, p=.001$. Thus, throughout the study, language spoken in the family has been a much better predictor of attitude scores than native language of the participant. Some scholars have addressed the complexity of the term ‘native language’ in a bilingual state (Azhniuk 1999, Stavytska & Trub 2007).

2.4 Discussion of the term ‘native language’

Addressing the issue of native language in Ukrainian bilingual immigrant communities Azhniuk (1999: 122) states that there are several possible meanings evoked by concept ‘native language’:

- the first language
- language of the mother
- language of the ancestors
- language of one’s cultural heritage
- language with which one has emotional connection
- language in which one feels the most comfortable
- language of the country of citizenship

Others (Stavytska & Trub 2007) propose a typology of classifying one’s native language in the situation of bilingualism, specifically in Ukraine. The authors distinguish the first

language (acquired language) from the base language (language of everyday communication) or default language choice. Every language spoken by a person is either base or non-base, regardless of the acquisition order. Base language is contrasted with non-base language (language used only in certain domains, whose speakers acquired mostly its literary form). Ukrainian-speaking ethnic Ukrainians, for instance, have Ukrainian as their first and base language since they use it as their default language choice in everyday interaction and they acquired it as their first language. Russian then serves as their second, non-base language, a literary form of which is used in certain domains. Russian-speaking ethnic Russians or Ukrainians have Russian as their base and first language and Ukrainian as their non-base, second language. Stavytska and Trub assume that speakers learn a more or less literary form of the second language since language learning occurs most often through formal instruction. People who grow up speaking Ukrainian but then switch to Russian in their everyday communication have Ukrainian as their first, non-base language, and Russian as their second, base language. Stavytska and Trub (2007) claim that this type of language competence was widespread during the Soviet Era when Ukrainian speakers switched to Russian—the language of prestige. The flip side of this situation is Russian-speakers with Russian as their first language switching to Ukrainian—their second and base language. Due to the Ukrainianization campaign launched after independence, Russian speakers started switching to Ukrainian to satisfy job demands or following their own inclinations. Even though these four types of Ukrainian–Russian language competence are not exhaustive because they do not account for Surzhyk speakers, as well as speakers of some minority

language, but they do encompass the majority of bilingual situations in Ukraine. Table 2.7 on page 61 summarizes the typology.

Taking into account the salient place of Surzhyk in the sociolinguistic history of Ukraine, it should be added to the table above alongside Russian and Ukrainian. Table 2.8 indicates that Surzhyk speakers speak Surzhyk as their first and base language (primarily at home, with family and friends) and they speak Russian, Ukrainian, or both in more formal situations. I found that to be true only with the younger generations of Surzhyk speakers who had formal school instruction in Russian and Ukrainian. Older Surzhyk speakers whose schooling occurred during or right after World War II only speak Surzhyk and possess a passive knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian. Even though I have not encountered such cases of Surzhyk spoken as a second or non-base language during my field research I have heard anecdotal evidence that they exist. My research participants reported that the younger generations speaks Surzhyk to their older grandparents, while speaking Russian and Ukrainian in all other domains.

TABLE 2.7
Typology of bilingual situations in Ukraine

| Ethnolinguistic Group | Ukrainian | | | | Russian | | | |
|---|-----------|--------|------|----------|---------|--------|------|----------|
| | First | Second | Base | Non base | First | Second | Base | Non base |
| Ukrainian-speaking ethnic Ukrainians | √ | | √ | | | √ | | √ |
| Russian-speaking ethnic Russians or Ukrainians | | √ | | √ | √ | | √ | |
| Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians who switched to Russian | √ | | | √ | | √ | √ | |
| Russian-speaking Ukrainians or Russians who switched to Ukrainian | | √ | √ | | √ | | | √ |

(Stavytska & Trub 2007)

TABLE 2.8
Modified typology of bilingual situations in Ukraine

| Ethnolinguistic Group | Surzhyk | | | | Ukrainian | | Russian | |
|---|---------|--------|------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| | First | Second | Base | Non base | Second (Third) | Non Base | Second (Third) | Non Base |
| Surzhyk-speaking ethnic Ukrainians or ethnic Russians | √ | | √ | | √ | | √ | |
| | | √ | | √ | | √ | | √ |

(based on Stavytska & Trub 2007)

2.5 Sociolinguistic characteristics of ‘surzhyk’ speakers in this dissertation

Negative attitudes towards Surzhyk affect the image of its speakers. In both linguistic literature and public discourse in Ukraine, Surzhyk speakers are viewed as people of limited education who usually reside in rural areas and rarely or hardly ever leave their villages to travel (Gasparov 2006; Masenko 2008). Gasparov (2006: 122) describes a Surzhyk speaker:

... as a person of limited education and modest social position who has little contact with the world of cultural and social establishment. Most typically, such a speaker lives in a small town or in a working-class suburb of a big city. Whenever exposed to a situation of public speech or to contact with speakers of higher education, he tends to reduce his habitual speech behavior to a bare functional minimum. ... Often, all an educated observer receives from such a contact are terse and barely articulate utterances.

This observation is inaccurate because Surzhyk speakers do not form a unified, geographically distinct community—rather they are interspersed with Ukrainian (in Central Ukraine) and Russian (in Eastern and Southern Ukraine). So, they have linguistic contact with non-Surzhyk speakers on a daily basis.

Before moving on to data analysis, I will present the summary of sociolinguistic characteristics of people who provided spoken data for my dissertation. Note that not all of them are Surzhyk speakers. Some of the research participants spoke Ukrainian with a few Russian borrowings and some switched codes between the Russian and Ukrainian languages. That is why I refer to all of the research participants as ‘surzhyk’ speakers.

My research showed that every research participant who agreed to provide information about their education and whose schooling occurred after World War II, including Surzhyk speakers, graduated from a Vocational School (United States

equivalent of an Associates degree) or an equivalent institution. Several research participants had resided in other countries of the former Soviet Union and many of the people I spoke with reported traveling on a regular basis. This shows that the image of a Surzhyk speaker portrayed in both public discourse and academic literature is stigmatized and does not truly represent the entire Surzhyk-speaking population.

The age of my research participants ranges from 20 to 75 years, indicating that Surzhyk was passed down to younger generations as the first language. Two research participants whose schooling occurred during World War II reported having only a few years of secondary school. Seven research participants do not have a diploma beyond High School. Twenty-eight research participants attended a Vocational School or have an incomplete Bachelor's degree (see Table 2.9 for more detail).

TABLE 2.9
Sociolinguistic characteristics of ‘surzhyk’ speakers

| RP # | Place of residence | Age | Education | Language of instruction | Language spoken in the family (self-identified) | Occupation |
|------------------|--------------------|-----|--|-------------------------|---|--|
| 1 ¹⁴ | Kyiv Region | 70s | High school | Ukrainian, Russian | Ukrainian | shoe factory worker, now retired, grows and sells vegetables at the market |
| 2 | Kyiv Region | 70s | High school, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Surzhyk | sales assistant, now retired, grows and sells vegetables at the market |
| 3 | Kyiv Region | 40s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Surzhyk | sells canned food at the market |
| 3a ¹⁵ | Kyiv Region | 40s | - | - | - | sells meat at the market |
| 4 | Kyiv Region | 70s | High School, Agricultural Institute | Russian, Ukrainian | Ukrainian | retired, sells vegetables at the market |
| 5 ¹⁶ | Kyiv Region | 70s | The first grade of the Elementary School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | retired, sells vegetables, flowers at the market |
| 6 | Chernihiv Region | 70s | High School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | retired, sells vegetables at the market |
| 7 | Chernihiv Region | 50s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | - |
| 8 | Kyiv Region | 70s | High School | Ukrainian, Russian | Ukrainian (Polissia dialect) | construction worker, now retired |
| 9 | Kyiv Region | 60s | Four grades of Elementary School | Ukrainian, Russian | Ukrainian | construction worker, retired |

¹⁴ Hereinafter I will reference research participants by the region in which the interview was recorded (Ky for Kyiv, Za for Zaporizhzhia, and Khe for Kherson) and by research participant’s identification number located in the leftmost column of Table 2.9. For instance, research participant with ID #1 will be referenced as Ky1.

¹⁵ Research participants ID numbers marked with lowercase letters (a, b, etc.) refused to fill out the sociolinguistic questionnaire but provided spoken data, usually in a conversation with one of the research participants. For instance, Ky3 was recorded while speaking with Ky3a.

¹⁶ Ky5 lived and worked in Kazakhstan after World War II.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-----|--|--------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 10 | Kyiv Region | 60s | High School, one year of the Pedagogical Institute | Ukrainian | Russian and Ukrainian | retired |
| 11 | Kyiv Region | 40s | High School | Ukrainian, Russian | Ukrainian | farmer |
| 11a | Kyiv Region | 40s | - | Ukrainian, Russian | Ukrainian | - |
| 13 | Kyiv Region | 50s | High School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | hotel reception |
| 14 | Kyiv Region | 50s | High School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | hotel reception |
| 15 | Chernihiv Region | 60s | High School, Nursing School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | retired, worked as a nurse |
| 16 | Kyiv Region | 40s | High School, Pedagogical Institute | Ukrainian | Ukrainian and Russian | teacher of Ukrainian |
| 17 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 70s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | retired |
| 18 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 70s | High School, Agricultural Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Hard to define, does not have a native language | retired |
| 19 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 60s | High School, Vocational School | Russian | Surzhyk | handyman |
| 20 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 20s | High School, one year of the University | Ukrainian | Surzhyk, Russian | student |
| 21 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 40s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Mixed language | farmer |
| 22 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 60s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Surzhyk | retired |
| 23 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 50s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Surzhyk | - |
| 24 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 50s | - | - | Mixed language | - |
| 25 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 60s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Surzhyk | sales representative |
| 29 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 70s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Surzhyk | accountant, now retired |
| 30 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 70s | High School | Ukrainian, Russian | Surzhyk | retired |
| 31 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 40s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Ukrainian | clerk |
| 33 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 40s | - | Ukrainian, Russian | Ukrainian | florist |
| 34 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 50s | - | Ukrainian, Russian | Russian | - |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|-----|------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 35 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 50s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Russian and Ukrainian | social worker |
| 35a | Zaporizhzhia Region | 70s | - | Russian, Ukrainian | Ukrainian | retired, farmer |
| 35b | Zaporizhzhia Region | 70s | - | Russian, Ukrainian | Surzhyk | retired |
| 36 ¹⁷ | Zaporizhzhia Region | 40s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Russian and Ukrainian | farmer |
| 37 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 50s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | telecommunications specialist |
| 38 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 70s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Surzhyk | retired |
| 44 | Kherson Region | 50s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | - |
| 45 ¹⁸ | Kherson Region | 40s | - | Ukrainian | Askanian dialect, Russian | sales representative |
| 47 | Kherson Region | 70s | - | Ukrainian | Askanian dialect | retired |
| 48 | Kherson Region | 70s | - | Ukrainian | Askanian dialect | retired |
| 58 ¹⁹ | Zaporizhzhia Region | 40s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Surzhyk | butcher |
| 59 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 60s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Mixed | farmer |
| 61 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 40s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian, Russian | Surzhyk | small business owner |
| 62 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 50s | High School, Vocational School | Russian, Ukrainian | Russian | nurse |
| 63 | Zaporizhzhia Region | 40s | High School, Pedagogical Institute | Russian, Ukrainian | Ukrainian | teacher of Ukrainian |
| 64 ²⁰ | Zaporizhzhia Region | 60s | High School, Vocational School | Ukrainian | Ukrainian | small business owner |

¹⁷ Za36 moved to Zaporizhzhia Region from Western Ukraine.

¹⁸ Khe45 lived in Moscow for several years.

¹⁹ Za58 moved to Zaporizhzhia Region from Western Ukraine

²⁰ Za64 moved to Zaporizhzhia Region from Western Ukraine.

The majority of the research participants reported having both Russian and Ukrainian as languages of instruction in secondary school, as shown in Table 2.9. Interestingly, residents from the Kyiv region reported the Ukrainian language being dominant at school, especially in the rural areas. The residents of the Zaporizhzhia Region reported Russian as more dominant, having Ukrainian only as a part of the Ukrainian Language and Literature course.

When asked to identify the language spoken in the family, one research participant said that he does not have a native language, saying ‘I can speak something that resembles Russian to Russian-speakers and then something like Ukrainian to a Ukrainian speaker’. In fact, most of the research participants said that they speak a mixed language, meaning that they mix Russian and Ukrainian elements within utterances even if they spoke one or the other. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that everyone can speak both Ukrainian and Russian to some degree. Even if a person could not hold a conversation in Ukrainian or Russian, he/she could produce some utterances in both languages.

Analysis of the spoken data (see Chapters 3 and 4 for more detail) revealed that the perceived language of a research participant did not always match what he/she actually spoke. For instance, several research participants who switched between Russian and Ukrainian during a conversation said that what they spoke was Surzhyk because using two languages in one conversation meant one could not speak pure Ukrainian. In some instances research participants who spoke colloquial Ukrainian reported speaking Surzhyk because their Ukrainian differed from the literary form and they thought it was

not good enough to be considered Ukrainian. Table 2.10 below summarizes responses about perceived and spoken native language.

TABLE 2.10
Language perceived and actually spoken by the research participants

| Language reported by the RP (perceived) | Language actually spoken by the RP |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Ukrainian | Surzhyk |
| Ukrainian | Ukrainian |
| Surzhyk | Surzhyk |
| Surzhyk | Ukrainian |
| Surzhyk | Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching |

Some research participants who spoke Surzhyk self-identified as Ukrainian speakers, perhaps due to the fact that Surzhyk resembles Ukrainian more than Russian in its structure and lexical composition.

2.6 Conclusion

This analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine showed that community of Surzhyk speakers has low ethnolinguistic vitality compared to Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking communities. On the governmental level the question of Surzhyk is largely ignored, in that Surzhyk is not recognized as a separate language variety and its speakers are not counted in the National Census as a separate linguistic group. A quantitative study conducted among the students in three institutions in Zaporizhzhia Region showed that Surzhyk was rated lower than Russian and Ukrainian on a number of different attitudinal factors. The most negative attitudes towards Surzhyk were recorded for students at Classical University. Such discrepancy of the score can be explained by two factors:

i) more exposure to Surzhyk in semi-urban and rural areas caused a higher

Surzhyk mean score from students at Vocational Schools

ii) nationalist educational doctrines targeting language purity and condemning

non-standard varieties are more pervasive at the University than in Vocational Schools due to differences in their educational focus

Notably, even people who reported speaking Surzhyk rated it lower than Russian and Ukrainian. However, people who reported speaking Surzhyk in the family rated it significantly higher than those who did not. These results show that attitudes towards Surzhyk are very low even among Surzhyk speakers. Taking into account the fact that the younger generation of Surzhyk speakers is Ukrainian–Russian–Surzhyk multilingual, one might expect Surzhyk to gradually be replaced by Ukrainian or Russian. Low ethnolinguistic vitality of Surzhyk-speaking community and the Ukrainianization campaign coupled with attacks on Surzhyk in public discourse also favor language shift.

The definition of what constitutes Surzhyk is so imprecise, and the stigma of using more than one language in a conversation is so strong, that often people who speak colloquial Ukrainian or are Russian–Ukrainian bilinguals identify themselves as speakers of ‘surzhyk’. The following chapter will deal with the core of the problem—the precise blending of Ukrainian and Russian elements that sets Surzhyk apart from other contact phenomena, such as lexical borrowing and codeswitching.

CHAPTER 3

DATA ANALYSIS: STRUCTURE OF SURZHYK PROPER

3.0 Introduction

Consider the data below.

- (1) A *hlopts-y*, *joho souchenik-y*, *vabshe ne sh-l-i*²¹.
and boy-PL his classmate-PL at all NEG go-PAST-PL
'And boys, his classmates, did not go at all.' (Khe47)²²
- (2) *Naprymer u nedil-iu* try tam, chy dva raz-y ukrajins'kij²³
for example in week-ACC three there or two time-GEN Ukrainian
'For example, two or three times a week Ukrainian.' (Ky8)

Examples (1) and (2) above illustrate sentences in which lexical items are supplied by both Russian and Ukrainian while agreement markers come almost exclusively from Ukrainian. Note that the plural agreement marker *-y* on the Russian lexical item [soutʃɛnʲik] 'classmate' is supplied by Ukrainian. This lexical item is also phonologically assimilated to Ukrainian. The Russian reduction of /o/ to /a/ described in Chapter 1 does not occur. In Russian, this word is pronounced as [sautʃɛnʲik]. The Russian lexeme [naprimer] 'for example' also shows phonological assimilation to Ukrainian in that the phonemes /r/ and /m/ are non-palatalized, just as we would expect them to be pronounced in Ukrainian (Flier 1998). In Russian both /rʲ/ and /mʲ/ are palatalized in this lexeme. Russian lexeme *nedil-iu* 'week-ACC' is pronounced as its Ukrainian cognate *nedil-iu*,

²¹ Since Surzhyk is comprised of combination of Russian and Ukrainian elements, Ukrainian elements are presented in roman type, Russian elements are in italics, Russian elements that are phonologically assimilated to Ukrainian are in italicized sans serif, and elements that are identical in Russian and Ukrainian and whose use cannot be traced exclusively to either language are underlined.

²² The parenthesized code after each example indicates the research participant to whom the utterance was recorded belongs.

²³ An apostrophe (') marks palatalization of the consonants.

‘Sunday-ACC’ instead of the Russian lexeme *nedel-iu* ‘week-ACC’. The two examples above show that the sentences display a range of language blending including phonological assimilation, bound morpheme switches, and use of unassimilated lexemes from Russian in otherwise Ukrainian sentences. In this chapter, I argue that this particular type of blending of Russian and Ukrainian elements is what defines Surzhyk Proper.

Before I present my arguments for what defines Surzhyk’s structure, I will detail data collection methods I used to collect spoken Surzhyk data (§3.1). In the second section (§3.2) I will illustrate what does not count as Surzhyk—namely, universal language contact phenomena, which are to be expected in any bilingual country such as Ukraine. In (§3.2.1) I will give examples of some borrowings (Russian borrowings into Ukrainian and vice versa) and show how they differ from Surzhyk. Next I will address the issue of codeswitching and show that what I call Surzhyk is different from Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching (§3.2.2). Having dismissed cases of borrowing and codeswitching from what I consider Surzhyk Proper, I will show systematic features that differentiate Surzhyk from other contact phenomena on the one hand and Russian and Ukrainian on the other (§3.3). In (§3.3.1) I will introduce some terminology proposed by Myers-Scotton (2002) that I am using to talk about my data. In (§3.3.2) I will explain split in the use of the verb *be* in the present and past/future tenses. Then, I will discuss the use of verbal prefixes in Surzhyk (§3.3.3). Section (§3.3.4) will be devoted to Prepositional Phrases (PPs) of the motion verbs. In (§3.3.5) I will discuss complementizers and discourse markers. The following section will be devoted to a questionable case of the noun *year* (§3.3.6). The findings discussed in the chapter will be summarized in the conclusion (§3.4).

3.1 Data collection

Corpus data was collected through sociolinguistic interviews. This type of interview allows the researcher to structure questions depending on the individual situation and speaker characteristics. Sociolinguistic interviews for the current research consisted of two parts: a short demographic questionnaire and a structured conversation (recorded for analysis). The short demographic questionnaire asked the interviewees to identify basic information, such as age, place of residence, education, etc. The questionnaire was adopted from the Bilingual Questionnaire published in Basova et al. (1988) (see Appendix C for an English version and D for the Ukrainian version).

One well-known pitfall of the sociolinguistic interview is the observer's paradox. The observer's paradox refers to interviewees altering their behavior when they are aware of being observed (Labov 1972). I witnessed this behavior during my field research in summer of 2009. Interviewees tried to clean up their speech and make it less colloquial. To minimize the effects of the observer's paradox, I allowed the research participants to select the topic of their interest. I gave them a few topics to choose from, such as their favorite summer vacation, their hobbies, their favorite leisure time activities with their families, etc. I also switched between Russian and Ukrainian throughout the conversation for each subject to masquerade preference for either of the languages. In addition, I recorded several conversations of two Surzhyk speakers or a Surzhyk speaker with Russian and Ukrainian speakers (who is not the interviewer) which reduced occurrence of the observer's paradox and limited speech accommodation.

One possible way of eliciting naturally occurring speech with minimal linguistic input from the researcher, thus minimizing interviewees' speech alteration, is through

pictures or videos without any language prompts. For my elicitation sessions I used episodes of a cartoon called *Partly Cloudy*, by Pixar. The cartoon is about 5 minutes long. I showed it to the research participants and then ask them to tell me the story they saw. This method minimized language input from external sources and natural speech was more likely.

I also relied on the ethnographic method of participant observation. This method helped me gather additional sociolinguistic information about the demographics of the Surzhyk speakers. This method was complementary to the demographic questionnaire. By observing Surzhyk speakers in their community I was able to study interaction with Ukrainian and Russian speakers, attitudes towards Surzhyk/non-Surzhyk speakers, and self-awareness of Surzhyk speakers. The method of participant observation has been claimed to be crucial for studying codeswitching (Halmari 1997). Since one of my main research questions concerns the difference between language mixing and codeswitching, this method allowed me to study if, when, and to what degree codeswitching in the Surzhyk speaking community occurred.

3.1.1 Field research

I conducted preliminary field research in the summer of 2007 in the Zaporizhzhia region. Three conversations with Surzhyk speakers were recorded at that time. Conducting this field research helped me formulate my research questions and showed the need for a bilingual questionnaire. Actual field research was conducted in two stages: stage one in summer of 2009 and stage two in spring of 2011. In summer of 2009 I collected data in three regions of Ukraine: the Kyiv region, which is in Central Ukraine; the Zaporizhzhia region, considered Eastern Ukraine; and the Kherson region, which is in

southern part of Ukraine (see Table 2.9). In the spring of 2011 I returned to the Zaporizhzhia region. Forty-seven participants²⁴ (N=47) were recorded from all three regions of Ukraine. Seventeen (N=17) of them were recorded in Kyiv. Three research participants came to Kyiv from the Chernihiv region for a day. Twenty-six (N=26) participants were recorded in the Zaporizhzhia region. Four (N=4) participants were recorded in Kherson (see Appendix E, Interviews and conversation of the dissertation data).

I contacted research participants through social networks (asking friends and acquaintances to spread the word about my research and to meet people) and scheduled appointments with them. I also approached subjects at markets, stores, or other public places and asked them if they were willing to participate in the research. I recorded several group conversations with two or more speakers of Surzhyk or between a speaker of Surzhyk and a speaker of Russian (and/or Ukrainian). When research participants gave me their consent to participate in the study, I described the nature of my study in more detail and explained that I would like to ask them several demographic questions and some questions about the languages they speak and their language choices for different situations. I did not disclose that the subject of my study was Surzhyk. Instead, I introduced it in general terms as ‘A Study of Russian–Ukrainian bilingualism’. My earlier pilot research in summer of 2007, conducted in the Zaporizhzhia region, provided evidence that subjects become self-conscious about their spoken language when told that

²⁴ I interviewed more than 60 individuals. But due to quality of recording or a language spoken during the interview (Russian), only 47 interviews and conversations are included here.

the topic of study is Surzhyk. The subject of Surzhyk was always brought up during the conversation since it relates directly to Russian–Ukrainian bilingualism, and language policy and planning in Ukraine. The topic of national and official language is a widely debated one. A lot of people wanted to talk about it, to share their opinion on and experience with the Russian and Ukrainian languages.

Before and during recording, I addressed participants either in Russian or Ukrainian. I switched languages during the conversation to decrease the participant's accommodation to my language in their answers and also to eliminate any ideologically charged conclusion about what language is more important, Ukrainian or Russian. For instance, talking about Russian–Ukrainian bilingualism but asking questions only in Ukrainian might be seen as considering Ukrainian more important, thus inviting participants to accommodate their speech to match that assumption.

Having analyzed collected data I was able to discern differences between what I call Surzhyk, lexical borrowing, and codeswitching.

3.2 What does not count as Surzhyk

When two languages are in contact some universal language contact phenomena, such as borrowing and codeswitching, are expected. Since Russian and Ukrainian have been in contact for several centuries, one can find a lot of lexical borrowings from Russian into Ukrainian and vice versa. In this section I will argue that lexical borrowing from Russian into Ukrainian is not necessarily Surzhyk. I will also illustrate a case of Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching and show that language alternations in codeswitching are pragmatically triggered.

3.2.1 Russian lexical borrowing into Ukrainian is not Surzhyk

Borrowing is defined as ‘the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features’ (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37). Words usually are the first elements to be borrowed. They can be incorporated phonologically and morphologically into the borrowing language, but not all borrowings are. Strong cultural pressure facilitates borrowing of structural elements in addition to vocabulary. The longer the contact accompanied by a strong pressure on the borrowing group’s language, the more structural borrowings are likely to enter the language of the oppressed group (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Halmari 1997). One of the prerequisites for extensive structural borrowing is widespread bilingualism.

Ukraine experienced long-term cultural pressure from the Russian Empire and Soviet Russia (see Chapter 1 for more details). In addition, Ukraine has widespread Russian–Ukrainian bilingualism. One should expect a large number of both lexical and structural borrowings from Russian into Ukrainian and vice versa. Some borrowings are assimilated to Ukrainian phonology, while others remained unassimilated. Table 3.1 illustrates some of the unassimilated lexical borrowings from Russian into Ukrainian.

TABLE 3.1
Unassimilated lexical borrowings into Ukrainian

| Russian | Ukrainian | Gloss |
|----------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| trojka | trojka | ‘three’ (as in <i>three horses</i>) |
| liotchik | liotchik | ‘pilot’ |
| dukhovka | dukhovka | ‘oven’ |
| bashmak | bashmak | ‘shoe’ |

A lot of borrowings into Ukrainian indicate technical terms and new concepts (especially concepts describing new Soviet reality), which is very likely in the situation of close cultural contact (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). For instance, the words *pilot* and *oven* entered Ukrainian along with the new concepts they signified, as shown in Table 3.1.

The process of lexical and structural borrowing was not one-sided during the years of Russian–Ukrainian contact. Some lexical items entered Russian from Ukrainian. They usually indicate cultural artifacts and concepts, as well as adjectives associated with Ukraine and Ukrainians, as in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2
Ukrainian borrowings into Russian

| Ukrainian | Russian | Gloss |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| shynok | shynok | ‘bar’ |
| bandura | bandura | ‘bandura’ (musical instrument) |
| bulava | bulava | ‘mace’ |
| divchata | devchata | ‘girls’ |
| khliborob | khleborob | ‘cultivator’ |
| hopak | hopak | ‘hopak’ (a kind of dance) |

All of the words in Table 3.4 are words that are pertinent to Ukrainian culture. Note phonological assimilation in *divchata* and *khliborob* (bolded).

Some of the borrowed lexical items from Russian into Ukrainian show phonological assimilation, as shown in Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3
Assimilated lexical Russian borrowings into Ukrainian

| Russian | Ukrainian | Gloss |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| bol’shevik | bilshovyk | ‘bolshevik’ |
| vertoliot | vertolit | ‘helicopter’ |
| dostoinstvo | dostojinstvo | ‘honor’ |
| kotel’ naja | kotel’ nia | ‘boiler room’ |

Not only simple words were loaned between Russian and Ukrainian. Table 3.4 below illustrates some calques defined as ‘morpheme by morpheme translations of morphologically complex expression’ (Haugen & Mithun 2003), which entered Ukrainian during the Soviet Era to indicate new concepts of the Soviet reality (Taranenko 2007).

TABLE 3.4
Calques entering Ukrainian from Russian

| Russian morphemes | Ukrainian morphemes | Gloss |
|-------------------|---------------------|--|
| televīdinie | telebachennia | ‘television’ |
| istrebitel’ | vynyshuvach | ‘fighter jet’ |
| oktiabrionok | zhovtenia | ‘October child’ (member of the Communist organization) |
| kolkhoz | kolhosp | ‘collective farm’ |

In the first word in Table 3.4, the morpheme *vidinie* ‘vision’ is translated into Ukrainian as *bachennia*, rendering a new word *telebachennia*. The second word, *instrebitel’*, consists of two morphemes—the stem *instrebit* ‘destroy’ and the suffix *-el*, which signifies the doer of the action. Both morphemes were translated into Ukrainian, rendering *vynyshuvach*. In both languages the word means ‘fighter jet’. The word *oktiabrionok* in Russian was formed from the name of the month *oktiabr* ‘October’ plus the diminutive suffix *-onok* to signify the member of the Communist Children’s organization. When this word was borrowed into Ukrainian, *oktiabr*’ was translated into *zhovten*’ (‘October’ in Ukrainian) plus the Ukrainian diminutive suffix *-ia*. The Russian word *kolkhoz* is a composite of two stems *kollektivnoje khoziajstvo* ‘collective economy’. The word ‘collective’ is the same in both Russian and Ukrainian. The second part of the

composite, ‘economy’, was translated into Ukrainian rendering *kollektivne hospodarstvo* ‘collective economy’ or *kolkosp*.

Not only lexical items were exchanged between Russian and Ukrainian. Due to the prolonged Russification of Ukraine, many structural borrowings entered Ukrainian; some of these are presented in Table 3.5 (Taranenko 2007: 125).

TABLE 3.5
Structural borrowings from Russian into Ukrainian

| Russian | Ukrainian | Gloss |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| upravlia jushij ²⁵ | keru juchyj | ‘governing’ |
| obslugovu jushij | obsluhovu juchyj | ‘serving’ |
| obobshaj jushij | uzahal’nu juchyj | ‘generalizing’ |
| peredel ka | pererob ka | ‘remaking’ |
| posad ka | posad ka | ‘planting’ |

The first three words in Table 3.5 illustrate the borrowing of the suffix *-uch* that forms the present active participle. The Standard Ukrainian preference would be either to use the clause (*toj, sho keruje* ‘the one who governs’) or to use the present participle with the suffix *-l’nyj*, as in *keruval’nyj* ‘governing’. Deverbal nouns (*pererobka* ‘remaking’ and *posadka* ‘planting’) have the suffix *-ennia* in Standard Ukrainian, as in *pereroblennia*.

Consider another example in which a borrowed deverbal noun has been morphologically and phonologically adapted to Ukrainian. Compare (3b) with its Russian counterpart in (3a).

- (3) a. /raspar^ʃazhenije/
‘order, decree’ (R)

²⁵ Borrowed morphemes are bolded.

- b. /rozpor¹aɕɛn¹:a/
 ‘order, decree’ (U)

The Russian prefix *ros-* (pronounced as /ras/- in unstressed position) was replaced by the Ukrainian equivalent *roz-*. There is a predictable vowel reduction in the unstressed stem syllable in (3b), while no vowel reduction occurs in Ukrainian (see Chapter 1). The Russian fricative /zh/ becomes /ɟʒ/ in Ukrainian. The borrowing conforms to the group of Ukrainian neuter nouns of the second declension and acquired the Ukrainian neuter suffix *-ennia*.

Some lexical items borrowed from Russian utilize Ukrainian material for word building. For instance, the noun *nauka* ‘science’ is a borrowing from Russian (Ponomariv 2001, Pugh 2007). When an adjective ‘scientific’ is formed, the Ukrainian suffix *-ov* is utilized instead of the Russian adjectival suffix *-chn*.

- (4) a. /naukovyj/
 ‘scientific’ (U)
- b. /nautʃnyj/
 ‘scientific’ (R)

Both adjectives in (4) are formed from the noun /nauka/ *science*. The Russian phonological alternation [k]→[tʃ] does not occur because in Ukrainian the environment is not met.

During the years of Ukrainian independence the status of Ukrainian increased and the fight for purity from Russian reversed the use of some Russian borrowings in favor of the words considered Ukrainian. For instance, the word *helikopter* ‘helicopter’ is now used in Ukrainian instead of *vertolit* ‘helicopter’ and *vidsotok* ‘percent’ is used instead of the Russian-borrowing *protsent* ‘percent’. Some of these words are borrowed from Polish

or English and enter Ukrainian through diasporas but they are considered more fitting than Russian borrowings due to political tension between Russian and Ukrainian.

Even though long cultural pressure in Ukraine from Russian created favorable conditions for massive lexical and structural borrowings, these borrowings differ significantly from what I claim is Surzhyk. Recall Examples (1) and (2) above. They contain more structural blending (a stem from one language and an affix from another), indicating that Surzhyk is not merely a case of Russian borrowing into Ukrainian. In addition, Russian lexical items in Surzhyk are not used in the Standard Ukrainian language and they are not used by the Ukrainian-speaking population of Western Ukraine. That being said, Surzhyk does display lexical borrowing from Russian in whole restricted classes of lexical items (see section 3.3.5 of this chapter). But these classes are not used by the Ukrainian-speaking population throughout the territory of Ukraine.

In addition to lexical borrowing, a case of Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching has been identified as Surzhyk (Bilaniuk 2004). Recall the typology of ‘surzhyk’ proposed by Bilaniuk (2004), in which Urban bilinguals’ and Post Independence ‘surzhyk’ resemble codeswitching (see Chapter 1). In the next section, I argue that Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching differs from Surzhyk on structural and pragmatic levels. In what follows I will show how Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching differs from Surzhyk.

3.2.2 Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching is not Surzhyk

Codeswitching is defined as the use of two or more languages in one conversation (Myers-Scotton 2002, Halmari 1997). When two languages are spoken on the same territory it is expected that the speakers of these two languages codeswitch. A number of authors have done extensive research on codeswitching between Russian and English

(Andrews 1998), Finnish and English (Halmari 1997), Irish and English (Stenson 1993), English and Ukrainian (Budzhak-Jones 1998), etc. Consider the following example of English–Russian codeswitching.²⁶

- (5) Aliosha *hochet poiti v movies.*
 Aliosha want.3SG.PRES go.INF to movies
 ‘Aliosha wants to go to the movies.’ (Andrews 1998: 94)

The example in (5) illustrates a sentence in which the noun *movie* in the prepositional phrase *to the movies* is supplied by English in an otherwise Russian sentence. Scholars agree that codeswitching is governed by a set of constraints which allows speakers to produce grammatical sentences (Clyne 2003, Poplack & Sankoff 1988). Some scholars (Poplack 1980, Halmari 1997) disagree whether a switch between a bound morpheme can occur in codeswitching. In addition to abiding to syntactic constraints, codeswitching indexes some pragmatic function (Myers-Scotton 2006). There is usually some social motivation for switching codes.

Myers-Scotton (2002, 2006) explains codeswitching through the Markedness Model, which states that participants in the interaction (both speaker and listener) consider particular linguistic choices to be more or less marked. The unmarked choices are those expected given the particular participants in the conversation, topic, setting, etc. The marked choices are those that are not expected by a listener in the specific situation. Myers-Scotton (2006) describes an example from Kenya in which a young man living in Nairobi greets his visiting brother in English rather than in their ethnic group language. By making this marked choice, Myers-Scotton argues, the urban brother is signaling

²⁶ English is in roman, Russian is in italics.

distance between himself and his rural brother and ‘...downplays the ethnic connection’ (2006: 160).

In addition, codeswitching itself can function as an unmarked code. Myers-Scotton (2002, 2006) argues that instances of codeswitching as an unmarked choice convey a dual identity grounded in the cultures of both languages involved in the switch. For instance, codeswitching is a language of interaction for bilingual immigrants who use their L2 at work and for out-of-group interaction and L1–L2 codeswitching for in-group interaction. Utilizing codeswitching ‘... helps them retain ethnic distinctiveness while also fitting into the culture where they live now’ (Myers-Scotton 2006: 167).

During my field research I collected some data that upon closer inspection turned out to be Ukrainian–Russian codeswitching (URCS hereinafter). In this section I will show that URCS is structurally and pragmatically different from Surzhyk. Below I will present an excerpt from a conversation involving URCS.

The following excerpt is from a conversation with a public school teacher of Ukrainian (Za63). She graduated from the university with a degree in Ukrainian Language and Literature. She speaks both Russian and Ukrainian. In (6), she is talking to a Russian-speaking friend (who also understands and speaks some Ukrainian even though her first language is Russian).²⁷

- (6) 01 Za63: *Sveta, jesli by ty videla, kakoj on tut vchera sidel.*
 ‘Sveta [name], if you saw, how he sat here yesterday.’
- 02 Friend: *Hrusnyj?*
 ‘Sad?’

²⁷ Russian is in italics, Ukrainian is in roman.

- 03 Za63: *Nikakoj. Ot on bez tebia dazhe dyshit pa-druhomu.*
‘Very sad. He even breathes differently without you.’
- 04 Friend: *Kak vasha babushka?*
‘How is your grandma?’
- 05 Za63: *Ana pryshla, kazhe, ‘Kolia, ja tak hochu jisty.’*
‘She came, says, ‘Kolia [name] I am so hungry.’’
- 06 Vin kazhe, ‘Tak jizh.’
‘He says ‘Then eat.’’
- 07 Vona kazhe, ‘Tak ja zuby doma zabula.’
‘She says, ‘I forgot teeth at home.’’
- 08 Vin kazhe, ‘Tak vchora zh byly.’
‘He says, ‘But yesterday you had them.’’
- 09 *A na sledushij den’ ja prihazhu, a vin kazhe, ‘Ma, baba u*
‘And the next day I come, and he says, ‘Mom, grandma
nas siodni jela sup.
ate soup today at our place.’’
- 10 Kazhe, ‘*Da, ana siodni byla v zubah.*’
‘He says, ‘Yes, she was wearing her teeth.’’
- 11 *Shas ja tebe istoriju raskazhu. Pryhodi na urok.*
‘I will tell you a story now. I come to class.’
- 12 *Sydyt’ adyn tavarish’.* Svernuv bumazhechku v trubachku
‘A guy is sitting. Rolled a piece of paper into a pipe
i kure.
and is smoking.’
- 13 Ja kazhu, ‘*Ihar*’, ubery. Shas ta bumazhechka znaesh’ de
‘I’m saying, ‘Ihar [name], put it away. You know where
u tebe bude?’
that paper will be right now?’’
- 14 *Ne dejstvuje.*
‘It isn’t working.’
- 15 Ja kazhu, ‘Ja tebe shas *naverna siharetami nakarmliu,*
‘I’m saying, ‘I will probably feed you cigarettes

shob uzhe naverniaka.’ ...
so that it works for sure. ...’

- 16 *A tema uroka u nas pratakol, dilove movlennia.*
 ‘And the topic of the lesson is business communication.’
- 17 Nu my zh rozbyrally-rozbyrally, *patom* spryhnuly tut na
 ‘Well, we were studying-studying, then switches to

 vkusy.
 tastes.’

The excerpt above starts in Russian (lines 01-04). Russian is an unmarked choice for the communication because Za63’s friend speaks Russian better than Ukrainian. So, it is natural for Za63 to accommodate and adopt the Russian code for the initial conversation. In line 05, Za63 changes the language from Russian to Ukrainian while retelling a conversation of her young son and her grandmother, who speaks Ukrainian. Note the interclausal switch in line 09 between the introduction of the reported speech (‘He says’) in Ukrainian and the son’s answer in Russian. Even though Za63 is using both languages while speaking with her Russian-speaking friend, she does not violate the markedness condition since the switches signify someone else’s speech being reported. In line 11 Za63 begins telling a story about her work in a public school. The story is introduced in Russian, after which she switches to Ukrainian because Ukrainian is the language she is using during her school lessons. The rest of the excerpt illustrates cases of interclausal codeswitching. Note that there is no case of bound morpheme switches in this excerpt.

As Auer points out, sometimes it is hard to identify the matrix language²⁸ in codeswitching (1999). This is exactly the case in the excerpt above. The speaker is using

²⁸ Matrix language is the language supplying the morphosyntactic structure of the clause.

roughly equivalent numbers of Russian and Ukrainian clauses, making it difficult to determine the matrix language of the interaction. As for the mixed clauses in lines 12 and 15, one clause has a Ukrainian verb and another one has a Russian verb, which makes the identification of the matrix language a difficult task. Thus, taking into account the balanced bilingualism of Za63 and the intersentential nature of codeswitching, it does not matter what the matrix language of the utterance is in this particular case since the similarity of Russian and Ukrainian syntax allows well-formed clauses.

This example of URCS illustrates that codeswitching is pragmatically motivated and mostly intersentential. Za63 in the excerpt is clearly proficient in both Russian and Ukrainian. She can keep those languages apart in a conversation and switches codes only when prompted by some pragmatic cue. The Surzhyk blending of Russian and Ukrainian to be illustrated in the next section is quite different. For instance, Surzhyk, as will be seen below, displays a lot of intraword mixing, in apparent violation of Poplack's Free Morpheme Constraint on codeswitching, which claims that a switch between a bound morpheme and a free morpheme occurs only if the free morpheme is phonologically integrated into the language that supplied bound morpheme (the Matrix Language, in Myers-Scotton's terms) (Poplack 1980). In other words, the Free Morpheme Constraint does not allow for intraword switches. Even though there have been a number of studies showing that switches can occur at morpheme boundaries (e.g., Halmari 1997, Stenson 1993), one would not expect morpheme boundary switches to be the most dominant in the codeswitching data. One of the main structural differences (others will be outlined below) between Surzhyk and codeswitching is a large number of rule-governed intraword switches in Surzhyk. Consider the example below.

- (7) *Patom atets kupi-v mashyn-u*
 then father buy-3.SG.MASC.PAST car-ACC
 ‘Then father bought a car.’ (Za18)

In (7) all lexemes are supplied by Russian but the verb agreement marker *-v* comes from Ukrainian (possibly accepting the ambiguous *mashynu* ‘car-ACC’ as being supplied by Russian). The Russian verb agreement marker would be *-l*. In another example the same research participant used agreement markers from both Russian and Ukrainian in a mixed clause (8).

- (8) *Ja jak by skaza-t’, rozvaln-uva-v-sia,*
 I how would say-INF worry-2IMPF-3.SG.MASC.PAST-REFL

brosi-l eta selo, ... rasshita-v-sia
 leave-3.SG.MASC.PAST this village quit-3.SG.MASC.PAST-REFL

i perejeha-l v rajon.
 and move-3.SG.MASC.PAST to urban center
 ‘How to put it, I got worried, left this village, quit, and moved to the urban center.’ (Za18)

In (8) the speaker uses a series of verbs that are supplied by Russian. Out of five verbs used (*say, worry, leave, quit, and move*), two have the Ukrainian agreement suffix *-v*, two have the Russian agreement suffix *-l*, and one (*say*) has the Russian infinitival suffix *-t’*. Examples (7) and (8) illustrate several intraclausal and intraword switches, which are not triggered by any pragmatic function. I will argue in the remainder of the dissertation that this is exactly what I consider Surzhyk. I will also show that Surzhyk has an internal structure and its items are often subject to Ukrainian phonology.

The bullet points below identify features that characterize Surzhyk and differentiate it from codeswitching, borrowing, and other contact phenomena. Due to these systematic differences exhibited by Russian–Ukrainian blended clauses, I postulate

that Surzhyk is a distinct code with its own morphosyntactic patterns. The systematic differences from Russian and Ukrainian that Surzhyk exhibits are listed below.

- The verb *be* in Surzhyk contains elements of both Russian and Ukrainian in a systematic way. In the Present tense the verb is Russian, while in the Past and Future tense is it supplied by Ukrainian.
- Verbal derivational affixes that mark viewpoint aspect and also add some additional meaning to a verb are supplied by Russian on both Ukrainian and Russian verb stems.
- In Surzhyk verbs of motion indicating the movement to/into/towards an object or a place are Ukrainian but they select for the Russian preposition instead of the Ukrainian one.
- Discourse markers and complementizers are supplied by Russian.

Before presenting the data, I will first give a brief explanation of the terminology which I will use to distinguish the types of morphemes involved in blending of two languages as well as the source language of morphosyntax.

3.3 Features of Surzhyk

3.3.1 Explanation of the terminology used

The Matrix Language Frame model proposed by Myers-Scotton (2002, 2003) strives to explain contact phenomena through treatment of lexicon and morphosyntax of contact phenomena within a single perspective. Even though I will not use this model in my analysis, I will utilize the terminology proposed by Myers-Scotton.

According to Myers-Scotton, only one language is the source of the abstract morphosyntactic frame in a bilingual clause (the Matrix language) and the other participating language (the Embedded language) must agree with structural requirements stipulated by the Matrix language (Myers-Scotton 2002, 2003). Example (9) illustrates a bilingual clause from Surzhyk.

- (9) a tak vse na *aharod-i* bu-l-o
 and so everything on garden-LOC be-PAST-3SG.NEUT
 ‘There was everything in the garden.’ (Ky2)

The clause in (9) shows that the main language supplying the abstract morphosyntactic frame is Ukrainian. The pronoun *vse* and the verb *bulo* are supplied by Ukrainian.

Although the noun in the PP *in the garden* is of Russian origin, it has a Ukrainian Locative morpheme /-i/, required by the verb *bulo*, thus observing the well-formedness principle for the morphosyntactic frame. If this PP had been structured according to the rules of Russian, the morpheme /-e/ would have been found, as in (10).

- (10) *na aharod^Le*
 on garden-LOC
 ‘in the garden’

In addition to the Matrix language–Embedded language distinction, a distinction is made between content and system morphemes (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000). The system morphemes are further subdivided into early and late system morphemes.

CONTENT MORPHEMES. Content morphemes assign and receive thematic roles in a clause. Discourse markers also belong to the class of content morphemes by virtue of assigning ‘another type of thematic role at the discourse level’ (Myers-Scotton 2003: 77). Nouns, verbs, some adpositions, and discourse markers are examples of content morphemes.

Content morphemes can be supplied either by the Matrix language or by the Embedded language. Consider the following examples from Surzhyk.

- (11) U mene sorak sotak *aharod-a*
 By I.GEN forty 100m² garden-GEN
 ‘I have forty thousand square meters of garden.’ (Ky2)

In (11) the numeral *forty* and the noun *100 square meters*, which modify the noun *garden*, are identical in both Russian and Ukrainian—but the head of the NP, the noun *garden*, comes from Russian.

- (12) Ot ja pojiha-v v Berdians'k, chetyre dn-ia, vse.
 Here I go-3.SG.MASC.PAST to Berdians'k, four day-GEN.PL all
 'I went to Berdiansk for four days, that's it.' (Za58)

In (12) the NP *four days* is supplied by Russian, while the rest of the content and system morphemes come from Ukrainian.

EARLY SYSTEM MORPHEMES. Early system morphemes do not assign or receive thematic roles. For example, noun plural markers, articles, and most derivational affixes are early system morphemes. In (13) the plural marker on the noun *weekend* is an early system morpheme, which is selected together with the content morpheme and it only looks at the noun head for its form.

- (13) kazhd-i vyhodn-i
 every-NOM.PL weekend-NOM.PL
 'every weekend'

Another example of early system morphemes are derivational affixes. In (14) a Russian diminutive affix occurs on the Ukrainian content morpheme *fish*, creating a term of endearment. The Ukrainian equivalent for this suffix is *-nka*.

- (14) Rybo-*chka*, jake more!
 Fish-DIMIN what sea
 'Sweetie, what sea?'

LATE SYSTEM MORPHEMES. Late system morphemes are required for well-formedness of larger constituents, and include subject–verb agreement markers, case markers, etc. Late system morphemes do not add any lexical meaning. For example, the morpheme *of* joining two noun phrases in English is an example of a late system morpheme. In

Surzhyk an example of such a morpheme is the marker of Genitive case assigned to a noun by a numeral, as in (15).

- (15) dva misiats-*ia*
 two month-GEN.PL
 ‘two months’

The numeral *dva* in (15) assigns the Genitive case to the noun. The numeral has the same form in both Russian and Ukrainian. The noun *misiats* ‘month’ is Ukrainian with the case marker supplied by Russian.

Another example of a late system morpheme is the preposition *dlia* ‘for’. It connects an adjectival predicate with a noun, as shown in (16).

- (16) take tjazhole i dlia *zhelutk-a* i dlia vsio- ho
 such heavy and for stomach-GEN.MASC and for everything-GEN.NEUT
 ‘It is heavy for stomach and for everything.’ (Za29)

In (17) below, in the temporal PP *mezhdru elektrychkami* ‘between electric trains’, the preposition *between* and the Locative plural case marker *-i* are Russian. The case marker is an example of a late system morpheme since it is assigned by the preposition *mezhdru* ‘between’, which occurs outside of noun’s immediate maximal projection, an NP.

- (17) Tam p’jat’ chasov *mezhdru* elektrychkami
 There five hour.GEN.PL between electric train.LOC.PL
 ‘It is five hours between electric trains’. (Ky3)

- (18) Tse z druho-ho kurs- a *nachina-jet-* sia
 It from second-GEN.MASC course-GEN begin- 3.SG.PRES-REFL
 ‘It starts from the second year’. (Ky3)

In (18) the NP *druhoho kursa* ‘second year’ illustrates adjective–noun agreement of another outsider late system morpheme *-ho* indicating both Genitive case and masculine

gender, which is supplied by Ukrainian. This morpheme looks for its morphosyntactic information outside of its immediate maximal projection.

PHONOLOGICAL REALIZATION AND THE MATRIX LANGUAGE. The Matrix language of blended Russian–Ukrainian clauses is Ukrainian since Ukrainian supplies the morphosyntax in mixed clauses the Embedded language is Russian, which supplies some of the content morphemes. Consider the following examples.

- (19) Pid nas zhe nihto ne *podstra-juva-v-sia*
 under we.PREP INTENS nobody NEG adjust-2IMP-3SG.MASC.PAST-REFL
 ‘Nobody accommodated us.’ (Ky3)

In (19) the Russian verb *podstrajuvavsia* ‘accommodated’ appears in an otherwise Ukrainian clause. Note that the Russian verb stem has the Ukrainian secondary imperfective suffix *-juva*. It is also inflected for the third person singular masculine Past tense, which is conveyed by the Ukrainian morpheme *-v*. The fact that the secondary imperfective and agreement markers on the verb came from Ukrainian indicates that Ukrainian indeed supplies the morphosyntactic frame for the Matrix language, making it the Matrix language. Russian, then, is the Embedded language.

Example (20) is another instance in which four content morphemes are supplied by Russian, but the agreement marker on the adjective *obliged* and the infinitive *go* come from Ukrainian.

- (20) Nu, my *dolzhn.i* bu-ly vo vremja vojny it-y.
 well we obliged.PL be-1PL.PAST in time war go-INF
 ‘We had to go during the war.’ (Ky8)

Very often Russian content morphemes in Surzhyk show phonological assimilation with Ukrainian, as in the noun /vremja/. In Russian, the phoneme /m/ is palatalized, rendering

/vrem¹a/. Consider another example that illustrates similar behavior of phonologically assimilating content morphemes.

- (21) a. Salo nikoly *lyshn¹-oji* sol-i ne viz'-me.
 Smoked fat.NOM never extra-FEM.GEN salt.GEN NEG take-3SG.FUT
 'Smoked fat will never take (absorb) extra salt'. (Ky3)
- b. *lishn-ej* sol-i
 extra-FEM.GEN salt-FEM.GEN (R)
- c. *zajv-oji* sol-i
 extra.FEM.GEN salt.FEM.GEN (U)

In (21a) the NP *lyshnoji soli* 'extra salt' the adjectival stem is supplied by Russian, but the adjective–noun agreement morpheme for the feminine Genitive ending *-oji* is Ukrainian. This morpheme also belongs to the class of late system morphemes. In (21b-c) the Russian and Ukrainian NPs are demonstrated. Even though most of the data shows that Ukrainian is the Matrix language, some examples, however, are more ambiguous as to which language is the Matrix because the lexemes are identical in both languages (22). Most of the time (but not always) there is some phonological assimilation of Russian lexemes to Ukrainian, which helps resolve ambiguity. For example,

- (22) Ja vam prosto *haroshij tsvetok* da-la i vse
 I you.DAT simply good flower give-1.SG.FEM.PAST and all
 'I simply gave you a good flower and that's all.' (Ky33)

In (22) only the NP *haroshij tsvetok* 'good flower' is unambiguously comes from Russian. Only the pronoun *vse* 'all' is unambiguously Ukrainian. The rest of the sentence can be interpreted either way. However, the adverb *prosto* 'simply' shows phonological assimilation to Ukrainian in that there is no lowering of /o/. But this alone does not indicate that the clause is Ukrainian since phonological assimilation is a common process in Russian–Ukrainian blended clauses.

So far I have shown that:

- The Matrix language of Surzhyk is Ukrainian. This contrasts with the case of codeswitching shown in 3 in which it was difficult to determine the Matrix language.
- Some Russian lexical items are phonologically assimilated to Ukrainian.
- Most of the intraword switches are very common and involve both early system morphemes (e.g. plural markers) and late system morphemes (case markers, subject–verb agreement markers).

In the next section I will present the paradigm of the verb *to be* in Surzhyk and show that it is supplied by Russian in the Present tense and by Ukrainian in the Past and Future tenses.

3.3.2 *The verb be*

In both Russian and Ukrainian the verb *be* has identical function (Chvany 1975).

(23) *Tam byl-o sin-eje mor-e*
 there be.PAST-3.SG.NEUT blue-NEUT sea-NEUT
 ‘There was a blue sea.’ (R)

(24) *Ty bud-esh dobr-ym likar-em*
 You be.FUT-2.SG. good-INST doctor-INST
 ‘You will be a good doctor.’ (U)

Even though the functions of the verb *be* are similar in Russian and Ukrainian, temporal properties and morphophonological form differ in the two languages, as shown in Table 3.6.

TABLE 3.6
Tense forms of the verb *be* in Russian and Ukrainian

| Tense | | Person /Number | Russian | Ukrainian |
|----------|------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Non-Past | Present | ALL PERSONS/NUMBERS | Jest' | Je |
| | Future | 1SG | Budu | Budu |
| | | 2SG | Budesh | Budesh |
| | | 3SG | Budet ²⁹ | Bude |
| | | 1PL | Budem | Budemo |
| | | 2PL | Budete | Budete |
| | | 3PL | Budut | Budut' |
| Past | Past | 1, 2, 3 SG.MASC (FEM) (NEUT) | Byl (-a) (-o) | Buv (Bula) (Bulo) |
| | | 1, 2, 3 PL | Byli | Buly |
| | Pluperfect | 1, 2, 3 SG.MASC (FEM) (NEUT) | | Buv (Bula) (Bulo) |
| | | 1, 2, 3 PL | | Buly |

In Surzhyk the verb *be* is Russian in the Present tense and Ukrainian in the Past and Future tenses, as illustrated below.

- (25) Nu, shob ne zbreha-t', trytsiat' tse tochna *jest'*.
Well so that NEG lie-INF thirty it certainly be.PRES
'Well, not to lie, there are thirty for sure.' (Ky3)

In (25) the Present tense verb *be* is supplied by Russian in a sentence where all the other lexemes come from Ukrainian. In (26) *be* is supplied by Ukrainian in the Past tense, while the rest of the words are Russian.

- (26) *Ran'she* buly *snabzhents-y*
earlier be.3.SG.PAST supplier-PL
'There were suppliers earlier.' (Za29)

²⁹ Relevant differences are bolded.

PRESENT TENSE. Consider the following examples of declarative sentences from Surzhyk.

- (27) A mebel' jaka v vas jest'
and furniture what.FEM by you.GEN be.PRES
'Do you have any furniture?' (Za29)
- (28) Ved' sobaki tozhe u liudei jest'
INTENS dog.PL also by people.GEN be.PRES
'People also have dogs.' (Za58)
- (29) Vony prosto znajut', sho u nyh jest' tochka
they just know that by they.GEN be.PRES place
'They simply know that they have a place where to sell it all.' (Za59)
- (30) U syn-a jest' dva khlopts-i
By son-GEN be.PRES two boy-GEN.PL
'My son has two boys.' (Ky2)
- (31) U mene jest' harot
By I.GEN be.PRES garden
'I have a garden.' (Ky2)
- (32) Tam jest' taka tochka
there be.PRES such place
'There is such a place there.' (Ky3)
- (33) tam tsars'kyj pl'azh ishe jest'
there royal beach also be.PRES
'There is also a royal beach there.' (Ky3)

In (27)–(33) the Russian verb *be* is used in otherwise Ukrainian clauses. In these sentences *jest'* is the only element supplied by Russian. The following sentences, (34)–(35), illustrate cases when *jest'* is used alongside other Russian constituents.

- (34) Tam jest' mozhevelovaja roshcha
there be.PRES juniper grove
'There is a juniper grove there.' (Ky3)
- (35) Liudy zh naverno polyvajut', paetamu ana jest'
people INTENS probably water.INF that is why she be.PRES
'People probably water that is why she [it] exists [is].'

What unites the sentences in (27)–(33) is that no matter what language supplies lexical items for the clause and no matter what the Matrix language of a given clause is (in (27)–

(33) Ukrainian is the Matrix language, while in (34)–(35) the Matrix is Russian), the verb *jest'* is Russian.

PAST AND FUTURE TENSE. The verb *be* in the Past and Future tense is supplied by Ukrainian.

- (36) Vona bu-l-a *parekmakher-om*
 she be-3.SG.PAST-FEM hairdresser-LOC
 ‘She was a hairdresser.’ (Khe47)
- (37) Vona kaza-l-a, *duzhe tiazhko bu-l-o*
 she say-3.SG.PAST-FEM very hard be-3.SG.PAST-NEUT.
 ‘She said it was very hard.’ (Ky14)
- (38) *Pozhzhe* budu-t’ *vobshe*
 Later be-3.PL.FUT at all
 ‘Later there will be [more].’ (Ky2)

In (36) and (37) a predicative construction with a copular *be* in the Past tense and an existential one with an existential *be* in the Future tense are illustrated. The verb in each sentence is Ukrainian. In (36) the noun *parekmakherom* ‘hairdresser.LOC’, which is a part of the verbal predicate, is Russian, while the copular part—*bula*—is Ukrainian. Even in a sentence in which the adverbs *vobshe* and *pozhzhe* (38) are supplied by Russian, the verb is still supplied by Ukrainian.

The Pluperfect tense—which corresponds to English Past Perfect and is formed by *be + V*, both of which agree with the subject in number, person, and gender—is found only in Ukrainian. Surzhyk speakers use Pluperfect, as shown in (39) and (40).

- (39) To khoch bu-v *pozvony-v*
 then at least be-3.SG.MASC.PAST call-3.SG.MASC.PAST
 ‘At least he had called.’ (Za29)
- (40) Tam bu-ly *postroji-ly* *zdorovu shkolu*
 There be-3.PL.MASC.PAST build.3.PL.MASC.PAST large school
 ‘They had built a large school there.’ (Ky3)

In (39) all words are from Ukrainian. In (40) the lexical verb *postrojily* ‘they built’ in the predicate is from Russian (compare to *pobuduvaly* ‘they built’ in Ukrainian). It is phonologically assimilated to Ukrainian and it has Ukrainian agreement marker. The verb *be* is supplied by Ukrainian.

Summarizing, I have shown that the verb *to be* in Surzhyk patterns with Ukrainian in all its functions in the Past, Pluperfect, and Future tenses. The Present tense is the only instance when the verb shows a regular Russian form. Thus, there is a tense split in the paradigm of the verb *be* in Surzhyk. This pattern is consistent across the three regions in which the data was collected. That said, there are instances of a Ukrainian form of the Present tense *be*, but they are very scarce.

(41) *To vrode b to shochki tam on je*
 that seemingly PART INTENS cheeks there be.PRES
 ‘Seemingly, there are cheeks there.’ (Za29)

(42) *To my prypustym znaj-em, jaka vona je*
 that we perhaps know-1.PL.PRES what she be.PRES
 ‘Well, perhaps we know what kind of person she is.’ (Za29)

Even though in (41) and (42) the Ukrainian equivalent of *be* is used in the Present tense, these two cases (produced by the same research participant) do not undermine the pattern seen across all of the data because out of 29 uses of verb *be* in the Present tense 27 were with the Russian verb *be* and only two (from the same RP, shown above) were with the Ukrainian verb.

3.3.3 Verbal derivational prefixes

Both Russian and Ukrainian have a set of verbal derivational prefixes that mark viewpoint aspect and add to a verb some additional meaning about the progress of the action (Ramchand 2004, Smith & Rappaport 1997, Svenonius 2004).

Slavic verb stems are divided into perfective and imperfective. Imperfective verbs are usually unprefixated. Perfective verbs comprise the majority of prefixed roots.

- (43) a. chyta-ty
 read-INF
 ‘to read’ (imperfective) (U)
- b. pro-chyta-ty
 PREF-read-INF
 ‘to read’ (perfective) (U)

In (43a) an imperfective verb from Ukrainian is illustrated. In (43b) the verb is perfectivized with the prefix *pro-*. The prefix itself does not add any lexical information to the verb but it does change the viewpoint accent from imperfective to perfective. A perfective verb can be deperfectivized by a suffix called the secondary imperfective. Example (44a) features an imperfective verb stem, perfectivized by a prefix in (44b), and then further deperfectivized by the secondary imperfective suffix (44c).

- (44) a. pisa-t’
 write-INF
 ‘to write’ (imperfective) (R)
- b. za-pisa-t’
 PREF-write-INF
 ‘to write down’ (perfective) (R)
- c. za-pis-yva-t’
 PREF-write-2IMPF-INF
 ‘to write down’ (imperfective) (R)

The use of verbal prefixes in Surzhyk follows Russian and Ukrainian, as shown below.

- (45) s-lozhy-t’ akt *na menia*
 PREF-put-INF indictment on me.ACC
 ‘To put together indictment against me.’ (Za38)

In (45) the Russian verb—phonologically assimilated to Ukrainian—is used with its Russian prefix, which perfectivizes the verb. The overall pattern of verbal prefix use is the same in all three languages. The interesting feature of Surzhyk is that verbal prefixes are supplied by Russian on both Ukrainian and Russian verb roots. Examples (46)–(50) illustrate sentences with verbs that appear in predominately Ukrainian clauses. All the verbs have Ukrainian agreement markers. However, the verbal derivational prefixes are supplied by Russian (or there is a lack of prefix, following the Russian pattern). As I have mentioned earlier, Russian and Ukrainian have many roots in common, which seems to be especially true in the class of verbs. But what makes this case interesting is the fact that even those Ukrainian verbs that do not share common roots with Russian still can appear with Russian lexical prefixes.

- (46) Vsi-kh *ot-kupl-ia-jut'* pa dvisti dolar-ov
 all-GEN PREF-buy-2IMPF-3PL for two hundred dollar-GEN.PL
 'Everybody is being bought off for two hundred dollars.' (Khe47)

In (46) the verb *otkupliaiut'* appears with the Russian lexical prefix *ot-* instead of its Ukrainian equivalent *vid-* that marks perfective aspect in Ukrainian. The stem of the verb *kupliaty* is a colloquial Ukrainian form of the verb 'buy'. Both prefixes perfectivize the verb. But in (46) the verb is imperfective because it has the secondary imperfective suffix. Example (47) also illustrates *ot- vid* substitution³⁰ as in (46) but in (47) the voiceless stop in *ot-* is assimilated to the following voiced consonant of the verb *vozyła* 'she carried back'.

³⁰ The majority of words in Russian with the prefix *ot-* have Ukrainian equivalents with the prefix *vid-* e.g. *otrabotat'*–*vidrobyty* (work off, develop); however, there are some instances when Russian *ot-* has a Ukrainian equivalent *ob-* *otdelat'*–*obrobyty* (do over, finish) or *od-*, e.g. *otpugnut'*–*odzhakhnuty* (scare off).

- (47) Tse b jakby znala, sho taka maladiozh, uzhe b i ne
 it PART if knew that such youth already PART and NEG

od-vozy-la

PREF.carry-1SG.FEM.PAST

‘If I knew that such youth [will be here] I would not have taken [her] back.’ (Khe47)

In Example (48) below the verb *pryvykly* ‘we got used to’ features the Russian prefix *pry-* and the root *vyk*, which is identical in both languages. The Ukrainian counterpart of this verb is *z-vykly* ‘got used to’ with the prefix *z-*. Once again, Surzhyk speakers selected the Russian verbal prefix to convey perfective aspect.

- (48) V pryntsyp.e, my zh *pry-vyk*-ly tuta tak.
 In principle.PREP we INTENS PREF-get used to-PL.PAST here so
 ‘In principle, we are used to it here.’ (Ky3)

- (49) Vona za mjaso rozkazu-je i *na-chyna-je*....
 she for meat talk-3SG.PRES and PREF-start-3SG.PRES
 ‘She talks about meat and starts...’ (Ky3)

A similar case is illustrated in (49) for the verb *nachynaie* ‘he/she/it begins’, which would have the verbal prefix *po-* (*po-chynaje* ‘he/she begins’) in Ukrainian.

In (50) the verb *rodyvsia* ‘he was born’ has a zero prefix which coincides with Russian, while in Ukrainian the form *narodyvsia* ‘he/she was born’ (with the prefix *na-*) would be used. Note, however, that the agreement marker *-v* on the verb *rodyvsia* is Ukrainian.

- (50) Rozmovlialy vsi – hto v Kyivi *rody-v-sia* po
 Talk.3PL.PAST everybody who in Kyiv born-3SG.MASC.PAST.REFL in
 rosij’s’ky, a hto v seli po ukrajins’ky.
 Russian and who in village in Ukrainian
 ‘Everybody spoke... whoever was born in Kyiv spoke Russian, and whoever in the village, spoke Ukrainian.’ (Ky10)

In (51) the Ukrainian verb *odroblialy* ‘they worked out’ is used with the Russian verbal prefix *ot-* instead of its Ukrainian counterpart *vid-*, (as in Ukrainian *vidroblialy* ‘they worked out’). The prefix *ot-* is phonologically assimilated to the voiced consonant /r/ (compare with Example (47), in which the same process took place). In (51), unlike (50), in which the stems of the Ukrainian and Russian verbs are identical, the Russian equivalent would be *otrabatyvali* ‘they worked out’.

- (51) Desiat’ hod nimtsi byly u nas *od-roblialy*
 ten year Germans be by we PREF-work out-3PL.PAST
 ‘Germans were here for ten years – working [for the damage they caused].’ (Ky8)

In (52a) a Ukrainian verb that does not share a common root with Russian receives a Russian verbal prefix *ot-*, which is assimilated to Ukrainian even though assimilation should have not taken place because the prefix is followed by a voiceless consonant /p/. In (52b) and (52c) the Ukrainian and Russian verbs with their verbal prefixes are illustrated.

- (52) a. tam dusha *od-pochyva-je*
 there soul PREF-rest-3.SG.PRES
 ‘You can rest there with your soul.’ (Ky11)
- b. *vid-pochyva-ty*
 PREF-rest-INF
 ‘rest’ (Ukrainian)
- c. *ot-dykha-t’*
 PREF-rest-INF
 ‘rest’ (Russian)

I hypothesize that the prefix *od-* is becoming a hybrid form of two prefixes—Ukrainian prefix *vid-* and Russian prefix *ot-*. However, more data is needed to corroborate this hypothesis.

Due to the fact that these derivational prefixes can change the viewpoint aspect of the verb from imperfective to perfective, it can be postulated that they are not merely early system morphemes but late system morphemes. Verbal prefixes (at least lexical prefixes) are multimorphemic elements, defined as ‘...consisting of two or more system morphemes and including a late system morpheme’ (Myers-Scotton 2003: 305). According to Myers-Scotton, such elements should be treated as late system morphemes if one of their functions corresponds to a function of late system morphemes. Other examples of such elements are German case morphemes on the determiners which are assigned only after larger constituents, such as verb phrases and noun phrases, are assembled.

Summarizing, verbal prefixes in Surzhyk come from Russian on verbs with both Russian and Ukrainian roots. One prefix in particular (Russian prefix *ot-*) undergoes phonological assimilation. More data on verbal prefixes is needed to explore their use. In the next section I will detail the use of prepositions with motion verbs.

3.3.4 Prepositional phrases in Surzhyk

Prepositional phrases (PPs) in Surzhyk do not display any particular pattern when it comes to the use of a preposition and a case governed by such a preposition. Russian PPs are more common than Ukrainian ones, but only PPs that display the Russian pattern regularly are the PPs of motion verbs indicating movement to/toward/into a place or barrier, which will be discussed below.

PREPOSITIONS AND CASE. Prepositions in Russian and Ukrainian are fairly similar; they usually govern the same cases in both languages. For example, the preposition *na* (see Table 3.7), which has the same form in Russian and Ukrainian, governs Prepositional

case; prepositions *ot* (Russian) and *vid* (Ukrainian) govern Genitive case. Consider the list below of some of the prepositions below.

TABLE 3.7
Prepositions and cases they govern in Russian and Ukrainian

| Russian | Ukrainian | Gloss |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| cherez+ACC | kriz'+ACC | 'through' |
| k+DAT | do+GEN | 'to' |
| mezhd+INSTR | mizh+INSTR | 'between' |
| na+ACC or PREP | na+ ACC or PREP | 'on' |
| nad+INSTR | nad+INSTR | 'above' |
| ot+GEN | vid+GEN | 'from' |
| pod+INSTR | pid+INSTR | 'under' |
| soglasno+DAT | zhidno+DAT | 'according to' |
| v+ACC or PREP | u/v+ACC or PREP | 'in' |
| vmesto+GEN | zamid'+GEN | 'instead of' |
| vokrug+GEN | navkolo+GEN | 'around' |
| za+INSTR | za+INSTR | 'behind' |

This list is by no means complete. The prepositions can be divided into three groups depending on their similarity: prepositions that are identical in both languages (*na*, *v*, *za*, etc.), similar prepositions (*pod*–*pid*), those that differ in form (*vokrug*–*navkolo*). When it comes to Surzhyk, the noun phrase, which can differ in Russian and Ukrainian, provides clues as to which language this PP originated from.

- (53) *Protianu-ly vodu ot kalon-ky i vylozhyly jamu.*
 Draw-3PL.PAST water from pump-GEN and arrange.3PL.PAST hall.ACC
 'They draw water [pipe] from the pump and retained the hall [with bricks].' (Za29)

In (53) the preposition *ot* 'from' is from Russian, and the NP it governs is the same word in Russian and Ukrainian with the agreement marker supplied by Ukrainian. The fact that the first vowel of the noun *kalonky* is reduced (in Ukrainian we would expect *kolonky*) indicates that it is supplied by Russian where such reduction is proper.

In (54) the preposition is clearly Ukrainian because the Russian equivalent is *za+Instrumental*. Another example (55) illustrates a PP which is a set expression.

(54) Po nioho pryizha-je mashyna
 For he.GEN come-3SG.PRES car
 ‘The car comes after him.’ (Za58)

(55) bez vykhodn-ykh, bez prakhadn-ykh
 Without weekend-PL.GEN without passages- PL.GEN
 ‘Without rest’ (Za29)

Even though the preposition *bez* in (55) has the same form in Russian and Ukrainian, it is a set expression, whose NPs, which are subjected to Ukrainian phonology, are supplied by Russian. As I have shown so far, due to the fact that Russian and Ukrainian prepositions often have the same form, it is hard to determine what language they come from. I will now focus on the PPs of motion verbs and detail the pattern of preposition use in Surzhyk.

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES WITH VERBS OF MOTION. As mentioned above, PPs with verbs of motion indicating movement to/towards/into a place or barrier pattern with Russian. This is another case of a constituent in which late system morphemes in this case (prepositions) are supplied by Russian. Speakers first have to assemble the larger structure: the subject, the motion verb, and the NP. Only then do they select a preposition which assigns case to the NP.

The set of motion verbs in Russian and Ukrainian (as well as other Slavic languages) consist of determinate (unidirectional) and indeterminate (multidirectional) verbs as illustrated in Table 3.8 (Pugh & Press 1999, Basova 2003).

TABLE 3.8
Verbs of motion in Russian and Ukrainian

| Determinate | | Indeterminate | | Gloss |
|-------------|---------|---------------|---------|----------------------------|
| Ukrainian | Russian | Ukrainian | Russian | |
| jty/ity | idti | khodyty | khodit' | go (on foot) |
| Jikhaty | jekhat' | jizdyty | jezdit' | go (by vehicle) |
| Nesty | nesti | nosyty | nosit' | carry |
| Vezyty | vezti | vozyty | vozit' | carry (by vehicle) |
| Vesty | vesti | vodyty | vodit' | bring by hand /carry /lead |
| Letity | letet' | litaty | letat' | fly |
| Plyvty | plyt' | plavaty | plavat' | swim |
| Bihty | bezhat' | bihaty | begat' | run |

The forms of the motion verbs are relatively similar in both languages with minor phonological variations. All of the motion verbs can combine with a PP. Consider the following example, illustrating a Ukrainian verb and PP.

- (56) Choven ply-v po rich-tsi
 boat swim-3SG.PAST along river-DAT
 'The boat swam along the river.' (Ukrainian)

Russian and Ukrainian employ different prepositions to convey movement to/towards/into a place or object. In Russian language the preposition *v*, governing the Accusative case, conveys this concept. Ukrainian uses two prepositions, *v* (or its phonological equivalent *u*) or *do*, with Accusative and Genitive cases respectively, to indicate the same relationship. The prepositions *k* and *do* convey movement to an animate entity or barrier in Russian and Ukrainian respectively, as shown in Table 3.9.

TABLE 3.9
Prepositions conveying movement to/towards/into a place or barrier in Russian and Ukrainian

| Movement | Ukrainian | | Russian | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| | Preposition | Case | Preposition | Case |
| Into a place/object | v/u | Accusative | v | Accusative |
| | do | Genitive | | |
| To/toward an animate entity/barrier | do | Genitive | k | Dative |

In Ukrainian two prepositions *v/u* and *do* are used to express roughly the same relationships: movement to a place or object. Native speakers themselves cannot explain when to use one or the other. Some scholars (Vojtsekhivs'ka 2010, Kopylyk 2007) attribute the choice between prepositions *v/u* and *do* in Ukrainian to two factors:

- i) Lexical properties of the nouns in PPs
- ii) Regional dialectal variations in Ukrainian

LEXICAL PROPERTIES GOVERNING PREPOSITION CHOICE. The preposition *v/u* is used in PPs with nouns denoting buildings, establishments, or their parts, e.g. *school, room, institute*; hollow objects or vehicles, e.g. *boat, pail, car*; nouns denoting limited space or space with vegetation, e.g. *yard, square, lake*; inhabited localities and toponymic names, e.g. *city, town, London*; and various orifices through which the movement occurs, e.g. *window, door*. Example (57) below from Ukrainian demonstrates the use of *v*.

- (57) Vony pojihaly v London
 they go-3PL.PAST to London.ACC
 'They went to London.' (Ukrainian)

The preposition *do* can only be combined with nouns denoting buildings, establishments, or their parts, and inhabited localities and toponymic names, as shown in (58) below.

- (58) Ja pish-la do mist-a
 I go-1SG.PAST to town-GEN
 'I went to town.' (Ukrainian)

The choice of *do* also hinges upon details of the final point of the destination. If the action denotes the movement into an object or place, then either *v/u* or *do* can be used but if the agent is moving toward an object which serves as a barrier, then only *do* can be used. Consider a Ukrainian example in (59) in which the noun in the PP denotes a barrier.

- (59) Ostap pidijshov do hory
 Ostap approach.3SG.PAST to mountain.GEN
 'Ostap approached the mountain.' (Ukrainian)

DIALECTAL FACTORS IN PREPOSITION CHOICE. Vojtsekhivs'ka (2010) maintains that another reason for a different use of *v/u* and *do* is dialectal variation in Ukrainian. The preposition *do* is used predominantly in western areas, while *v/u* is more common in eastern areas. However, my data as discussed below does not support this claim.

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES OF THE VERBS OF MOTION IN SURZHYK. Surzhyk employs mostly Ukrainian motion verbs to convey movement, as illustrated in the following examples. In (60) the Ukrainian verb of motion co-occurs with a Ukrainian PP containing a Russian lexical element.

- (60) Jizhzh-u v Zapadn-u Ukrajin-u
 Go-1SG.PRES to western-ACC Ukraine-ACC
 'I go to Western Ukraine.' (Za64)

In (61) another PP with a Ukrainian preposition and Ukrainian verb is demonstrated.

- (61) Vona do tsio-ho ne pish-la
 She to this-GEN NEG go-3SG.PAST
 'She did not go to this one.' (Za29)

The preposition *do* in Surzhyk is only used to denote movement to/toward an animate entity, as shown in (61) and never to denote movement into a place or object, as

illustrated in (60). Table 3.10 summarizes the use of the prepositions for all three languages.

TABLE 3.10
Prepositions conveying movement to/towards/into an object or place in Russian, Ukrainian, and Surzhyk

| Movement | Ukrainian | | Surzhyk | | Russian | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | P | Case | P | Case | P | Case |
| Into a place /object | v/u | Acc | v/u | Acc | v | Acc |
| | do | Gen | | | | |
| To/toward an animate entity/barrier | do | Gen | do | Gen | k | Dat |

As Table 3.10 shows, Surzhyk is like Ukrainian in its preposition usage with one exception: the preposition *do*+*Genitive* denoting movement into a place or object.

In Standard Ukrainian one would expect to see prepositions *v* and *do* used in free variation. But in the Surzhyk data I have not encountered the preposition *do*+*Genitive* denoting the movement to/towards/into an object or place used even a single time.

Consider the Surzhyk examples below, which illustrate the sole use of *v*+*Accusative*. In such cases it is hard to determine what language supplies the nouns in the PPs, since most nouns are proper names or cognate words that have the same form in both Ukrainian and Russian, but the verbs are clearly supplied by Ukrainian based on their phonological form.

- (62) Vony *stara-jut-sia* *vzia-t'* salo i povezty
they try-3.PL.PRES-REFL take-INF smoked fat and carry-INF

v Rosi-ju

to Russia-ACC

'They try to take some smoked fat to Russia.' (Ky3)

In (62) the NP *v Rosiju* might be either Russian or Ukrainian. It is not really important here which language supplies the noun. What is important is the fact that *v* instead of *do* was used with toponymic *Russia*. Similar cases are illustrated in (63-65) below.

(63) Hto v Kyiv pryjizhzhya-je, vsi pryhodiat' siudy za salom
Who to Kyiv come-3SG.PRES all come.3PL.PRES here for smoked fat
'Whoever comes to Kyiv, all come here for some smoked meat.' (Ky3)

(64) Pojiha-l-a v Kazahstan
Went-1SG.PAST.FEM to Kazakhstan
'I went to Kazakhstan.' (Ky9)

(65) Ja sama z-pid Nizhyn-a, a na rabot-u jizdy-l-a
I myself from Nizhyn-GEN, but to work-ACC go-1SG.PAST.FEM

v Kyiv
to Kyiv
'I, myself, am from Nizhyn but I went to work in Kyiv.' (Ky8)

Note in (65) the PP *z-pid Nizhyna* 'from Nizhyn' is Ukrainian, reinforcing my earlier observation that PPs in Surzhyk come primarily from Ukrainian. Consider Example (66) below.

(66) Ja pish-l-a v shkol-u
I go-3SG.PAST.FEM to school-ACC
'I went to school.' (Ky9)

Compare (66) to (67) below—an example from Ukrainian.

(67) pish-l-a do shkol-y
go-3SG.PAST-FEM to school-GEN
'She went to school.' (Ukrainian)

As shown in (67), in Standard Ukrainian the preposition *do* would be expected.

Since Surzhyk's morphosyntactic frame is supplied by Ukrainian, one would expect at least some of these PPs of motion verbs to use preposition *do* and the noun in the Genitive case. But all of the examples above illustrate that in Surzhyk only the preposition *v* is used.

3.3.5 Complementizers, adverbs, and discourse markers

Surzhyk displays a number of mixed clauses, shown in (68)–(70), in which complementizers, adverbs, and discourse markers are supplied by Russian (bolded).

- (68) **No v osnovn-om** po ukrajins'ky balaka-jut'
 but in general-PREP in Ukrainian talk-3PL.PRES
 'But in general they speak Ukrainian.' (Ky10)

In (68) the complementizer *no* 'but' and adverb *v osnovnom* 'in general' are used. Notably, the adverb *v osnovnom* is phonologically assimilated to Ukrainian because the reduction of /o/ in the first and second syllables does not occur as it would in Russian. In Russian this adverb would be pronounced as *v asnavnom*.

In (69) the second part of the complementizer *patamu sho* 'because' is also assimilated to Ukrainian phonology. *Sho* is pronounced in accordance with colloquial Ukrainian. In Russian this pronoun (it is considered a pronoun in Russian and Ukrainian) would be pronounced as [ʃto] and in Standard Ukrainian as [ʃtʃɔ]. The second adverb, *neprestizhno* 'not prestigiously', has similar form in Russian and Ukrainian. In Russian, however, the word is pronounced as [nʲɛprʲstʲizhna], while in Ukrainian it is pronounced as [neprestizhno]. According to its pronunciation in (69), the word is Russian. That said, it does not show final vowel reduction (/o/ to /a/) as it is expected in Russian.

- (69) **Patamu sho** tse vrodie jak **neprestizhno** bu-l-o
 Because it kind not prestigiously be-3SG.PAST-NEUT
 prodava-t' tsi lushpajky
 sell-INF these potato skins
 'Because it was not prestigious to sell these potato skins.' (Ky3)

In (70) no phonological assimilation occurs. The Ukrainian equivalent of *patom* is *potim*.

- (70) *Patom* pyta-je tykh.
 then ask-3SG.PRES those
 ‘Then she is asking those.’ (Ky3)

TABLE 3.11

Some examples of complementizers, discourse markers, and adverbs in Surzhyk

| Surzhyk | Russian | Ukrainian | Gloss |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| no | no | Ale | ‘but’ |
| esli | esli | Jakby | ‘if’ |
| patamu sho | patamu chto | tomushcho | ‘because’ |
| naprymer | naprimer | napryklad | ‘for example’ |
| vsio ravno | vsio ravno | vse odno | ‘regardless’ |
| polnastiu | polnastju | povnistiu | ‘entirely’ |
| vnimatel’no | vnimatel’no | uvazhno | ‘attentively’ |

Table 3.11 above illustrates some of the elements and their difference in Surzhyk, Russian, and Ukrainian. Some words are phonologically assimilated to Ukrainian, others are not. I have not found any particular pattern for phonological assimilation. It seems to be idiosyncratic to each speaker. In (71) we have an example from a different region.

- (71) Trysta kirpichin kupy-l-a **nepredusmotreno**
 three hundred briks buy-3SG.PAST-FEM unforeseeably
 ‘I bought three hundred bricks without planning.’ (Za29)

The adverb *nepredusmotreno* (compare with Ukrainian *neperedbacheno*) is Russian in an otherwise Ukrainian clause. As in (69), the final vowel reduction that one would expect in Russian does not occur.

- (72) **Osobenno** pri atravlenijah, **srazu** marhanets nada
 especially at poisoning right away manganese necessary
 ‘Especially with [food] poisoning, one needs manganese right away.’
 (Khe47)

In (72) the whole sentence is Russian with two adverbs (bolded) also supplied by Russian. Even in all-Russian clauses, the vowel reduction does not occur in the adverb *osobenno* ‘especially’ (compare with its Ukrainian equivalent *osoblyvo*) does not occur.

In (73) the same research participant, Khe47, used a Russian adverb in a mainly Ukrainian clause.

- (73) I vid kaliasky ne vidhod-e **kaneshno**
 and from stroller NEG walk away-3.SG.PRES of course
 ‘And he does not walk away from the stroller.’ (Khe47)

The adverb *kaneshno* (in Ukrainian *zvychajno*) is phonologically assimilated to Ukrainian because the reduction of the final vowel does not occur (just like in (69) and (71)).

We have seen that complementizers, adverbs, and discourse markers come from Russian in the clauses supplied by both Russian and Ukrainian. Some of the words are assimilated to Ukrainian phonology, while others are not. The use of Russian complementizers, adverbs, and discourse markers is consistent across the three regions. Adverbs show more systematic phonological assimilation to Ukrainian, than complementizers and discourse markers. In adverbial use, the vowel reduction from /o/ to /a/ does not occur.

3.3.6 *The questionable case of the noun year*

The pattern of use of the noun *hod*³¹ ‘year’ when combined with numerals in my Surzhyk data differs from those of both Russian and Ukrainian. In this section I will detail the form of this noun when combined with different numeral determiners in Russian and Ukrainian and show how Surzhyk differs from both standard languages.

In Surzhyk, numerals usually combine with nouns according to Ukrainian grammar. Numerals in Slavic languages govern different cases within the NP. Consider the following example,

³¹ The noun *hod* comes from Russian with phonological substitution of g→h common in Ukrainian and Surzhyk.

- (74) u mene dva syn-y
 by I.GEN two son-NOM.PL
 ‘I have two sons.’ (Ky2)

In (74) the noun *sons* in the Nominative plural follows the numeral *two* producing a sentence grammatical in accordance with Ukrainian grammar. However, there are some exceptions when it comes to the Surzhyk noun *hod* ‘year’. The paradigm of the noun *year* with numerals in Russian and Ukrainian is shown in Table 3.12.

TABLE 3.12

Paradigm of the noun *year*

| Numeral | Russian | Ukrainian |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | god.NOM | rik.NOM |
| 2–4 | god.a.GEN | rok.y NOM.PL |
| 5–20 | let.GEN.PL | rok.iv GEN.PL |
| Compound Numerals | | |
| ending in 2-4 | god.a.GEN | rok.y NOM.PL |
| ending in 5-0 | let.GEN.PL | rok.iv GEN.PL |

In Russian, the noun *god* in the Nominative case combines either with the numeral *1*(one) or with any compound numeral whose last part is *1*(one), such as *21*, *31*, ect. The numerals ending in 2, 3, or 4 require a noun in the Genitive case, *god.a* ‘year.GEN’. The numerals from 5 to 20 and compound numerals ending in 5–0 require the suppletive Genitive plural form *let*. The Ukrainian noun *rik* in the Nominative combines either with the numeral *1* or with any compound numeral whose last digit is *1*. The numerals ending in 2–4 require a noun in the Nominative plural, *rok.y*. The numerals from 5 to 20 and compound numerals ending in 5–0 require Genitive plural form *rok.iv*.

In Surzhyk, as shown in examples below, numerals combine with the Russian noun /god/ (pronounced as /fod/ according to Ukrainian phonology) in Nominative singular.

- (75) no zhyv-u v sel-i hoholiv-e trytsiat' pjat'
but live-1SG.PRES in village-LOC Hoholiv-LOC thirty five

hod

year.NOM.SG

'But I've been living in village Hoholiv for thirty-five years.' (Ky8)

In (75) the DP *trytsiat' pjat' hod* (*thirty five years*) should be combined with the noun *rok.iv* if following Ukrainian grammar or *let* if following that of Russian, since *hod* only combines with or compound numerals ending in *1*.

- (76) plionki ja **hod** naverno desiat'
plastic I year.SG.NOM perhaps ten
'I've been [putting] plastic for ten years' (Ky2)

- (77) syn-u trytsiat' odyn **hod**
son-DAV thirty one year.SG.NOM
'My son is thirty-one years old.' (Ky9)

- (78) meni semsiat **hod**
I.DAT. seventy year.SG.NOM
'I am seventy years old.' (Za29)

Examples (76) and (78) display a pattern similar to (75). Example (77) is grammatically correct from the perspective of Russian grammar if one assumes that the numeral *trytsiat' odyn* (*thirty one*) was supplied by Russian with phonological assimilation to Ukrainian. The almost identical form of Russian and Ukrainian numerals makes their analysis more difficult, as in (78) where the numerals could be interpreted as coming from either Russian or Ukrainian, although the phonological closeness with Ukrainian and usage of Ukrainian numerals throughout the data indicates that this numeral does come from

Ukrainian. In Examples (75), (76), and (78) the NP is idiosyncratic with respect to the noun form and case regardless of which language I attribute the numerals to.

I call the case of the noun *year* questionable because some of the Ukrainian–Russian bilinguals in my data also use it but not as frequently as Surzhyk speakers. This noun might be a colloquial form of Ukrainian. More research should be done to state for sure whether it is a feature of Surzhyk. My speculations are based on the frequency of use alone.

3.4 Conclusion

The data in 3.3 shows that Surzhyk has systematic features which differentiate it from both Russian and Ukrainian. First and foremost, Surzhyk displays a lot of bound morpheme switches seen in the data across the three regions. This massive combination of Russian free morphemes and Ukrainian bound morphemes defies Poplack’s Free Morpheme Hypothesis. Among the systematic features presented in the chapter are the following:

- i) The tense system of the verb *be* has the Russian form in the Present tense and the Ukrainian form in the Past and Future tense.
- ii) Verbal derivational affixes that mark aspect come from Russian on both Ukrainian and Russian verb stems.
- iii) Ukrainian motion verbs indicating the movement to/into/towards an object or a place select only the Russian preposition instead of the Ukrainian one.
- iv) Discourse markers, adverbs, and complementizers are supplied by Russian in both Russian and Ukrainian clauses.

- v) The noun *year*, which is distinct from both Russian and Ukrainian, is a possible case of a distinctively Surzhyk form.

In the following chapter I will argue, given the features I identified in this chapter and the fact discussed in Chapter 1, that Surzhyk is best described as a mixed lect.

CHAPTER 4

CLASSIFICATION OF SURZHYK

4.0 Introduction

So far I have shown that Surzhyk differs from both codeswitching and lexical borrowing in the way it frequently combines Russian free morphemes with Ukrainian bound morphemes, some of which are assimilated to Ukrainian phonology. I have also shown that Surzhyk displays systematic features indicating that it is more than just a chaotic Russian–Ukrainian blending.

Identifying the features of Surzhyk does not answer one of the main questions of this dissertation: what is Surzhyk? There has been a lot of speculation about the proper classification of this language variety, as shown in Chapter 1. I have claimed throughout the dissertation that Surzhyk is defined too broadly in the literature. In this chapter I will propose a classification of Surzhyk based on its sociolinguistic and structural characteristics. In §4.1 I will go through various types of contact phenomena and show why I think Surzhyk cannot be classified as an interlanguage or interference (§4.1.1), creole (§4.1.2), dialects of Ukrainian (§4.1.3), or a mixed language (§4.1.4). I will then argue that Surzhyk should be classified as a mixed lect (§4.2). First I will give the definition of a mixed lect and show how it differs from a mixed language (§4.2.1), after which I will present arguments in favor of Surzhyk being a mixed lect (§4.2.2). I will summarize my argument in the concluding section (§4.3).

4. 1 What Surzhyk is not

4.1.1 Interlanguage and interference

In the linguistic literature in Ukraine and Russia the usage of Surzhyk is often described as interference (Stavytska & Trub 2007, Vakhtin et al 2003). Since the concept of interference (or language transfer) is tightly connected with the concept of interlanguage (IL)—the systematic non-target-like output of a second-language learner—I will show how these two concepts are related and why Surzhyk cannot be classified as either of them from a synchronic perspective.

According to Selinker (1974), 95 percent of adults learning a second/foreign language (or target language (TL)) fail to achieve native-like proficiency in that language. Interlanguage is a linguistic system created by second-language learners that contains forms different from their native language and TL (Selinker 1972, 1974). The emergence of interlanguage is attributed to five central processes of second-language learning: language transfer, transfer-of-training, strategies of second-language learning, strategies of second-language communication, and overgeneralization (Selinker, 1974). ZhaoHong and Odlin (2005) following Selinker (1969, 1974) claim that L2 learning stops before a person reaches native fluency, leading to fossilization of interlanguage. ‘Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular native language (NL) will tend to keep in their IL relative to a particular TL, no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL’ (Selinker 1974: 118-119).

More generally, interference is the influence of NL features on TL during the process of language shift or second language acquisition (Thomason & Kaufman 1988,

Odlin 1989, Richards 1974). Rayfield (1970), reporting on the speech of Yiddish–English bilinguals in the United States, notes that their English (second language or TL) displays a lot of structural interference. That is, structural features of Yiddish (their NL) were transferred into English, for instance, the use of a discourse marker *already* (as in ‘Look at your clock already’), or topicalization with subjunctive *should* (as in ‘I should be so lucky’).

In cases of language shift the size of the shifting group and access to TL determine the extent of interference. If a large group of speakers is shifting to a TL or if a group’s second language acquisition was imperfect, structural interference from their NL is expected to be massive (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). If a small-size group shifts from one language to another or if a group learns the language perfectly, no structural interference is expected. Thomason and Kaufman are not clear what is considered imperfect or perfect learning.

Let us assume that reportedly a large group of villagers shifting from Ukrainian to Russian did not learn Russian perfectly. Then massive interference from Ukrainian into Russian is expected. But in the case of Surzhyk, a shift from Ukrainian to Russian never actually occurred. Moreover, Surzhyk is closer to Ukrainian with some Russian structural features. If it were a typical case of NL interference, we would expect the result to resemble Russian with Ukrainian structural features.

If interference is a process of NL feature transfer to TL, interlanguage is the linguistic output of active second-language learners. For instance, when Ukrainian speakers learn Russian as a second language, their Russian output is their interlanguage. There are no studies on the features of Russian–Ukrainian interlanguage in the Soviet or

Post-Soviet linguistic literature. This might be due to differences in terminology. The studies reporting on individual learners' errors use the term *interference* rather than *interlanguage*.

Basova (1988), reporting on the study of Ukrainian speakers learning Russian, noted several Ukrainian features that surface in the Russian speech of language learners. For example, when speaking Russian, language learners tend to use Ukrainian verbal prefixes instead of Russian ones, as shown below (Basova 1988: 116).

- (1) a. *za-pozda-l s sovet-ami*
 PREF-late.3.SG.PAST with advice-PL.INST
 'he is late with his advice' (Russian of second language learners)
- b. *za-pizny-vsia z porad-amy*
 PREF-late.3.SG.PAST with advice-PL.INST
 'he is late with advice' (Ukrainian)
- c. *o-pozda-l s sovet-ami*
 PREF-late-3.SG.PAST with advice-PL.INST
 'he is late with his advice' (Standard Russian)

In (1a) a speaker of Russian as a second language used the Ukrainian verbal prefix *za-* in an otherwise Russian sentence. In (1b) and (1c) the Ukrainian and Russian equivalents of this sentence are presented. Basova demonstrates many other Ukrainian features that are used in the Russian speech of Ukrainian-speaking language learners. Notably, the learners are Ukrainian–Russian bilinguals (passive bilinguals) who are learning to use Russian actively. One crucial difference between Russian–Ukrainian interference and Surzhyk is that Surzhyk has Ukrainian morphosyntax with Russian lexical and structural elements, while Russian–Ukrainian interference has Russian morphosyntax with Ukrainian structural features.

Surzhyk cannot be classified as a fossilized interlanguage that resulted from imperfect learning for two reasons:

- i) Surzhyk speakers reported having both Ukrainian and Russian formally taught in their primary and secondary education.
- ii) Research participants reported speaking Surzhyk at home as their first language, i.e. Surzhyk was acquired as their L1.

From a diachronic perspective, Surzhyk might have emerged as a fossilized interlanguage but from the synchronic point of view it is clearly something else.

4.1.2 Creole

Looking at Surzhyk from a diachronic perspective and considering that it emerged in the environment of political and cultural pressure, some might suggest that Surzhyk resembles a creole. But this is also not a viable suggestion in my view. Scholars debate the definition and structural characteristics of true creoles (Winford 1997, Thomason 1997, 2001, Mufwene 1997, Bakker et al. 2011, inter alia). Since creolization and creole features are outside the scope of this paper, I will adopt the conventional definition of creoles supported by historical linguists. Creoles develop in a multilingual setting ‘... when no group has the need, the desire, and/or the opportunity to learn any of the other groups’ languages’ (Thomason 1997: 78). The lexicon of a creole is supplied by the superstrate language (prestigious language, such as that of plantation owners), while the grammatical structure is an amalgam of group members’ native grammars. Creoles function as the primary language of a community and have native speakers. Mufwene (1997, 2008) restricts the term ‘creole’ only to language whose superstrate is one of the European colonizing languages: English, French, German, Dutch, or Portuguese.

Structurally, creoles are argued by some to have simpler grammar than that of an established language (non-creole) and thus form a separate typological class (Bakker et al. 2011, McWhorter 2001). This view too is contested by those who claim that creoles are indistinguishable from other natural language in their degree of complexity (Mufwene 1997). Thomason (1997, 2003) distinguishes between creoles and bilingual mixed languages (Ma'a, Media Lengua, etc.), arguing that the main differences lie in the number of languages involved in the mix (more than two for creoles and exactly two for bilingual mixed language) and the sociohistorical circumstances of creole/bilingual mixed language origin.

I do not consider Surzhyk to be a creole. First of all, it is comprised of two closely related languages, Ukrainian and Russian. Second, since creole development presupposes relexification and structural simplification, one might expect a creole Surzhyk to show some loss of syntactic or morphological components. None of these processes has occurred in Surzhyk. In fact, Surzhyk retains some features that are not present in Russian (the presumed superstrate), such as Habitual Past tense, as shown below:

- (2) V shkolu ja bula khodyla duzhe interesno.
 to school I be.3.SG.FEM.PAST go.3.SG.FEM.PAST very interestingly
 'I used to go school in a very interesting manner.'

In (2) the VP *bula khodyla* indicates the Pluperfect tense. Both the verb and the auxiliary are conjugated for gender, person, number, and tense. This is just one of many examples of structural complexity that Surzhyk displays. Others include the retention of case, aspect-marking on the verb, the tense system, etc. As for relexification, as I have shown in Chapter 3, only adverbs and discourse markers are supplied systematically by Russian.

Some might argue that it is expected to see elaborate grammatical features from the substrate language retained in creoles (Surzhyk retained Ukrainian grammatical features, which is its substrate), and that it would be less expected to see the superstrate grammatical features in creole grammar. The Ukrainian and Russian structures are so close that it is hard to find substantial differences between the two languages. Despite the fact that Surzhyk shows the complex grammar supplied by Ukrainian, one would expect some structural simplification to occur. Since Surzhyk does not display any simplification, I consider that from a structural perspective it is not a creole.

From a sociohistorical perspective, Surzhyk also does not fit the traditional plantation creole origin in which plantation workers did not have an access to the dominant (usually European) language. Russian was available to Ukrainian speakers through the education system, since the Russian Empire imposed the Russian language and encouraged its use.

Since Surzhyk has Ukrainian morphosyntax, perhaps it is just a dialect of Ukrainian? Below I will consider the possibility of Surzhyk being a Russian-influenced Ukrainian on a Russian–Ukrainian dialect continuum, as well as a dialect representative of a certain social stratum of the population.

4.1.3 Dialects

Universally, dialects exist on continua throughout contiguous territories. Dialect continuum refers to a structural and lexical similarity between two or more dialects spoken across some geographic area, such that the similarity diminishes as one travels further away from the center of that area until the dialects become mutually unintelligible (Bloomfield 1935). For example, colloquial German spoken in Berlin and colloquial

Dutch spoken in Amsterdam are not mutually intelligible. But they start sharing more structural and lexical similarities as one moves closer to German–Dutch border.

Language varieties spoken on both sides of the border are mutually intelligible even though politically they belong to two distinct languages: German and Dutch. This is due to the fact that language features do not display sharp boundaries, with geographically varieties being more similar and geographically distant varieties being less so (Myers-Scotton 1996). Could Surzhyk constitute a part on a larger East-Slavic dialect continuum?

Even though Russian and Ukrainian form a part of an East-Slavic dialect continuum, Surzhyk's structural similarity to Russian and Ukrainian is not due to its being on that continuum (Grenoble 2003). A study by Gasparov (2006) examines the phonological features of what the author calls 'surzhyk' spoken along the Ukrainian–Russian border, in Donetsk (Ukraine) and Rostov-na-Donu (Russia). The author notes such Russian-influenced phonological characteristics as reduction of /o/, as in /karova/ 'cow' instead of Ukrainian /korova/; Ukrainian-influenced characteristics as the use of pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ instead of the velar stop /g/, as in /ʕnʲev/ 'rage' instead of Russian /gnev/; and the lack of palatalization of /r/ before etymological /i/, as in /prikas/ 'order' instead of Russian /prʲikas/. Even though these features are also found in Surzhyk Proper, as shown in Chapter 3, the language variety described by Gasparov is not Surzhyk but a variety on the Russian–Ukrainian dialect continuum. First of all, the author does not present any morphosyntactic features of what he calls 'surzhyk', which makes it impossible to compare to the variety I have analyzed in this dissertation. Second, the author collected his data in Russia. This indicates that the phonological features he is

describing are due to Ukrainian influence on Russian along the Russian-Ukrainian border, which is characteristic of the dialect continuum, rather than Surzhyk.

The data that I have analyzed in this dissertation was collected in regions not adjacent to the Russian border. The previous research on Surzhyk also reports that Surzhyk is spoken in areas of Ukraine that are removed from the border. The map below illustrates three regions in which the data were collected.

FIGURE 4.1
Map of Ukraine



The data were collected in three regions: Kyiv Region located in the Central part of Ukraine (marked with number 1), Zaporizhzhia Region, Eastern Ukraine (2), and

Kherson, Southern Ukraine (3) (see Chapter 3 for more on methodology). None of these regions share a border with Russia. Two of the regions (Zaporizhzhia and Kherson) are primarily Russian-speaking. Kyiv, on the other hand, is primarily Ukrainian-speaking and is surrounded by other Ukrainian-speaking regions. The fact that Surzhyk data is homogenous across the three regions indicates that Surzhyk I have described is independent of any similar varieties on a dialect continuum.

Perhaps then, one might want to identify it as a social dialect of Russian or Ukrainian. Social dialects are patterns of language use that are pertinent to a group of people who share similar socioeconomic background but may be regionally scattered (e.g. African American Vernacular English) (Christian & Holmes 1992). A social dialect usually has some phonological, syntactic, and lexical features that differentiate this dialect from the standard variety. For instance, Labov's study of phonological patterns in New York revealed that people of a higher socioeconomic background had a more prominent pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ than did the English speakers with a lower socioeconomic status (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1995).

I will argue here that Surzhyk is not a social dialect. Surzhyk includes extensive incorporation of Russian elements, including Russian derivational and inflectional affixes, copular verbs, adverbs, agreement markers, and lexemes such as nouns and verbs. Moreover, Surzhyk speakers come from a wide variety of backgrounds, ranging from farming families from the rural areas to people studying in universities and residing in big cities. Due to massive incorporation of Russian elements, it is inappropriate to call Surzhyk a dialect of Ukrainian. Since Surzhyk's morphosyntax is supplied by Ukrainian, it is equally inappropriate to call it a dialect of Russian. In short, Surzhyk including

elements of both Russian and Ukrainian and speakers come from different socioeconomic backgrounds and are dispersed throughout the territory of Ukraine indicates that it is a separate code.

4.1.4 Mixed language

Another plausible candidate for the classification of Surzhyk is a mixed language,³² since Surzhyk speakers display elements of Russian and Ukrainian in their speech without a full command of the Standard variety of either of these languages. According to Myers-Scotton (2002, 2003), a mixed language (the author uses the term ‘split language’) is a linguistic phenomenon that has a composite morphosyntactic frame, in the sense that more than one participating language supplies morphemes for the abstract grammatical structure. Myers-Scotton’s definition and classification of mixed languages based on their structural composition allows the classification of only a few languages as truly mixed.

The author identifies three possible types of mixed languages (at least three actually recorded types). Ma’a and Mednyj Aleut (Copper Island Aleut) are considered Type A languages because they feature late system morphemes, such as agreement markers, from a less dominant language (Pare for Ma’a and Russian for Mednyj Aleut). The example below illustrates verb forms from Pare (2a) and Ma’a (2b), which have the same subject–verb agreement markers and tense (from Pare) but different content morphemes.

- (2) a. N-áa-ghata.
 1s-PAST-tired
 ‘I am tired.’ (Pare)

³² In the following sections I will introduce two terms that denote two different language contact phenomena: a mixed language and a mixed lect.

b. N-áa-kwaha.

1s-PAST-tired

‘I am tired.’ (Ma’a) (Myers-Scotton 2003: 94)

Gangou Chinese and Chaupi Lengua are classified as type B because an outside language ‘... supplies abstract grammatical structure underlying surface-level late system morphemes in one or more constituent types of the dominant language’ (Myers-Scotton 2003: 95). Gangou Chinese is in contact with Mongolic, Turkic, and Tibetan languages. Myers-Scotton (2003), following Zhu et al. (1997), claims that Gangou Chinese underwent some changes, such as the loss of syntactic case, under the influence of Minhe Monguor, a Mongolic language. No morphemes from Minhe Monguor appear in Gangou Chinese but the morphosyntactic structure of this language behaves like a Mongolic language with regard to basic word order and case marking. Having switched from SVO to SOV word order and having lost its ability to mark subject and object by syntactic position relative to the verb, Gangou Chinese now uses a morpheme *ha* to mark accusative case.

(3) aijie liar jia li ha qi liao zhi jia ha shoushi
3s two house LOC down go PERF VERB MARKER house ACC tidy up

zhi
VERB MARKER

‘... they two [daughters] went down into the house, tidied up the house...’
(Myers-Scotton 2003: 96, citing Zhu et al. 1997: 438)

Michif is an example of type C mixed language in which agreement markers from a less dominant language are re-analyzed to function in syntactic roles different from those in the source language. For example, the French determiner *le* was reanalyzed in

Michif to function a dummy morpheme which accompanies infinitive markers (Myers-Scotton 2003).

- (4) li kat di žyjet gi:-li-selibre:t-i-na:n
 DUMMY four of July 1.PAST-DUMMY.s-selebrate-INF-ANIMATE INTRAN
 ‘We celebrated the fourth of July.’ (Myers-Scotton 2003: 99, citing
 Bakker & Papen 1997: 318)

In contrast to Myers-Scotton’s restrictiveness, Bakker and Matras (2003) define mixed languages as any linguistic varieties whose origin cannot be traced to a single language. Such a broad definition allows the authors to assign both agreed-upon stable mixed varieties like Ma’a and Mednyj Aleut and secret languages like Callahuaya, a secret ritual language used by itinerant Bolivian healers, to the class of mixed languages. They distinguish plain mixed languages, like Michif—which has historical resemblance to its source languages but now functions as the native language of a community—from conventionalized mixed languages, such as Mednyj Aleut and Media Lengua, that are spoken alongside their source languages.

Another two classes of mixed languages identified by the authors are inherited special lexicons, such as Lekoudesch (Judeo-German with insertions from Ashkenazic Hebrew) and Para-Romani (Romani with insertions from various surrounding majority languages), and special lexicons of foreign origin that draw lexical items from foreign languages rather than their ethnic sources.

The characteristics of these two varieties of mixed languages are lexical insertion, lexical borrowings from the source language into the target language, and partial retention of the vocabulary after the language shift (Matras & Bakker 2003). Myers-Scotton disagrees with such classification because it is based only on the list of lexical

and grammatical features pertinent to the languages described above, and obscures differences between mixed languages and other contact phenomena, such as codeswitching.

Bakker (2003) proposes yet another classification of mixed languages in which he divides them into intertwined, converted, and lexically mixed languages. Intertwined mixed languages combine the grammatical system of one language and lexical system of another, like Angloromani (lexicon–grammar mixed language). Consider (5) below.³³

- (5) They had *yek čavi*, a *rakli*, and *yeka dives* there was a *muš jal-in*’ on the
 They had one child a girl and one day there was a man go-ing on the

drom dik-in’ for *būūti*.
 road looking for work

‘They had one child, a girl, and one day there was a man going on the road looking for work.’ (Bakker 2003: 112)

In Angloromani (5) all lexical items come from Romani and are inserted into the grammatical structure of English. Note that all functional elements, such as auxiliary verbs, suffixes marking Present Continuous tense (*-ing*), articles, and prepositions, are English, while all content words are Romani. Interestingly, Angloromani is not intelligible to speakers of either English or Romani (Bakker 2003).

In converted languages, grammatical structure from another language is placed on the native vocabulary resulting in a typological change to a newly-created variety, like in Sri Lanka Portuguese and Sri Lanka Malay. Consider (6), in which Sri Lankan Portuguese has a grammatical structure close to Tamil but all morphemes are from Portuguese, taken from Bakker (2003:118).

³³ English is in roman, Romani is in italic.

- (6) a. Eu dei o dinheiro para/a ele
 I give.1.SG.PAST the money to him-DAT
 ‘I gave him money.’ (Portuguese)
- b. E:w eli-pe dine:ru ja:-da
 I him-DAT money-ACC past-give.PAST
 ‘I gave him money.’ (SL Portuguese)
- c. Na:n avan-ukku calli-ya kuTu-tt-an
 I him-DAT money-ACC past-give-PAST
 ‘I gave him money.’ (SL Tamil)

In (6a) a Standard Portuguese sentence is demonstrated. In (6b), the Sri Lanka Portuguese creole version in (6b) has the same lexical items as (6a) but they mirror semantic and morphological categories of Sri Lanka Tamil, shown in (6c). Bakker describes Sri Lanka Portuguese as ‘... a language which is semantically Tamil, grammatically close to Tamil, but all morphemes are Portuguese and not Tamil’ (2003: 118).

Lexically mixed language comprises equal numbers of lexical elements from more than one source, as in the pidgin Russenorsk in which the lexicon comes from Russian and Norwegian (Bakker 2003). In terms of Myers-Scotton’s classification, only intertwined and converted languages might be candidates for mixed languages, while lexically mixed varieties fall into the category of codeswitching or borrowing.

Table 4.1 below summarizes the different classifications of mixed languages discussed above.

TABLE 4.1
Summary of the mixed language debate

| Author | Mixed Language typology | Examples |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Myers-Scotton | A | Ma'a |
| | B | Gangou Chinese, Chaupi Lengua |
| | C | Michif |
| Matras & Bakker | plain | Michif |
| | conventionalized | Mednyj Aleut, Media Lengua |
| | inherited special lexicons | Lekoudesch, Para-Romani |
| | special lexicons of foreign origin | Abdal |
| Bakker | intertwined | Angloromani |
| | converted | Sri Lanka Portuguese |
| | lexically mixed | Russenorsk |

Table 4.1 shows 10 different types of mixed languages identified by various authors. Some languages, like Michif, fall into two different categories because the authors use different criteria to classify languages. In an attempt to reconcile these differences, I propose to synthesize all these typological classifications into three types: lexical borrowing, pidgins/creoles, and mixed languages. It is clear from the reasoning provided by Myers-Scotton, Bakker, and Matras that they do not always talk about mixed languages in the same terms. For instance, Russenorsk is widely regarded as a pidgin rather than a mixed language (Myers-Scotton 2006). It served as a language for Russian and Norwegian traders in the 19th century and ceased to exist when the trade of individual fishermen developed into large businesses.

I have separated all typological classifications and language examples into the three above-mentioned categories, which are presented in Table 4.2 below.

TABLE 4.2
Synthesized typology of language contact varieties

| Synthesized typology: | Lexical Borrowing | Pidgins/Creoles | Mixed Languages |
|--|--|------------------------|--|
| Typology proposed by the authors: | Inherited special lexicons Special lexicons of foreign origin | Lexically mixed | Converted = type B Intertwined = plain=C Conventionalized = A |
| Language examples: | Lekoudesch Abdal Para-Romani | Russenorsk | Gangou Chinese Chaupi Lengua Sri Lanka Portuguese Angloromani Michif Ma'a |

Lexically mixed languages include the class of pidgins and creoles which have the vocabulary from various sources as a part of their lexical core. Inherited special lexicons and special lexicons of foreign origin might be regarded as lexical borrowing by Myers-Scotton because these languages feature vocabulary retention from L1 after a language shift. Converted languages (Bakker) roughly correspond to Myers-Scotton's type B languages (Myers-Scotton) because their morphosyntactic structure undergoes changes under the influence of some language. Intertwined languages roughly correspond to plain languages and to languages of type C, based both on their structural and sociolinguistic characteristics. Conventionalized languages roughly correspond to type A because they are spoken alongside their parent languages and display a lexicon–grammar split. This summary is by no means perfect but it does attempt to bring together very different classifications of language contact documented varieties.

Below I will show that Surzhyk cannot be classified as a mixed language no matter what classification I follow. To achieve this, I will use the following

- (8) *Sto hram kakhvet tse na nedeliu*
 Hundred grams candy it for week
 ‘A hundred grams of candies is for a week.’ (Ky 8)

Consider the two PPs in (7) and (8)—*under another wall* and *for a week*. One of them is supplied by Ukrainian (7) and the other comes from Russian (8). This indicates that intraclausal switches are not systematic. Otherwise we would expect to see both PPs from the same language. Surzhyk displays some degree of systematicity since most PPs are Ukrainian but not all (as shown by the discussion of motion verbs in Chapter 3).

Unlike mixed languages, Surzhyk does not lack interclausal or even intersentential switches, as shown below.

- (9) *A patom po prykazu Hrushiov-a atpustit' sel'skih*
 and then according decree Hrushiov-GEN let go-INF rural
spetsialistav v sel'skaje haziajstva... A ja sam kada jishov v armiju,
 specialists to rural farms... and I myself when went to army
 konchiv mihanika-kambajniora v Mihalavke. Nu, ja reshil pajeha-t'
 finished mechanic-tractorist in Mihalavka. Well I decided go-INF
 v selo. I kak pajehal v selo, tak i astavsia.
 to village. And how went to village, so and stayed.
 ‘And then according to Hrushov’s decree to release rural specialists to rural farms... When I went to the army, I graduated with [the degree of] mechanic-tractorist in Mikhalavka. Well, I decided to go to the village. And when I went to the village, I stayed there.’ (Za18)

Example (9) illustrates intersentential switches. In the last sentence there is an intraword switch in *astavsia* ‘I stayed’. The use of intersentential language alternations in Surzhyk makes it resemble codeswitching. It is possible that in (9) Surzhyk is used alongside Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching. Since all Surzhyk speakers also know Russian and Ukrainian, it is expected that its speakers might produce Russian and Ukrainian monolingual sentences.

One feature that Surzhyk shares with mixed languages is vocabulary replacement in certain lexical classes as shown in detail in section 3.8. In Surzhyk most of the adverbs, discourse markers, and complementizers are Russian. They are used with or without phonological assimilation to Ukrainian.

A fifth characteristic of mixed languages—having an entire morphosyntactic subsystem supplied by the Embedded language (in Surzhyk’s case it is Russian)—is not satisfied in Surzhyk. This is what sets Surzhyk apart from other documented mixed languages and those described in this chapter (Auer, Bakker, Matras & Bakker, Myers-Scotton). In other mixed languages illustrated above some morphosyntactic subsystem comes from the Embedded language (language supplying lexical elements) systematically. Recall the example of Michif, whose nouns and adjectives, with their morphology and syntax, are French, while most verbs, along with their morphology and syntax are Cree. Since French nouns and adjective are incorporated into Cree verbal structure, Cree is the Matrix language, while French is the Embedded language, which systematically supplies nominal morphology to Cree frame. Surzhyk lacks such systematicity. Although in Surzhyk most verbal inflectional affixes are Ukrainian, most lexical items come either from Ukrainian or from Russian. Since Ukrainian, supplying Surzhyk’s morphosyntax, is not the Embedded language, Surzhyk does not satisfy this characteristic.

Moreover, Surzhyk is not associated with a separate ethnic identity, as claimed to be true of mixed languages. Most Surzhyk speakers are ethnic Ukrainians and do not set themselves apart as a distinct ethnolinguistic group as shown in Chapter 2.

switching) (see Chapter 3 for more detail on codeswitching). Mixed lects lack pragmatic function. A speaker does not have a preference for using one language at a time, treating a mixed lect as a single code. In mixed languages blending of two or more codes is obligatory.

Backus (2003), comparing widely accepted mixed languages, such as Michif and Media Lengua with Turkish as spoken by a Turkish immigrant community in Holland, argues that the immigrant Turkish is an example of a mixed lect. The author defines a mixed lect as ‘...any kind of bilingual speech that is the unmarked way of speaking in the community in question (Backus 2003: 238). In the author’s data, immigrant Turkish is marked by frequent inter- and intraclausal³⁶ language alternations (recall from 4.1.4 that mixed languages lack interclausal alternations).

Backus (2003) and Auer (1999) claim that different types of language alternations take place in codeswitching, mixed lects, and mixed languages. In codeswitching and mixed lects both interclausal and intraclausal alternations take place. In mixed languages only interclausal alternations occur. In mixed lects language alternations are systematic, while in codeswitching they lack such systematicity. Language alternations differences are summarized in Table 4.3.

³⁶ I use the term interclausal and intersentential interchangeably.

TABLE 4.3
Language alternations in codeswitching, mixed lects, and mixed languages

| Language contact phenomena | Language alternations | Systematicity of alternations |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Codeswitching | Interclausal Intraclausal | Non-systematic |
| Mixed lects | Interclausal Intraclausal | Systematic |
| Mixed languages | Intraclausal | Highly systematic |

The difference between mixed languages and mixed lects is a subtle one. The list below summarizes features of mixed lects, as described by Auer (1999). In the next section I will use this list to argue why I consider Surzhyk to be a mixed lect.

4.2.2 Argument for Surzhyk to be a mixed lect

The following features characterize mixed lects (Auer 1999):

1. Functions as a single mode of speaking in the community
2. Lacks a pragmatic function
3. Interclausal and intraclausal switches are conventionalized
4. Displays signs of vocabulary replacement: vocabulary from the Matrix language is being replaced by the Embedded language vocabulary
5. Speakers are near-balanced bilinguals
6. Emergence of a separate ethnic/linguistic identity of a mixed lect's speakers

I subdivided the features above into grammatical (1–4) and sociolinguistic (5, 6). I address the former first.

GRAMMATICAL FEATURES WHICH CLASSIFY SURZHYK AS A MIXED LECT. As discussed above, a true mixed lect serves as a monolingual code, which as we have seen Surzhyk does. Surzhyk speakers do not distinguish two components (Russian and Ukrainian) that constitute this language variety. Even though many Surzhyk speakers might also speak

Russian or Ukrainian, they also speak Surzhyk as a separate language. Some claim to only speak Surzhyk, as illustrated in the conversation below (10).

- (10) 01 Int: *Raskazhyte v kakuju shkolu hadili, gde uchilis'*,
 'Tell me what school did you go to, where did you study,
gde atdyhajete?
 where do you spend your leisure time?'
- 02 Ky3: *Shas ja zh prydumaju sho rozkazat.*
 'Now I will think about what to tell.'
- 03 *No ja na chisto ukrajins'komu ne moHu.*
 'But I cannot [speak] in pure Ukrainian.'
- 04 Int: *A mne i ne nada.*
 'And I don't need.'
- 05 Ky3: *Vam tak jak ja havariu, tak nada i balakat'.*
 'You need just like I speak.'
- 06 *Bachte, v mene buvaje, sho odne slovo take, odne slovo take.*
 'You see, I have one word like this, one word like that.'
- 07 *V pryntsype, my zh pryvykly tuta tak.*
 'In principle, we are used [speaking this way] here.'

The conversation with Ky3 demonstrates that mixing two languages constitutes one code. Ky3 admits to not being able to speak proper Ukrainian while using both languages in one conversation. Surzhyk's functioning as a single code brings me to the second feature of mixed lects: lack of pragmatic function in language alternations. It is evident from the conversation above and other examples of Russian-Ukrainian blending (see Chapter 3) that switches from one language to another are not pragmatically triggered (cf. with Ukrainian–Russian codeswitching illustrated in Chapter 3). In (10) in lines 03 and 07 illustrate interclausal and intraword switches— *ukrajins'komu* 'Ukrainian' and *pryvykly* 'we got used to'. Lines 05 and 06 are entirely in Ukrainian.

Another feature of a mixed lect is systematicity of alternations. In Surzhyk, it is possible to predict to an extent what phrase in a sentence will be supplied by what language and which one is more likely to come from Ukrainian. Although Surzhyk is in essence a series of Ukrainian–Russian switches, most pronouns, verbal phrases, verbal markers—such as inflections for tense, number, person, and gender—are usually supplied by Ukrainian. Discourse markers, some nouns, complements of the prepositions in the prepositional phrases, complementizers, and adverbs are supplied by Russian (see Chapter 3 for the structural characteristics of Surzhyk). Recall that in my earlier discussion of mixed languages I claimed that Surzhyk does not have highly systematic alternations. For instance, the same person can use two prepositional phrases in the same sentence and one of them would have a Russian noun and the other would have a Ukrainian noun. Nevertheless, with the way Russian and Ukrainian elements are structured in Surzhyk, it is possible to generalize which of them are more likely to be Russian and which are more likely to come from Ukrainian.

Some of the examples of the systematic switches are adjectives supplied by Russian, or adjectives appearing in otherwise Ukrainian NPs. Consider the examples in (11) and (12).

(11) tam *sledu-che* HoHoliv
 there next-NEUT Hoholiv
 ‘The next [village] is Hoholiv’ (Ky2)

(12) taki *krasivy-je tsvet-a*
 such beautiful-PL color-PL
 ‘such beautiful colors’ (Ky3)

Examples (11) and (12) illustrate NPs which contain Adjectival Phrases (AP), which are supplied by Russian, such as the adjectives *sleduche* ‘next’ and *krasivyje* ‘beautiful’.

Sometimes, as shown in (11), they have a Ukrainian agreement marker but it is not always the case. In (12) the agreement marker *-je* is Russian. Example (12) might be a case of Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching since cases of Surzhyk–Ukrainian, Surzhyk–Russian, or Surzhyk–Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching have been noted in the literature (Stavytska & Trub 2007).

Another example of conventionalization is the use of Ukrainian verbs and verbal markers, as shown in (13) and (14).

- (13) *Shesnatsat' let dury-l-y mene uzhasno.*
 Sixteen year.PL trick-3PL-PAST I.GEN horribly
 'I was tricked horribly for sixteen years.' (Za29)

In (13) Ukrainian verb, along with verbal inflectional affixes, appears in a mixed clause. Note that only the verb and the pronoun in this clause are Ukrainian elements in the clause. Even if the verb is supplied by Russian in (14), the verbal inflectional suffixes are Ukrainian. Verbal root *sto-* 'build' is Russian (compare to *budu-* in Ukrainian), while the inflectional suffix *-je* is Ukrainian.

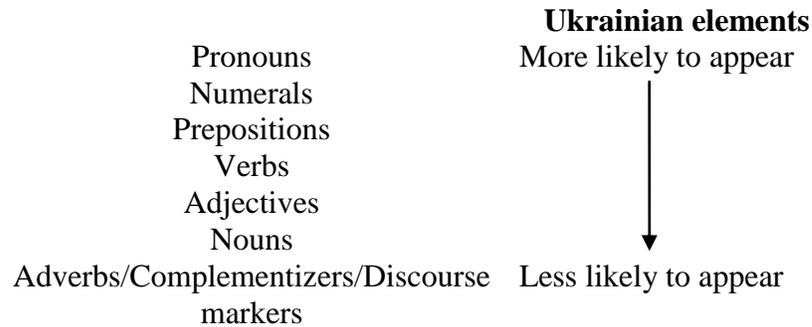
- (14) *A tut piat' tysiach stoje most.*
 And here five thousand.PL cost.3SG.PRES bridge
 'And here the bridge costs five thousand.'

Notably, if one of the verbal arguments is pronominal, it will most likely come from Ukrainian rather than Russian, as shown in (13).

The last grammatical feature of Surzhyk which helps me classify it as a mixed lect is vocabulary replacement. As I have shown in Chapter 3, in Surzhyk discourse markers, complementizers, and adverbs are supplied by Russian.

Summarizing, the diagram below illustrates a hierarchy of Ukrainian elements in Surzhyk in Figure 4.3.

FIGURE 4.3
Hierarchy of Ukrainian elements in Surzhyk



According to my hierarchy, adverbs, complementizers, and discourse markers are most likely to come from Russian, followed by nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. By providing this hierarchy I do not claim that this holds true in every single case at the level of a sentence. Only in a stable mixed language one can make such claims. In case of Surzhyk, however, there are strong patterns and tendencies that favor one language over another for certain lexical items. The hierarchy above is intended to represent these tendencies. Surzhyk can be best classified as a mixed lect, because from a structural point of view it manifests some vocabulary replacement, it functions as a single monolingual code, and it displays systematic inter- and intraclausal switches.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC FEATURES WHICH IDENTIFY SURZHYK AS A MIXED LECT. From a sociolinguistic point of view it is harder to argue that Surzhyk is a mixed lect than from the structural point of view. Speakers of mixed lects are reportedly near-balanced bilinguals (Auer 1999). They also have a distinct ethnic identity that separates them from the rest of the population (recall Turkish immigrants in Holland in section 4.2.1).

The older population of my research participants who speak Surzhyk are not active bilinguals in Ukrainian and Russian (participants who are 50 and older). All of the

research participants reported having school instruction in both Ukrainian and Russian, and thus, understanding both languages. But they did not report speaking both languages. Moreover, very few research participants demonstrated stretches (a few sentences or more) of monolingual Russian or Ukrainian speech. Those who demonstrated such stretches of Russian or Ukrainian speech were Surzhyk–Russian or Surzhyk–Ukrainian bilinguals (usually a younger generation).

Mixed lects and mixed languages have been attributed to the emergence of distinct ethnic identities. For instance, Golovko (2003: 191), comparing pidgins and mixed languages, said:

Members of the group who start speaking a mixed language always have two additional ‘real’ languages at their disposal. However, these languages do not satisfy the identity ambition of the group, as they are already employed by other groups with a clear-cut social status, and, thus, they cannot serve as a valid identity marker. The marginal group that is longing for identity has to construct a whole set of identity markers, including a linguistic one.

The same argument can be applied to the emergence of mixed lects. However, Surzhyk speakers do not display an identity distinct from that of Ukrainian–speaking or Russian–speaking Ukrainians. They do not occupy a certain area in Ukraine—rather, they are dispersed throughout eastern, southern, and central parts of the country. Surzhyk speakers reside in both urban and rural areas. They can freely communicate with the rest of the population due to pervasive active and passive bilingualism. Since Surzhyk is more closely associated with Ukrainian than with Russian, a lot of Surzhyk speakers identify themselves as speakers of mixed Ukrainian. In the course of my data collection I asked the research participants what their attitude towards Surzhyk was. Most of them said

that it is a part of Ukraine; it is how the majority communicates (see Chapter 2 for more detail on language attitudes). It indicates that Surzhyk does not index a separate identity for its speakers. Although sociolinguistically Surzhyk does not fit the profile of a mixed lect, the grammatical facts outlined above are sufficiently compelling to justify classifying it this way.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that Surzhyk should be best classified as a mixed lect based on its structural features. Even though sociolinguistic evidence does not support the analysis of Surzhyk being a mixed lect, grammatical evidence is more important than sociolinguistic. I have shown that it does not fit the classification of a mixed language because even though Surzhyk's Russian–Ukrainian alternations are somewhat systematic, they are not highly systematic as has been described for well-documented mixed languages; its morphosyntax is supplied by the Matrix language rather than the Embedded language; and its speakers are passive and active bilinguals in Russian and Ukrainian. Since Surzhyk contains inter- and intrasentential (or clausal) language alternations, it resembles codeswitching. Yet, it would be inappropriate to classify it as a mere case of codeswitching because Surzhyk's language alternations are systematic to a degree. I argue that Surzhyk should be classified as a mixed lect—an intermediate stage between a mixed language and codeswitching. This classification does not answer the question of whether a mixed lect can morph into a mixed language, in other words, whether it can become so systematic that it can be classified as a mixed language. I will discuss this possibility in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I attempted, and hopefully succeeded, to present a very complex issue of the Russian–Ukrainian language variety called Surzhyk. In this concluding chapter I will summarize my main findings in terms of Surzhyk’s sociolinguistic and structural characteristics (§5.1). After summarizing my main arguments I will address the question of Surzhyk’s origin. Scholars (Auer 1999, Backus 2003, McConvell 2008) disagree in whether a mixed lect, which evolves from codeswitching, can ever morph into a mixed language. I will present existing views on this issue and express my hypothesis for the future development of Surzhyk (§5.2). Then I will discuss prospects for future research (§5.3).

5.1 Surzhyk as a Russian–Ukrainian mixed lect

In this dissertation I set out to answer three questions:

Question 1: What are the structural characteristics of Surzhyk based on spoken data?

Question 2: What is Surzhyk?

Question 3: What are the attitudes towards Surzhyk?

Answering the first question, the data analysis showed that Surzhyk has the following structural characteristics:

- In Surzhyk, Russian lexical items are often embedded into Ukrainian morphosyntax. Ukrainian inflectional affixes appear on Russian lexical items.
- The verb *be* in Surzhyk is Russian in the Present tense and is supplied from Ukrainian in the Past and Future tense.

- Verbal derivational affixes are supplied by Russian on both Ukrainian and Russian verb stems.
- Ukrainian motion verbs indicating movement to/into/towards an object or a place select only for the preposition *в* ‘to’, which corresponds with the Russian pattern of preposition use.
- Discourse markers, adverbs, and complementizers are supplied almost exclusively by Russian, which indicates a degree of vocabulary replacement.

Examining the structure of Surzhyk helped me analyze various language contact phenomena with the purpose of offering an empirically-based definition of Surzhyk. In the linguistic literature Surzhyk has been defined very broadly to include the presence of any Russian element in otherwise Ukrainian speech. I proposed to classify Surzhyk as a mixed lect–language variety marked by systematic alternation of Russian and Ukrainian elements in an utterance, which functions in a bilingual community alongside the languages that participate in said language alternation. Surzhyk can be defined as a mixed lect for the following reasons:

- Surzhyk functions as a single code in the community.
- Russian–Ukrainian switches (or language juxtaposition) lacks pragmatic function.
- Interclausal and intraclausal switches are conventionalized to a degree where one can predict what elements are likely to come from Russian and which ones will come from Ukrainian.
- Surzhyk borrowed adverbs, complementizers, and discourse markers from Russian, which signifies some vocabulary replacement.

- Older generation of Surzhyk speakers are passive Russian–Ukrainian bilinguals; younger Surzhyk speakers are proficient in Russian and Ukrainian as well as Surzhyk.

In terms of sociolinguistic characteristics and language attitudes, the community of Surzhyk speakers has low ethnolinguistic vitality compared to the Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking communities. Since Surzhyk is not recognized by the Ukrainian government as a separate linguistic variety, it has no formal institutional support and is confined to certain domains of language use, such as family and friends. In the qualitative study I conducted to elicit attitudes towards Surzhyk, everyone rated Surzhyk lower than they rated Russian and Ukrainian. Even people who reported speaking Surzhyk as their primary language rated it lower than Russian and Ukrainian. However, people who reported speaking Surzhyk in the family rated it significantly higher than those who did not. The study also showed that people residing in rural areas have more positive attitudes towards Surzhyk than those who are from a big city.

The prognosis for Surzhyk is rather grim. Everyone, including Surzhyk speakers, has more negative attitudes towards Surzhyk than towards Russian and Ukrainian. The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that the younger generation is Surzhyk–Russian–Ukrainian multilingual, reserving Surzhyk for family communication, while using Russian and Ukrainian outside of home. In terms of structural development of Surzhyk, its future is also uncertain. Will it morph into a more stable mixture to become a mixed language? Even though it is not one of the dissertation questions, I will lay out the debate and offer my own hypothesis about future development of Surzhyk.

5.2 Mixed language origin: can a mixed lect conventionalize into a mixed language?

There is a debate in contact language research about the origin of mixed languages and whether conventionalized codeswitching can become a stable mixed language. Auer, referring to his typology, which differentiates between types of language interaction such as codeswitching, language mixing, and mixed lects (see Chapter 4 for more detail), asserts that stable mixed languages can arise from codeswitching through mixed lects. During the shift from codeswitching to mixed lects, the former becomes more frequent and loses its pragmatic function turning into the main mode of interaction for a bilingual community (Auer 2009). Unlike insertion-heavy codeswitching, mixed lects are characterized by more interclausal switches. Based on the fact that there are interclausal switches involved in the mix, the author postulates that mixed lects are spoken by near balanced bilinguals. Mixed lects can also evolve into mixed languages.

In fact a number of authors postulated that prior bilingualism, codeswitching, or mixed lects led to mixed languages in Michif and Mednyj Aleut communities. For instance, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) claim that mixed languages can evolve from intense lexical borrowing through structural borrowing to grammatical replacement. Thus, the authors conclude that ‘...the ethnic heritage of most Michif speakers is Cree’ and ‘the French part of Michif must have been incorporated into a Cree matrix by Cree speakers through borrowing’ (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 231). Similarly, Myers-Scotton (2003) has suggested development of mixed languages from codeswitching. Golovko (2003) asserts that a mixed language can arise in a bilingual community and often does so through a conscious choice of the speakers who are looking for a new identity marker (for instance, Mednyj Aleut).

One of the characteristics of mixed languages is vocabulary replacement (Auer 1999, Backus 2003). For instance, discourse markers, conjunctions, and some adverbials are among the first elements to be replaced (Auer 1999). Myers-Scotton (2002, 2003), even though not defining mixed lects as an intermediate stage between codeswitching and mixed languages, also argues for a systematic grammatical replacement in at least one constituent type, coming from a lexifier language. A stable mixed language, Mednyj Aleut, illustrates a split in the entire verbal finite subsystem. In Mednyj Aleut personal pronouns, negation, and Present and Past tense verbal paradigms come from Russian, while vocabulary, derivational affixes, and nominal inflections are Aleut (Golovko 1996). Consider the example below from Mednyj Aleut (1) and its Standard Russian equivalent (2).³⁷

- (1) chto ona ego **ilaxta-it**
 COMP she.NOM he.ACC love-3sig.PRES
 ‘That she loves him’ (Myers-Scotton, 2003, p.95)
- (2) chto ona ego liub-it
 ‘That she loves him’

In Mednyj Aleut sentence in (1) all pronouns, the complementizer, and the verbal inflections come from Russian with only the verb root being supplied by Aleut.

Some authors argue against the idea that mixed languages evolve from bilingual interaction (Backus 2003, Bakker 2003). For instance, Backus (2003) hypothesizes that mixed lects emerge from conventionalized codeswitching but he does not believe that a mixed language can emerge out of a mixed lect. Having examined Dutch-Turkish codeswitching, Backus proposes the following generalization: a mixed language has only

³⁷ Mednyj Aleut is in bold, Russian is in roman.

intraclausal types of switches, while mixed lect can have both interclausal and intraclausal switches. Bakker (2003) also challenges the idea that mixed languages emerge out of conventionalized codeswitching because such cases have not been documented with any known mixed language.

However, McConvell (2008) describes one documented example of what he identifies as a mixed language that evolved from codeswitching, Gurindji Kriol spoken in Australia, illustrated in the example below.³⁸

- (3) *nyawa-ma karu* bin plei-bat pak-ta *nyanuny*
 this-TOP one child PAST play-CONT park-LOC 3sg.DAT

warlaku-yawung-ma.
 dog-HAVING-TOP

‘This one kid was playing at the park with his dog.’ (McConvell 2008: 190)

This language is a mixture of indigenous Gurindji and the English-based lingua franca Kriol. The language evolved from children whose language input was Gurindji–Kriol codeswitching which they received from their bilingual parents. The author describes Gurindji Kriol as a Verbal–Nominal split language with basic verbs, the tense–aspect–mood system and transitive morphology derived from Kriol, and emphatic and possessive pronouns, case markers, and nominal derivational morphology derived from Gurindji with some innovations. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Gurindji Kriol functions in the community alongside Gurindji and Kriol, even though the communicative function of Gurindji is limited to home and Christian ceremonial use. The younger generation is losing or has lost proficiency in Gurindji with Gurindji Kriol becoming the dominant

³⁸ Kriol elements are in roman, Gurindji elements are in italics.

language of the community. Notably, Gurindji Kriol speakers do not identify themselves as having a distinct identity, unlike Michif speakers (McConvell 2008, Bakker 2003, Golovko 2003).

To summarize, a number of scholars believe that mixed languages develop in bilingual communities through conventionalization of codeswitching via mixed lects. Others say that mixed lect–mixed language conversion is not possible. As I pointed above, Surzhyk resembles a mixed language closely but it is not stable enough to fit the definition of a mixed language. I do believe that Surzhyk evolved from codeswitching. But unlike Turkish–Dutch codeswitching, Russian–Ukrainian codeswitching which led to Surzhyk did not involve balanced or even near-balanced bilingualism. As previous research on Surzhyk points out, Ukrainian speakers who tried to shift to Russian had limited active proficiency in Russian, which explains almost exclusively Ukrainian morphosyntax in Surzhyk. With time codeswitching became systematic and morphed into a mixed lect, which has been passed down several generations and has served as the primary language for a number of its speakers.

However, I believe that since the status of Ukrainian is growing, Surzhyk will eventually be replaced by Russian and Ukrainian as the main languages of communication. As I pointed throughout the dissertation, the younger generation uses Surzhyk only within the family to talk to other Surzhyk-speaking members. I do not believe that Surzhyk will ever become a stable mixed language since its use is diminishing.

5.3 Future research

Since the existence of Ukrainian–Polish Surzhyk was postulated but never attested, I will continue my research on language contact, examining Polish-Ukrainian contact in Western Ukraine. This issue has not been researched, since scientific literature and public discourse focused mainly on Russian–Ukrainian Surzhyk. My plan is to replicate my dissertation project on a smaller scale to study Ukrainian-Polish language contact in Ukraine to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are morphosyntactic and sociolinguistic characteristics of Polish–Ukrainian mixing?
- 2) Does this mixture resemble Russian–Ukrainian Surzhyk?

My hypothesis is that some Polish–Ukrainian mixture exists since Polish and Ukrainian have been in contact for many centuries due to the common border and Poland’s dominance over Ukrainian territories. However, I do not expect that this language variety will resemble Surzhyk in its morphosyntax. I hypothesize that Polish–Ukrainian contact in Western Ukraine is manifested as borrowing or/and codeswitching by bilinguals. This hypothesis considers the following historical context:

- i) Polish was not forced on Ukraine as the language of school instruction and publications as Russian was, and the Ukrainian language and culture prospered under Austro–Hungarian rule (Pivtorak 2001)
- ii) During the Soviet Era Western Ukraine retained its strong ethnic identity with language as its principal component, while the rest of the country was switching to the more prestigious Russian. This hypothesis has to be

corroborated with detailed linguistic analysis of the spoken language of Western Ukraine.

The question of language contact and language planning is very complex when it comes to a post-colonial country such as Ukraine. Research on the linguistic situation in Ukraine has just begun. The proposed project will shed light on Polish-Ukrainian language contact, which receives very little attention in Ukrainian public discourse and linguistics literature.

Research on Surzhyk is significant for the field of Linguistics for the following reasons:

- It sheds light on the complexity of language contact in the situation of two typologically close languages.
- It raises the question of the best approach to studying similar language varieties. Does only synchronic or only diachronic approach to the development of language contact varieties suffice? In case of Surzhyk, I had to consider both its current structure (synchronic), as well as its purported development (diachronic) to offer the most suitable characteristics.
- Finally, this research raises the question whether we need another classification for language contact varieties: mixed lects. Why not just do away with the existing one, such as mixed languages? As I have shown in this dissertation, some language varieties, for instance, Surzhyk, do not readily fit into the existing categories. Having another category for mixed lects allows for a more precise characterization, especially for language varieties that are closely related.

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Appendix A

Language Attitude Survey**I. Language(s) use:**

Please check all languages that apply to you.

| Question | Ukrainian | Russian | Surzhyk | Other |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. What is your native language? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. What language(s) were used for instruction in your: | | | | |
| a) primary education? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) secondary education? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) college education? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. What languages do you speak <u>most often</u> within your family? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. What languages/dialects are/were spoken by: | | | | |
| a) your parents? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) your friends? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) your spouse ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. Do you mix more than one language when speaking? Please check one answer.

- Yes
 No
 Unsure

II. Language Attitudes: please, rank how you feel about each language identified in this section.

The purpose of this study is to measure the *meaning* of certain things to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales. In taking this survey, please make your judgments on the basis of what these things mean *to you*. On the next two pages of this survey you will find a different language to be judged and beneath it a set of scales. You are to rate the language on each of these scales in order.

Example: If you feel that the language at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your check-mark as follows:

How would you describe **English**?

Unpleasant X _____ _____ _____ _____ Pleasant

Important: Place your checkmark above or on the line, not in the spaces between lines.

1. RUSSIAN

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Unpleasant | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Pleasant |
| Impure | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Pure |
| Bad | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Good |
| Non-valuable | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Valuable |
| Weak | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Strong |
| Useless | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Useful |
| Dissonant | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Melodious |
| Ungrammatical | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Grammatical |
| Uneducated | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Educated |
| Chaotic | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Orderly |

2. UKRAINIAN

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Unpleasant | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Pleasant |
| Impure | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Pure |
| Bad | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Good |
| Non-valuable | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Valuable |
| Weak | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Strong |
| Useless | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Useful |
| Dissonant | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Melodious |
| Ungrammatical | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Grammatical |
| Uneducated | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Educated |
| Chaotic | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Orderly |

3. SURZHUK

| | | | | |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------|
| Unpleasant | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Pleasant |
| Impure | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Pure |
| Bad | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Good |
| Non-valuable | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Valuable |
| Weak | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Strong |
| Useless | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Useful |
| Dissonant | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Melodious |
| Ungrammatical | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Grammatical |
| Uneducated | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Educated |
| Chaotic | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ Orderly |

III. Demographic Data

1. What is your city of residence? _____
2. How many years have you been living in this region? Years.
3. What is your place of birth? _____
4. In what year were you born?
5. What is your occupation? _____
6. What is your level of education? Please check one.
 - High School
 - Community College/Technical College
 - 'Specialist' Degree
 - Other, please, specify _____

Thank you for taking time to fill out this survey!

Appendix B

Анкета про ставлення до мови

I. Використання мов(и):

Будь ласка, вкажіть всі мови, якими Ви користуєтесь. Якщо Ви розмовляєте якимись іншими мовами крім української, російської, або суржика, будь ласка, вкажіть ці мови у стовпці "Інша".

| Question | Укр | Рос | Суржик (мішана) | Інша |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------|
| 6. Яку мову Ви вважаєте рідною? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| 7. Які мови використовувалися або використовуються у закладах, де Ви навчалися: | | | | |
| d) У середній школі? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| e) У середньому технічному закладі? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| f) У вищому навчальному закладі? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| 8. Якою мовою Ви користуєтесь найчастіше в родині? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| 9. На яких мовах розмовляють Ваші: | | | | |
| d) батьки? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| e) друзі? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| f) чоловік/жінка ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |

10. Чи Ви зміщуєте дві мови, коли розмовляєте? Будь ласка, оберіть одну відповідь.

- Так
 Ні
 Не знаю

II. Ставлення до мови: Оцініть, будь ласка, Ваше ставлення до мови, поданої в кожній частині.

Мета цієї частини анкети оцінити Ваше ставлення до трьох мов, на яких розмовляють на території України – української, російської і суржика, мішаної українсько-російської мови. Під кожною поданою мовою Ви знайдете перелік прикметників. Прикметники ліворуч мають негативну характеристику.

Прикметники праворуч – позитивну. Наприклад, якщо Ви вважаєте, що мова подана у питанні дуже близько відповідає негативному прикметнику, поставте відмітку зліва на горизонтальну риску, як показано у прикладі.

АНГЛІЙСЬКА

Неприємна X _____ _____ _____ _____ Приємна

Якщо Ви вважаєте, що мова подана у питанні більш-менш відповідає негативному прикметнику, поставте відмітку над другою горизонтальною рисою зліва.

УВАГА: ставте Ваші відмітки тільки НАД рисками, а не між ними.

1. РОСІЙСЬКА

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------|
| Неприємна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Приємна |
| Нечиста | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Чиста |
| Погана | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Добра |
| Нецінна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Цінна |
| Слабка | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Сильна |
| Некорисна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Корисна |
| Немелодійна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Мелодійна |
| Граматично- Неправильна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Граматично- Правильна |
| Неосвічена | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Освічена |
| Хаотична | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Організована |

2. УКРАЇНСЬКА

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------|
| Неприємна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Приємна |
| Нечиста | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Чиста |
| Погана | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Добра |
| Нецінна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Цінна |
| Слабка | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Сильна |
| Некорисна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Корисна |
| Немелодійна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Мелодійна |
| Граматично- Неправильна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Граматично- Правильна |
| Неосвічена | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Освічена |
| Хаотична | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Організована |

3. СУРЖИК

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------|
| Неприємна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Приємна |
| Нечиста | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Чиста |
| Погана | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Добра |
| Нецінна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Цінна |
| Слабка | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Сильна |
| Некорисна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Корисна |
| Немелодійна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Мелодійна |
| Граматично- Неправильна | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Граматично- Правильна |
| Неосвічена | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Освічена |
| Хаотична | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | Організована |

III. Демографічні данні

7. В якому місті (селі) Ви мешкаєте? _____
8. Скільки років Ви мешкаєте в цій місцевості?
9. Де Ви народилися? _____
10. В якому році Ви народилися?
11. Ким Ви працюєте? (Де Ви навчаєтесь?) _____
12. Який найвищий рівень освіти Ви отримали? Будь ласка, оберіть один.
- Середня школа
 - Технічне училище?
 - Вищий навчальний заклад
 - Інше _____

Дякую за заповнення цієї анкети!

Appendix C

Bilingualism Questionnaire

1. Name _____
2. City/town/village _____
3. How long have you lived in this city/town/village? _____
4. Birth Place _____
5. Year of Birth _____
6. Age _____
7. Occupation _____
8. Married _____ Widowed _____ Single _____ Other _____
9. What languages/dialects do you speak (Ukrainian/Russian/Surzhyk, etc.)? _____
10. What languages/dialects are/were spoken by:
 - a) your parents _____
 - b) your friends _____
 - c) your spouse _____
 - d) your neighbors _____
 - e) your co-workers _____
 - f) children (if any) _____
11. What languages were used for instruction in your:
 - a) K-12 education _____
 - b) college education _____
12. What languages/dialects do you prefer? _____
13. In what language(s) do you read? _____
14. In what language(s) do you write? _____

15. What languages do you use at work? _____

16. Do you feel that you use one language more often than others? _____
If so, which? _____

17. What languages do you speak most often within your family? _____

18. What is your native language? _____

19. What language do you feel most comfortable using? _____

20. Do you consider yourself bilingual? _____

Thank you for participating in this study!

Appendix D

Анкета: Українсько-російська двомовність в Україні

1. Ім'я _____
2. Місце проживання _____
3. Як довго Ви мешкаєте в цій місцевості? _____
4. Місце народження _____
5. Рік народження _____
6. Вік _____
7. Фах (або спеціальність) _____
8. Одружений (а) _____ Самотній (я) _____ Інше _____
9. Якими мовами Ви розмовляєте? (українською, російською, суржиком) _____

10. Якою мовою (якими мовами) розмовляють Ваші
 - а) батьки _____
 - б) друзі _____
 - в) чоловік/дружина _____
 - г) сусіди _____
 - д) співробітники _____
 - є) діти (якщо є) _____
11. Яку мову Ви вживаєте (вживали) для спілкування і навчання
 - а) в школі _____
 - б) у вищому навчальному закладі _____

12. Якій мові Ви надасте перевагу при спілкуванні? _____
13. Якою мовою Ви читаете? _____
14. Якою мовою Ви пишете? _____
15. Якими мовами Ви користуєтесь на роботі? _____
16. Якою мовою Ви користуєтесь найчастіше? _____
17. На якій мові Ви розмовляєте з Вашою родиною? _____
18. Яку мову Ви вважаєте рідною мовою? _____
19. Якою мовою Вам зручніше користуватися? _____
20. Чи Ви вважаєте себе двомовною/ним? _____

Дякую за участь у цьому дослідженні.

Appendix E

Interviews and conversations of the dissertation data

| RP | Interviews | Conversations | Cartoon | U clauses | R clauses | Mixed clauses |
|-----|------------|---------------|---------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| 1 | | X | | 66 | 9 | 27 |
| 2 | | | | 27 | 9 | 1 |
| 3 | X | X | | 145 | 5 | 85 |
| 3a | | | | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| 4 | X | | | 31 | 0 | 1 |
| 5 | X | | | 30 | 0 | 8 |
| 6 | X | | | 63 | 0 | 17 |
| 7 | X | | | 8 | 0 | 2 |
| 8 | X | | | 76 | 1 | 38 |
| 9 | X | | | 48 | 0 | 17 |
| 10 | X | | | 43 | 0 | 8 |
| 11 | | X | | 15 | 0 | 18 |
| 11a | | | | 6 | 0 | 2 |
| 13 | | X | | 17 | 5 | 15 |
| 14 | | | | 20 | 0 | 9 |
| 15 | X | | | 47 | 4 | 0 |
| 16 | X | | | 121 | 0 | 10 |
| 17 | X | | | 16 | 1 | 19 |
| 18 | X | | | 16 | 31 | 36 |
| 19 | X | | | 1 | 17 | 30 |
| 20 | X | | | 12 | 3 | 43 |
| 21 | X | | | 1 | 0 | 9 |
| 22 | | X | | 12 | 0 | 26 |
| 23 | | X | | 10 | 2 | 17 |
| 24 | | | | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| 25 | X | | | 3 | 0 | 14 |
| 29 | X | | | 154 | 28 | 182 |
| 30 | X | | | 7 | 7 | 21 |
| 31 | X | | | 7 | 0 | 12 |
| 33 | X | | | 6 | 0 | 13 |
| 34 | | X | | 20 | 16 | 23 |
| 35 | | X | | 2 | 8 | 24 |
| 35a | | | | 5 | 13 | 13 |
| 35b | | | | 2 | 1 | 19 |
| 36 | X | | | 11 | 13 | 23 |
| 37 | X | | | 27 | 10 | 52 |
| 38 | X | | | 18 | 9 | 24 |
| 44 | | X | | 5 | 0 | 12 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|----|----|----|
| 45 | X | | | 26 | 22 | 57 |
| 47 | X | | | 30 | 3 | 72 |
| 48 | X | | | 9 | 5 | 27 |
| 58 | X | | | 63 | 1 | 28 |
| 59 | | X | | 24 | 43 | 69 |
| 61 | X | | X | 18 | 7 | 12 |
| 62 | | X | X | 18 | 16 | 33 |
| 63 | | X | X | 23 | 4 | 31 |
| 64 | | X | X | 87 | 10 | 58 |