

# लपतललंगुवत MANCHESTER

Report

2010

The University  
of Manchester

MANCHESTER  
1824

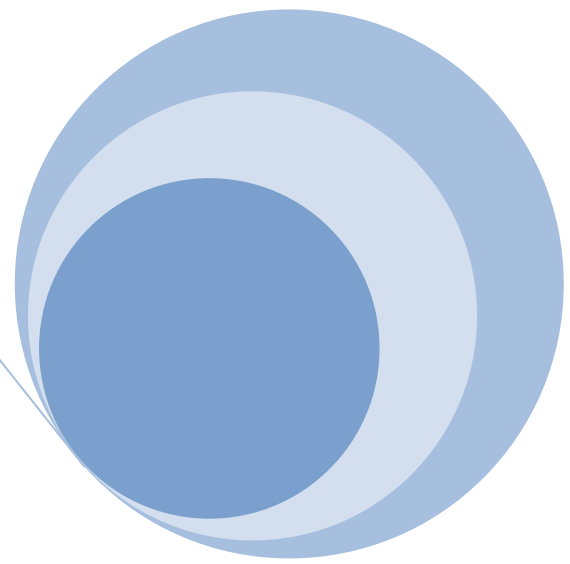
The contents of this report are the intellectual property of the authors. No part of this report may be circulated or reproduced without explicit permission from the authors, or from the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures at the University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL, United Kingdom.

# **Investigation into the language maintenance of Ukrainian as a minority language in the community of Cheetham Hill**

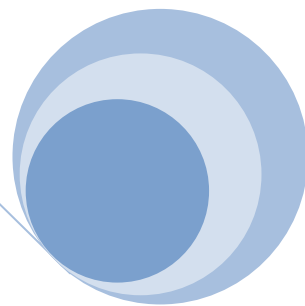
Myroslava Kochan  
Helena Mapals  
Rebecca Smith  
Andrew Webster

University of Manchester  
School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures  
Samuel Alexander Building  
Oxford Road  
Manchester  
M13 9PL

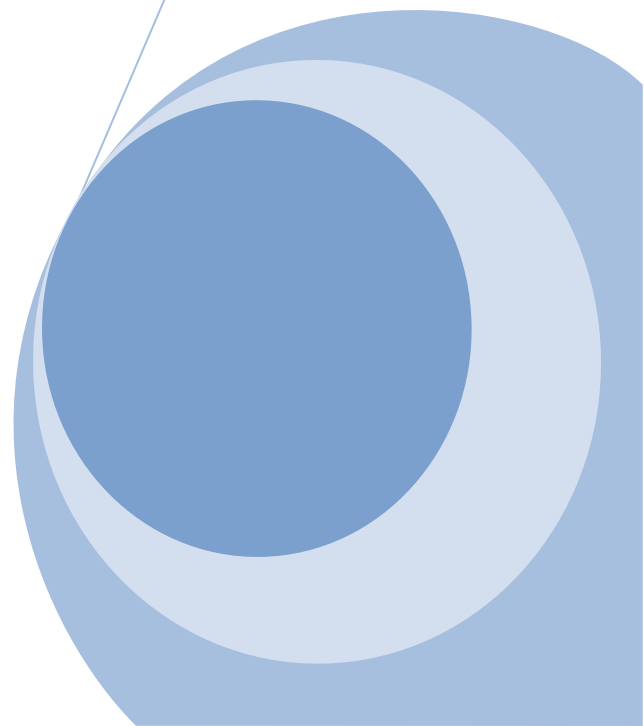
*Societal Multi-Lingualism*



**Investigation into the Language Maintenance of  
Ukrainian as a minority language in the community  
of Cheetham Hill**



# **Fieldwork Report**



*Our motivation behind choosing to study the language maintenance of Ukrainian in the Cheetham Hill area of Manchester was principally its prominence as one of the fastest developing communities, both in terms of size and influence. As previously stated in our fieldwork plan, the tendency to assume that Eastern European purely signifies ethnic communities such as 'Polish' or even 'Russian' is quite a common preconception. However, Ukrainian society within Britain has in recent decades been slowly increasing to a point where there are a significant number of Ukrainian-run establishments such as shops, places of worship and even social clubs focussed in specific areas. An example of such an area is Cheetham Hill, which is one of the most evident centres of Ukrainian community in Manchester. Language maintenance is interesting in this case as the Ukrainian society has taken steps to maintain its native language with respect to the varying degrees of integration i.e. there exist various methods, institutions and processes at every linguistic level.*

---

## Research Questions

1. What are the methods used by the community to maintain their native language use?
  2. Are there any institutions put in place to ensure language maintenance?
  3. What kind of literature is available for use in language maintenance? And how is it accessed?
  4. Are there any other kinds of media available that help in the maintenance of the language?
- 

## Methodology

*After having submitted our Fieldwork Plan and receiving feedback on it, we responded to the comments made and adjusted our methods accordingly. To reiterate, the main bulk of our methodology is the original submitted within the Fieldwork Plan, however where appropriate, we have marked the changes we have made and the reasons for these changes.*

In order to carry out a full and thorough investigation within the specified time limit we have chosen to explore and evaluate various sources related to the maintenance of Ukrainian in the Cheetham Hill community. These include:

- Ethnographic interviews with key members of the community
- Bilingual national newspaper, 'Dumka'
- Manchester City Council reports on the Ukrainian Saturday School
- Local Ukrainian newsletters *(after having analysed a number of these texts, it transpired that in fact they were not very helpful in demonstrating any kind of language maintenance as it turned out that they were not circulated very well within the community and they were also very brief)*
- The website of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain

As the ethnographic interviews will provide the largest depth of information on Ukrainian sustainment both within the home and the experiences of different forms of language maintenance within the community, they form the majority of our investigation.

We plan to interview 4 individuals all with direct experience of Ukrainian language maintenance and all living in the Cheetham Hill area. These will be:

- **A post-WWII first generation speaker:**

*Female of 78 years. Born in Yugoslavia, she moved to England in 1957. Her first language is Ukrainian.*

- **A post-WWII second generation speaker:**

*Female of 49 years. Born in England to Ukrainian post-WWII 1<sup>st</sup> generation parents, she is married to a 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Ukrainian-Italian with 2 daughters.*

- **A post-WWII third generation speaker:**

*Female of 20 years. Born in England and brought up by 2<sup>nd</sup> generation parents and 1<sup>st</sup> generation grandparents.*

- **A post-Ukrainian Independence first generation speaker:**

*Male of 17 years. Born in Ukraine, he moved to England nearly 3 years ago.*

Having the opportunity to interview this particular spectrum of members of the Ukrainian community will mean that our research extensively covers the various dimensions of Ukrainian use within the Cheetham Hill area. As a generalisation, the post-WWII first generation made the initial decision to settle and the choice to retain and uphold their language here rather than succumb to the prevalent English, and so it is essential that we explore their unique insight into the beginnings of Ukrainian maintenance. Likewise the second generation will be able to inform on the direct effects and experiences of the methods and institutions put in place by the first with the view to the continuation of their language, and will demonstrate the complications of being brought up in a country where English is dominant over the mother tongue. Third generation may differ in that, by now, the function of the heritage language may have moved on to being symbolic of a culture rather than practical application, and interviews will illustrate the issues associated with this operative change within the community. Finally, post-independent Ukrainian (i.e. a more modern version of the language) differs as much from the more archaic version of Ukrainian as present day English differs from that of 50 years ago, and here we can look into whether there is a focus on the perpetuation of one over the other in Ukrainian society.

The following are questions or rather lines of enquiry to be followed during the ethnographic interviews. The numbered are basics to be put to every interviewee and beneath are additional points of interest to be asked depending on the specific background of the interviewee:

1. Where were you born?
  2. How long have you been in England for?
  3. Why did you move here?
  4. Do you speak a lot of Ukrainian in the home/workplace?
  5. What language do you speak with your parents/children/grandparents?
  6. Within your generation, do you think the use of Ukrainian is increasing or decreasing?
  7. Do you feel you have a responsibility to maintain the use of Ukrainian? Do you think it is important?
  8. Do you feel that it has been easy to maintain your use of Ukrainian while living in Manchester?
- Did you go to school over here?
  - Do you speak any other languages? Does Ukrainian take precedent over these?
  - Do you feel the type of Ukrainian spoken is different between generations?

We will record the ethnographic interviews via dictaphone due to their relatively extensive length in comparison to other methods such as questionnaires. Consequently, transcribing sections of interest within the complete recorded interviews will enable us to focus on responses important to answering our research questions. We can then analyse these.

## Adapted Research Schedule

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| April 19 <sup>th</sup> | Receive Fieldwork Plan grade. Adjust interview questions and survey strategy according to feedback.   |
| April 20 <sup>th</sup> | Conduct interviews with 1 <sup>st</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> generation (we had to swap around the interviews of participants due to their availability) Ukrainian speakers.                               |
| April 27 <sup>th</sup> | Conduct interviews with 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation (again, we adapted our order of interviews due to the participant's availability) and 1 <sup>st</sup> post-Independence generation Ukrainian speakers. |
| May 4 <sup>th</sup>    | Transcription from recordings of relevant data gathered in interviews.  |
| May 11 <sup>th</sup>   | Analysis of data.<br>Drawing of conclusions.<br>Evaluations.  |
| May 21 <sup>st</sup>   | Final report due in.  |

## Findings and Discussion

*In answering our research questions, we have decided to categorise our findings under the relevant topics in order to target our enquiries accurately:*

### 1. What are the methods used by the community to maintain their native language use?

Through conducting our interviews we were able to observe that a principal method for language maintenance was the almost obligatory use of Ukrainian between family members and within the home. This is a method the Ukrainians have implemented themselves, and so is distinct from the other more official institutions or processes set up with the same aim of maintaining the language, as it appears to be a more innate practise very much linked to the secondary function of upholding of the Ukrainian culture. Throughout all four interviews the findings are consistent in that Ukrainian is the language in the domain of the home. Here we can observe the consequences of going against this norm:

#### Extract from post-WWII 1<sup>st</sup> generation speaker

"A: Only Ukrainian language in the house, if mother or father hear us other language, they smack us!"

It is also relevant to question the motive(s) behind this persistent use of the native language within the home, and if there are others aside from the sole objective of maintaining the language. Here, we can see reasons for this consistent use of Ukrainian in the home other than that of its maintenance:

#### Extract from post-WWII 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speaker

"Q: And did your parents encourage you to speak English, or was it just Ukrainian that was encouraged in the home?"

A: In the home, I think because Ukrainian was their natural language, they just spoke it naturally, but they didn't stop us from learning English because they themselves wanted to learn English. They were very proud to be here and they wanted to integrate into the English society, and obviously they wanted their children to do that, but they didn't speak English to us in the home because their English was so broken, so they didn't want to influence us by making us speak bad English, so they only spoke Ukrainian in the home."

It is also important in relation to this research question that we consider the further necessity of Ukrainian usage within the home, in that within this domain there are likely to be cultural terms for which there is no English equivalent:

### Extract from post-WWII 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speaker

“A: I try and speak as much Ukrainian as possible in the home; there are some words that I’ve only ever known as Ukrainian, and things like sayings. In public, sometimes it is useful if you want to say something that no-one else can understand, but the home is the place where I use Ukrainian the most.”

Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speakers in particular, the use of Ukrainian within the domain of the home could merely be attributed to force of habit:

### Extract from post-WWII 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speaker

“A: I think obviously it’s difficult to maintain [Ukrainian] in the public domain because everyone speaks English, but when you’re at home I think it’s important that you try as much as you can to utilise it... because you only speak it in a home environment, it is quite easy to lose grasp of it. You have to try as much as you can to make it part of everyday life.”

### Extract from Post-Independence 1<sup>st</sup> generation speaker

A: I don’t know, I’ve just always spoken Ukrainian at home, that hasn’t changed now.”

This idea that Ukrainian has for most “always been spoken... at home” also demonstrates an effect of the Ukrainian culture upon this home-based language maintenance. As a generalisation, in comparison to modern British culture, within the Ukrainian family the grandparents play a strongly influential role in the raising of children. This obviously extends to linguistic influence:

### Extract from post-WWII 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speaker

A: My first language was Ukrainian, because I was brought up by my grandmother who was a 1<sup>st</sup> generation Ukrainian from after the war, so I didn’t really start speaking English properly until I got to school and was around other English speaking people.

## 2. Are there any institutions put in place to ensure language maintenance?

Our objective as regards this particular research question was to find an authoritative institution with the main aim of maintaining the Ukrainian language in Cheetham Hill. We found through our research that the Ukrainian Saturday School situated in central Cheetham had such a purpose, and also had the ability and authority to issue qualifications taken and examined in the Ukrainian language:

### Extract from post-WWII 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speaker

“Q: How do you think you’d go about doing that then?

A: Well, like my parents did with me, I guess. We have a Ukrainian Saturday school which I went to on a weekly basis, and got the equivalent of A-levels after 10 years of going every week, in things like Ukrainian history and Ukrainian geography, so not only was my knowledge of Ukraine itself enhanced, I also got to use the Ukrainian language on a regular basis. Also, we have things like the Ukrainian church, the Ukrainian Youth Association, we have a dance group, so it’s not just the language that is maintained, it is different aspects of the culture.”

### Extract from post-WWII 2<sup>nd</sup> generation speaker

“Q: Did you involve your children in any Ukrainian activities, to get them integrated into the community from an early age? Did you see that as an important thing?

A: ... yes, the Ukrainian community holds a Saturday school, which I did send the children to, to the nursery, to the school, and then to Ukrainian dancing, and they’ve grown up with that as part of their daily life as well as everything else”

Aside from demonstrating the active approach taken within the community towards their children learning Ukrainian, the school offers the wider opportunity of being able to practise the language

outside the domain of the home. A Manchester City Council report on the Saturday School describes that “all the children are encouraged to work towards improving their knowledge of their Mother Tongue and their Ukrainian roots” (Manchester City Council Website). The exposure to Ukrainian that participants gain broadens the fields in which speakers are able to use their language, and so is a type of maintenance that preserves different registers used within the language rather than it being restricted to a purely home-based function. Furthermore, the ability to obtain official qualifications in Ukrainian is clear recognition of the importance of the language, and evidence to support the idea that the Ukrainian community has so far been successful in their maintenance of their language.

### **3. What kind of literature is available for use in language maintenance? And how is it accessed?**

We proposed to look at how literature was an aid to the maintenance of the Ukrainian language in the Greater Manchester area, specifically at the newspaper Dumka and other paper materials like newsletters. Dumka, which means ‘thought’ in Ukrainian, is a newspaper published on a fortnightly basis by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain – it was established in 1945 to maintain communication between the thousands of Ukrainians who had migrated to England after the war. As it did then, it continues to provide news of the political situation and current affairs in Ukraine as well as news about community events in the UK. Although the news about Ukraine is written in the Ukrainian language, the community news is in English to increase accessibility for the younger generations of Ukrainians; despite this, the Ukrainian language section of the newspaper is still widely read and even used as an exercise for conserving the language:

#### **Extract from post-WWII 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speaker**

*“A: ...you find if you don’t spend a lot of time with Ukrainian people or reading Dumka or the websites...you find that you do sort of **lose your grasp of the language.**”*

Although the Ukrainian section of Dumka is used as a revision tool for 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speakers whose use of the language is limited in England, it also provides an exercise in revising the English language for the older generations:

#### **Extract from post-WWII 1<sup>st</sup> generation speaker**

*“A: ...I could read it, but I couldn’t write it. **Because English writing, is spelling different,** and in my country where I born, we are writing like your read you know, not different, like Ukrainian, the same way.”*

The accessibility of Dumka emphasises the effort of the Ukrainian community in Great Britain to maintain the language amongst the generations. The newspaper is available online, at the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain website, where it can be read or downloaded as a PDF, allowing members of younger generations to read it at their leisure. For the older generations who are less technologically capable, each Ukrainian community in Great Britain has an assigned representative who receives a delivery of paper copies of Dumka and distributes them to the older generation, like a modern-day paper delivery service. Having a traditional newspaper gives the community members an opportunity to read it at their own pace, and even share with other members who have not subscribed.

The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain headquarters in London is not only the home of Dumka, but also functions as a home for the only Ukrainian bookshop in Great Britain. Although the Internet provides a plethora of links to Ukrainian literature on sale worldwide, the AUGB bookshop is the hub of Ukrainian literature distributed across the country. A good example is school literature, such as grammar and history books, which are used among Saturday school students as supplements for their studies:



### Extract from post-WWII 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speaker

*"A: ...We have a Ukrainian Saturday school which I went to on a weekly basis, and got the equivalent of A-levels after 10 years of going every week, in things like Ukrainian history and Ukrainian geography."*

The Ukrainian Saturday School in Manchester is an authorised provider of Ukrainian school books from the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain bookshop, and buys large supplies of basic grammar, history and geography textbooks in Ukrainian which it distributes to its students on an annual basis. These books are vital tools to supplement the courses available at the Saturday School, and are widely available in the Cheetham Hill area which increases the accessibility of the Ukrainian language to native speakers and new speakers alike.

#### **4. Are there any other kinds of media available that help in the maintenance of the language?**

We aimed to find as many ways as possible that the Ukrainian language was maintained in the Greater Manchester area, and as well as traditional methods such as the distribution of a Ukrainian newspaper and a Ukrainian school, other media is involved in the effort to keep the language thriving. Both the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain and the Ukrainian Youth Association, two associations which have strong, active branches in Manchester, have websites which are regularly updated and available to the local, national and international communities – for example, the Ukrainian Youth Association website includes material, news and information relating to the association in countries all over the world, including the Manchester branch, but with a password-protected section for Manchester members only which includes information including a forum and message board which is private to the Manchester branch only. The password is available from the local Ukrainian Youth Association representative and gives local members an opportunity to engage in discourse online at any time they wish. The websites provide an opportunity for Ukrainians to communicate with other Ukrainians all over the world, and also provides a chance for members who are perhaps no longer living locally, but still wish to keep in touch with the activities in their home towns. The website automatically appears in the Ukrainian language, which is sometimes used as a tool to revise and conserve the language:

### Extract from post-WWII 3<sup>rd</sup> generation speaker

*"A: ...we have...websites such as the website for the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and the Ukrainian Youth Association, and things like that which keep your Ukrainian up to scratch..."*

Although it appears primarily in Ukrainian, because that is the language which links members from countries all over the world together, there is a function on the page which can translate the website into the main languages spoken within the Ukrainian Youth Association – English, French, Spanish and German.

Other forms of media are often seen as a great way to involve the younger generations in the circulation of the Ukrainian language in Great Britain, but one method has become popular with the older generation – Ukrainian satellite television. For a small fee, a satellite box can be purchased and installed into the home so that Ukrainian television channels can be accessed in England, including Kanal 5, the main Ukrainian news channel in Ukraine. The desire for satellite among the older generation has multiplied so much so that a local Ukrainian electrician now specialises in providing and installing the satellite boxes. Having the same channels that are available in Ukraine is beneficial for the older generation because they can watch television (such as soap operas and documentaries) in their native language, but also because they can keep up to date with news in Ukraine as it happens, without having to wait and see if the news is important enough to be mentioned on English television or to hear it second-hand from someone else. The satellite is also available at the Ukrainian Social Centre, 'Dnipro', on Smedley Lane in Cheetham Hill – there is a widescreen

television in one of the rooms where the news channel is available all day, every day, so that local Ukrainians who do not have it at home can relax and watch it there.

## *Conclusions*

*From the findings and discussions above, a number of conclusions can be made about the various ways the Ukrainian community has managed to maintain its language use while still being based in the area of Cheetham Hill:*

- The main unofficial method that the community uses for language maintenance is its insistent and persistent usage of Ukrainian within the domain of home.
- Other reasons for this home-based use of Ukrainian other than that of language maintenance include the fact that, especially for the generations who were born in Ukraine, its domestic use is habitual. Also, as parents did not want to influence their children's English development negatively, this further contributed to the strong tendency to use Ukrainian in the home. Lastly, cultural terms that exist in Ukrainian but not in English almost force the use of the native language within the home, and so this also contributes to its maintenance.
- The Ukrainian Saturday School is an integral institution in the maintenance of the language as it offers a further domain in which the community can practise Ukrainian other than within the home. The qualifications a Ukrainian speaker can gain there further cement this.
- As a publication produced bilingually with a wide accessibility to Ukrainians of all ages and specifically distributed throughout the Cheetham Hill area, the contribution of the newspaper 'Dumka' to language maintenance is invaluable in that it aids the preservation of written Ukrainian.
- More modern media through which the Ukrainian language is transmitted, such as satellite television stations and websites, have made the language more accessible to younger Ukrainian generations and so helped in its maintenance. Also more recently, the promotion of these satellite channels to older generations has meant that they are now being used as an active method of language maintenance by every sector of the Ukrainian society in Cheetham Hill.

## *Areas for Further Research*

*Within our interviews with Ukrainian speakers in Cheetham Hill, further issues relating to maintenance of Ukrainian were raised that did not come under our original research questions. However, these relate more to the nature of language maintenance than the methods used to achieve it. Such issues included:*

- The extent of the effect English has on the maintenance of Ukrainian, i.e. when there is an increasing number of Ukrainians speaking fluent English per generation, does this render the speaking of Ukrainian useless and consequently start to replace it?
- If the use of Ukrainian is functional or as a way to uphold traditions, i.e. the language as a manifestation or representation of the culture.

## *Comparisons to other Case Studies*

Alongside our fieldwork, we read through the dissertation of Mohammed Fathi who studied similar issues of language maintenance, except with the Arabic language. In his dissertation, we found some statements that confirmed the conclusions we came to about the maintenance of a minority language in a community in England.

The issue of other media outlets helping to circulate the language is replicated in Fathi's dissertation, when he states that "in the domain of the 'media', the parents watch the news mainly on the Arabic satellite channels... or on the internet" (2006: 25). In our study, watching the news on satellite channels was more convenient and preferred by the older generations, i.e. the grandparents, but internet sources such as websites were preferred by the younger generations. However, we found a difference between the language communities when it came to the issue of a community newspaper – Fathi voices that "almost all the subjects read the Arabic newspapers on the internet because it is difficult to get Arabic newspapers in hard copy in Manchester" (2006: 25). This is not the case in the Ukrainian community as we found, because they have a circulated paper copy as well as a downloadable version available (see Question 3, under Findings).

There are similarities between the Arabic and Ukrainian community when it comes to the supplementary education of their younger generations; as Fathi states, "In the domain of 'children' all the families send their children to English schools when they are three years old where they spend about seven hours a day. In addition, all the families send their children or register them in Arabic school" (2006: 26). This reiterates the point we arrived at that although integration into the local community is important for the Ukrainian (and Arabic) community, there are measures in place to ensure that the maintenance of their native languages run in parallel, which is further emphasised by Fathi's point, "The main reason why these families send their children to Arabic schools is that they are keen that their children learn Arabic" (2006: 27).

Despite playing a small part in the Ukrainian community, religion no longer has the same strength as in the Arabic, where "the families consider the mosque as important in helping children to learn Arabic" (Fathi, 2006: 27), though other cultural institutions such as dancing groups and the Youth Association help with language maintenance through traditional activities.

Perhaps the biggest similarity between Fathi's study and our own is the use of the native languages in the domain of the home - "At home, the children speak Arabic with their parents, who insist they speak Arabic" (Fathi, 2006: 28). Although both communities are integrated into a wider local community of different ethnicities, the home is the one place where they can continue to teach, practice and conserve their languages.

## *Bibliography*

Othman, M. F. A. 2006. *Language Choice among Arabic-English Bilinguals in Manchester, Britain*. MA. Manchester: University of Manchester.

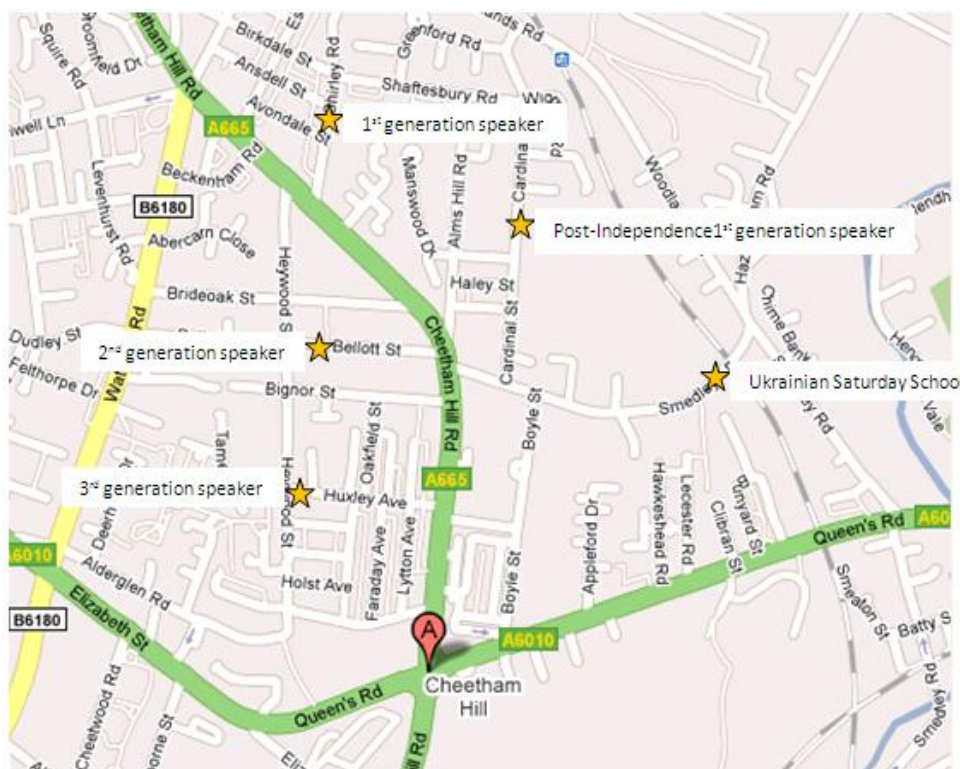
Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. 2008. [Online] Available at: <http://www.augb.co.uk/index.php> [Accessed 09/03/10].

Manchester City Council, (2008), [http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/100003/community\\_and\\_living](http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/100003/community_and_living), 02/03/10

Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. 2010. *Dumka*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.augb.co.uk/admin/project/uploaded-media/2010-10-page3.pdf> [Accessed 01/05/10].

## Appendices

**Appendix 1:** Map of Cheetham Hill with the locations of each informant's place of residence and the Ukrainian Saturday School.



**Appendix 2:** Full transcriptions of interviews:

### INTERVIEW 1: POST-WWII 1<sup>ST</sup> GENERATION UKRAINIAN SPEAKER

Q: Okay, when did you come to England for the first time?

A: Hmm...19<sup>th</sup> May going be, 53 years.

Q: What year was it though?

A: 1957.

Q: And why did you come to England?

A: Well, because I come to England to see friends, friends want see me. Yeah, and when I came, I came to Vira's house, she is the first person what I saw in England. That's why she sticks to me.

Q: And why did you stay in England?

A: Well, because, er, your granddad saw me...and after one month, we being married. One month.

Q: So you stayed here in England after you got married, you decided to stay here? Did you have a job?

A: No, 10 years I didn't go to work.

Q: Did Dido<sup>1</sup> go to work? What did Dido do?

A: Joinery.

<sup>1</sup> Dido = Ukrainian word for granddad

Q: And would you say Dido<sup>1</sup> spoke more English than you did?

A: Yes, because I just come in you know, I can't speak English at all when I came.

Q: Right, and when you went to work, because you did work eventually...

A: I work in the house.

Q: And who did you speak English to, did you speak English to anyone?

A: Hmmm, no, because people who have been given me work were Polish.

Q: So, you spoke...

A: Polish.

Q: And, would you say that Dido spoke a lot of English because of his work? Did he work for English people or did he work with other foreign people?

A: He worked with English people.

Q: So he spoke English then?

A: Yeah.

Q: And when you went to work, because you went to work didn't you?

A: Oh, that is very late when I went to work.

Q: Where did you work?

A: Halls, eucalyptus.

Q: And was it like a factory?

A: A big factory. Machines and I got to run it myself, all that, fill it up and look how is the wrapping up and everything is doing well, because can't be on one side more, one side less.

Q: So you had to make sure everything was perfect?

A: Yeah, date and month and year, everything got to be on it.

Q: Did you find it hard, because everything would have been in English...

A: It is hard, yeah.

Q: All the writing was in English.

A: I couldn't write it, I couldn't write it. I could read it, but I couldn't write it. Because English writing, is spelling different, and in my country where I born, we are writing like your read you know, not different, like Ukrainian, the same way.

Q: And where were you born, just remind us?

A: You been, you seen! Yeah, I am born, there was Yugoslavia but now it is Bosnia. Yugoslavia used to occupy all what is now took it six parts. Bosnia, they call it.

Q: So when did you learn Ukrainian?

A: Ooh, straight away. Only Ukrainian language in the house, if mother or father hear us other language, they smack us! Very thin, very fine stick.

Q: So when you were working in the factory, where were the other people who were working from?

A: English, English. And young one, not my age. There was three or four girls my age, even younger than me, but we always sitting together.

Q: So you made friends with them, were they English?

A: Oh yeah.

Q: So did you speak in English at work?

A: If I understand what they are saying or talking about then I give it back to them what I know.

Q: Did you learn a lot of English at work?

A: Oh yeah, lot, lot.

Q: So would you say that the English you speak now, a lot of it is because you learnt it at work?

A: I learnt it off work, and I learnt off television and radio.

Q: And when you had children, when they were growing up, what language did you and Dido speak to them in?

A: Just Ukrainian, and your granddad was stopping them to talk in English. Like you, when you start school, you didn't know one word English.

Q: So, if Tato<sup>2</sup> and Vuyko Taras<sup>3</sup> spoke English in the house, what would happen, would they get into trouble?

A: Oh ho, oh yeah!

Q: Why did Dido not want them to speak English?

A: Because he know's them gonna learn it in school English and anywhere they go.

Q: So he wanted to keep it Ukrainian in the house?

A: Yeah. There's Ukrainian language, that is all. And been forcing them to go to church because always excuses, then we said go to the church, come back home, do what you like.

Q: And when they went to school, erm, did you send them to Ukrainian school as well, why?

A: To learn who they are, yeah. We like to go to show them where their father came from, it's not been allowed to go because the Russians are shooting them. All Ukrainian people what is here, even Polish, they been stopping to go back to their own home because doesn't like it, because Russian been occupy it.

Q: Did you speak any other language to them [children], did you speak any Yugoslavian?

A: Oh yeah, perfectly.

Q: So they spoke a lot of Ukrainian, a little bit of Yugoslavian?

A: Yeah, because when I came, there was a lot of things I liked to say, then clicked in my head 'it's not that way' but too late.

Q: So you grew up with Ukrainian?

A: Yeah, we had a church, we didn't have a school. And church was been locked and priest was been taken and they shoot him. After that, we been doing it in houses and strictly in, er, secret, so nobody found out.

Q: And what would have happened if you would have been caught?

A: Taken, oh, if they found out you been doing something wrong, they shoot people.

Q: So, when you came to England, how did you think that English people, how did they respond to you?

A: It was a lot different than now, it's changed.

---

<sup>2</sup> Tato = Ukrainian word for 'dad'

<sup>3</sup> Vuyko = Ukrainian word for 'uncle'

Q: So if you went into a shop when you just came over, and you spoke to someone, how would they react? Would they treat you...?

A: They were nice, they were jealous that I know more languages than them!

Q: So they weren't mean to you or anything?

A: No, no. They was nice to me.

Q: And did you want to learn English?

A: Oh yeah! Straight away I like to learn the English.

Q: So nowadays, now, when do you speak English? Do you use it all the time?

A: No, just when I need it, when I go to the hospital or to the doctor, then I've got to speak English, but I'm embarrassed of my English.

Q: Do you wish you spoke more English?

A: Yes, and straight, perfect English. Yeah.

Q: And when do you speak Ukrainian? When do you speak it now, to family, friends?

A: Yeah, all the time.

Q: So it's your main language that you speak the most?

A: Yeah, but if it's somebody English with a Ukrainian person, I've got to use English, or Italian, I don't know Italian!

Q: So do you ever speak Yugoslavian?

A: Oh yes.

Q: So who do you speak Yugoslavian to?

A: If I need, I speak to those who don't understand Ukrainian or English, but I never taught your father or uncle, they just picked it up. Your father liked to speak Yugoslavian, oh! I never been speaking to them that language, I don't know why, because you can never go anywhere with that language.

Q: Do you think Ukrainian is more...?

A: Oh yeah, anywhere you go in the world, but Yugoslavian, only if you go to Russia.

Q: So you think it's a bit of a waste to learn Yugoslavian?

A: That's why I didn't teach your father to learn that, because I know he not going use that language.

---

## INTERVIEW 2: POST-WWII 2<sup>ND</sup> GENERATION UKRAINIAN SPEAKER

Q: Where were you born?

A: I was born in Manchester.

Q: And what heritage were your parents?

A: They were Ukrainian, both of them.

Q: Did they come over after the war?

A: Yes they did, from Germany.



---

Q: And when you were younger, what language did you speak in the house?

A: We spoke Ukrainian only, that was my first language.

Q: So you didn't speak any English...

A: None at all.

Q: Were you educated in England?

A: Yes I was, I went to school in England, but when I went to primary school, the only English I really knew was what I'd heard outside, when I used to play outside with other children, erm, in our neighbourhood, but in the house, it was only Ukrainian so that was the only language that I was really fluent in, and the language that obviously, for me, was the only language. English was like, something I was hearing outside the house.

Q: So would you say the first English you learnt was from other people your age?

A: Yes it was, from other small children until I started school.

Q: And did your parents encourage you to speak English, or was it just Ukrainian that was encouraged in the home?

A: In the home, I think because Ukrainian was their natural language, they just spoke it naturally, but they didn't stop us from learning English because they themselves wanted to learn English. They were very proud to be here and they wanted to integrate into the English society, and obviously they wanted their children to do that, but they didn't speak English to us in the home because their English was so broken, so they didn't want to influence us by making us speak bad English, so they only spoke Ukrainian in the home.

Q: Would you say that the Ukrainian language is something that has helped you in your day to day life, do you see it as something that was useful to be taught, or do you think it's kind of irrelevant?

A: I don't think knowing any other language is irrelevant, I think it's brilliant to know as many languages as you possibly can, especially if that's your forte, but day to day I wouldn't have said that it's necessarily relevant, other than if I want to speak to the older generation or my mum, always in her own language. Day to day, because I do live in England, I don't really use it unless I speak to the older generation. And perhaps I'm a little lazy, I should speak it more often to my daughters, but of course I was born here, so my natural language now is English.

Q: And when your daughters were growing up, did you encourage them to speak Ukrainian in the house?

A: When they were little, I was very, very good actually, erm, I spoke nothing but Ukrainian to them, but then I would speak to my husband in English so they had the benefit of hearing Ukrainian and English. But my older daughter, she was fluent in Ukrainian before she was fluent in English, though she spoke both very well from an early age. I think it's a good thing really.

Q: Did you involve your children in any Ukrainian activities, to get them integrated into the community from an early age? Did you see that as an important thing?

A: I did see it as an important thing, yes, because it's part of their heritage, so it's nice to know where they've come from, where their grandparents have come from. We have the addition of one of their grandparents being Italian as well, so they have visited Italy too so that they could see that culture, but yes, the Ukrainian community holds a Saturday school, which I did send the children to, to the nursery, to the school, and then to Ukrainian dancing, and they've grown up with that as part of their daily life as well as everything else.

Q: And when you have grandchildren, would you like for them to be introduced to their Ukrainian heritage, and perhaps speak some of the language, learn about Ukrainian things like your children did?

A: I would love it! But obviously, I wouldn't force it because it would depend upon what my children wanted, but I think because they loved it themselves so much, I strongly suspect that if they live somewhere with a strong Ukrainian community, that they would want their children to be involved as well.

Q: So do you think that because we're in such a strong Ukrainian-speaking community in Manchester, do you think that has helped you as a 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Ukrainian to maintain that Ukrainian identity?

A: Yes I think it has, I think when there are a few of you it's very, very hard to keep going, but when there's lots of people, it encourages you to keep going and keep being active in the Ukrainian community.



---

### INTERVIEW 3: POST-WWII 3<sup>rd</sup> GENERATION UKRAINIAN SPEAKER

Q: Where were you born?

A: I was born in England, in 1989.

Q: What was the first language you spoke as a child?

A: My first language was Ukrainian, because I was brought up by my grandmother who was a 1<sup>st</sup> generation Ukrainian from after the war, so I didn't really start speaking English properly until I got to school and was around other English speaking people.

Q: Do you speak a lot of Ukrainian in the home?

A: Erm, I try and speak as much Ukrainian as possible in the home; there are some words that I've only ever known as Ukrainian, and things like sayings. In public, sometimes it is useful if you want to say something that no-one else can understand, but the home is the place where I use Ukrainian the most.

Q: Do you feel you have a responsibility to maintain the use of the Ukrainian language, and do you think it's important?

A: I think it's important to maintain the Ukrainian language because in England we are an ethnic minority. The English language and culture are dominant, so I think Ukrainian people, well anyone who is in an ethnic minority, needs to take every opportunity to use their own language, to celebrate their own culture because if you don't make that effort, it's pretty easy for the whole language and culture to become extinct, and I don't think any minority wants that.

Q: Do you feel it's easy to maintain your use of Ukrainian while living in Manchester?

A: I think obviously it's difficult to maintain it in the public domain because everyone speaks English, but when you're at home I think it's important that you try as much as you can to utilise it, and it's quite easy in the Ukrainian community because we have things such as the Ukrainian newspaper, Dumka, and websites such as the website for the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and the Ukrainian Youth Association, and things like that which keep your Ukrainian up to scratch, because you find it you don't spend a lot of time with Ukrainian people or reading Dumka or the websites or watching Ukrainian television on satellite, you find that you do sort of lose your grasp of the language, and because you only speak it in a home environment, it is quite easy to lose grasp of it. You have to try as much as you can to make it part of everyday life.

Q: Would you like your children to maintain the Ukrainian language and culture?

A: Yeah, I'd like them to do so because I think it's something that has been passed down to me from my parents and grandparents, and I think even if I do have children with someone from a different culture, I think it's important to keep it going, because if I don't do it, they're not going to get that culture from anywhere else. It is sort of a responsibility to maintain it.

Q: How do you think you'd go about doing that then?

A: Well, like my parents did with me, I guess. We have a Ukrainian Saturday school which I went to on a weekly basis, and got the equivalent of A-levels after 10 years of going every week, in things like Ukrainian history and Ukrainian geography, so not only was my knowledge of Ukraine itself enhanced, I also got to use the Ukrainian language on a regular basis. Also, we have things like the Ukrainian church, the Ukrainian Youth Association, we have a dance group, so it's not just the language that is maintained, it is different aspects of the culture.

Q: Do you feel the type of Ukrainian spoken is different between the generations?

A: Yeah. Because I was brought up by my grandmother who came over after WWII, the language she speaks of Ukrainian is very much an old version now – I imagine if you went over to Ukraine now and you spoke that, you'd really struggle because the language is almost quite ancient now, the way words have changed. But I do find that that gave me a grasp of the basics, like the grammar of Ukrainian and things like the word structure, and my vocabulary and things that are relevant to Ukrainian today I can get from things like the internet, Ukrainian television, people who've come over from Ukraine recently, so I do think that by missing between different generations and people who've come over from Ukraine at different times, I think that you can live in Britain and have a successful grasp of the Ukrainian language.

### INTERVIEW 4: POST-INDEPENDENCE 1<sup>ST</sup> GENERATION UKRAINIAN SPEAKER

---

Q: Where were you born?

A: I was born in Ukraine.

Q: And how long have you been in England now?

A: Er, two and a half years now.

Q: Why did you come over to England?

A: Studying – I came over on my own, and now I live with my mum.

Q: Did you go straight to school when you came over here?

A: Yes, I went straight to school.

Q: And did you have any special language help, like an assistant?

A: Yep, an hour a week, yes.

Q: Did you know a lot of English before you came to England?

A: Not at all, all I knew was 'Hello, my name is...' and what else was important to me.

Q: Where did you learn that, did you learn English in Ukrainian school?

A: Yeah, but it was really bad, it's really different to what I speak over here.

Q: And did you speak any English in Ukraine?

A: Never.

Q: Did you ever watch any English films or read any English books?

A: No, I just played English games.

Q: Now you're in England, where do you use the English language, for example who do you use it with, in which situations?

A: Everywhere, except when I'm at home. At home I speak Ukrainian.

Q: Okay, and when you first came over to England, did your parents encourage you to speak English or did you speaking in Ukrainian?

A: I don't know, I've just always spoken Ukrainian at home, that hasn't changed now.

Q: When you hear, or speak to, a 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Ukrainian, do you think the language they speak is a different kind of Ukrainian to the Ukrainian that you speak?

A: Yeah, because you are using old words. I know what they mean but I hadn't really heard them before, so it's like an older version.

Q: So would you say your language is a more modern version?

A: Yeah, more modern, more developed.

Q: Do you think that's because of time, or because of other languages like Russian?

A: It's because of Russian and because of English, because now on Ukrainian television if they're speaking about politics or something, they'll speak in English sometimes.

Q: Did you find it difficult learning the English language?

A: A bit – I am struggling with it.

---

Q: Are there any techniques you use to help improve your English?

A: Yeah! I am watching films in English, reading magazines... also I read with a dictionary so I can translate any words that I don't know, so basically trying to improve my language as I go along, like my vocabulary.

Q: Do you like England?

A: Yeah, I love it here. The language is really cool, but it's really hard.

Q: And if you had children over here, would you teach them Ukrainian?

A: Of course, yeah. It's a tradition.