SELECTED PROBLEMS OF BILINGUALISM AMONG IMMIGRANT SLOVAKS

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PREFACE

In the field of bilingualism, it has been my good fortune to have studied with Professor Uriel Weinreich and Professor Einar Haugen; the latter, in addition, made it possible for me to be his research assistant while he was preparing the manuscript of Bilingualism in the Americas. My indebtedness to their pioneer work will be obvious throughout this dissertation.

Just as important, however, for the orientation of this thesis has been the work which I did with the directors of the center of applied linguistics in the United States, the English Language Institute of the University of Michigan: Professor Charles C. Fries, its founder, and Professor Robert Lado, its present director. To Professor Lado I owe, in particular, my appointment to the Institute staff through which I had an opportunity to observe at close range how phenomena of bilingual interference are analyzed in preparation of teaching materials geared specifically to the features of the learner's language in relation to the language to be learned.

I gratefully acknowledge the help and suggestions received from the members of my doctoral committee. Beyond what has been noted above, my expression of indebtedness to Professor Lado should emphasize his helpful pointers which led to the shaping of statements of phonemic orientation in Appendix A. Professor Kiddle's comments, thankfully acknowledged here, prompted me to devote special attention to the formulation and definition of my basic concepts. I consider myself

fortunate to have had the benefit of Professor Pike's detailed review especially of Chapters 3, 4, and 5 for a complete reorganization and improved presentation of this part of the thesis. Professor Herbert Penzl, a member of the original committee, gave me his thoughts on the first two chapters; his comments were of considerable assistance to me in preparing the final draft. To Professor Paper I am grateful for his willingness to become, at the last minute, a member of the committee. My special thanks, however, go to Professor Ferrell, the committee chairman; his patience, his approachability, his scholarly experience, and his understanding of the candidate's multitudinous problems of thesis writing provided me with the incentive to carry out this project.

Professor Eric P. Hamp of the University of Chicago was kind enough to advise me on questions of transcription.

In my search for research material I have been assisted especially by Dr. Donald W. Krummell of the Library of Congress, by Mr. Charles E. Gribble of Harvard University, and by Mr. Raymond C. Lindquist, director of the Cleveland Public Library.

I was fortunate enough to secure financial aid from the University of Wisconsin through a bilingual research assistantship to Professor Haugen, and from the University of Michigan through a teaching staff appointment in the English Language Institute. I am further indebted to Michigan's Office of the Dean of Women for appointing me to various positions in the Women's Residence Halls; to the American Council of Learned Societies, for a summer grant; and to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, for a pre-doctoral fellowship.

My informants, and those instrumental in setting up interview contacts for me, have a right to a special note of appreciation. It is not possible to recount in detail their helpfulness and patience in answering my various questions which at times must have seemed interminable. I can do no more than list their names. To preclude any association with informant code numbers given elsewhere in this thesis which merely reflect the order of interviews conducted, I shall list in alphabetical order all those entitled, in this connection, to my sincere thanks: Mary Blazek, Frances Bochnak, Michael Bochnak, Anna Boksansky, Anna K. Bublinec, Ignac Bublinec, John Cupina, George Gribik, Katherine Hudacek, Mary Klec, Stephen Klec, D. Joseph Krska, Anna Kuklis, Emerick Mazar (deceased), Rozar Oleksuk, Antonia Piroch, Jan P. Piroch, Amelia Sasinek, John Sasinek, Mary Talla, Anna Valky, Fridolin Vavra, and John J. Yarkovsky.

In a very real sense I owe the completion of this thesis to my parents who gave unstintingly of their time in caring for my family, and who thus enabled me to devote myself to research and writing.

To my husband, without whose suggestions, criticisms, technical help, and constant encouragement this thesis could not have been written, I dedicate my dissertation.

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INTRODUCTION

Ever since my studies in linguistics led me to develop an interest in bilingualism, I have been struck by the fact that only a relatively small number of languages of American immigrants have, so far, been adequately covered by previous linguistic scholarship. On Immigrant Slovak, in particular, I could find only one, quite inadequate, article (referred to in Chapter 1 of this thesis).

Twenty years of experience with the linguistic behavior of Slovaks in America developed my interest in observing this behavior at close range, and my dissertation is offered as a starting point for its systematic study.

In addition to a large collection of notes taken as a result of observing members of my immediate family and family friends, I compiled a substantial amount of data in studying a number of first and second generation speakers of Slovak in the area of Binghamton, New York, a city with a large population of Slovak immigrants.

With the help of a minister and of the local historian of immigrants from Slovakia, I selected 16 informants, 9 of them born in Slovakia and 7 in the United States. My interviews with the informants were conducted in Immigrant Slovak and lasted, on the average, 4 hours per informant.

The informants were asked a number of questions sufficient to make it possible to evaluate their speech. They were subsequently

encouraged to talk spontaneously, so as to offer as much natural speech as possible and to widen the basis of my linguistic investigation. The topics on which they expressed themselves were drawn, primarily, from conditions in the Old Country, their arrival in this country, their families, the work they do, their home life, and the Binghamton Slovak community. The fact that I was mostly interested in their speech was never brought up while the informants were being interviewed, and questions to elicit repetitions were put in such a way as to make them think that I was interested only in what they were telling me.

Each informant provided me with a tape of connected text, the average length of each tape being two hours. The 16 interview subjects from Binghamton represent my primary informants. To check my findings concerning their speech, an additional collection of recordings was compiled as a result of conducting similar Immigrant Slovak interviews with 5 persons of Slovak descent from another geographical area, that of Chicago, Illinois. This group of supplementary informants also yielded connected text in Immigrant English. Furthermore, throughout the writing of this thesis, I myself served as an Immigrant Slovak informant by asking myself what my own verbal response would be. I remained in close contact with all of my informants to check on doubtful points. The discussion of this dissertation is based upon notes and tapes from these interviews.

In the first two chapters of the thesis, I try to point out some of the problems and complexities which investigators face in this

field. The remaining chapters attempt to illustrate this by concrete examples, and to evaluate the data by implementing suggestions previously advanced in comparable areas of study by three of the leading contemporary authors in bilingual and applied linguistics.

Emphasis must be placed, at the outset, on the selective nature of this thesis. Only a few problems, deemed representative of the main facets of bilingualism as a whole, were singled out for succinct discussion and illustration. It is not claimed that either the field as such, or the individual aspects of research in it, have been covered exhaustively in this dissertation.

It was noted that the immigrants whom I interviewed speak both Immigrant Slovak and English (or Immigrant English). Any linguistic description of immigrant Slovaks should thus take due cognizance of their accomplishments in both of these, i.e. in the respective varieties of Slovak and English. I know of no previous description of immigrant speech which either proclaims or attains this dual objective. My thesis, then, is a study, not merely of Immigrant Slovak, but of immigrant Slovaks. Immigrant Slovak will be seen as the product of the amalgamation of two types of speech habits deriving, respectively, from European Slovak and American English. Similarly, Immigrant English will show up as the product of a melting pot of English and Slovak ingredients. Immigrant Slovaks will thus be presented as mastering, to different degrees, coexistent systems of Immigrant Slovak and Immigrant English.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

1.1 General work on bilingualism. A review, in this dissertation, of the complete corpus of studies on bilingualism would not only be a task of proportions transcending the limitations of a doctoral thesis; it would also amount to duplication of recent work by two of the leading linguists in this field. Weinreich[1] and Haugen,[2] in addition to enumerating authors and titles of previous publications, contribute to the formulation of a theory on bilingual research and suggest fruitful avenues of investigation remaining. Weinreich's bibliography lists 675 titles; Haugen's, 691. Bibliographical overlap in their respective lists amounts to but 163 publications. The two books thus supply the researcher with 1103 titles relating, in the main, to linguistic aspects of bilingualism, but also, to a large degree, to psychological and socio-cultural implications. Both works, as implied by their respective titles, are essentially research guides. This dissertation will, on countless occasions, refer to them as basic points of orientation. Another up-to-date starting point is Robert Lado's correlation of cross-cultural and multi-lingual phenomena.[3] Lado leads the way to integrating bilingual theory into

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[1]Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1, 1953).

[2]Einar Haugen, Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (Publications of the American Dialect Society, No. 26, 1956).

[3]Robert Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures (Ann Arbor 1957).

the growing field of applied linguistics. His objectives are primarily pedagogic and, to that extent, outside my purview. Yet, the many suggestions of analytic and operational orientation, beside the sizable bibliography, which we find in Lado's work are likewise of considerable import to this thesis and will be reflected in it.

1.2 Non-immigrant and immigrant languages. For the purposes of this study — an application of bilingual theories to the analysis of a language spoken by immigrants on this continent — it may be useful to divide the corpus of existing descriptions so as to consider accounts of immigrant languages apart from all other speech types in which bilingual influences have been noted. The latter group may be called non-immigrant; it includes, among others, indigenous (Haugen's "native"[4]), colonial, and creolized languages. This does not mean that there are no parallels between immigrant and non-immigrant languages, nor that no reference will hereafter be made to the latter. The division is intended merely to limit the subject, and to serve as a criterion for excluding such publications as that on Russian features in Alaskan Eskimo[5] from my discussion of the American Slavic languages below.

The recent interest among linguists in American immigrant languages tends toward two divergent objectives. One of these objec-

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[4]Haugen, op. cit. 15

[5]Louis L. Hammerich, "The Russian Stratum in Alaskan Eskimo," Word 10.401-428 (1954).

tives may be termed documentary and comprehensive. It is reflected in the ACLS sponsored conference on non-English speech.[6] This group proposes a complete linguistic documentation of America covering not only American English, as does the Linguistic Atlas,[7] but also American Indian and immigrant languages.

Writers devoting themselves to questions of bilingualism, in contrast, have in a sense a more specialized aim. This group of scholars is aware that the results of language contact stem from more than linguistic interference, and that the very important psychologic and socio-cultural factors must be given their due. The following two excerpts are fairly representative of the philosophy of this group:

> The theory of interference as well as the methodology of studying it can profit substantially from investigations of multiple language contact, that is, of cases in which the same language has been in contact with two or more others. With the structure of that one language constant, the mutual influences of it on the others, and vice versa, can be described in fully comparable terms, and the likelihood of chance convergence or of similarity due to other uncontrollable causes is considerably reduced.[8]

> A comparison of what happens to the many different immigrant languages in this situation [in which a large number of languages are in an almost identical relationship to the same national language] should bring out the extent to which the purely linguistic differences between them are significant in guiding the development.[9]

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[6]American Council of Learned Societies, Conference on Non-English Speech in the United States (Bulletin No. 34, 1942).

[7]Id., Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada (1939).

[8]Weinreich, op. cit. 113.

[9]Haugen, op. cit. 28.

In agreement with the two authors quoted, I should stress that for a study of all the linguistic aspects of the problem we depend on a language-constant (in America, English). In addition, there is no denying Weinreich's and Haugen's claim that many other non-linguistic factors concur in shaping the immigrant's linguistic individuality. Yet, to these two investigators, the advantage of studying immigrant speech appears to lie only in focusing on the non-immigrant language-constant, while extra-linguistic influences are thought of merely as variables. Against this subordinating view of the extra-linguistic factors, I should suggest that the social status of any and all groups of immigrants in America, and the effect of this status upon the individual member of these groups, are so similar as to rank the socio-cultural and psychologic factors as at least near-constants in their own right. As a result, the study of the linguistic aspect of bilingualism in general would gain even more from a discussion of immigrant speech than had hitherto been believed. The cause of linguistic analysis is unquestionably furthered in proportion to the number of analytic variables eliminated and that of constants, or near-constants, increased.

In the following chapter I shall attempt to show why the assignment of something like constant-value to these two factors (beyond operating with the language-constant) is of special importance to the study of the thesis subject: there remain so many strictly linguistic variables that any successful elevation of variables to constant-status is clear gain.

1.3 American immigrant languages previously studied. A survey of various American immigrant languages in the English speaking area is found in Haugen.[10] The bilingual aspects of these languages have been treated in studies which "vary from brief notes to elaborate analyses and are not always comparable in method or content."[11] Haugen's listing is essentially in alphabetical order of languages. Rearranging his data with a view to comparing each language in the order of number of authors dealing with it, we obtain, within limits as noted below, a representation of relative scholarly coverage as outlined in Table 1 (Page 9 of this thesis).

Table 1, of course, does not tell the whole story. It does not discriminate between "brief notes" and "elaborate analyses."[12] It does not indicate whether languages that attracted a high degree of scholarly interest were adequately covered. Thus, a large number of authors next to a language is not, by itself, significant. A complete evaluation of each author's writings is not, however, my purpose, and I shall restrict myself to pointing out parallels in methodology or results in the appropriate portions of the thesis. My main interest centers on the lower half of Table 1, the speech types of relatively scant coverage. In addition, of course, particular attention must be reserved for the many immigrant languages that do not appear on this chart. The reason for

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[10] Ibid. 28-29.

[11] Ibid. 29-30.

[12] Ibid.

this is obvious: the immigrant languages sketchily treated, and even more so those as yet ignored (including immigrant Slovak[13]) are fertile but untilled soil inviting the ploughshare of the linguistic pioneer.

TABLE 1

SCHOLARLY COVERAGE OF AMERICAN IMMIGRANT LANGUAGES

Languages	Number of Authors
Spanish	19
French	18
Pennsylvania German	15
Other German	15
Italian	15
Swedish	7
Yiddish	7
Norwegian	6
Dutch	4
Finnish	3
Portuguese	3
Greek	2
Lithuanian	2
Gaelic	1
Gypsy	1
Hawaiian	1
Hungarian	1
Icelandic	1
Slavic	1
Czech	1
Russian	1
Polish	1
Ukrainian	1

[13] Except for the entry in Mencken (cf. fn. 29 below) and my article (cf. fn. 30 below).

1.4 Immigrant Slavic. Half of the one-author languages of Table 1 are immigrant Slavic. They include Czech, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, as well as Slavic treated as a group.

In addition to Haugen's afore-mentioned listing of immigrant language research, we have various short accounts written or adapted by Mencken.[14]

There is some overlap of work cited by Haugen and Mencken. Yet, descriptions encountered in Mencken's material alone do not significantly alter the impression about previous treatment of immigrant Slavic speech types as conveyed by Table 1, except to the extent of increasing the number of authors for Polish and Ukrainian to two, and adding Serbo-Croat and Slovak to the roster of one-author descriptions.

All in all, it is evident that immigrant Slavic has not so far been the object of extensive study. Trager's report[15] may be taken as the first suggestion of treating immigrant Slavic by itself and as a group. More recently, in 1949[16] and 1952,[17] Rudnyckyj began

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[14] H. L. Mencken, The American Language, Appendix: "Non-English Dialects in America" 616-697 (New York 1936).

[15] George L. Trager, "The Slavic-Speaking Groups of the United States and Canada," American Council of Learned Societies Bulletin 34.58-63 (1942).

[16] J. B. Rudnyckyj, "Slavic Linguistic Atlas of Canada (First Report)," AATSEEL Bulletin 7.13-14 (1949).

[17] Id., "Slavic Linguistic Atlas of Canada and U. S. A. (Second Report)," Orbis 1.109-112 (1952).

work in the field of Slavic linguistic geography. His research in the United States, until now, has not extended beyond three settlements in New York, two in New Jersey, and three in Pennsylvania. Rudnyckyj gives no indication of his procedure, though he makes some tentative conclusions to which the reader of this thesis will find further reference below.

Individual Slavic languages represented in the immigrant language literature may be briefly reviewed here as follows. Doroszewski's research culminated in a book on immigrant Polish.[18] Lane's brief notes[19] are a Buffalo highschool teacher's impressions of second generation Americans of Polish descent. Wells' four-page article[20] purports to tell all about not only immigrant Russian, but also Ukrainian and Ruthenian in the United States. In contrast to Wells' ambitious sketch, Berger's dissertation[21] merely covers a small segment of the area of bilingualism, but in a thorough and detailed manner. Jones' vowel study[22] does not claim to be a contribution to

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[18]Witold Doroszewski, Język polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych A.P. (Warsaw 1938).

[19]Ralph Lane, "Poland Is Not Yet Lost," American Speech 15.208-210 (1940).

[20]H. B. Wells, "The Russian Language in the United States," American Mercury 25.448-451 (1932).

[21]Marshall D. Berger, "The American English Pronunciation of Russian Immigrants" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951).

[22]Lawrence G. Jones, "The Vowels of English and Russian: An Acoustic Comparison," Word 9.354-361 (1953).

the theory of immigrant language structure, but its statements on pronunciation and their implications on problems of communication contain many features relevant to bilingual description. Rudnyckyj's preoccupation with individual Slavic languages has yielded information on Ukrainian in Canada.[23] Mencken's appendix, including a section on Slavic languages -- Czech, Slovak, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Serbo-Croat[24] -- contains various more or less uncoordinated remarks about the immigrant varieties of these various speech types.

1.5 Immigrant Czech and Slovak. Looking at the results of work on Czech and Slovak immigrant speech, we notice that eight publications are devoted to Czech, all of them written or prompted by J. B. Dudek, a Catholic clergyman born in this country of Czech parents. His articles in the American Mercury[25] and American Speech,[26] combined totaling six, are of unequal value. As an American Mercury contributor on American Czech he makes observations of some interest to this thesis. What he tells, in contrast, the readers of American

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[23]J. B. Rudnyckyj, "Remarks on Literary Ukrainian and Dialects in Canada," Orbis 3.58-61 (1954).

[24]Mencken, op. cit. 655-675.

[25]J. B. Dudek, "Czech Surnames in America," American Mercury 6.333-336 (1925); id., "The Czech Language in America," American Mercury 5.202-207 (1925).

[26]Id., "The Americanization of Czech Given Names," American Speech 1.18-22 (1925); id., "The Americanization of Czech Surnames," American Speech 1.161-166 (1925); id., "The Bohemian Language in America," I American Speech 2.299-311 (1927); II American Speech 2.466-472 (1927).

Speech about the Bohemian language in America amounts to little more than letting off steam on distinctions between the terms Czech, Czechoslovak, and Czecho-Slovak. The references to American Czech in Roucek's encyclopaedia[27] (where Czech in America is the only immigrant language discussed) as well as in Mencken[28] give Dudek as their source. Descriptions of immigrant Slovak, so far, are limited to Mencken-Istochin's statements,[29] and my own short article of specifically pedagogic orientation.[30] Dudek and Mencken-Istochin concern themselves almost exclusively with loan words, which the latter categorizes semantically, whereas the former prefers a quasi-morphological classification.

1.6 General language data on American Czechs and Slovaks. Information on the general subject of Czechoslovaks in the United States is more abundant than strictly linguistic data. All the larger works on American minorities give some space to residents of Czechoslovak extraction. Two noteworthy contributions of recent date are

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[27]Joseph S. Roucek, Slavonic Encyclopaedia (New York 1949).

[28]Mencken, op. cit. 655-659.

[29]Ibid. 659-661. Mencken attributes most of his immigrant Slovak entries to suggestions by Mr. James O. Istochin.

[30]Goldie Piroch [Meyerstein], "The Importance of Bilingual Description to Foreign Language Learning," Language Learning 6.51-61 (1955).

Schermerhorn's[31] and Brown-Roucek's.[32] The Slavonic Encyclopaedia[33] also contains a section on Czechs and Slovaks in the United States. The only three books of any size which seem to cover Czechs and Slovaks in America exclusively are Miller's, with a fairly good passage on "assimilation,"[34] Kisch's, concerned specifically with American Jews of Czechoslovak origin,[35] and the World's Fair Memorial.[36] Capek's booklet devotes sixteen pages to "The Slovaks in America;"[37] his more extensive work on the Czechs in America[38] explicitly excludes Slovaks, which does not prevent his only reference to language from consisting of a Slovak example. Other works are more limited in scope. I am thinking here, in particular, of those by Capek and

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[31]R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People: Minorities in American Culture, "Czech and Slovak Americans: A Dual Culture" 292-319 (Boston 1949).

[32]Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, One America, "Czechoslovak Americans" 157-168 (New York 1952).

[33]Roucek, op. cit. 210-216.

[34]Kenneth D. Miller, The Czecho-Slovaks in America (New York 1922). See especially 104-118.

[35]Guido Kisch, In Search of Freedom: A History of American Jews from Czechoslovakia (London 1949).

[36]World's Fair Memorial of the Czechoslovak Group, International Exposition (Chicago 1933).

[37]Thomas Capek, The Czechoslovaks, "The Slovaks in America" 77-93 (New York 1921).

[38]Id., The Czechs in America (Boston 1920).

Capek,[39] Ledbetter,[40] Kutak,[41] Lynch,[42] Buck,[43] and Mažár's description of Binghamton Slovaks (especially valuable to this study because my first group of informants is from the Binghamton area).[44]

A good source of relatively recent statistics is the 1950 census of the United States[45] which, however, does not contain information on language. In the data of the 1940 census,[46] in contrast, we do find statistics on the "mother tongue," a term defined as "the principal language spoken in the home of the person in his earliest childhood."[47] In general, recent census reports are somewhat more reliable than earlier ones in which a Slovak was frequently listed as a Hungarian or even an Austrian. The "mother tongue" figures based on the 1940 census are as follows:

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[39]Thomas Capek and Thomas Capek, Jr., The Czechs and Slovaks in American Banking (New York 1920).

[40]Eleanor E. Ledbetter, The Czechs of Cleveland (Cleveland 1919).

[41]Robert I. Kutak, The Story of a Bohemian-American Village (Louisville 1933).

[42]Russell W. Lynch, Czech Farmers in Oklahoma (Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Bulletin, Vol. 39, No. 13, 1942).

[43]Carl D. Buck, "A Sketch of the Linguistic Conditions of Chicago," University of Chicago Decennial Publications, First Series 6.97-114(1904).

[44]Imrich Mažár, Dejiny Binghamtonských Slovákov za dobu štyridsať rokov 1879-1919 (Binghamton 1919).

[45]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950 United States Census of Population, Nativity and Parentage.

[46]Id., 16th Census of the United States, "Population, Nativity and Parentage of the White Population;" "Mother Tongue" (1940).

[47]Ibid. 3

TABLE 2

THREE GENERATIONS OF CZECH AND SLOVAK SPEAKERS
(1940 CENSUS)[48]

Mother Tongue	Foreign Born (1st Gener.)	Native of Foreign Born or Mixed Parents (2nd Generation)	Native of Natv. Parents (3rd Gen.)	Total
Czech	159,640	279,040	81,760	520,440
Slovak	171,580	283,520	29,260	484,360
Czech and Slovak	331,220	562,560	111,020	1,004,800

These statistics are, of course, somewhat out of date, but they are the most recent figures providing linguistic information. We can assume that all the Czech and Slovak foreign born speak Czech or Slovak natively. Of the natives of foreign born or mixed parents, the census of 1940 indicates that Czech or Slovak is native to 73.8 per cent. In addition, some third-generation Americans give Czech or Slovak as their native language.

Taking the census data of 1950 and counting all the foreign born of Czechoslovak ancestry in this country, but only 50 per cent of the second generation, we may assume the following approximate "mother tongue" statistics for 1950:

[48] 1940 Census, "Mother Tongue" 7.

TABLE 3

TWO GENERATIONS OF CZECH AND SLOVAK SPEAKERS
(1st ESTIMATE BASED ON 1950 CENSUS)[49]

Country of Origin	Total Number Of 1st Generation	50 % Of 2nd Gen.	Total Estimate of Native Czech or Slovak Speakers
Czechoslovakia	278,268	352,945	631,213

The rate of 50 per cent for the second generation is selected to match the approximate language retention rate which I averaged on the basis of retention data for eight immigrant languages provided by Haugen.[50]

Obviously, this is a conservative estimate. A more liberal view might compensate for the omission of third-generation details in Table 3, by raising the second-generation percentage to 75 per cent (which would also be in line with the Czech and Slovak native-speech proportion of 73.8 per cent for 1940).

This would give us:

[49] 1950 Census 3A-75.

[50] Einar Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America 284 (Philadelphia 1953).

TABLE 4

TWO GENERATIONS OF CZECH AND SLOVAK SPEAKERS
(2nd ESTIMATE BASED ON 1950 CENSUS)

Country of Origin	Total Number Of 1st Generation	75 % Of 2nd Gen.	Total Estimate of Native Czech or Slovak Speakers
Czechoslovakia	278,268	529,418	807,704

If we correlate the data for United States residents of Czechoslovak ancestry as they appear on Tables 3 and 4, as well as the data which Table 2 gave us for Czech and Slovak separately, it is possible to estimate, in addition, that there are in the United States at least 350,000 residents who speak Slovak as their native language.

From the statistics of 1940, pertaining to individuals who professed to speak Czech and Slovak natively, we may establish a listing according to states. This listing results in the following picture:

TABLE 5

CZECH AND SLOVAK SPEAKERS BY STATES
(1940 CENSUS)[51]

State	Czech	Slovak	State	Czech	Slovak
Alabama	620	100	Nebraska	46,160	100
Arizona	260	240	Nevada	40	60
Arkansas	380	260	New Hampshire	20	60
California	8,460	4,080	New Jersey	15,320	29,300
Colorado	1,820	1,320	New Mexico	240	460
Connecticut	7,640	12,020	New York	35,600	41,980
Delaware	240	40	North Carolina	60	60
Florida	680	420	North Dakota	8,200	80
Georgia	40	40	Ohio	44,580	85,980
Idaho	1,040	100	Oklahoma	4,880	160
Illinois	108,060	33,540	Oregon	2,240	620
Indiana	2,400	14,940	Pennsylvania	21,520	214,520
Iowa	24,640	760	Rhode Island	100	0
Kansas	9,040	220	South Carolina	20	20
Kentucky	120	60	South Dakota	8,860	120
Louisiana	540	100	Tennessee	200	60
Maine	120	660	Texas	62,680	940
Maryland	5,860	720	Utah	200	40
Massachusetts	1,720	1,780	Vermont	160	60
Michigan	18,040	15,520	Virginia	1,300	1,040
Minnesota	28,700	3,460	Washington	2,360	1,500
Mississippi	80	60	West Virginia	740	4,260
Missouri	6,420	2,380	Wisconsin	34,460	9,080
Montana	2,540	580	Wyoming	600	120

[51] 1940 Census, "Mother Tongue" 14-22.

Figure 1 - Relative Concentration of Czech Speakers
(Adapted from Table 5)

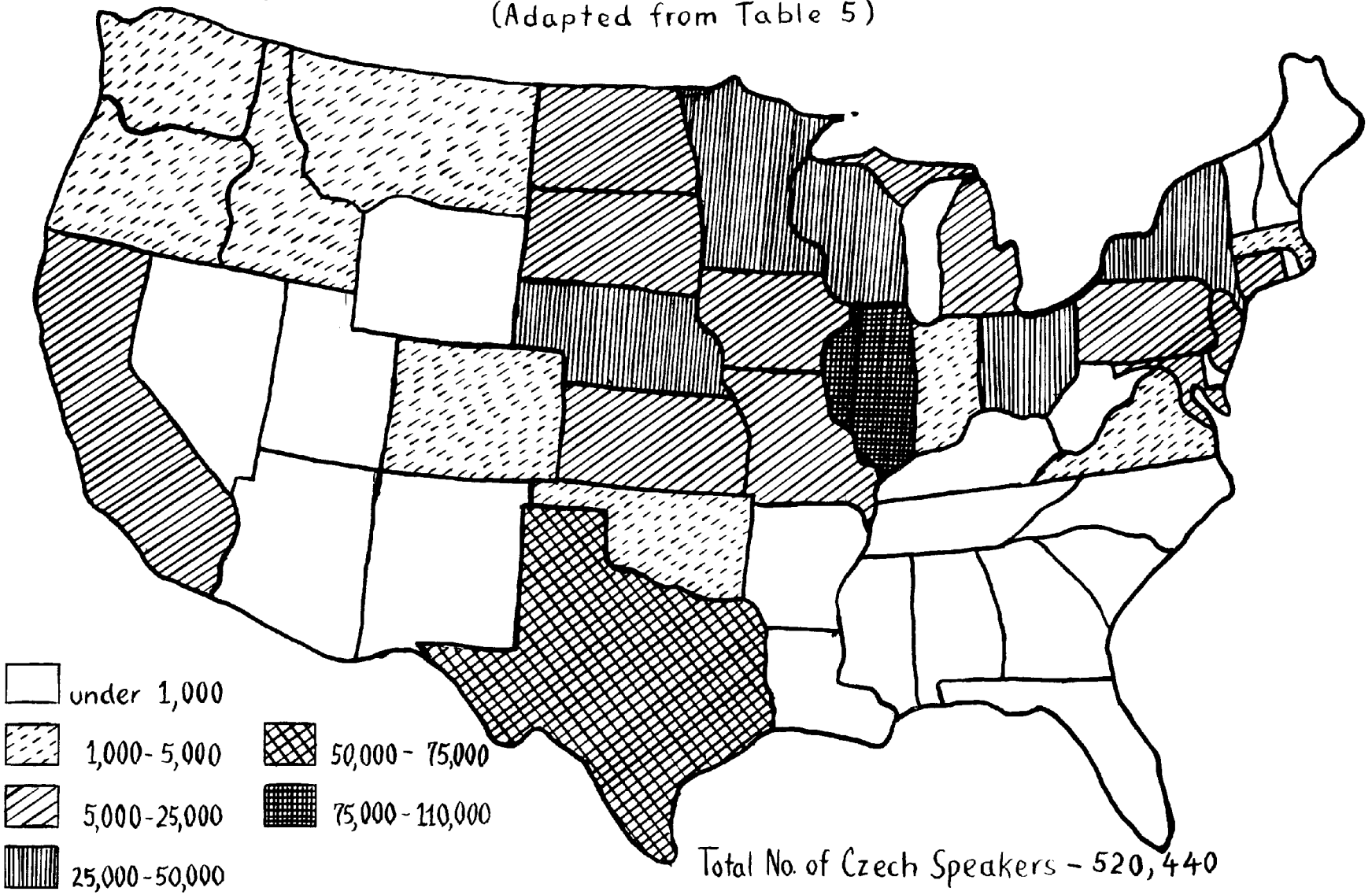
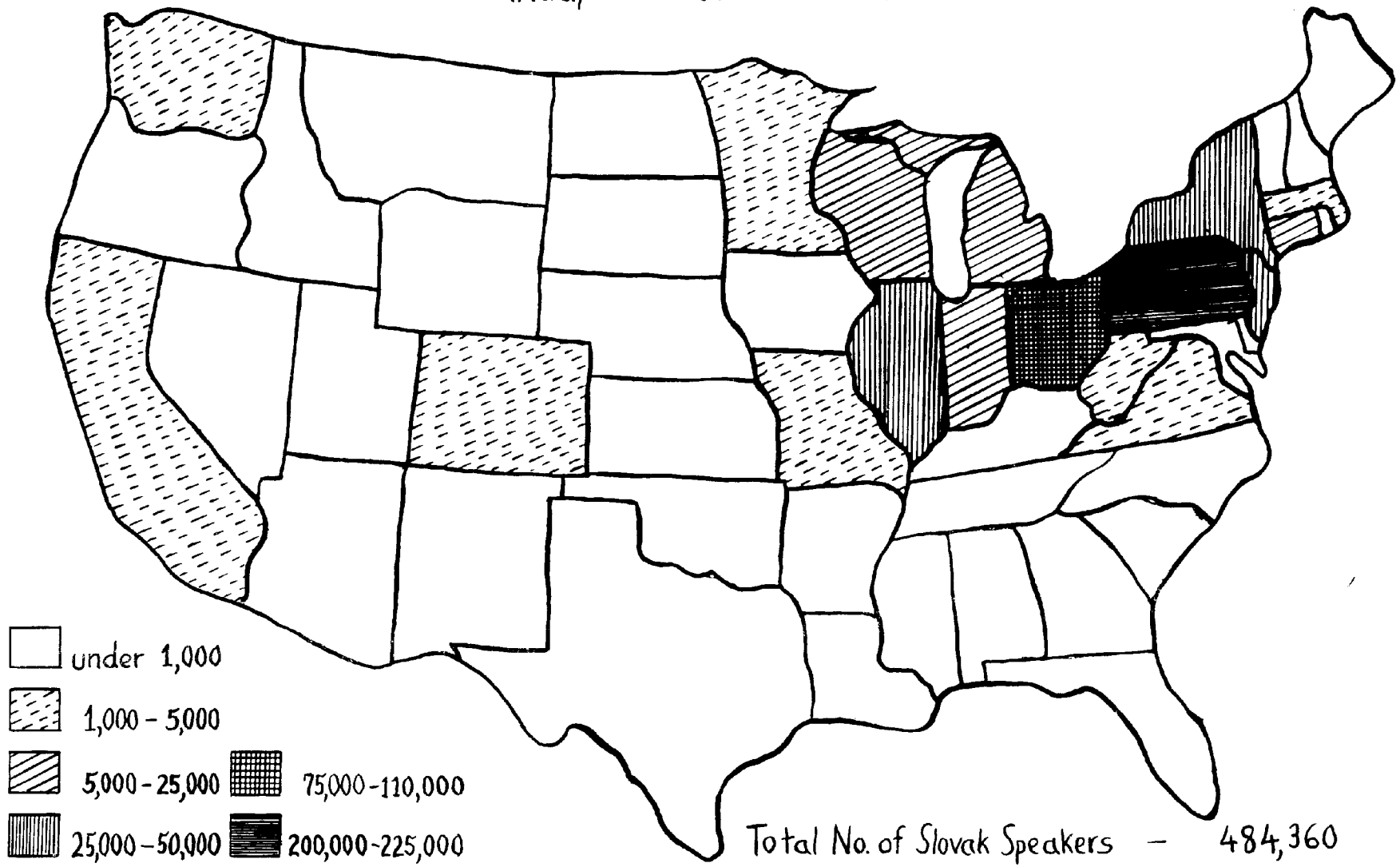


Figure 2 – Relative Concentration of Slovak Speakers
(Adapted from Table 5)



To Ayer's directory[52] we owe a list of foreign language periodicals in America. Ayer's list is incomplete so far as Czech and Slovak are concerned; I know of at least two titles omitted. It does provide us, however, with some interesting figures. According to Ayer, there are in the United States and Canada two Czech dailies and twenty-six Czech journals of less frequent publication. Of the latter, four are in Czech and English. We further find two Slovak dailies and twenty Slovak non-dailies. Six of the latter are printed in Slovak and English. The Czech periodicals come mostly from the Chicago area and Texas, whereas Pennsylvania and New York City are headquarters for the Slovak listings. Based on Ayer, we can set up the following table for all the Slavic languages (Slavic-and-English periodicals under the particular Slavic language) in the United States and Canada:

TABLE 6

AMERICAN SLAVIC PERIODICALS

Language	Dailies	Other	Total
Polish	8	39	47
Russian	5	8	13
Yugoslavic	4	22	26
Ukrainian	3	19	22
Czech	2	26	28
Slovak	2	20	22
Carpatho-Russian		8	8
Bulgarian		5	5
Byelorussian		2	2
Totals	24	149	173

[52]William F. McCallister, ed., N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals (Philadelphia 1956).

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE CONTACT OF THE IMMIGRANT

2.1 Complexities of the individual's bilingualism. We are confronted by a bilingual, as defined by Haugen,[1] whenever we describe the speech of any single individual (unless our subject is illiterate). Our informant can, and does, make complete utterances in both the spoken and the written language. Though not as simple as for the monolingual illiterate, the problem is still relatively uncomplicated.

If we broaden the definition of bilingualism to include not merely the productive type, but also the perceptive, i.e. if we class as bilinguals also people who can understand, without being able to produce, complete utterances in another language or dialect, this adds considerable complexity.[2] A literate informant from New England, for example, who understands a native of Sydney, Australia, but answers him in American English, is a productive bilingual in speech and writing, and a perceptive bilingual in American and Australian spoken English or, for that matter, a perceptive multilingual of all the other English dialects which are understandable to him.

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[1]Einar Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America 6-7 (Philadelphia 1953): "Bilingualism . . . is understood here to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language." (Italics Haugen's).

[2]Cf. Mary Haas' definition of bilinguals in terms of three dichotomies (receiving-sending, oral-visual, close-distant) in Results of the Conference of Anthropologists and Linguists 42 (Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir 8 of the International Journal of American Linguistics, Supplement to Vol. 19, 1953).

Similarly, an illiterate Slovak who cannot produce complete utterances in any other language except his local dialect, is a perceptive multilingual, in the sense that he could understand complete utterances not only in the other Slovak dialects, but also in Czech, without much difficulty in Polish, and with some effort in Russian.

Drawing upon the concept of idiolect, we may indeed say that any member of a speech community is multilingual by definition, and to the extent that one's language has been influenced at all, it differs from that of our fellow speech-community members. Every "monolingual," then, can be thought of as a potential perceptive bilingual. This applies to his own speech type as well as to dialects or languages closely related to his own. The extent of this multilingual potential has been the subject of several studies.[3]

To this thesis, perceptive bilingualism is important, not as a potential factor, but to the degree that it is actualized. The importance of this actualization is obvious. Without it, we could not, for instance, conceive of controlling written foreign languages sufficiently to carry out practical scholarly endeavor on any level. For the purposes of this study, it will suffice to add the assumption

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[3]C. F. Voegelin and Zellig S. Harris, "Methods for Determining Intelligibility Among Dialects of Natural Languages," American Philosophical Society Proceedings 95.322-329 (1951); Harold Hickerson, Glen D. Turner, and Nancy P. Hickerson, "Testing Procedures for Estimating Transfer of Information Among Iroquois Dialects and Languages," International Journal of American Linguistics 18.1-8 (1952); Joe E. Pierce, "Dialect Distance Testing in Algonquin," International Journal of American Linguistics 18.203-210 (1952); David L. Olmstead, "Achumawi-Atsugewi Non-Reciprocal Intelligibility," International Journal of American Linguistics 20.181-184 (1954).

that every person's idiolect can be, and in fact is, influenced by the various forms in which his productive and perceptive multilingualism actually manifests itself,[4] and it would be useful to assess the extent of this manifestation. In the absence of a number of standardized tests easily scored and evaluated, we must, at least for the present, be satisfied with listing about the informants certain facts which will give us an idea of the amount of various language contacts which he has had. This the thesis will attempt to do for its immigrant Slovak informants.

2.2 Complexities of Evaluation. In addition to the theoretical and practical complexities inherent in studying a group of immigrants such as that of my informants, we must face up to the task of determining with how many of the infinite number of possible utterances (as distinct from merely possible kinds of utterances) the informant has come in contact in each of his productive and perceptive language activities.

Let us imagine the linguist has at his disposal a supercomputer which has stored all the utterances ever spoken, as well as all those ever written, by or to the informant. A given item of the

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[4]Cf. André Martinet in Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact vii (Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1, 1953): " . . . a linguistic community is never homogeneous and hardly ever self-contained. . . . it remains to be emphasized that linguistic diversity begins next door, nay, at home and within one and the same man. It is not enough to point out that each individual is a battlefield for conflicting linguistic types and habits, and, at the same time, a permanent source of linguistic interference." (Italics Martinet's).

sound system, morphology, grammar or writing might then be explained simply by reading off the computer when this item was first heard (or read) and used.[5]

In the absence of such a mechanical device, the linguist who concerns himself with bilinguals is scarcely in a better position to explain developments in his field of specialization than is the historical linguist, and he is just as much hampered by the lack of data.

Whoever has had contact with bilinguals through the study of loanwords only, may not think things are as complex as this thesis suggests. Yet, when we consider the lack of complete studies on almost every other aspect of contact between any two languages, repeated emphasis on the difficulty of studies of this type is quite in order. Any explanation beyond simple identification of a loanword is just an intelligent guess.

Though I am not here concerned with problems other than those relating to Slovak and its modification in the environment of Slovak immigrants as well as the Slovak immigrant's English, general pro-

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[5]Cf. Norman A. McQuown, Review of Methods in Structural Linguistics by Z. S. Harris, Language 28.503 (1952): "Machine-processing of mechanically recorded materials is the only solution to the problem of relying exclusively (in practice) on the distributional criterion. . . . Environment-hunting without mechanical and statistical aids is certainly an endless process." Cf. also Fred W. Householder, Jr., Review of Methods in Structural Linguistics by Z. S. Harris, International Journal of American Linguistics 18.261 (1952) on "the pretense which we make, in presenting our descriptions, that they have been arrived at by performing a series of humanly impossible operations (impossible even with the aid of any electronic computing machines now in existence . . .)"

blems of investigation, identification and evaluation are illustrated with pertinence to this dissertation even when the illustrations are drawn from some other linguistic area. A brief review of a recent article on influences of English upon creative writers in the Province of Quebec[6] may thus help to illustrate the problem of complexity of evaluation. The author of the article in question endeavored to account for various French Canadian words and phrases supposedly deviant from the Continental French norm by pointing to influences from English. For example, for the Canadian writer's use of avait de l'emploi, rather than était employé, the reason was said to be found in the loanword la job and the English phrase had a job.[7] This evaluation is, of course, a possible one, but it is by no means uniquely valid. The explanation offered by the author of the article may be as he states it, rather than that it is to be found in the particular English influence cited.

To appreciate some of the factors which, in this case, apparently were not given their due, we must look, not merely at the particular lexical items involved, but at the same time at the sequence of form-classes which these items represent, and at the stylistic tendencies, expressed by one or the other form-class sequence, which may characterize the language in question. Two class sequences comparable from this point of view are that of colorless (or inexpressive) verb fol-

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[6] R. Somerville Graham, "Widespread Bilingualism and the Creative Writer," Word 12.370-381 (1956).

[7] Ibid. 374.

lowed by a noun of abstract meaning, as opposed to that consisting of a statement by an expressive verb only. Let us label the first-mentioned type of sequence V_c-N and use V_e for the second type. Is one correct in assuming that, in preference to V_e (as in était employé), V_c-N (had a job) is typically English? A statistical count might lead to some statement of relative degrees of stylistic preference. In the absence of such a count, however, the opposite might just as easily be claimed to account for the facts, that is to say, that English tends toward V_e, whereas V_c-N (or some other arrangement involving a verb with an abstract noun) is "more French." Compare the following English and French expressions of equivalent ideas:

Mr. D. is going to speak.
M. D. va prononcer un discours.

Do not lean out!
Défense de se pencher dehors!

Keep out!
Entrée interdite!

If these examples are at all representative, the sequence-type which Graham implies to be descriptive of English, in some cases at least if not in most, is just as typical of French. Further studies in comparative stylistics might build a good case for asserting that the V_c-N sequence is more prevalent in written French, the medium covered by Graham, than it is in colloquial French as spoken. This suggests that one need not assume English influence for avait de l'emploi in a French-Canadian novel, even though the assumption may on other grounds be valid. It could certainly be argued that the French-Canadian passage was modeled, not on English, but on one of many similar expressions current in France, the Suisse romande, or parts of Belgium.

But if someone insisted on looking for a source outside the French-speaking community, it might pay to explore regions adjacent to its Continental branch. Continental French, especially before World War I, undoubtedly underwent stronger linguistic influences from directly contiguous speech areas than it did from beyond the Channel. Today, in the light of increasing cultural encroachments of the Anglo-Saxon world, especially the United States, as seen in the growing number of lexical borrowings like le starter, le dribble, and le jazz hot, trends seem to be reversed. Historically, however, German, for instance, looms larger as a source of various linguistic innovations than does English. In German, particularly its literary variety, the V_c-N sequence is fairly typical. As it happens, this is not necessarily borne out in the most likely translation for had a job, war angestellt (cf. French était employé), though even Graham's passage may serve as a basis when we bear in mind that war ein Angestellter, or hatte eine Stellung, and other variations of this pattern depending on context, are equally idiomatic and stylistically unobjectionable renditions; the same can be said of spricht or hält eine Rede (cf. French va prononcer un discours) for is going to speak, or of Zutritt verboten (cf. entrée interdite) for no admittance. This, of course, establishes no direction of linguistic development; indeed, additional factors could be marshalled to point to German borrowing style patterns from French rather than French from German, or to parallel development of similar stylistic devices in the two languages. The point of importance to this discussion is, not that

German did influence French in the concrete instance mentioned, but that it might have and generally often does, especially in areas of close bilingual relations such as Switzerland, as evident from the constant complaints of local French-speaking purists. From an overall point of view of comparing linguistic patterns of contiguous regions, then, the conclusion may be reaffirmed that, as regards Graham's example, English influence may be yet need not be assumed.

The possibility, rather than certainty, of a statement on directions and types of linguistic influence, as discussed in the foregoing review of a Canadian French study, applies, we shall see, mutatis mutandis just as much to problems of tracing influences upon Slovak or the English spoken by Slovak immigrants.

2.3 Complexities of Slovakia's linguistic development. Among the complexities of a general order we must not lose sight of a few pertinent facts of political and linguistic history relating to Slovak and Slovaks.

Every literate Slovak -- and that, as will be seen below, includes each of my informants -- is completely at home also in written Czech. This perceptive bilingualism is understandable, not only from the close genetic relationship between the two languages, but beyond that from historic and political conditions of Slovakia prevailing down to the second decade of this century.

Until 1918, present-day Slovakia was an integral part of the Hungarian domain within the Hapsburg empire. The Slovaks, like all the other ethnic groups of that state except Germans and Hungarians, were reduced to the status of minorities without political and with little cultural autonomy.

The Czechs, on the Austrian side of the Dual Monarchy, enjoyed some advantages that Slovaks did not possess: a head-start toward literary self-expression, and additional opportunities to preserve and cultivate linguistic identity.

Around the 40's of the last century (as will presently be discussed in greater detail) we have the beginning of publishing efforts that augured well for the development of a Slovak literary language. In those days, political edicts did not yet emanate from Budapest, and Hungarians were Vienna's subjects much to the same degree as the other ethnic groups of the Realm.

Still, the efforts of Slovak writers of the period are remarkable when we consider that Magyar supremacy was increasingly brought to bear on Slovak life in social and economic respects following, less than twenty years later, the well-known Compromise with Vienna which made Budapest a partner and delegated Austria's rule in the regions south of the Carpathian Mountains to administration by Hungary. The Slovaks were not long to feel the effects. One of the prime targets of the Hungarian overlords was the system of Slovak schools which had barely begun to take roots under religious or public auspices. Teaching in the local vernacular was progressively abolished

and succeeding generations of Slovak children had no alternative to attending Hungarian schools.

This régime all but stifled Slovakia's literary growth. To the population of the area, Czech, before the 1840's the sole vehicle of written expression, continued to fulfil to a large extent the functions of Slovakia's medium of literature.

Present-day literary Slovak dates back to 1844, when printed matter made its appearance in a kind of koiné of Central Slovak dialects originating with L'udovít Štúr.[8] Two other individuals succeeded in impressing their Slovak nationalism upon the establishment of orthographic and lexical rules. M. M. Hodža's[9] purpose was to show proof of Slovak being the nucleus of the Slavic languages, while to Martin Hattala[10] the important thing was that literary vocabulary and spelling reflect historic tendencies. In 1851, this led to a compromise[11] which left Slovak school children with but one minor improvement in the written representation of sounds, in return for a large number of spelling rules, far fewer, to be sure, than those that burden children in English-speaking countries, yet many more than Štúr would have bequeathed them.

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[8]See Eugen Pauliny, Dejiny spisovnej slovenčiny (Bratislava 1948), especially 71-89.

[9]Ibid. 77.

[10]Ibid. 78.

[11]Ibid. 79.

With the development of Standard Slovak, we find that Slovaks, though now increasingly drawing upon the resources of their own tongue, still found it necessary, useful, or enjoyable to read Czech. There was some overlap in linguistic coverage in that a publication might appear both in Czech and in Slovak. It was, however, recognized by all that any widespread duplication of this kind would be wasteful and would accomplish nothing since, except for Slovaks with "mental blocks," Czech and Slovak are mutually intelligible.

Traditional divisions of Slovak in terms of three dialect areas with boundaries, as shown on Fig. 3 below, partly at variance with political lines of demarcation, are reflected in the few data published by Vážný.[12] Isogloss bundles are seen to proceed in such a way as to bear out traditional labels of East, Central, and West Slovak. The literary language, for the most part, is Central Slovak in character.

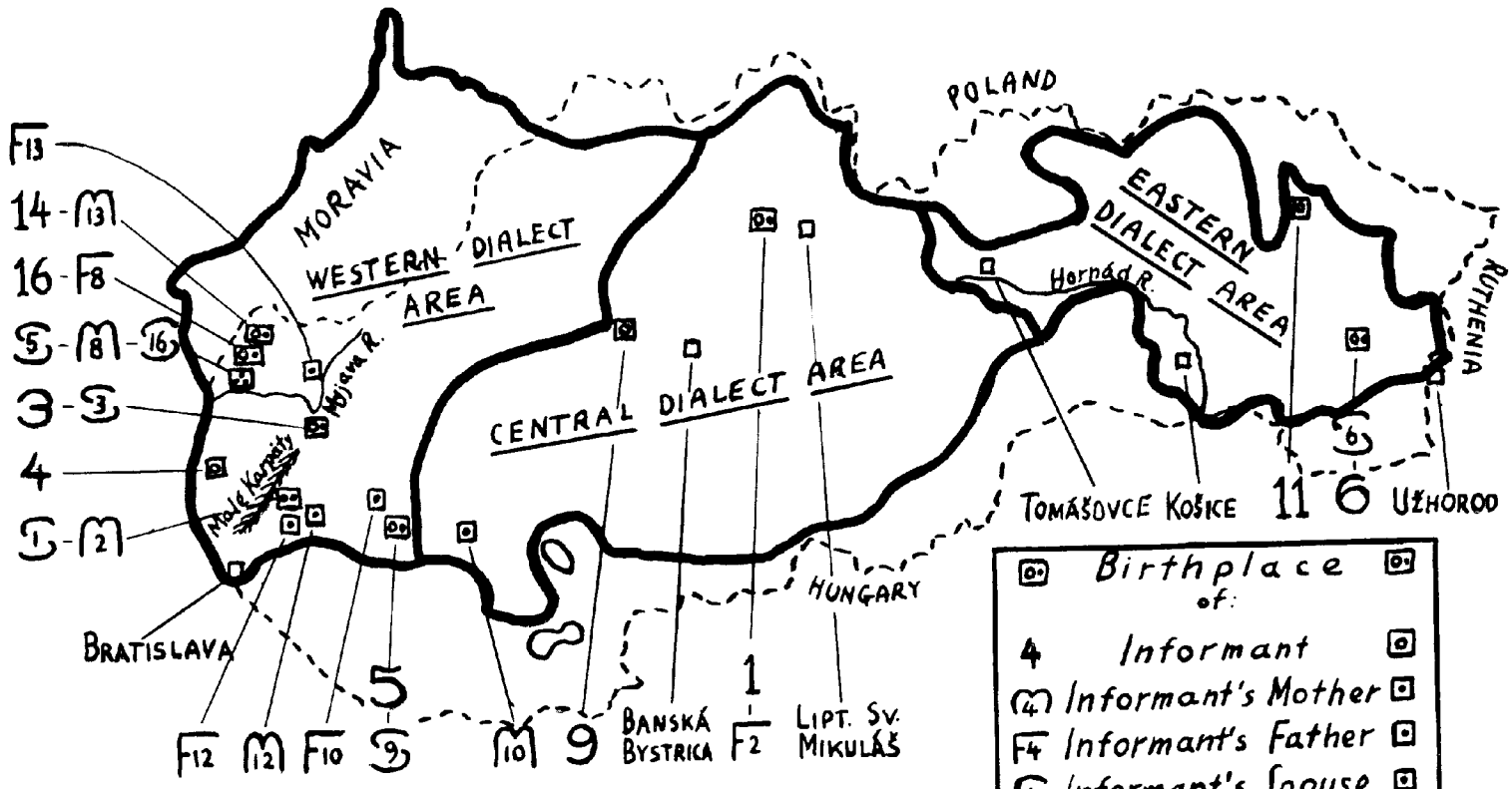
2.4 Complexities of my informants' backgrounds. The foundations are now laid for correlating dialect areas and features of Standard Slovak with my Binghamton informants' speech habits. How typically does their speech represent their or their parents' places of birth? There is no simple answer, to judge from the map of Fig. 3[13] and from Table 7.

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[12]Václav Vážný, "Nářečí slovenská," Československá vlastivěda 3.219-310 (Praha 1934).

[13]Adapted from ibid. 225.

Figure 3 – Slovak Dialect Areas Native to Informants



Birthplace of:

4 Informant

M4 Informant's Mother

F4 Informant's Father

S4 Informant's Spouse

Other Towns

Boundaries of Slovakia:

--- Political Dialect

Informants Omitted On Map

M7 F7 evidently Eastern

M15 F15 evidently Western

S14 Ukraine

S4 S11 Slovakia unspecified

TABLE 7

STATISTICS ON INFORMANTS

Informant	16	9	11	5	1	3	6	14	4	7	8	15	13	10	12	2
Sex	m	f	f	m	m	f	m	f	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	f
Age	75	70	67	64	63	63	58	58	51	62	48	48	46	43	41	35
Age on Arrival in U.S.	29	27	18	17	20	16	24	15	21							
Birthplace	WS	CS	ES	WS	CS	WS	ES	WS	WS	MN	NY	NY	NY	NY	PA	NY
B'pl. of Mother	WS	CS	ES	WS	SL	WS	ES	AU	SL	SL	WS	SL	WS	CS	WS	WS
B'pl. of Father	WS	CS	SL	SL	SL	ES	ES	WS	WS	SL	WS	SL	WS	WS	WS	CS
B'pl. of Spouse	WS	WS	SL	WS	WS	WS	ES	UK	SL	PA	PA	US	WS	PA	NY	NY
Other Residences	AU NJ PA	AU PA	PA	PA	MG	AU			NY	PA				SO	SO	
Travel	US HA	US	US	US	US EU	US	US	EU	US CZ GE	US	US	US NV	US SL	US NA	US	US
Schooling	SL HG	HG	SL	HG	HG	SL HG	HG S	HG	HG	E	U	L	sS	U	S	S
Slovak Spoken: Where	H F O	H F	H F	H F W	H W C	H F	C	H F C	H F	W	P	P W	H C	P	P I	P C O
Slovak Spoken: When	d	d	d	d	d	d	r	d	d	o	o	d	d	o	o	d
Slovak Read: What	e	b p	c	b p	p	p	p	p	p	b p	n	l	b p	n		p c
Slovak Read: When	d				d		r			r					r	s
Slovak Written: What	e	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c							c l
Slovak Written: When	d										n	r	r	n	r	s

For explanation of symbols, see next page.

Explanation of Symbols of Table 7

AU	Austria
CS	Central Slovakia
CZ	Czechoslovakia (unspecified)
ES	Eastern Slovakia
EU	Europe (unspecified)
GE	Germany
HA	Hawaii
HG	Hungary, Hungarian
MG	Michigan
MN	Minnesota
NA	North Africa
NJ	New Jersey
NV	U. S. Navy
NY	New York (Informant 4: New York City)
PA	Pennsylvania
SL	Slovakia (unspecified), Slovak
SO	Southern United States
UK	Ukraine
US	United States (unspecified)
WS	Western Slovakia
C	Church
E	American elementary school
F	Friends
H	Home
I	In-laws
L	Law school
O	Organizations
P	Parents
S	American secondary school, highschool
sS	Some highschool
U	American university, college
W	Work (Informant 15: clients)
b	Books
c	Correspondence, letters
d	Daily
e	Everything
l	Legal documents (Informant 2: minutes)
n	Nothing, never
o	Often
p	Periodicals, newspapers, church bulletin
r	Rarely, very little
s	Some, sometimes, occasionally

The portion of Table 7 most significant to this dissertation is the block of entries next to "Birthplaces," "Other Residences," and "Travel," the areas of greatest potential influence on the informants' speech. Information about Slovakia is divided into the three major dialect areas, West, Central, and East, outlined on Fig. 3 above. Indication merely as Slovakia is furnished if no specific data could be elicited from the informant. American information, whenever possible, is given by state. Austria usually means Vienna.

The chart of Table 7 shows us that in the language of this group of informants we may find influences of the three Slovak dialects, besides Hungarian, German, Ukrainian, Polish, and English. It is also interesting to note that, among the first-generation informants, none is free from influence by one other language beside his own dialect and English. We may speak of this as a 3-language influence, a situation noticeable in the case of 4 informants. Another 2 subjects show quadrilingual influence, while 3 underwent influence by 5 different languages. The data appear to admit of more simple evaluation for the second generation, though to the extent that the speech of this group reflects that of their parents, first-generation influences are likewise present.

In placing stress on the heteregeneous composition of our group of informants, we must not overlook features of homogeneity. All of the subjects interviewed in the area are constantly in contact with the same variety of English, that spoken in the Southern Tier of New York State. A little over half of them lived for short

periods of time elsewhere in the United States. Areas of previous residence include Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Michigan, New Jersey, and various Southern states. The two second-generation informants who briefly lived in the South did so as adults and, as such, remained unaffected by Southern speech features. By and large, then, our subjects were all exposed to the same type of English.

As for Slovak, five first-generation subjects were natives of Western Slovakia, two were born in the Central part, and two in the Eastern section. The second generation also showed traces of all three dialect regions. This means that Slovak, as spoken in Binghamton, is not nearly as homogeneous as the English one hears in that town. It remains to be shown to what extent each informant's Slovak is representative of his native town or the birthplace of his parents.

The impact of speakers of other Slavic languages is greater than one might gather from Table 7: the only individual for whom the chart demonstrates this has a husband of Ukrainian origin. At work and in their neighborhood, the informants keep rubbing elbows with other Slavs, predominantly Ukrainians and Poles, and the effect of this must not be overlooked.

The Old Country's regime of progressive denationalization, described above, affected the informants less drastically than might be feared. True, all but one of the first generation had their formal education (six years for most) completely or almost entirely in Hungarian. Yet, linguistically speaking, direct Hungarian

influence was limited to the schools; it thus ended at about the age of 12. None of the informants finds occasion to hear or use any Hungarian now.

Four of our subjects were, to some degree, affected by Viennese German. One had an Austrian mother; the others were acquainted with this variety of southern dialectal German only as young adults seeking jobs in the imperial capital. There was no contact with German in the United States.

Sifting out whatever traces of German or Hungarian linguistic influence we can find, is not the primary objective of this thesis. Keeping these and other multilingual contacts in mind, the discussion will concentrate on features of Slovak and the immigrant Slovaks' English.

Fig. 3 indicates that my Binghamton Slovaks come predominantly from the Western Slovak dialect area. Central and Eastern Slovaks are in a minority, among the informants and in the community as a whole.

Each informant's speech was compared with features marked off by the various existing isogloss maps discussed by Vážný,[14] as well as with Vážný's sample text citations.[15] Recordings preserving the informants' conversations for this thesis are available through ALORDS.[16]

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[14] Ibid. 234, 252, 266, 272, 282, 304.

[15] Ibid. 243-260, 295-297, 308-310.

[16] American Library of Recorded Dialect Studies, The Ohio State University.

2.5 Central Slovak dialect representatives. The speech of Informant 1 is highly characteristic of his place of birth, except for a number of quite frequent lexical items which we might trace to his West-Slovak born wife and friends, and to his knowledge of Czech.

Informant 9 also represents her place of birth fairly well, not counting two Western-area pronunciation features which, perhaps, are those of her husband or friends from that area, unless they are connected with this investigator's inability to pinpoint her home village exactly.

2.6 Eastern Slovak dialect representatives. Informant 11 is completely typical of her place of birth.

Subject 6 presents a rather complicated picture. Though his speech is still predominantly Eastern, he has many features which the Central and Western regions share, e.g. almost complete loss of Eastern penultimate stress, in favor of initial stress noted in the other dialects. He has occasional vowel length, as well as the phonemes /t'/ and /d'/, none of which is encountered in his and his wife's place of birth. The recordings reveal occasional loss of the typically Eastern phonemes /ś/ and /ź/ which are lacking in the other dialect regions. Guesses as to the reasons for these deviations would point to his knowledge of literary (i.e. Central) Slovak, his contact with West Slovak speakers of the neighborhood and, perhaps, his respect for the "better." The last-mentioned motivation needs to be amplified.

That he might once have looked up to the linguistic standard back home suggests itself from a similar attitude toward the standard language in this country, conditioning his almost exclusive use of English, even with his wife, and though both of them came to this country as adult immigrants. This is all the more remarkable as they are childless and the necessity of better communication with offspring does not exist.

Informant 7 was born in America and does not know the birth place of his parents. His speech is predominantly Eastern; his parents, then, must have come from an area East of Tomášovce and North of the Hornád River, to judge on the basis of various subsidiary factors. Vážný is no help for more accurate pinpointing.

2.7 Western Slovak dialect representatives. Number 14, despite an Austrian mother and a Ukrainian husband, is completely typical of her place of birth.

So is Subject 3, despite her Eastern born father.

With the exception of a few standardisms, the same can be said for 4.

Informant 5 also reflects his native city, when we disregard some features of standard Slovak and others held in common by his wife's hometown dialect and standard Czech. He is a well-read man, which may be one possible explanation.

Subject 16 has preserved many birthplace characteristics, though there is no denying an admixture of many standardisms. One lexical item may exhibit a Western feature which, in another word, recurs

in the Standard form. In a few identical words, he uses Western and Standard reflexes interchangeably, sometimes in adjacent utterances. Explanations must take into account relevant socio-cultural data: this is a self-educated man, very well read, and the historian of his area.

An excellent representative of her parents' nearby hometowns, Number 8 employs but one lexical item with Standard characteristics, most likely picked up from her father (Subject 16) whose many standardisms include this one.

Again discounting a few Standard features, Informant 13 also portrays her parents' and husband's neighboring areas of birth.

Although her father (Informant 1) speaks Central Slovak, Number 2 recalls, in her speech, the Western place of origin of her mother. Other Western speakers in the community may share the responsibility for her Westernisms.

Subject 12 is completely typical of the birthplace of her parents.

Husband of the preceding (12), Informant 10 is not so easy to analyze. In four pronunciation features he agrees with his Western father; in one, with his Central mother; in two, he follows neither parents nor wife, but a variety of Western Slovak spoken by many people in the community. Some degree of misinterpretation might spring from inability to determine accurately where the parents came from, but this is partly compensated by consideration of the many other dialect features which agree with those of both parents' places

of birth, located on different sides of the West-Central dialect boundary, yet in fairly close proximity.

Number 15 does not know where his parents were born, but to judge from his speech they must have come from the relatively small area of the West bounded by the Myjava River on the North, the Malé Karpaty Mountains to the Southeast, and the Austrian border in the West.

The preceding data on the informants' linguistic characteristics can be summarized in such a way as to show the areas represented and the degree to which each informant is typical of a given area. In the following table, figures represent code-numbers assigned to each informant, while * denotes second generation.

TABLE 8

DIALECTAL REPRESENTATIVENESS OF INFORMANTS

Slovak Dialect Area	Informants Completely Typical of an Area	Informants Almost Completely Typical	Informants With Many Other Influences
Central Slovak		1 9	
Eastern Slovak	11	7 *	6
Western Slovak	14 3 8 * 2 * 12 * 15 *	4 5 13 *	16 10 *

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE INTERFERENCE IN GENERAL

3.1 Objectives of Chapter 3. Up to this point, coverage of this thesis has extended to the subject matter as approached by previous scholarship, and to acquaintance with problems of evaluating and data to be evaluated.

Chapter 3 proceeds to the theoretical basis of the evaluation to be carried out in succeeding sections of this thesis. It will introduce the concepts crucial to the understanding and handling of bilingual phenomena.

This chapter, then, is the link between facts, general and personal, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, their analytic treatment — or as it might be put instead, Chapters 1 and 2 have provided the raw material; 4 and 5 will cook it; in 3, we shall find the recipe.

3.2 Bilingual description: analysis of interference. Whenever, in the speech of an individual or of a group of individuals, two languages come in contact, they interfere with each other. Thus, both languages show various types of interference phenomena.[1]

Among the informants interviewed for this study, Slovak was found to be the language exposed to varying degrees of interference by English, and it is this direction of interference (i.e. English on

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[1]Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact 1 (Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1, 1953).

Slovak), and some illustrations of the varying extent of this interference, with which this thesis is primarily concerned. I shall, however, also review a few instances of reverse interference, i.e. by Slovak on the English of my informants.

Interference phenomena have been described as those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals.[2]

> Great or small, the differences and similarities between the languages in contact must be . . . stated for every domain -- phonic, grammatical, and lexical -- as a prerequisite to an analysis of interference. It might even be fruitful to draw up general canons of differential description.[3]

Weinreich's preoccupation with the comparison of not-necessarily-related linguistic structures, i.e. with differential description or what later has been called bilingual description,[4] led to the publication of his Languages in Contact in which he makes a number of partial bilingual descriptions.[5]

3.3 Interference in phonemic systems: diaphones. Building upon his own extensive experience, especially in the description of American Norwegian,[6] Haugen continued the work of drawing up "general canons of bilingual description.

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[2]Loc. cit.

[3]Ibid. 2

[4]Einar Haugen, Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide 41 (Publications of the American Dialect Society, No. 26, 1956).

[5]Weinreich, op. cit., passim.

[6]Einar Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia 1953).

Starting with his review of Weinreich,[7] and going into detail in his article on problems of bilingual description,[8] Haugen showed how bilingual phonemic description requires comparisons of allophones, position by position; how the types of interference could be summarized and systematized in the shape of formulas; how the identification made between different phonemic systems could be predicted, and that these identifications could be tested by experimentation and observation, and could then be stated as diaphonic formulas in which the phonemes of the respective languages would constitute the terms. Haugen calls the relationship between the two parts of the formulas a diaphonic relationship. The members of the formula he calls diaphones of each other.[9] Diaphones, then, are interlingual identifications of phonemes.

Though this thesis is essentially concerned with supra-phonemic problems, it is useful to illustrate diaphones here, in order to lead up to other, related concepts in bilingual description.

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[7] Id., Review of Languages in Contact by Uriel Weinreich, Language 30.380-388 (1954).

[8] Id., "Problems of Bilingual Description," Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 7.9-19 (1954).

[9] Id., Bilingualism . . . 45-46, where Haugen wishes ". . . to make a further suggestion, viz. that the diaphones be recognized as variants of the phoneme in the receiving language. . . . Diaphones could then be defined as bilingual allophones and would be (1) determined analytically by phonetic-distributional similarity and (2) checked pragmatically by the cases of interference resulting from the identifications. In these terms learning the sound system of another language could be described as a phonemicizing of diaphones." (Italics Haugen's).

Let us assume that we wish to describe, or predict, the interference that will take place when a speaker of Slovak comes in contact with English. In that case we seek a bilingual description English > Slovak,[10] that is to say, a description of how units in the structure of English are identified with units in the structure of Slovak.

If the units in question pertain to the sound system, our bilingual description will result in diaphones. English > Slovak diaphones were discussed in some detail in my article on bilingual description.[11] Three illustrations taken from that article may serve further to clarify the concept of diaphones for the reader of this dissertation:

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[10]The symbol " > " is employed here to be read as "is identified with." There might be some objection to this use of " > " because customarily this symbol implies a time sequence, but this raises no serious issue. Haugen, The Norwegian Language . . ., passim, uses " > " to express loanwords. Id., "Problems . . . ," passim, extends its use to bilingual description. Similarly, in order that the Slovak speaker might identify one of his sounds or forms with a unit of sound or form in English, he will have had to hear the English unit first.

[11]Goldie Piroch [Meyerstein], "The Importance of Bilingual Description to Foreign Language Learning," Language Learning 6.51-61 (1955).

Diaphones	Read As Follows
$E/h > h/_S$[12]	English /h/ is identified by Slovak speakers with Slovak /h/.
$E/t > t,d/_S$	Some allophones of English /t/ are identified with Slovak /t/, some with Slovak /d/.
$E/\theta, t > t/_S$	English /θ/ and /t/ are both identified with Slovak /t/.

3.4 Interference in morphemic systems: diamorphs. If we proceed in our bilingual description to units of morphology, we can again follow Haugen in setting up diamorphs for interlingually identified variants of morphemes or groups of morphemes.[13]

Diamorphic formulas, by analogy with formulas of diaphonic description, will show us morphemes (or groups of morphemes) in one system identified with morphemes (or groups of morphemes) in another system.

It will be helpful, at this point, to anticipate some English Slovak diamorph illustrations from among the data reviewed in more detail below (Chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis):

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[12] In the bilingual formulas of this thesis, and in accordance with custom established by previous publications on bilingualism, the lowered capital letters E and S stand for "English" and "Slovak" respectively.

In line with Haugen's procedure as adopted, for instance, in Bilingualism . . . , passim, slant lines ("/ /") used in this dissertation perform double duty for phonemic and diaphonic representations. As diaphones derive from phonemes, this is justified.

For the use of the symbol " > " see footnote 10 above.

[13] Haugen, Bilingualism . . . 46.

Diamorphs	Read As Follows
(A) $_{E}\{$'committee' > "a group of people" $\}$ $\underline{\text{kométy}}\}_{S}$[14] "comets"	English 'committee' in the sense of "a group of people" is identified by immigrant Slovaks with Slovak <u>kométy</u>, meaning "comets".[15]
(B) $_{E}\{$'cold' > "a type of infection" $\}$ $\underline{\text{zima}}\}_{S}$ "cold" (but not "a type of infection")	English 'cold' in the sense of "a type of infection" is identified by immigrant Slovaks with Slovak <u>zima</u>, meaning "cold" (but not in the sense of "a type of infection").
(C) $_{E}\{$'car' > "automobile" $\}$ $\underline{\text{kára}}\}_{S}$ "two-wheeled cart"	English 'car' in the sense of "automobile" is identified by immigrant Slovaks with Slovak <u>kára</u>, meaning "a two-wheeled cart".

Since this thesis is not devoted to problems of phonemics, distinctions among types of diaphones have here been left out of account.[16]

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[14]In the following illustrations, Slovak forms are underlined (e.g. <u>kométy</u>). English forms are placed between single quotation marks (e.g. 'committee'); English definitions, in double quotes (e.g. "a group of people").

Braces ("{ }") frame the diamorph. Credit for identifying diamorphs in this fashion also belongs to Haugen; see, for example, his <u>Bilingualism . . .</u> 53. In the course of my exposition, braces will also designate morphemes. There is, then, a parallelism in the use of slant lines for phonemes and diaphones, as introduced in footnote 12 above, and of braces for morphemes and diamorphs. As diaphones derive from phonemic analysis, morphemes and diamorphs have comparable relationships of their own; hence, similarities of graphic symbolization are defensible.

For the lowered capitals $_{E}$ and $_{S}$, see footnote 12 above.

[15]Statements of intralingual and interlingual meaning equivalences in this thesis are greatly simplified. It is not my purpose to go into semantic details which do not add to the understanding of the particular section under discussion.

[16]For a discussion of diaphone types with English > Slovak illustrations, the reader is referred to my article cited in footnote 11.

It will, in contrast, be useful to distinguish in this study three types of diamorphs, homophonous, synonymous, and homologous,[17] to be defined in the next three paragraphs. The sample diamorphs (A), (B), and (C) of page 49 above each illustrate one distinct type.

Diamorph (A) of page 49 illustrates a homophonous diamorph which may be defined as an interlingual identification of morphemes based upon their homophony, or near-homophony. A homophonous diamorph is thus diaphonic in nature, i.e. derives from a similarity of sounds. In (A), when an immigrant Slovak uses Slovak kométy in the sense of English "committee" in an immigrant Slovak utterance, the reason may be seen in the two forms sounding similar to him. Interference, in this case, is evident in the use of the Slovak form as if it had the meaning of the similar-sounding English form.

Diamorph (B) of page 49 illustrates a synonymous diamorph, definable as an interlingual identification of morphemes based on the similarity of their meanings. In (B), when an immigrant Slovak uses zima (meaning 'winter' but also 'cold') to denote "a type of infection" (a meaning absent in zima as used in European Slovak), there is interference of a semantic kind. The interference is attributed to Slovak zima and English 'cold' sharing, for the most part, similar meanings. It must be emphasized that a synonymous diamorph depends on similarity

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[17] These diamorph types and their respective designations go back to Haugen, Bilingualism . . . 47.

of meaning, but that it is conditioned, to no less a degree, by the absence of identity of meaning.[18]

Whenever two interlingually identified forms are similar in sound and also similar in meaning, i.e. whenever they are both homophonous and synonymous, we have a homologous diamorph. Illustration (C) on page 49 is an instance of such a diamorph: an immigrant Slovak uses kára to mean "an automobile," presumably because kára sounds similar to English 'car' and because both share a certain similarity of meaning ("something on wheels").

3.5 Interference in lexical systems: loans. Whenever a new morpheme is introduced into a language, with a phonemic shape showing diaphonic identification with a morpheme in the source language, we have a loanword. A loanword, then, is the result of morphemic importation from one language to another.[19] The immigrant Slovak form /barbír/,[20] for instance, shows diaphonic identification with English

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[18]If the meanings were identical, there would be no interference, hence no (synonymous) diamorph. For an example of such meaning identity, compare Slovak leto and English 'summer.' Both Standard and Immigrant Slovak speakers will use the Slovak word whenever the meaning of the English form is called for. English 'summer' does not interfere with Slovak leto either in phonemic or in semantic respects, and as there is no interference, there is no diamorph.

[19]Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language 26.210-231 (1950); id., The Norwegian Language . . . 391; id., Bilingualism . . . 52.

[20]This dissertation presents Immigrant Slovak forms in phonemic transcription (between slant lines, without underlining), while Standard and other European Slovak forms are spelled according to orthographic conventions and underlined. See also Appendix A of this thesis.

'barber.' The Immigrant Slovak form was imported, or borrowed, and it is thus a loanword.

Whenever no new morpheme is introduced into a language, but the word, or group of words, borrowed is translated by the redistribution of morphemes already found in the language, we are in the presence of a loanshift. Thus, a loanshift is a case of morpheme substitution, the substitution of native material in the framework of a foreign model.[21] For example, Immigrant Slovak /strešňoví strom/, for 'cherry tree,' is not a case of introduction of new morphemes. It is a case of substitution of /strešňoví/ for 'cherry' and /strom/ for 'tree.' The European Slovak form for 'cherry tree' would be strešňa.[22]

Loanwords are integrated in the phonemic and morphemic structure of the borrowing language to varying degrees. Whenever part of a borrowed form is in a diaphonic relationship with, i.e. sounds like, a native morpheme of the borrowing language, the borrowed form may be interpreted as containing that native morpheme. This process is termed morphemic reinterpretation of a loanword.

Morphemic reinterpretation is illustrated in English 'candy' borrowed into Immigrant Slovak as /kendi/. English /I/ is in a diaphonic relationship with the Slovak morpheme {i}, an ending which designates "plural." The loanword /kendi/ is then reinterpreted as containing the plural morpheme and Immigrant Slovak forms a corresponding singular, /kenda/.

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[21] Haugen, Bilingualism . . . 52. For an earlier discussion in greater detail, see id., "The Analysis . . ." 210-231.

[22] Strešňa is a West Slovak dialect form for Standard Slovak čerešňa. Cf. Chapter 2, especially pages 33-43, of this dissertation.

3.6 Assimilated and unassimilated loans. The analysis of this thesis is based, in part, on a distinction between assimilated and unassimilated loans. Assimilated loans are loans phonologically and morphologically integrated, to varying degrees, into the structure of the borrowing language. For a definition of unassimilated loans, the reader is referred to Section 3.7 of this chapter.

In contrast to the distinction just outlined, Haugen previously established a tripartite division in terms of code switching, interference, and the established loan.[23]

From Section 3.7 below, it will be seen that my category of unassimilated loans includes instances of what Haugen would term code-switching, and undoubtedly cases he would refer to as interference. My

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[23]A definition of these three concepts in a meaningful setting can best be given by this quotation from Haugen, Bilingualism . . . 39-40: "The real question is whether a given stretch of speech is to be assigned to one language or to the other. If this cannot be settled by the purely linguistic criteria of phonology and morphology, the only resort is to appeal to the speaker, or to several of them. Pragmatic experience has shown that speakers are themselves uncertain at times concerning the proper assignment of given items. . . . We need to recognize that for certain items a linguistic overlapping is possible, such that we must assign them to more than one language at a time. This is the true interference between languages, and it might be better if the term were limited to such cases. It would not include, then, the code switching which occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech, nor the established loan which he uses as a matter of course and could not detect as a foreign word without knowing the other language. Precision would thus require us to distinguish three [concepts]: (1) switching, the alternate use of two languages, (2) interference, the overlapping of two languages, and (3) integration, the regular use of material from one language in another, so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping, except in a historical sense." (Italics Haugen's).

assimilated forms are in Haugen's areas of interference as well as established loans.

It might have been desirable to include in this dissertation a special discussion of established loans. This inclusion would, however, necessitate several additional studies of the same communities at various periods of time -- a widening of investigative scope which would go far beyond the bounds of a thesis.

This study will not, for that matter, leave it up to the reader to guess, without definite clues, what is an established loan. On my list of assimilated loans of Appendix B, any entry which is used by a large number of informants and which occurs at a high rate of frequency is a likely candidate for classification as an established loan (even though, theoretically speaking, each informant might have arrived at one and the same form independently). Entries used by few informants, or those appearing in a variety of shapes, in contrast, are not likely to be established loans.[24]

3.7 Unassimilated loans as an integral part of this study. In analyzing the results of my interviews with my informants I had to decide, as others had had to before me, whether a given stretch of speech was English (and, as such, outside the corpus to be described), or the

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[24] Haugen, The Norwegian Language . . . 556, indicates for his selected vocabulary of English loans that "the criterion of inclusion has been that a word should have been noted at least fifteen times . . ." i.e. he lists only established loans.

immigrant version of the speaker's native language (in my case, Immigrant Slovak.[25]

If uttered with English phonemes, or with as close a representation as the immigrant could make of them, and if apparently disconnected in morphological treatment, such as inflection, from adjacent stretches of speech, a word or phrase is, in this thesis, classified as unassimilated loan.

Unassimilated stretches may not, a priori, be discarded as English forms irrelevant to the language under investigation. Their elimination from the corpus of the immigrant language would depend on universally valid criteria of what is, or is not, "foreign," and no criteria of this nature and scope are, as yet, part of the framework of descriptive concepts of contemporary linguistic typology.

Yet, in defense of including unassimilated stretches we may point, not only to the absence of typological clues to the contrary, but also, and more emphatically yet, to the presence of established precedent of descriptive technique.

Indeed, to ignore "un-Slovak" or "non-European Slovak" forms in this study would run counter to the very purpose of the study: the identification of Slovak other than that which we hear in the Old Country, in other words, a study of American (or Immigrant) Slovak. Unassimilated English admixtures, however, are just as characteristic

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[25]Cf. footnote 23 above.

of Immigrant Slovak as are its assimilated forms. English elements in the Slovak studied thus constitute an integral part of the corpus analyzed. They are part of my informants' spontaneous responses to certain situations; they are response manifestations elicited by interrogative procedure identical to that which brought forth assimilated forms.

Very often, to be sure, it is hard to draw the line between what is, and is not, assimilated, and a decision for either classification is difficult in the case of many forms. In this thesis, stretches of speech which are uncertain as regards assimilated or unassimilated status are generally treated as being unassimilated loans and, as such, listed in Appendix C.

CHAPTER IV

INTERFERENCE IN LOANWORDS OF IMMIGRANT SLOVAK

4.1 Objectives of Chapter 4. The preceding chapter has provided us with the tools of bilingual description: the concepts and terms with which to approach the analysis of my data.

At this point, the ground is prepared for applying the principles of bilingual theory to the practical case of Immigrant Slovak utterances.

The design of this dissertation is based upon directions, implied or suggested, by the leading investigators of related bilingual problems. In Chapter 4, I shall take my cues from suggestions encountered in the work of Haugen,[1] and I shall attempt to apply these suggestions to one particular issue, interference in the loanwords of Immigrant Slovak.

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[1]These suggestions were taken especially from some of Haugen's recent lectures, as well as from the following publications: Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language 26.210-231 (1950); id., "Problems of Bilingualism," Lingua 2.271-290 (1950); id., "The Impact of English on American-Norwegian Letter Writing," Studies in Honor of Albert M. Sturtevant 76-102 (Lawrence 1952); id., The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia 1953); id., "Problems of Bilingual Description," Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 7.9-19 (1954); id., Review of Languages in Contact by Uriel Weinreich, Language 30.380-388 (1954); id., "Some Pleasures and Problems of Bilingual Research," International Journal of American Linguistics 20.116-122 (1954); id., "Problems of Bilingual Description," General Linguistics 1.1-9 (1955); id., Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (Publications of the American Dialect Society, No. 26, 1956).

I shall first discuss the various types of diamorphs, mentioned in the preceding chapter, in terms of my informant data, and then devote myself to a partial review of some Immigrant Slovak loans.

More specifically, I shall present a brief recapitulation of definitions, illustrated by a series of concrete Immigrant Slovak manifestations, of homophonous, synonymous, and homologous diamorphs, as well as of loanshifts and morphemic reinterpretation, followed by a short survey of the incidence of loans, assimilated and unassimilated, which characterize my informants' speech.

4.2 Homophonous diamorphs. Interlingual identification of morphemes, as has been noted, leads to the recognition of various types of diamorphs.[2]

One type was seen to be of a diaphonic nature, i.e. based on the similarity between sequences of phonemes. Two forms linked in terms of this similarity constitute a homophonous diamorph.

Caution commands that, in the absence of conclusive evaluation of informant usage, the analyst operate in terms of any two morphemes being candidates for classification into a diamorph, rather than being admitted to diamorph status without further proof. We must, in each instance, bear in mind the complexities of evaluation.[3] My data

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[2]See pages 49-51 (Chapter 3) of the thesis.

[3]Cf. pages 25-30 (Chapter 2) of the thesis.

on Immigrant Slovak, for instance, do not yield evidence that an informant actually established identification between any two similar-sounding words, or even that he knew of the existence of a Standard Slovak word of phonemic shape similar to that of the English loan.

Once allowances are made in this sense one may dispense with reservations as to candidacy and, as is done in this thesis, refer simply to diamorphs.

The formula of diamorphs, as adapted to the requirements of my analysis, may once again be explained by accounting for the constituents of the first statement on the list of homophonous diamorphs of page 60 below:

$$E\{\text{'application' - for a job"} > \underline{\text{aplikácia}}\}_S \text{ " - of an ointment or bandage"}$$

From the exposition of Chapter 3, the reader will recall the significance of this formula as follows: The English form 'application,' in the sense of "application for a job," is identified with the Slovak form aplikácia, meaning "application of an ointment or a bandage." In Standard (European) Slovak, aplikácia never refers to a job. In Immigrant (American) Slovak, a form suggested by the Standard Slovak form aplikácia is used with the meaning of the English form 'application' defined above.[4]

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[4]Definitions offered for the two terms of any diamorph are incomplete. Cf. footnote 15, Chapter 3, of the thesis. Concretely speaking, an application, in English, may also be that of an ointment. The important point is that in European Slovak we cannot speak of aplikácia in connection with a job, whereas that is precisely the term of reference of the Immigrant Slovak form.

In the second entry on the list below on this page, the English form 'baloney' in the sense of a type of sausage is similarly identified with the Slovak form balóni, meaning balloons or balls; that is to say, a culinary association is absent in the form as used in Standard Slovak, but present in the form as used in Immigrant Slovak.

In pedagogic discussions, correlations of this type have long been known as "false friends" or deceptive cognates.[5]

On the list of assimilated loans of Appendix B of this thesis, sixteen of the items starred are homophonous diamorphs. These are:

$_E\{$'application'	>	aplikácia$\}_S$
" - for a job"		" - of an ointment or bandage"[6]
$_E\{$'baloney'	>	balóni$\}_S$
"sausage"		"balloons, balls"
$_E\{$'cabinet'	>	kabinet$\}_S$
"kitchen - "		"government body"

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[5]Cf. Robert Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures 83-84 (Ann Arbor 1957).

[6]Cf. footnote 4 of this chapter. Statements of European Slovak usage, as indicated for the meanings of the 16 forms on this list, are, of course, also incomplete. Thus, aplikácia may also mean 'appliqué', and as regards some of the following items, another meaning of kabinet is "a small room"; of mapa, "a large envelope"; of operovat', "to carry out military operations"; of operatér, "a cinema operator"; etc.

$E\{$'cakes'	>	keks$\}_S$
"relatively large baked goods"		"a small cookie"
$E\{$'car'	>	kára$\}_S$
"automobile"		"two-wheeled cart"
$E\{$'committee'	>	kométy$\}_S$
"a group of people"		"comets"
$E\{$'decks'	>	deky$\}_S$
"parts of ships"		"blankets"
$E\{$'Elmira'	>	almara$\}_S$
"city in New York State"		"cupboard"
$E\{$'hold'	>	holdovat'$\}_S$
"possess"		"pay homage"
$E\{$'mop'	>	mapa$\}_S$
"cleaning equipment"		"map"
$E\{$'operate'	>	operovat'$\}_S$
"to work something"		"to perform surgery"
$E\{$'operator'	>	operatér$\}_S$
"telephone company employee" (woman)		"surgeon" (man)

$E\{$'cakes' > keks$\}_S$

"relatively large baked goods" — "a small cookie"

$E\{$'car' > kára$\}_S$

"automobile" — "two-wheeled cart"

$E\{$'committee' > kométy$\}_S$

"a group of people" — "comets"

$E\{$'decks' > deky$\}_S$

"parts of ships" — "blankets"

$E\{$'Elmira' > almara$\}_S$

"city in New York State" — "cupboard"

$E\{$'hold' > holdovat'$\}_S$

"possess" — "pay homage"

$E\{$'mop' > mapa$\}_S$

"cleaning equipment" — "map"

$E\{$'operate' > operovat'$\}_S$

"to work something" — "to perform surgery"

$E\{$'operator" > operatér$\}_S$

"telephone company employee" (woman) — "surgeon" (man)

E{'peddlar'	>	pytliak}S
"salesman"		"poacher"
E{'quit'	>	kvitovat'}S
"to discontinue"		"to give a receipt"[7]
E{'shop'	>	šopa}S
"a place of work"		"barn or attic"
E{'suit'	>	sud}S
"garment"		"barrel"[8]

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[7]The Czech counterpart to kvitovat' includes the meaning of "to discontinue," and influence from this linguistic area might have made itself felt here. Cf. pages 30-33, Chapter 2, of this thesis.

[8]There may be more than the above-mentioned instances of homophonous diamorphs in my data. Thus, items like

E{'magazine'	>	magazín}S
"periodical"		"warehouse"

probably belong here too, even though a recent Slovak dictionary, A. V. Isačenko, Slovensko-ruský prekladový slovník 1.363 (Bratislava 1950), does give the equivalent of "periodical" as one of the meanings of magazín. However, from personal acquaintance with the customs and speech habits of many of the small towns from which my first-generation informants came, I may suggest that soldiers returning from the army would know of magazines as storage places for ammunition, but not as weekly or monthly publications, even if the word, at the time of my informants' departure from the Old Country, had been a part of Standard Slovak in both senses. The existence of a word or its use with some specific meaning in a language is, then, irrelevant if the form or meaning in question is not familiar to the person or persons whose speech is being described. A form or meaning would enter into a diamorph statement if there were evidence of lack of acquaintance with it on the part of the speaker studied. In the absence of this evidence, however, diamorphs of the 'magazine' type should be given with reservations only, or be left out of account. Cf. my remarks on complexities of evaluation in Chapter 2, especially pages 25-26, of this thesis.

4.3 Synonymous diamorphs. As discussed in Chapter 3, interlingual identification of morphemes can also be based upon meaning. Whenever semantic criteria are the uniting factor, we have synonymous diamorphs.[9]

Synonymous diamorphs have eight representatives in my Immigrant Slovak material, which are likewise starred among the assimilated loans of Appendix B:

$$E\{\text{'cold'} > \underline{\text{zima}}\}_S$$

'Cold' =[10] zima in some environments; e.g. 'it is cold' = je zima. However, zima in Standard Slovak does not have the meaning of "a type of infection" which it has acquired in Immigrant Slovak.

$$E\{\text{'here'} > \underline{\text{tu}}\}_S$$

'Here' = tu in some environments; e.g. 'is here' = je tu. For 'here,' Standard Slovak uses the form sem in such environments as došiel sem = 'came here'. Immigrant Slovak use, for 'came here', of došiel tu makes for the above diamorph.

$$E\{\text{'know'} > \underline{\text{vediet'}}\}_S$$

'Know' = vediet' in such uses as 'to know what time it is' = vediet' koľko je hodín (i.e. knowing by learning). Yet, Standard Slovak vediet' does not have the meaning of "be acquainted with" (knowing by acquaintance) which the Slovak verb has acquired in America.

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[9] See pages 49-51 (Chapter 3) of the thesis.

[10] The symbol "=" indicates "synonymous with". Its significance depends on the extent to which synonymy is acknowledged.

$$_{E}\{\text{'marry'} > \underline{\text{oženit' sa}}\}_{S}$$

In English, a man may marry a woman or a woman may marry a man. The Slovak term of the diamorph, on the other hand, is restricted to a man taking a wife, but is used in Immigrant Slovak, in addition (comparably to marrying, in English) for a woman taking a husband, and in the sense of marrying each other or getting married. It is worth noticing that Standard Slovak has vydat' sa for a woman taking a husband and zobrat' sa for getting married to each other. Still, Immigrant Slovak extends the functions of oženit' sa to cover the semantic areas of vydat' sa and zobrat' sa as well.

$$_{E}\{\text{'news'} > \underline{\text{noviny}}\}_{S}$$

'News' = noviny in the sense of 'daily news' (= denné noviny). But Standard Slovak noviny, contrary to Immigrant Slovak usage, is not the word for a radio account of world events; the Standard Slovak word for news broadcast over the radio is správy.[11]

$$_{E}\{\text{'night'} > \underline{\text{noc}}\}_{S}$$

In the meaning of "that part of 24 hours when most people sleep," 'night' = noc in Standard Slovak. However, in the Immigrant Slovak (or English) meaning of "evening," Standard Slovak noc is not used.

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[11] According to Isačenko, Slovensko-ruský . . . 1.500, noviny does have an archaic meaning of news transmitted by word of mouth. Yet, radio being a rather recent invention, it is unlikely that noviny should have become part of standard broadcasting terminology; in fact, I have never heard Standard Slovak speakers using the word in the sense of radio news.

$$E\{\text{'paper'} > \underline{\text{papier}}\}_S$$

These words share the meaning of "material on which one writes." Standard Slovak equivalents for "newspaper" and "citizenship paper," in contrast, are, respectively, noviny and list. In the place of list and noviny, we hear Immigrant Slovak /papier/.[12]

$$E\{\text{'Polak'} > \underline{\text{Polák}}\}_S$$

This is an example of the treatment of women's surnames. Whereas English has the same form of the surname for men and women ('Mr. Polak,' 'Mrs. Polak'), the Standard Slovak counterpart to a man's name (pán Polák) is Poláková (paní Poláková) for women. In Immigrant Slovak the woman's name would be /polák/, the same as the man's, in line with English custom.[13]

4.4 Homologous diamorphs. Diamorphs which are both synonymous and homonymous have been called homologous diamorphs.[14]

The following items, taken from among the homonymous diamorphs of pages 60-62 above, make up a list of illustrations of homologous diamorph components:

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[12]Standard Slovak papier can also be used for a document, but the particular document known in American English as citizenship paper is called, in Standard Slovak, občiansky list.

[13]It is possible that this Immigrant loss of distinction was helped by the lack of the distinction in Hungarian and the fact that some of my informants had a certain amount of Hungarian schooling. Yet, among Polish women in Poland there is at present a similar tendency to drop the feminine suffix from surnames.

[14]See pages 49-51 (Chapter 3) of the thesis.

'application'

'cabinet'

'car'

'operate'

'operator'

On the list of synonymous diamorphs of pages 63–65 above,

'paper'

is the component of a homologous diamorph.[15]

Homologous diamorphs may be viewed as instances of widening of the semantic function of the word in the recipient language.[16]

A special kind of homologous diamorph is encountered in phonic adjustment of cognates,[17] as in

$$_{E}\{\text{'ambulance'} > \underline{\text{ambulancia}}\}_{S}$$

The Standard Slovak word is ambulancia, a term both synonymous and nearly homonymous with the corresponding English word. The latter, phonically adjusted, is borrowed into Immigrant Slovak as /ambulanc/.

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[15] To give an idea, for contrast, of items which are not homologous diamorphs,

$_{E}\{\text{'baloney'} > \underline{\text{balóni}}\}_{S}$, $_{E}\{\text{'committee'} > \underline{\text{kométy}}\}_{S}$ or $_{E}\{\text{'decks'} > \underline{\text{deky}}\}_{S}$, each without semantic denominator common to English and Standard Slovak, may be cited from Section 4.2, or

$$_{E}\{\text{'cold'} > \underline{\text{zima}}\}_{S},$$

without phonemic similarity, from Section 4.3 of this chapter.

[16] Cf. Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact 49 (Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1, 1953).

[17] Ibid. 50, 64.

There are more than 50 homologous diamorphs of the /ambulanc/ type among the assimilated loans in Appendix B of this thesis. Appendix listings of these diamorphs are readily spotted as such by the Standard Slovak forms added in parentheses, and it would therefore be redundant to compile a separate listing in the main part of the dissertation.

Another group of homologous diamorphs to be classed by itself consists of borrowings from German which were current in popular speech even in Slovakia, and therefore for our purposes constitute a part of Standard (i.e. European) Slovak. My corpus includes the following illustrations starred in Appendix B:

$_{E}\{$'butter' > putr$\}_{S}$
$_{E}\{$'class' > klasa$\}_{S}$
$_{E}\{$'coffee house' > kafehaus$\}_{S}$
$_{E}\{$'place' > plac$\}_{S}$
$_{E}\{$'ship' > šífa$\}_{S}$
$_{E}\{$'shoe' > šúcha$\}_{S}$
$_{E}\{$'shoemaker' > šuster$\}_{S}$
$_{E}\{$'soup' > zupa$\}_{S}$

4.5 Loanshifts. Appendix B of this thesis also includes entries which are not loanwords in the strict sense, but rather loanshifts.[18] As has been noted, these entries involve no new morpheme,

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[18]See page 52 (Chapter 3) of the thesis.

but a transplantation of the morpheme group, which involves the use of Slovak morphemes in such an arrangement as to correspond to the English expression.

The following are loanshifts found in my corpus:

'break a record'	Imm Std[19]	/zlomit' rekord/ prekonat' rekord
'checks and balances (system)'	Imm	/čekoví sistem/[20]
'cherry tree'	Imm Std	/strešňoví strom/ čerešňa (strešňa, West Slovak dialect)
'eats out'	Imm	/jí ven/
'eighteen ...' (e.g.'1812')	Imm Std	/osemnást' dvanást'/ tísic osemsto dvanást'
'front room'	Imm	/prední rum/
'good and hungry'	Imm Std	/dobrí hladní/ poriadne hladný
'good time'	Imm	/dobré čase/
'go out'	Imm	/ít ven/
'in Slovak'	Imm Std	/ve slovenski/ po slovensky
'nineteen ...' (e.g. '1912')	Imm Std	/d'evatnást' dvanást'/ tisíc devät'sto dvanást'
'quarter to' (e.g. ' - six')	Imm Std	/patnást do šestej/ trištvrte na šest'
'wasn't very good at'	Imm	/nebil velmi dobrí/
'what's that again'	Imm	/co je to zas/

---

[19] In the following illustrations, "Imm" will stand for "Immigrant Slovak" and "Std" for "Standard Slovak."

[20] Omissions of Slovak equivalents in these and later illustrations are due to lack of comparable expressions.

4.6 Loans of bound morphemes. Examples of the borrowing of a bound morpheme are generally hard to find. In my corpus, bound loan-morphemes are represented by an occasional plural morpheme. The plural of the Slovak word advokát ('attorney') was given by one informant, in connected text, as /advokáts/ (cf. Standard Slovak advokáti). Further illustrations of borrowing in this area are provided by prepositions, as discussed in Chapter 5 below.

4.7 Morphemic reinterpretation. This thesis does not take up in detail the morphemic adaptation of the assimilated loans. The reader will find the various divergent forms of a loan listed in Appendix B. A few interesting cases among the items starred in Appendix B may nevertheless be singled out for special comment at this time.

My corpus includes eight singular nouns which end in English in /I/, more specifically, in a phoneme without morphemic ("number") function.

It happens that final /i/ in Slovak is a phoneme with morphemic ("plural-number") status, being, in fact, the most common way for plural nouns to end in Slovak.

As a result, a morphemic reinterpretation of the diaphone

$$_{E}/I > i/_{S}$$

takes place, in such a way that the respective English singular forms are reinterpreted as Slovak plural forms.

On the analogy of other singular-plural relationships, i.e. by substitution of ending-morphemes, new singulars are formed:

English Forms (function'g as Singulars)	Immigrant Slovak Loans (reinterpreted as Plurals)	Immigrant Slovak Deriv. (by analogy) of Singulars
'baloney'	/balóni/	/balón/
'candy'	/kendi/	/kenda/
'foundry'	/fandri/	/fandra/
'laundry'	/landri/	/landra/
'Milwaukee'		/milvóka/
'Missouri'		/mizóra/
'movie'	/mívi/	/mív/
'whiskey'	/viski/	/viska/[21]

A comparable reinterpretation process was noted also in the reverse direction: English plural forms were borrowed as Immigrant Slovak singular forms, Slovak singulars in /s/ being quite common, with derivation, from these, of new Immigrant Slovak plurals:

English Forms (function'g as Plurals)	Immigrant Slovak Loans (reinterpreted as Singulars)	Immigrant Slovak Deriv. (by analogy) of Plurals
'bananas'	/bonanes/	/bonanese/
'beans'	/bíns/	/bínzi/
'boys'	/bojs/	/bojsi/

---

[21] Notice that all but the first and the next-to-the-last of these Immigrant Slovak analogic singulars are feminine.

'cakes'	/keks/	/kekse/
'cookies'	/kukis/	/kukise/
'cups'	/kaps/	/kapse/
'dishes'	/dišes/	/dišese/
'pancakes'	/penkeks/	/penkekse/
'peas'	/pis/	
'roots'	/ruts/	/rutse/
'tomatoes'	/tomejtos/	/tomejtosi/

4.8 Incidence of loans. Tables 9 and 10 (pages 73 and 74 below) list the number of loans for the various informants.

The criteria considered are:

generations (second versus first)

types of loans (assimilated versus unassimilated)
(maximally recurrent versus minimally occurring)

The significance of distinguishing the data according to second and first generations will be apparent from the evaluation of the data as they appear in the tables.

Type distinctions in terms of assimilated and unassimilated loans have been reviewed in Chapter 3 of the thesis, and their relevance will further stand out in the discussion below.

Statements of maximal recurrence reflect the counting of all loans, regardless of recurrence in identical shape.

Minimal occurrence counts, in contrast, restrict recognition to loans of different forms.

Maximal and minimal tabulations may be illustrated as follows. Let us suppose that the English form 'well' shows up, in the data of an immigrant Slovak informant, sixteen times as /vel/. Under "Maximal Recurrence," the incidence of /vel/ is noted as 16. Under "Minimal Occurrence," on the other hand, one and the same form, such as /vel/, will be entered as 1.

Another informant for Immigrant Slovak intends to express English 'house' and he uses the form /hauze/ six times and the form /hauzi/ three times. In this case, the incidence of maximal recurrence is again equal to the sum of all the forms, that is to say, 9. The incidence of minimal occurrence, in turn, is equal to the number of different forms, namely, 2.

As regards the insertion of two different tables in the same area of investigation, it may be noted that the picture revealed by Table 9 is of a more comprehensive character than that of Table 10. Table 10, however, tells us the number of various kinds of loans per five minutes, and this tabulation is more reliable than the information provided by Table 9, if we bear in mind that not all informants for this study have yielded recordings of the same length.

TABLE 9

INCIDENCE AND TYPES OF LOANS IN TWO INFORMANT GENERATIONS

Informant Code No.	Maximal Recurrence Assimil'd	Unassimil.	Total	Minimal Occurrence Assimil'd	Unassimil.	Total
2nd Gener.						
13	198	369	567	144	267	411
7	162	368	530	99	164	263
2	111	331	442	91	204	295
10	180	178	358	119	137	256
8	108	219	327	69	132	201
12	112	209	321	88	123	211
15	30	45	75	19	37	56
1st Gener.						
14	399	524	923	290	347	637
16	497	389	886	295	260	555
6	170	219	389	106	99	205
11	178	115	293	121	59	180
3	201	55	256	149	46	195
9	86	101	187	61	79	140
5	149	31	180	104	31	135
1	81	0	81	55	0	55
4	46	27	73	34	23	57
2nd Gener. Average	129	245	374	90	152	242
1st Gener. Average	201	160	361	135	105	240
2nd Gener. Median	112	219	358	91	137	256
1st Gener. Median	170	101	256	106	59	180

TABLE 10

INCIDENCE OF LOANS PER FIVE MINUTES

Informant Code No.	Maximal Recurrence Assimil'd	Unassimil.	Total	Minimal Occurrence Assimil'd	Unassimil.	Total
2nd Gener.						
13	16	31	47	12	22	34
7	13	31	44	8	14	22
2	9	28	37	8	17	25
10	18	18	36	12	14	26
8	9	18	27	6	11	17
12	9	18	27	8	10	18
15	6	8	14	3	7	10
1st Gener.						
14	17	22	39	12	14	26
6	14	18	32	9	8	17
11	15	9	24	10	5	15
16	12	9	21	7	6	13
3	13	3	16	9	3	12
9	7	9	16	5	7	12
15	12	3	15	9	2	11
4	6	4	10	5	3	8
1	7	0	7	5	0	5
2nd Gener. Average	11	22	33	8	14	22
1st Gener. Average	11	9	20	8	5	13
2nd Gener. Median	9	18	36	8	14	22
1st Gener. Median	12	9	16	9	5	12

As between the data for any two informants of the same or different generations on Table 10, significant differences might, or might not, be apparent. Comparing, however, the respective averages (or medians) of the two generations, we do find the considerable divergence between 33 and 20 maximally recurrent loans, and between 22 and 13 minimally occurring (i.e. typologically different) loans, per five minutes.

Conversely, the two generations coincide remarkably with 11 maximal recurrences and 8 minimal occurrences in their respective incidence of assimilated loans.

Thus, the factor of bilingual differentiation between the two generations is the number of unassimilated loans used.[22]

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[22]Haugen would say that the second generation does more code-switching; cf. Chapter 3, footnote 23. It is difficult to know how Weinreich would express this, since, to him, the difference between the unassimilated and assimilated loans is the difference between their use inspeech and in language, a distinction irrelevant to this dissertation; cf. Weinreich, op. cit. 11-12.

CHAPTER V

INTERFERENCE IN PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES OF IMMIGRANT SLOVAK

5.1 Objectives of Chapter 5. The plan of operation, as outlined for this thesis in the preceding chapter, is based upon exploring avenues of research opened up by some of the pioneers in the field of bilingualism. At this time, one selected area of exploration will again furnish the subject matter of the new chapter, and it will serve to demonstrate how research previously recommended might yield results when applied to a new set of data. In Chapter 4, I attempted to draw upon Haugen's work on diamorphs and other features of interference in loanwords. In Chapter 5, the writings of Weinreich[1] will give impetus to a review of interference phenomena in prepositional phrases.

It will be convenient, first, to establish Standard and Immigrant Slovak norms in relation to prepositional phrase structures. Then I shall go on to describe instances and types of deviations from these norms as I encountered them in my informant data, in particular as concerns the presence, absence, or preference of case-forms called for by one or the other preposition, as well as the selection of prepositions themselves, to the extent that declensional and prepositional features characterize the structure of Immigrant Slovak.

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[1]Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1, 1953). Attendance at Weinreich's lectures on the subject matter of his book has also contributed to shaping my thaughts on facts relating to my own field of investigation.

5.2 Slovak norms. A definition of interference phenomena offered in Chapter 3 was that of instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of language contact.[2] If, then, one is to study interference in speech, it is necessary first to establish the norms of the language in which interference is to be studied.

In Chapters 3 and 4, the search for a norm entered into the discussion of assimilated and unassimilated loans. It was pointed out that, on the level of loanwords, the additional investigations required to evolve a norm for Immigrant Slovak would go beyond the aims of the thesis, without significantly adding to the understanding and usefulness of the exposition.

On the other hand, research on causes and effects of interference presently to be discussed did yield various clues as to existing norms, and the introduction of norms as terms of reference for evaluating my data is thus possible and, for an appreciation of the problems of this chapter, indeed essential as the first step to be taken.

The study of deviation from this norm will uncover interference from where previous findings lead us to expect it above all: from language contact between Immigrant Slovak and English. Evaluation of norms and deviations is based on examining one type of problem, that of the use of a preposition followed by a noun with its modifiers, i.e. the prepositional phrase.

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[2]Weinreich, op. cit. 1

5.3 Similarities between Standard and Immigrant Slovak. The selection of the prepositional phrase is supported by the fact that this construction is current in both English and Slovak, and is treated similarly in the two languages, except in one respect: both in Standard and in Immigrant Slovak, and contrary to English, it is part of a norm of usage that the noun, pronoun, or adjective in this construction should be in a particular case, depending upon the preposition preceding. The cases entering a prepositional construction in Standard Slovak are genitive, dative, accusative, locative, and instrumental. These cases are also found in Immigrant Slovak. Lexically, Standard Slovak prepositions are part of the immigrant's vocabulary as well.

5.4 Differences between Standard and Immigrant Slovak. The specific nature of the noun-case is one of the differentiating factors between the Standard and the immigrant's languages, and a topic of primary consideration in this chapter. It will be seen that while cases used with prepositions in Standard Slovak are also encountered in Immigrant Slovak, the latter also uses case forms unknown after prepositions in the Standard language. Furthermore, there are differences in distribution as regards one or the other case. There are, then, two norms for post-prepositional noun cases, that of the Standard and that of the Immigrant language. Table 11 will present cases as conditioned by prepositions in Standard Slovak.[3]

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[3]Table 11 is based on data adapted from Eugen Pauliny, Jozef Štolc, and Jozef Ružička, Slovenská gramatika 281-292 (Martin 1955).

TABLE 11

SELECTED SLOVAK PREPOSITIONS AND CASES REQUIRED

Preposition	Genitive	Dative	Accusative	Locative	Instrumental
bez	*				
do	*				
od	*				
u	*				
z	*				
podl'a	*				
blízko	*				
okrem	*				
mimo	*				
k		*			
proti		*			
pre			*		
pri				*	
s					*
na			*	*	
po			*	*	
v			*	*	
o			*	*	
pred			*		*
pod			*		*
medzi			*		*
za	*		*		*

5.5 Immigrant Slovak deviation from Standard Slovak norm. As a starting point for evolving an Immigrant norm, it was necessary to trace Immigrant deviation from the Standard norm. This was done as follows: a list of consecutive prepositional phrases was compiled from the data of fifteen informants (eight first-generation and seven second-generation speakers). The average length of the list for each informant was 300 phrases. Each phrase was compared with Standard Slovak equivalents, due allowance being made for assimilated loans and for dialectal variations among the recordings of Immigrant speech.[4]

Comparisons were on the order of the following five examples:

1.	Imm /do kort/	Std	*do kortu[5]	'to court'
2.	/do džejla/		*do džejla	'to jail'
3.	/do školi/		do školy[6]	'to school'
4.	/ve škole/		v škole	'in school'
5.	/od slovensko/		o Slovensku	'about Slovakia'

---

[4]Dialectal diversity among informants which is relevant to this discussion is accounted for on pages 33-43, Chapter 2, of the thesis.

[5]Starred forms, according to prevailing customs of linguistic notation, are hypothetical forms, which might occur in the shapes indicated if the nouns themselves were part of Standard Slovak.

[6]There is no difference in pronunciation between Immigrant and Standard Slovak as regards /školi/ and školy. The letter y is one of the representations of the phoneme /i/ in Standard orthography. Cf. Appendix A of this thesis.

Numbers 2, 3, and 4 of the expressions given on the preceding page show no deviation as regards the respective prepositional phrases, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding: Number 2 contains an assimilated loan declined in a manner permissible in Standard Slovak, while Number 4 uses a dialectal variant of the preposition.

Phrase 1 contains an undeclined unassimilated loan, which represents one type of deviation. Phrase 5 shows deviation both in the preposition and in the noun-case. Phrases such as 1 and 5 of the five phrases indicated on page 80 above exemplify those selected for particular examination in this chapter.

These Immigrant-Standard comparisons of prepositional phrases produced statistics summarized in Table 12.

TABLE 12

INCIDENCE OF IMMIGRANT SLOVAK DEVIATION FROM STANDARD SLOVAK NORM

Column 1 Generat.	Column 2 Informant Code No.	Column 3 % Deviation (disregardg. Prep.-plus-Unass. Loans)	Column 4 % Deviation (consist'g of Prep.-plus-Unassim. Loans)
1	1	0	2
	3	2	5
	4	0	2
	5	1	5
	6	5	9
	9	4	12
	11	2	6
	14	2	9
2	2	5	20
	7	30	22
	8	4	15
	10	40	16
	12	16	12
	13	3	12
	15	23	33

5.6 Evaluation of Immigrant Slovak deviation. Disregarding, for the moment, Column 4 of Table 12, and concentrating on Column 3 only, we discover the first generation's deviation from Standard Slovak, where items other than unassimilated loans are involved, to range from 0 % to 5 %, with a 2 % average. Three of the second-generation informants also fall within this range. Thus, comparable numerical results were arrived at for 11 informants.

Similar typological classification of the deviations of these eleven speakers, however, did not lead to a similarly instructive result. The types of their respective deviations were not comparable. They revealed no clear pattern.

If a type-pattern did exist, i.e. if an incidence of one or of a limited number of specific types recurrent in Immigrant "mistakes" could be shown, these "mistakes" would be an integral part of the Immigrant Slovak norm. But the pattern does not exist within the Immigrant language; hence, the deviations must be evaluated against the norm of the most adjacent linguistic system, that of Standard Slovak.

At this point, then, it is to be noted that, as regards prepositional phrases, the Immigrant Slovak norm coincides with the Standard Slovak of Table 11 (page 79), subject to numerical deviation not exceeding 5 % of items other than unassimilated loans. It may be recalled that this norm derives from interviews of all of my first-generation informants on prepositional phrases, plus three of the

second generation. In this respect, the other second-generation speakers deviate from the Standard norm to a degree far above 5 %.

Table 12 also shows what percentage of the total phrases consisted of a preposition and an unassimilated loan. For the first generation the average percentage is 6 %, and the range, 2 - 12 %. Two of the second generation likewise fall within this range, but just barely, with 12 %. The greater number of unassimilated loans for the second generation should not surprise us in the light of the latter part of Chapter 4, where it was seen that there is no great difference in the number of assimilated loans between the generations; the generational difference is a function of the number of unassimilated ones, the second generation using many more of these.

The normative statement of page 82 -- regarding an Immigrant Slovak norm coinciding with that of Standard Slovak, with five per cent or less of numerical deviation of items other than unassimilated loans -- may now find further elaboration, so as to include Immigrant Slovak use of about 6 % (and even up to 12 %) of unassimilated loans in prepositional phrases.

The deviations within these phrases (i.e. those of Column 4 of Table 12) admit of a somewhat easier typological breakdown than was possible for constructions of Column 3, as will yet be indicated in this chapter.

5.7 Standard Slovak deviation. Unassimilated loans are not unknown in Standard Slovak. As nouns, they are not declined. The use of indeclinables, for example after a preposition, does therefore not originate with the Immigrant language.

The outstanding fact as regards Immigrant Slovak is the large number of phrases which contain undeclined nouns, relative to standards of European Slovak, with attendant effects upon the use of cases in the Immigrant structure.

Tabulations on the order of those offered above are not available for unassimilated loans in Standard Slovak texts. Previous publications do, nevertheless, convey some idea of the difference, in this area, between the Immigrant and the Standard languages.

Taking a ten per cent random sample from the word list in Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu[7] (a list of more than 43,700 items), we find that the unassimilated loan nouns, that is to say those not declined, number no more than .3 % of the total.

This does not come anywhere near the 6 % average which we obtain for the first generation in Table 12.

---

[7]Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu s pravopisným a gramatickým slovníkom 121-403 (Bratislava 1953). The random sampling was arrived at by examining the entries on every tenth page.

5.8 Additional deviation types: lacking case-endings. It was pointed out earlier that it is hard to come by normative statements in terms of specific recurrent types of "mistakes." The establishment of a norm in terms of such types is not, however, impossible up to a point. This norm will shape up wherever outstanding numerical values coincide with specific formal-semantic correlations, as may be shown among unassimilated loans which follow a preposition (Table 12, Column 4).

Place names, or names of companies which for various reasons suggest themselves to my informants, yield a high percentage of post-prepositional unassimilated loans: an average of 63 % for the eight first-generation speakers examined; for five out of these eight, the numerical incidence is 75 % or higher yet. Nobody of the other generation reaches here the 63 % level, the second-generation average being 45 % for place or company names. Thus we see that, although the second generation also uses unassimilated name loans, it has many more unassimilated borrowings of a miscellaneous nature.

The Immigrant Slovak norm, then, includes prepositions followed by unassimilated names. These name-constructions, a normative statement would recall, represent 63 % of the first-generation and 45 % of the second-generation unassimilated total. (Actual amounts do not significantly differ for the two generations, a fact reflecting the much higher incidence of second-generation unassimilated borrowing in general, and post-prepositional miscellany in particular.)

Excluding unassimilated undeclinables reviewed above, the analysis of deviationary features in this chapter will now proceed along these lines:

(1) The use of a "wrong" preposition.

(2) The use of a "wrong" case following a given preposition.

5.9 Additional deviation-types: different prepositions. What characterizes "wrong" prepositions is that they are heard only from second-generation speakers, and that all but one of that generation exhibit this type of selectional deviation.

Three Slovak prepositions are "misused" by every speaker of this group: od, z, and s. The problem of formal-semantic correlation of these forms is actualized by English interference of a particular kind.

The prepositions od and z more or less cover the semantic range of English 'from,' whereas s by and large matches English 'with.'

For the second Slovak-speaking generation this is essentially a learning problem. The primary language of this group is English, even though originally Slovak may have been the language learned first. When speaking Slovak, a member of this group wants to equate 'from' with one preposition only, so as not to have to choose between two. That he should frequently make the wrong choice is not surprising. One does look for further explanation, however, as to why, when in doubt, he chooses od -- and some use this form exclusively --

rather than z. It seems probable that the answer lies in the homonymy of z and s in most environments,[8] with potential confusion of meanings ('from' versus 'with').

A starting point for the appreciation of the facts in question may be found in the following (Standard and first-generation Immigrant) expressions:

od	/od matki/	'from Mother'
z	/z matki/	'from Mother'
	/s kraju/	'from the Old Country'
s	/s krajom/	'with the Old Country'
	/z matkov/	'with Mother'

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[8]The Standard Slovak morpheme {z} has three allomorphs: /zo/, /z/, and /s/. The use of any of these depends on phonemic environment: /zo/ is used before /s/, /š/, and /z/; /z/, before vowels and voiced consonants except the voiced sibilant just mentioned; /s/, before voiceless consonants except the afore-mentioned two voiceless sibilants.

{s} as a Standard Slovak morpheme has four allomorphs: /zo/, /z/, /s/, and /so/. The first two of these are determined, respectively, by phonemic environments identical with the respective phonemic environments of the allomorphs /zo/ and /z/ of {z}; that is to say, /zo/, whether an allomorph of {z} or of {s}, is used before /s/, /š/, and /z/; similarly, /z/, regardless of whether it represents {z} or {s}, occurs before vowels and before voiced consonants other than itself. The use of /s/ as an allomorph of {s} is determined, usually phonemically as well, except for a number of statable morphemic determinants; the phonemic determinants are the same for /s/ as an allomorph of {z} as of {s}: voiceless consonants except sibilants; certain personal pronouns, on the other hand, would illustrate morphemic determinants of /s/ as an allomorph of {s}, as also of /so/ determined morphemically only. Thus, compare {z} (as in /z vás/ 'from you') and {s} (as in /s vami/ 'with you').

For a detailed treatment of determining environments of these Standard Slovak forms, as also of their dialect counterparts, see Pauliny, Štolc, and Ružička, Slovenská gramatika 57-58.

Since the phonemic realizations of the morphemes {z} and {s}, according to pressure of the voiced or voiceless environment, may be, respectively, /z/ and /s/ or /s/ and /z/, confusion is the inevitable consequence among people no longer as conversant with the facts of the language as those who in early childhood were exposed to no other linguistic medium.

The second-generation speaker may then simply eliminate the problem of choice by equating both {z} and {s} with English 'with,' and {od} with 'from:'

2Im[9] /z matkov/ 'with Mother'
Std s matkov

2Im /od kraju/ 'from the Old Country'
Std z kraju

2Im /od matki/ 'from Mother'
Std od matki

But the second-generation informant wrestles with the preposition s ('with') also in the following respect. The English prepositional phrase 'with'-plus-noun is expressed, in Slovak, both by s-plus-noun, the noun being in the instrumental case, or else simply by the noun in the instrumental alone. The informant, recalling that what in English is rendered by 'with'-plus-noun is sometimes expressed without s in his language, omits s even where it is mandatory. Compare:

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[9] "2Im" stands for "second generation Immigrant Slovak." Cf. footnote 12 below.

2Im /rukov/ 'with (one's) hand'
Std rukou

2Im /matkov/ 'with Mother'
Std s matkou

Second-generation speakers exhibit many instances of the type /od kraju/ and some of the type /matkov/. So much for od, z, and s.

Let us now proceed to another preposition problem, that of u and v. The prepositions u and v caused trouble for two second-generation speakers. Some of the respective English equivalents of these prepositions are as follows:

u: 'near,' 'by,' 'at;'

v: 'in,' 'at,' 'on.'

The problem for the learner (and this, essentially, is what a second-generation speaker is) should not be hard to see, and interference here is not surprising. The two second-generation speakers who were trying, none too successfully, to cope with it, never use v in place of u, but often say u where v is the norm.

Illustrations of normal usage are:

u Džánsona 'at Johnson's'

v našom meste 'in our town'

From the second-generation representatives, /u našom mest'e/ is heard. When in doubt, they invariably, and for no ascertainable reason, use u.

Another two informants of the second generation reveal interference affecting od ('from') and o ('about'), due, it would seem, to phonetic similarity:

od	2Im	/od mašini/	'about machines'
o	Std	o mašinách	
	2Im	/od slovensku/	'about Slovakia'
	Std	o Slovensku	

There are ten additional types of interference in the choice of prepositions, but each of these is limited to one informant only:

v	2Im	/v binghamton/[10]	'to Binghamton'
do	Std	do Binghamtona	
Ø[11]	2Im	/mie/	'to me'
k(u)	Std	ku mne	
	2Im	/slovenskí advokat/	'to a Slovak lawyer'
	Std	ku slovenskému advokátovi	

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[10]This type of construction is normal in the East Slavic languages, and influences from that speech area might have left their mark on Immigrant Slovak.

[11]The symbol "Ø" indicates zero, i.e. absence of a preposition.

na	2Im	/na deset marci/	'on the 10th of March'
Ø	Std	desiateho marca	
do	2Im	/do džánsonoví hlavní bós/	'to Johnson's chief boss'
k	Std	k Džánsonovmu hlavnému . . .	
od	2Im	/od reči/	'because of language'
pre	Std	pre reč	
o	2Im	/o tréne/	'by train'
Ø	Std	vlakom	
na	2Im	/na to/	'because of that'
pre	Std	pre to	
do	2Im	/do druhí bok/	'to the other side'
na	Std	na druhý bok	
v(e)	2Im	/ve slnko/	'in the sun'
na	Std	na slnku	
na	2Im	/na to (držal sa)/	'(held on) to that'
za	Std	za to (držal sa)	

One first-generation informant was found using three English prepositions with all or part of the object in Slovak:

'between'	1Im[12]	/bitvín ten čas/	'in the meantime'
medzi	Std	medzi tým časom	
'beside'	1Im	/bisajd tej obviklej roboti/	'beside the usual work'
okrem	Std	okrem (or mimo) tej obvyklej roboty	
'with'	1Im	/vit saur smetanku/	'with sour cream'
s	Std	s kyslou smotánkou	

5.10 Additional deviation-types: different case-endings. Let us now go into yet another type of interference phenomenon traceable in the choice of a "wrong" case after a preposition. The interference in this instance originates, it appears, with the lack of post-prepositional case distinction among English nouns.

A glance at Table 11 (page 79 above) shows us that no Standard Slovak preposition is followed by a nominative form.

In my Immigrant data, however, this is sometimes the case. A few instances occur among the first generation, but mostly this is typical of the second generation.

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[12]"1Im" denotes "first generation Immigrant Slovak.

Prepositions governing the nominative in Immigrant Slovak where Standard Slovak calls for the genitive are illustrated below, with one example for each preposition:

bez	Imm	/bez vízum/[13] (Nom.)	'without a visum'
	Std	bez víza (Gen.)	
do	Imm	/do prví tíden/ (Nom.)	'until the first week'
	Std	do prvého týždňa (Gen.)	
od	Imm	/od jeden deň/ (Nom.)	'from one day'
	Std	od jedného dňa (Gen.)	
u	Imm	/u brat'islava/ (Nom.)	'near Bratislava'
	Std	u Bratislavi (Gen.)	
okolo	Imm	/okolo krk/ (Nom.)	'around the neck'
	Std	okolo krku (Gen.)	

Standard pri takes the locative, but the Immigrant counterpart on occasion goes with a nominative, as in:

pri	Imm	/pri more/ (Nom.)	'by the sea'
	Std	pri mori (Loc.)	

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[13]This expression would be correct in Polish, and Polish influence might be argued here.

Standard use of medzi allows for the accusative or the instrumental. The form of Immigrant Slovak /medzi domácnost'/ could be either nominative or accusative, but meaning in this case would presribe a Standard instrumental medzi domácnost'ou to render 'among those in the household.' In contrast to that, Immigrant /medzi slováci/[14] ('among Slovaks') in form reflects a nominative only. The instrumental, called for in Standard use, would be medzi slovákmi. It is possible that the /i/ ending in both the nominative and the instrumental caused the nominative to be used in Immigrant examples of this type.

The prepositions na, u, and o in Standard constructions are sometimes followed by the accusative and sometimes by the locative. Occasional Immigrant /na/-plus-nominative instead of accusative is illustrated in /na policija/ ('to the police') for Standard na policiu.

There are a number of examples of na + nominative or accusative in nouns where Standard forms of nominative and accusative fall together, but where Standard requires the locative to express the meaning desired; for instance, na druhý bok in Standard Slovak stands for 'to the other side,' but in Immigrant Slovak also for 'on the other side' (Standard na druhom boku).

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[14] Archaic instrumental plural forms like psy and pany can be found in Slovak literary works and may have had some influence here as well. Cf. Pauliny, Štolc, and Ružička, Slovenská gramatika 156.

Similarly, immigrants combine the preposition v with nominative-accusative forms, as opposed to Old Country locative selection, as in /v leto/ (Nom.-Acc.) instead of Standard v let'e (Loc.)

The same is true for the preposition o, as seen in:

o	Imm	/o deň/ (Nom.-Acc.)	'about the day'
	Std	o dni (Loc.)	
	Imm	/o to/ (Nom.-Acc.)	'about that'
	Std	o tom (Loc.)	

The rest of the examples of interference evidenced by the "wrong" choice of noun-case after the preposition will be reviewed by prepositions in the order in which they appear in Table 11.

bez	Imm	/bez kvarti/ (Gen.sg.)	'without quarts'
	Std	bez kvartov (Gen.pl.)	

Do: The main problem here is the Immigrant use of locative instead of genitive (Standard). This is not surprising since, in some Standard nouns, the locative ends in /i/ and the genitive in /e/. In other nouns the locative ends in /e/ and the genitive ends in /i/. Thus, one gets, for example:

do	Imm	/do konvenciji/ (Loc.)	'until the convention'
	Std	do konvencije (Gen.)	
	Imm	/do klase/ (Loc.)	'to class'
	Std	do klasi (Gen.)	

Possibly because some Standard Slovak nouns have a genitive ending in /u/ (e.g. hrdinu), we hear:

	Imm	/do školu/ (Acc.)	'to school'
	Std	do školi (Gen.)	

and such combinations of cases as the following:

	Imm	/do polatických (Gen.) vecos (case = ?)/	'into political things'
	Std	do politických vecí (Gen.)	
	Imm	/do slovenských (Gen.pl.) svadbu (Acc.sg.)/	'to Slovak weddings'
	Std	do slovenských svadieb (Gen.pl.)	
	Imm	/do slovenskej (Gen.) školu (Acc.)/	'to a Slovak school'
	Std	do slovenskej školy (Gen.)	

Imm	/do tích (Gen.) listi (Nom.-Acc.)/	'into those leaves'
Std	do tých listou (Gen.)	
Imm	/do hantovich (Gen.) šati (Nom.-Acc.)/	'into hunting clothes'
Std	do . . . šiat (Gen.)	
Imm	/do slovenski/ (Av.)	'into Slovak (ones)'
Std	do slovenských (Aj. Gen.)	

Od: The interference here stems from the same reasons as in do, i.e. the fact that the same vowel may be the ending of various cases in various classes of nouns:

od	Imm	/od vojsku/ (Loc.)	'from the army'
	Std	od vojska (Gen.)	
	Imm	/od novembri/ (Loc.)	'since November'
	Std	od novembra (Gen.)	

The following Immigrant constructions show lack of agreement in case and/or in gender:

Imm	/od moju (f.Acc.) tata (m.Nom) a manželku (f.Acc.)/	'from my dad and wife'
Std	od môjho tatu a manželky (Gen.)	

Imm	/od jednu (f.Acc.) mesto (n.Nom.-Acc.)/	'from one town'
Std	od jednoho mesta (Gen.)	
Imm	/od tích (Gen.) lud'am (Dat.)/	'from those people'
Std	od tých ludí (Gen.)	
Imm	/od jednich (Gen.) ludé (Nom.)/	'from some people'
Std	od jedných ludí (Gen.)	

U, z (with dialectal variants zos and ze), blízko, and podl'a also lead to Immigrant confusion of locative with genitive; witness these illustrations:

u	Imm	/u vojňe/ (Loc.)	'near the war'
	Std	u vojni (Gen.)	
zos/z /ze	Imm	/zos bibliji/ (Loc.)	'from the Bible'
	Std	z biblie (Gen.)	
	Imm	/z vojsku/ (Loc.)	'from the army'
	Std	z vojska (Gen.)	
	Imm	/ze škole/ (Loc.)	'from school'
	Std	ze školy (Gen.)	

blízko	Imm	/blísko košicách/ (Loc.)	'near Kosice'
	Std	blízko Košíc (Gen.)	

Additional evidence for lack of gender agreement is found in:

podl'a	Imm	/podle kostolného (m.Gen.) zajímavost'i (f.Gen.)/	'according to church interest'
	Std	podl'a kostolnej zajímavosti (f.Gen.)	

K and proti in the Standard language take the dative, but second-generation recordings yield the following constructions:

k	Imm	/k našému (m.Dat.) župe (f.Dat.)/	'to our district'
	Std	k našej župe (Dat.)	
proti	Imm	/prot'i teho/ (Gen.)	'against that one'
	Std	proti tomu (Dat.)	

Pre (dialectally, pro), as used in European Slovak, takes the accusative case; yet, immigrants say:

pre/pro	Imm	/pro ludem/ (Dat.)	'for people'
	Std	pre ludi (Acc.)	

	Imm	/pre vojsku/ (Dat.)	'for the army'
	Std	pre vojsko (Acc.)	

An explanation may here be sought in some Standard nouns ending in /u/ in the accusative (e.g. ženu).

Pri, for which Standard Slovak requires the locative, causes the same confusion, among immigrants, between the locative and the genitive endings as that found with the above-mentioned prepositions followed by genitive inflection, viz.:

pri	Imm	/pri obedu/ (Gen.)	'at dinner'
	Std	pri obede (Loc.)	
	Imm	/pri tom (Loc.sg.) časi (Nom.pl.)/	'at that time'
	Std	pri tom čase (Loc.sg.)	

S ('with') requires the instrumental in the Standard language. Examples of immigrant usage involving the genitive could be due to phonetic resemblance to z[15] ('from'), which takes the genitive:

s	Imm	/s nás/ (Gen.)	'with us'
	Std	s nami (Ins.)	
	Imm	/s post'eli/ (Gen.)	'with the beds'
	Std	s postelami (Ins.)	

[15] Cf. pages 86–89 (especially footnote 8) above.

There are also examples which do not involve the genitive:

Imm	/z ňí/ (Ins.sg.)	'with them'
Std	s nimi (Ins.pl.)	
Imm	/z lud'ám/ (Dat.)	'with people'
Std	s l'ud'mi (Ins.)	
Imm	/z ňákíma (Ins.) čechoslováci (Nom.)[16]/	'with some Czechoslovaks'
Std	s nejakými Čechoslovákmi	

Na, po, and v (dialectally, ve), in European custom, admit of both the accusative and the locative cases. The reader is referred to my previous discussion of the problem of nominative and accusative having the same form in some classes of nouns, where examples were supplied for prepositions followed by nominative-accusative forms instead of locative forms.[17]

There is evidence of "incorrect" immigrant use of the accusative where the latter is formally distinct from the nominative. Though, in isolation, these accusative phrases do not deviate from Standard Slovak norm, they are, from the Standard point of view, unjustified in the surrounding stretches of speech calling for the locative. Thus:

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[16]Cf. page 94 above.

[17]Cf. loc. cit.

na	Imm	/na cestu/ (Acc.)	'on the street'
	Std	na ceste (Loc.)	
v	Imm	/v zimu/ (Acc.)	'in the wintertime'
	Std	v zime (Loc.)	

In the following two instances, Standard speakers would also use the locative:

na	Imm	/na druhí (m.Nom.-Acc.) stranu (f.Acc.)/	'on the other side'
	Std	na druhej strane (f.Loc.)	
v/ve	Imm	/ve katolíkoví (m.Nom.-Acc.) Školu (f.Acc.)/	'in a Catholic school'
	Std.	v katolíckej škole (f.Loc.)	

Immigrant identification of the genitive and the locative once again makes itself felt:

na	Imm	/na kári/ (Gen.)	'by car(t)'
	Std	na káre (Loc.)	
v/ve	Imm	/ve kraju/ (Gen.)	'in the Old Country'
	Std	v kraji (Loc.)	

	Imm	/ve Školi/ (Gen.)	'in school'
	Std	ve Škole (Loc.)	

Finally, one may list these assorted examples of case and gender deviations:

na	Imm	/na tím (m.Loc. Ins.?) straňe (f.Loc.)/	'on that side'
	Std	na tej strane (f.Loc.)	
v	Imm	/v moj (m.Nom.) klase (f.Loc)/	'in my class'
	Std	v mojej klase (f.Loc.)	
po	Imm	/po tím (Ins.) čerstvím (Ins.) vzduchu (Loc.)/	'after that fresh air'
	Std	po tom čerstvom vzduchu (Loc.)	

Pred and medzi, as used in Slovakia, both govern the accusative and the instrumental. In addition to deviations from the norm of using prepositional phrases with medzi, referred to above,[18] one finds:

pred	Imm	/pred československej republiki/ (Gen.)	'before the Czechoslovak Republic'
	Std	pred československou republikou (Ins.)	
medzi	Imm	/medzi slovákou/ (Acc.)	'among Slovaks'
	Std	medzi slovákmi (Ins.)	

[18] Cf. loc. cit.

CHAPTER VI

INTERFERENCE IN THE ENGLISH OF IMMIGRANT SLOVAKS

6.1 Immigrant speech and language learning. Theoretically, it is possible, by comparison of specific structures studied independently of each other, to arrive at the points of interference in the two directions — in the case at hand, interference among speakers of English who are learning Slovak (e.g. our second-generation informants with whose speech patterns we became acquainted in Chapter 5), and interference among Slovak speakers learning English. To the latter, we owe the body of data presently to be analyzed.

In practice, it is often desirable to use the shortcut of observing the learner. For contrast as much as a counterpart to earlier portions of this dissertation, specifically Chapters 4 and 5, and to demonstrate further the similarity of problems faced by the learner in school and in daily living, let us, at this time, examine a few selected features of a first-generation immigrant Slovak's English.

6.2 Bilingual research and applied linguistics. In this chapter, attention will center, more than in earlier sections of this thesis, on the aspects of that part of our discipline known as applied linguistics.

As, before, I obtained guidance in theoretical orientation and practical approach from the pioneers in the fields of research covered earlier in this thesis, the writings of two leading exponents of applied

linguistic theory will similarly give direction to the analysis presented in this chapter.[1]

No claim is made here that all the established precepts of leading scholarship in this field have been followed throughout my exposition. The reader will make allowances for each study being based on somewhat different premises to reach somewhat divergent objectives; hence, I may not at all times adopt viewpoints and procedure suggested in previous publications on the subject.

Aiming at statements of applied linguistics, one may begin by stressing one of the end results expected from work in this area: more efficient and more purposeful instruction materials for specific learning situations. This thesis will offer suggestions on how theory and practice, fruitfully illustrated previously for such areas as Spanish and English, may find extension and further illustration when applied to problems of Slovak immigrants.

Implications in this sense, contained especially in the preceding chapter of this thesis, suggest that specific areas of interference are the specific points around which to build teaching materials for the specific pedagogic objective of teaching Slovak to speakers of English, and in regard to a more particular field of application, Standard Slovak to second-generation immigrants.

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[1]Robert Lado (cf. footnote 2 below) and Charles C. Fries (cf. footnote 10 below). My ideas on the subject of this chapter derive from their publications and, to a considerable extent, from classroom teaching by Professors Fries and Lado.

This chapter contains observations of the English of one immigrant Slovak -- i.e. a study on an idiolectal basis, the idiolect being considered as typical for the speech of any of a number of other persons whom I interviewed from identical points of view. What we find as a result of these interviews should guide us in preparing teaching materials for use by speakers of Slovak who wish to learn English.

6.3 Guidance from previous scholarship. Restrictions of the thesis to problems of morphological form and form-arrangements, i.e. essentially to grammatical features, will continue to prevail in this chapter. Let us, then, review previous scholarship on issues raised in this area of research, and let us, at this time, limit the review to that of suggestions from two representative contemporary scholars.

Do we want to provide grammatical orientation to an audience represented by my informants? There is no grammar of Immigrant Slovak in existence, and whatever previous literature contains on how Slovak immigrants should learn English is no better, but maybe a little worse, than what we know and often fight against in other pedagogic ventures in the field of languages. Up to a point, then, we must start from scratch; up to a point, we might as well. And what better way is there to do this than through gaining new insight into what it is we set out to do, into . . .

> How to compare two grammatical structures. . . . Because of early overemphasis on memorization of grammatical rules as an end-all of language learning, and the reaction against that extreme which has resulted in an equally disastrous negation of all grammatical study nowadays, it is necessary and helpful to clarify what is meant by grammatical structure and what is not meant by it.[2]

What is, or most purposefully should be, meant by grammatical structure is simply the "formal devices used in a language to convey certain meanings and relationships."[3]

A comparison with English of some formal devices used by Slovak will spotlight the problems (interference phenomena) that may arise in dealing with two grammatical structures, with two sets of devices, simultaneously.

In such a comparison, it is found that

> . . . a variety of formal devices may signal grammatical meanings. And it is this variety that causes many of the learning problems in mastering a foreign language, since the use of different devices by two languages will constitute a problem.
>
> Among the most frequent elements used in various languages to signal grammatical structure are . . . inflection (bound morphemes), correlation of forms, function words . . .[4]

Relating this to concrete informant-observation among immigrant Slovaks, I find that by comparing two descriptions arrived at separately by studying speech habits of monolinguals, it is sometimes very difficult to establish that any two particular devices

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[2]Robert Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures 51 (Ann Arbor 1957).

[3]Ibid. 52.

[4]Ibid. 53.

are different enough to constitute a problem. Often it is, beyond this, necessary to pinpoint issues presented by specific learning situations. This procedure, then, is frequently not merely desirable but indeed inescapable, as will be implicit in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Grammatical structures, it must moreover be borne in mind, are not

> . . . independent items with no relation to one another. The fact of the matter is that each pattern, each structure, contrasts not just with one other pattern but with many others. It is a complex net of these contrasts which constitutes a system for each language. Each pattern has a number of features which are the same as some features of other patterns and different from others.[5]

Sections 6.8 to 6.11 of this chapter will show how allowing for this interplay of grammatical structures within a system leads up to the discovery of a prerequisite for the correct assessment of a particular learning problem, more specifically, that we may face dual interference in what appeared to be a problem of one structure only.

For the interpretation of my informant's linguistic behavior in general,

> . . . we understand that the use of a grammatical structure by a speaker depends heavily on habit. It would be well nigh impossible to think consciously of all the potential changes, expansions and restrictions in uttering even a single sentence and still speak with anything approaching normal conversational speed. The . . . speaker of a language has from early childhood reduced practically all the operation of his grammatical system to habit.[6]

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[5] Ibid. 57.

[6] Ibid. 58.

The informant who furnished the data of this chapter is an intelligent person, currently on the editorial staff of a Czechoslovak monthly journal, who used the grammatical structure of Slovak for thirty-five years -- certainly a sufficient length of time to have made it a habit -- before becoming faced with the necessity of acquiring, in addition, the use of a foreign grammatical system, that of English. At the time the data for this chapter were collected, this informant had twenty years of experience in English. The features of interference selected for review here may document the extent to which habit is a force.

What has been called interference, Lado calls transfer. He notes that

> . . . the grammatical structure of the native language tends to be transferred to the foreign language. The student [and in my case, the immigrant] tends to transfer the sentence forms, modification devices, the number, gender, and case patterns of his native language.
>
> We know that this transfer occurs very subtly so that the learner is not even aware of it unless it is called to his attention in specific instances.[7]

To lead up to specific interference phenomena exhibited by my informant, two additional quotations may set the stage:

> Inflection is a very common grammatical signal, and one that has traditionally been studied as grammar. In English, the "-s" ending to signal plural, as in book: books. . . .[8]
>
> The correlation of an "-s" inflection . . . in English . . . is a problem for [foreign] speakers who have a correlation of forms that operates differently.[9]

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[7] Ibid. 58.

[8] Ibid. 54.

[9] Ibid. 61.

Let us now relate theory and practical recommendations gleaned from orienting scholarship to the issues presented by my informant data.

Once again, preliminary sifting must intervene to remain within the limits of a doctoral dissertation. One type of problem alone can find here recognition: linguistic interference in one set of function words, as evinced by their use, non-use, or "misuse." Again, the value of the presentation lies, not only in acquaintance with new description of unusual speech patterns, but, beyond this, in demonstrating how theory and recommendations outlined in the preceding pages of this chapter, and in those yet to follow, provide the tools for interpreting and bringing these patterns into focus.

The reader will recall that the quotations of pages 107 and 108 above exhorted to adopt a balanced view of grammatical study as the study of actual signaling devices, and an adjustment of descriptive concepts to the realities of devices compared within a language as well as bilingually.

The significance of this advice is obvious as soon as one draws, first, upon descriptive adjustment by now well established for the structure of English,[10] and in demonstrating, thereupon, how, for the purposes of the bilingual description of this thesis, adjusted descriptive concepts may not only be extended so as to apply to a field for which

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[10]Cf. Charles C. Fries, The Structure of English (New York 1952).

they were not originally designed, but indeed provide just the conceptual framework for the proper appreciation of my data of Slovak interference in an immigrant's English.

More specifically, the descriptive adjustment on which I am drawing here leads to a grouping of traditionally disparate linguistic forms, popularly known as articles, pronouns, numerals, etc., into one and the same set of function words, for reasons implied in the terminological label: they function alike.[11]

For the purposes of the present review, let us single out, from among members of the English function-word group to which I shall be referring, 'the,' 'a (an),' 'that,' 'those,' 'our,' 'my,' and 'such.'

Experience of native speakers of English, buttressed by linguistic or pedagogic research, suggests that the function said to unite these forms is that of potential, positionally determined occurrence,[12] rather than their respective semantic signaling values. Besides functional similarity of form, compared to semantically different functions, let us further point to differences in functional load of relative frequency of use as a criterion relevant in this context: a relatively high rate of use for 'the,' compared to that of 'such,' may illustrate this for English function words.

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[11] Ibid. 87-109 ("Function Words"); in particular, 88-89 (Function words of Group A).

[12] According to Leonard Bloomfield, "Linguistic Aspect of Science," International Encyclopedia of Unified Science 1.26 (1939), the function of a form is its privilege of assuming a given position. In the context of my discussion, a function in this formal sense is viewed side by side with a semantic function. For an extension of the formal and semantic function-word concepts to other languages, cf. Rud S. Meyerstein, "A Positional Determination of Semantic Equivalences in French, English, and German" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954).

6.4 Structures of Slovak and the immigrant's English. Operating with a comparable group of Slovak function words, we must, at once, point to notable differences in the membership of such a group: Slovak lacks functional equivalents for 'the' and 'a (an).'

Relating this to earlier normative statements of this dissertation, I might say that the lack of counterparts for 'the' and 'a' is part of the norms of Standard and Immigrant Slovak (including second-generation speakers) from a bilingual point of view.

For the immigrant Slovak's English, however, the picture is more complex that one might assume. Four types of deviation from the norm of English are noticeable:

(a) Omission of 'the' (as also of 'a' or 'an') where its introduction in the English sentence is required.

(b) Introduction, possibly as the result of the immigrant's attempt at hypercorrection,[13] of 'the (a, an)' where English omits it.

(c) Replacement of 'the (a, an)' by another function word of the same group, resulting in a shift of functional load contrary to English custom.

(d) Redundant construction, in disregard of English habits of word-combination, of 'the (a, an)' with another function word of the same group.

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[13] On hypercorrection, cf. Leonard Bloomfield, Language 302, 449, 479 (New York 1933).

As the result of further classification, environmental as well as semantic, of these deviation types, a norm of the Slovak immigrant's English may evolve as the composite picture of data listed in the next five sections of this chapter.

6.5 Simple interference by omission. The type of interference, reflected in my immigrant informant's speech, which may be among deviations most noticeable and disturbing to the native speaker of English, can be described as omission of the word 'the' (or 'a, an') in word arrangements where the use of such a word is needed.

A breakdown of instances of omission reveals the following patterns of relative consistency. I shall classify these patterns according to certain formal environments, relying on semantic determination only to the extent that a more concise description is thereby obtained.

The first type of formal environment to be cited is the post-prepositional. Let us begin with occurrence after the preposition 'at' and let us remain aware that, apart from omission of 'the' (or 'a') in this position, the preposition itself may reveal a case of "misuse."[14] The following is a listing of recordings of omission after 'at':[15]

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[14] Cf. Section 6.8 below

[15] Some of the following constructions, listed as being representative of deviation from English norm, might be normal in specific English environments, but would be unusual in the environments in which the informant used them.

at spring - 'in the spring'
(At spring we need clean the walls.)[16]

at evening - 'in the evening'
(She was getting home late at evening.)

at morning - 'in the morning'
(I will come at morning.)

at early morning - 'early in the morning'
(At early morning she have to get up again.)

at summertime - 'in the summer'
(At summertime still I have time.)

at wintertime - 'in the wintertime'
(When there was bad weather at wintertime I always spent afternoon . . .)

at proper time - 'at the proper time'
(I said at proper time I will come at morning.)

at beginning of November - 'in the beginning of November'
(It was at beginning of November and at 30th of November there was our wedding.)

Omission after 'in:'

in beginning of November - 'in the beginning of November'
(He came in beginning of November and that time he called me again.)

in middle of week - 'in the middle of the week'
(If I want to go home in middle of week I have to ask for permit.)

in old people's home - 'in the old people's home'
(They taught her what to do in old people's home.)

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[16] In the illustrations of this chapter, Immigrant English forms will be given without quotation marks (with wider environments in parentheses), while non-immigrant English forms, as before, appear between single quotes.

Omission after 'of:'

in middle of week - 'in the middle of the week'
(If I want to go home in middle of week . . .)

Omission after 'until:'

until fifth class - 'until the fifth grade'
(It was good that we can go together until fifth class.)

Omission after 'for:'

for little talking - 'for a brief chat'
(We stopped at the Tenjacks' for little talking.)

for permit - 'for a permit'
(I have to ask for permit to stay away.)

for young people meeting - 'to the young people's meeting'
(Still I have time to go for young people meeting.)

for teacher - 'to become a teacher'
(She went to study for four years for teacher.)

for summertime - 'for the summer'
(. . . make stockings short for herself for summertime.)

for night - 'to spend the night'
(They invited him for night.)

for mattress pad - 'for a mattress pad'
(We are using that for mattress pad.)

Omission after 'after:'

after long time - 'after a long time'
(After long time we decide to put her to the Jihlava.)

Omission after 'to:'

to United States - 'to the United States'
(I didn't like that idea to go to United States.)

Omission after 'from:'

from war - 'from the war'
(After Uncle came from war.)

from six of us - 'of the six of us'
(She was youngest from six of us.)

Another type of formal environment in which immigrant omission of 'the' (or 'a') occurs is the post-verbal. Some post-verbal omissions are better understood in semantic terms, as will presently be suggested. Those immediately following, however, appear to have no particular common denominator of meaning:

see flower show - 'see the flower show, see a flower show'
(I love to see flower show.)

rest little bit - 'rest a little'
(After supper we rest little bit.)

spent afternoon - 'spent the afternoon'
(At wintertime I always spent afternoon at home.)

had shop - 'had a shop'
(Bohuska had shop where she make dresses.)

did good job - 'did a good job'
(She did good job over there.)

put bad mark - 'gave her a bad mark'
(They didn't put bad mark for her anymore.)

had different teacher - 'had a different teacher'
(We had different teacher for every subject.)

was letter - 'was a letter'
(I don't remember if it was letter or just card.)

was big station - 'was a big station'
(It was big station over there.)

went little bit - 'went for a little while'
(We went little bit to the city.)

got letter - 'got a letter'
(Twice a week I got letter, and once a week,card.)

was bedspread - 'was a bedspread'
(It was bedspread or something like that.)

is carrying them glass of water - ' . . . a glass of water'
(She is carrying them glass of water.)

sent me card - 'sent me a card'
(Then he sent me card.)

sent him card - 'sent him a card'
(And I sent him card.)

Instances of omission with superlative forms are:

youngest was a boy - 'the youngest was a boy'
(We were all of us seven; youngest was a boy.)

youngest of us - 'the youngest of us'
(Youngest of us was a boy.)

she was youngest - 'she was the youngest'
(She was youngest from six of us.)

Some examples of omission which have just been listed as being conditioned by formal criteria of environment might, instead, be classed in a semantically united set, with some such label as "reference to time;" in this set we would re-encounter all the phrases listed above after 'at,' as well as

in middle of week
in beginning of November
for summertime
for night
after long time.

Another semantic grouping could be established under the heading of "being the representative of a profession or of a social group in the wider sense:"

she is good cook - 'she is a good cook'

she will be cook in restaurant - 'she will be a cook . . .'

she was good-natured girl - 'she was a good-natured girl'

there were still younger sister - 'there was yet a younger sister'

he is teacher also - 'he is also a teacher'

she was beautiful girl - 'she was a beautiful girl'

she learn to be seamstress - '. . . to be a seamstress'

she learn to be dressmaker - '. . . to be a dressmaker.'

Let us finally add the following miscellaneous illustrations of omissions, without attempting any classification along formal or semantic lines:

as fourteen-year old girl - 'as a fourteen-year old girl'
(She went as fourteen-year old girl.)

what Government owns - 'owned by the Government'
(In one big shop what Government owns.)

like little baby - 'like a little baby'
(She grow up just like little baby.)

and pretty girl - 'and a pretty girl'
(She become strong and healthy and pretty girl.)

doctors loves her - 'the doctors love her'
(Everybody love her; doctors loves her.)

just few words - 'just a few words'
(We were talking several times, just few words.)

6.6 Simple interference by introduction. This type of deviation is the reverse of that described in the preceding section. Now we are dealing with the presence of 'the' in constructions where this word should be absent.

It may be surmised that the informant is not unaware of the uncalled for omissions ascribed to her in Section 6.5, and is making some effort to approximate her speech patterns to the norms of American English. This effort is liable to entail demonstrations of hypercorrection, and the relatively high rate of introduction phenomena, reflected below, certainly attests to a great many hypercorrective constructions.

Again, a breakdown of data may proceed along formal and semantic lines of determination, and again prepositions are given as the first formal environment.

After 'at' we have:

at the church - 'at church'
(I met with him first time at the church.)[17]

at the Sunday - 'on Sunday'
(I could go home only at the Sunday.)

at the Vsetin - 'in Vsetin (a city)'
(He was visiting at the Vsetin.)

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[17]For instances of the use of 'church' here and below, it should be noted that both expressions ('at the church' and 'at church') are current in non-immigrant English: 'the bride was left standing at the church;' 'they met at church every Sunday.' The important point here is that the informant uses 'at the church' throughout, to cover both of the expressions mentioned above. Cf. also Section 6.10 of this chapter.

Introduction after 'in:'

in the Lawndale - 'on Lawndale (Street)'
(We were at the church in the Lawndale.)

in the Russia - 'in Russia'
(He was prisoner in the Russia.)

in the church - 'in church'
(We say to each other good-bye in the church.)

in the Prerov - 'in Prerov (a city)'
(. . . that I should meet him not in the Prerov.)

in the French - 'in France'
(I forgot that port in the French.)

Introduction after 'from:'

from the church - 'from church'
(From the church we went to see flower show.)

from the home - 'away from home, leave home'
(After I had fifteen years I had to go from the home.)

from the looking - 'from looking'
(She learned from the looking.)

from the child - 'from childhood'
(She was good-natured girl from the child.)

from the far - 'from far away'
(I saw him from the far.)

Introduction after 'around:'

around the cooking - 'around cooking'
(With more working around the cooking.)

Introduction after 'on:'

on the paper - 'on paper'
(She knows how put letters on the paper.)

Introduction after 'to:'

to the Chicago - 'to (the city of) Chicago'
(We went to the Chicago.)

to the church - 'to church'
(At the Sunday we always go to the church.)

to the downtown - 'downtown'
(At evening we go back to the downtown.)

to the Vsetin - 'to (the city of) Vsetin'
(Then we moved to the Vsetin.)

to the Grandma's house - 'to Grandma's house'
(Help came to the Grandma's house.)

to the school - 'to school'
(She went to the school till fifteen.)

to the teachers' college - 'to teachers' college'
(Then she went study to the teachers' college.)

to the Jihlava - 'to (the city of) Jihlava'
(We send her to the Jihlava.)

to the home - 'home'
(I was crying all the way to the home.)

to the town - 'to town'
(We went little bit to the city, to the town.)

It is interesting to discover that a semantic determination of the cases of introduction listed above would, except for four constructions (those containing 'Sunday,' 'looking,' 'child,' and 'cooking'), involve "place" designations throughout.

6.7 Simple interference by replacement. Instead of omitting 'the' where it is needed, or introducing it where it is not, the informant also resorts to replacement of this function word by another function word of the same group. One might almost dispense with stressing the obvious, namely, that the description of the process and of its results in terms of interchange of function words of the same group — a description made possible by Fries' work -- allows for a far more economic and understandable treatment than a correlation, in traditional terms, of articles with pronouns and other disassociated parts of speech. In fact, the replacement phenomena suggest that, to the informant, 'the' is not an isolated item, nor is it the representative of a set of "articles" by itself, but rather is on a par with linguistic items used isofunctionally for 'the,' regardless of whether traditionally these items are kept apart as "articles" or "pronouns."

This is not quite obvious, but nonetheless true, where the "article" is replaced by another "article," as in replacement by 'a':

a baby fell down - 'the baby fell down'
(That girl didn't watch Marenka and a baby fell down.)

found a baby bleeding - 'found the baby (Marenka) bleeding'
(My mother found a baby bleeding from the mouth and nose . . .)

Function-word equation is, in contrast, well demonstrated in replacement of 'the' by 'my':

to my place where I was working - 'to the place where I was working'
(I go back to my place where I was working.)

Replacement of 'the' by 'such' (rather "legal" according to English norm) transfers part of the functional load of 'the' onto 'such.'[18] The result, to the native speaker of English, is a "wrong" use, not because of grammatical impossibility, but because 'such' is heard much more frequently than it should be. This is illustrated by:

such institution - 'the institution'
(We took her to the Jihlava where such institution was.)

Much the same statement as for the results of "overloading" 'such' can be made for the use of the replacement form 'that' (for 'the'), with attendant increase in the frequency of its occurrence, as illustrated in:

that idea - 'the idea'
(I didn't like that idea to go to United States.)

that water - 'the water'
(It fell to the sea by that water.)

The word 'a' was also found to be replaced by 'that,' with similar results, as in:

that nurse - 'a nurse'
(That nurse ask her if she was Marenka's older sister.)

Instances of 'a (an)' replaced by 'the' also occur:

to learn the trade - 'to learn a trade'
(I had to go from the home to learn the trade.)

put her to the institution - 'put her in an institution'
(People advise us to put her to the institution.)

Replacement of 'her' and 'my' by 'the' is seen in:

bleeding from the mouth and from the ear - '. . . her mouth (ear)'
(She found a baby bleeding from the mouth and from the ear.)

all the sisters - 'all my sisters'
(All the sisters visit her twice in a year.)

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[18]Cf. Bloomfield, Language 392-402 ("Fluctuation in the Frequency of Forms") on the importance of load shifts for the formal and semantic development of languages in general.

6.8 Dual interference by introduction and replacement. I have previously made passing references to a fact obvious even in cursory perusal of the last three sections of this chapter: instances of deviation from American English norm in one respect are very often accompanied by interference phenomena in an other area.

It was noted, for example, that in a construction such as 'at spring,' there is not only a feature of omission in the absence of 'the,' but at the same time a "misuse" of 'at' (for normal 'in').

Only as a matter of temporary convenience of description, and in order to avoid confusing the reader with simultaneously talking about two different types of deviation, did I view 'at spring' and many others of the subsequent listings under the heading of simple interference. As a matter of linguistic fact, utterances of the type 'at spring' represent instances of dual interference.

At this point the reader will be sufficiently familiar with the general picture of interference exhibited by the informant, and it now becomes feasible and, for further comprehension of structural interplay in the informant's constructions, indeed necessary to proceed to simultaneous treatment of more than one interference feature.

For proper appreciation of the facts involved in this section, the reader is reminded of the initial comments in Section 6.6 of this chapter. It was noted there that many times the introduction of 'the,' unwarranted by English usage, could be ascribed to the informant's attempts at hypercorrection. With some qualms about omission in, e. g.,

'in beginning,' the informant endeavors to "reform" by saying, for instance, 'in the Russia,' where 'the' should not be introduced.

Let us, however, observe the noteworthy fact that 'in the Russia' is "incorrect" only as used by the informant. The construction itself is not always impossible ('in the Russia of the czars'). Thus, in contrast to the type of hypercorrection presently to be mentioned, 'the Russia' is a "correct hypercorrection."

Let us further recall various instances of replacement of 'the,' for example by 'that,' illustrated in Section 6.7 above.

The ground is now prepared for the interpretation of the construction 'that carrots' (and others of comparable type) as a dual interference phenomenon reflecting "incorrect hypercorrection." 'The Russia' is sometimes possible, and the word combination as such is potentially correct, whereas 'that carrots' is never possible and, therefore, always incorrect by the norms of American English.

The evidence of dual interference, in this case, consists in the introduction of a function word where zero is normally used, and in the introduction of a "wrong" function word to boot.

6.9 Dual interference by addition (introduction and replacement). Dual interference may shape up, not only by introduction of a plus-feature for a zero-feature, but by introducing something on top of something else of a non-zero nature, and this redundant type of introduction may be coupled with some other deviation problem.

This is seen in '(the village) near the our city.' According to English norm, no two function words of this group are permitted to succeed each other in this fashion. The Slovak norm for equivalent function words is evidently at variance with English requirements of word-arrangement as stated above, since blízko toho našeho mesta, of which 'near the our city' is a word-for-word translation, is not un-Slovak.

6.10 Simple interference as an evaluation problem. It is, of course, all very well to say that interference of various types exists. Demonstrating it in concrete speech manifestations, however, is quite a different matter.

In simple interference, evaluation is complicated by inconsistencies of "correctness" or "incorrectness" in the use of specific forms. The inconsistencies present us with data which do not readily lend themselves to incorporation in a scheme of types of deviation against which a norm might stand out. A few illustrations in which the informant, using identical items, is sometimes "right" (as to obeying English norm), but "wrong" at other times, may make the point.

'The,' used "wrongly" as shown before, including the phrase 'answering that letter,' is found to have been used "correctly" in the phrase immediately preceding ('it was the letter'). Likewise, a "correct" 'on the station' is followed immediately by an "incorrect" 'it was big station.'

After 'at,' a number of omission features (i.e. "wrong" use) came out in previous illustrations (e.g. 'at spring'). Conversely, introduction ("wrong" again) was accounted for semantically as entering into references to place names, and so there were noted such constructions as 'at the church' and 'at the Vsetin' (the latter involving the name of a city). Yet, "correct" usage is also followed, e.g. in 'at Vizovice'(in reference to another city). Pressure of formal patterns (here, omission after 'at') may prevail over semantic pressure (i.e. of reference to geographical entities).

Additional inconsistencies after prepositions may be found in "incorrect" 'to the Jihlava,' 'in the Prerov,' 'to the Hranice' (with names of cities involved in the last three as also in the following three nouns), as opposed to "correct" 'in Jihlava,' 'in Kromeriz,' 'in Hranice.'

Inconsistency in the use of other function words of the same group may be illustrated as follows, and these illustrations actually just strengthen the argument concerning those above: "incorrect" use in 'he send me card,' 'I send him card,' versus "correct" use in 'once a week a card,' 'who is a teacher.'

Inconsistency is not, however, restricted to function words in construction of previously discussed type. Here is a small sampling of widespread inconsistent use centering around the word 'home': "incorrect," 'from the home,' 'went from the home,' 'all the way to the home;' "correct," 'we were home,' 'I run home,' 'to be home,' 'at home,' 'getting home.'

6.11 Dual interference as an evaluation problem. Dual interference may raise questions of where the informant "went wrong," and according to the answer given, the informant is "right" and "wrong" in different spots.

"Misuse" of prepositions, e.g. 'at' for 'in,' may serve as a case in point.[19] "Misused" prepositions may represent merely a different "mistake" (i.e. instead of a 'the' problem, we may have a preposition problem), as in 'it was too much on me' (for 'for me'). Or else, "misused" prepositions may merely be an additional "mistake," as in 'at spring' ("wrong" preposition, in addition to "unjustified" absence of 'the').

On occasion, however, prepositional "errors" obscure the "mistake" situation as a whole. When hearing, for instance, 'at front of the house,' we only know that a preposition has been used "wrongly" (for 'in,' normal English being 'in front of the house'), but we cannot be sure that a "sin" regarding use or disuse of 'the' is also involved: it seems to be involved with 'at,' but it would not be involved with 'in' (English norm having 'in front,' without 'the').

Another origin of dual interference is to be sought in the informant's uncertainty about how to express singular and plural forms in English.[20] The reason for this uncertainty may derive from Slovak plural

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[19] Indecision in the use of prepositions has been pointed out also for Immigrant Slovak. See Chapter 5, pages 86-92, of the thesis.

[20] Cf. the quotations of page 109 above. Again, Immigrant Slovak parallels come to mind; cf. Chapter 4, pages 69-71, of the thesis.

forms with zero ending (as in many genitive expressions, and considering a relatively heavy functional load on Slovak genitive forms in general) and English zero-ending singulars, with both zero-type forms used in the speech of one and the same bilingual.

The result of this uncertainty on the part of the informant is the analyst's uncertainty as to whether a "crime" was or was not committed (in addition to the singular-plural "violation," if any can be charged) with respect to 'the.'

In such phrases as 'until Communist came' (for 'Communists') or 'to make sheaf' (for 'sheaves'), singular-plural problems seem to exist regardless of other "violations," if any.

But what about

they have customer
they have teacher
ask for permit
spent afternoon
just like little baby
and pretty girl
we had different teacher
he send me card
I got letter?

If 'customer,' 'teacher,' 'permit,' 'afternoon,' 'baby,' 'girl,' 'card,' and 'letter' in the above examples are what they seem to be, namely singular forms, then we have "violations" as re-

gards the lack of 'the' (or of a function word other than it of the same group).

If, on the other hand, the speaker used these various noun forms instead of 'customers,' 'teachers,' 'permits,' 'afternoons,' 'babies,' 'girls,' 'cards,' or 'letters,' the "violation" is in the area of singular-plural, and not in that of function words, for in that case the absence of 'the' can be justified, 'they have customers,' 'they have teachers,' 'ask for permits,' 'spent afternoons,' 'just like little babies,' 'and pretty girls,' 'we had different teachers,' 'he send(s) me cards,' and 'I got letters,' being possible according to the norms of English.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has, it is hoped, brought out the interrelated features of cultural heritage and language expression which lend individuality and distinctiveness to a specific group of people, the Slovak immigrants in this country. I have attempted to show how these people, with a characteristic Central European background, transplanted into particular local conditions in America, have solved the problem of communicating linguistically with the world around them. Through the concepts and methods of modern bilingual research, we have gained access to the storehouse of their typical speech features.

Thus, against the background of Slovak immigrant life, we have a representative picture of the immigrant Slovak's language -- or rather, his languages. We can see that, to put it in the words of the purist not quite devoid of discernment, "this is madness, yet there is method in it." This no longer is Slovak as the Slovaks back home would think of it, nor is it English as we know it. It is Immigrant Slovak, and the Slovak's Immigrant English, yet with Standard Slovak and American English points of departure easy to recognize -- the result of linguistic amalgamation or compounding. And as no atom or molecule, by itself, reveals the properties of the compound, no single speech event, nor even individual types of expression, can by themselves suggest the structures of the linguistic media of Slovak immigrants. It is the sum total of diaphonic, diamorphic, and other lexical and grammatical peculiarities, described at various points of the dissertation, that adds up to one of the other structure. To recount these peculiarities in conclusion would thus amount to unproductive duplication.

If anything profitable is, then, to be said at this point, it would be, as the result of placing this study of Immigrant Slovak and Immigrant English in our bilingual library next to such introductions as those to American Norwegian or Canadian French, and glancing at the features now of one then of another of these: plus ça change, et plus c'est la même chose. But this, far from detracting from additional work in bilingualism, adds to its interest. Certainly, la job, heard in Quebec, and /vit saur (smetanku)/, recorded among Binghamton Slovaks, are both (more or less) unassimilated loans, and avait de l'emploi ('had a job') and /ít ven/ ('go out'), rightly or wrongly, suggest comparisons as loanshifts. From here on out, however, things are less and less similar, due to differences in the material at the respective speakers' disposal. Assimilated Canadian French remains essentially French; assimilated Immigrant Slovak, Slovak in declension and word formation; Immigrant English, constructed with the resources of English. The Immigrant Slovak expression /strešňoví strom/ may be an unabashed calque of 'cherry tree,' yet the point worth retaining is that it is not */strešňa strom/, but is constructed like a respectable Standard Slovak combination of adjective plus noun. Conversely, 'at spring' may bear the immigrant's mark in more than one way; just the same, it reflects the common English preposition-plus-noun structure.

True, unassimilated stretches of speech go beyond the structural bounds that otherwise apply to the immigrant's two languages. This is where statistical elements must supplement, or supplant, the linguistic. Immigrant Slovak and Immigrant English, then, are describ-

able in terms of a combination of linguistic and numerical criteria. Each has certain characteristic expressions, subject to specific numerical qualifications, as stated for units and unit arrangements of Immigrant Slovak in Chapters 4 and 5, and of Immigrant English in Chapter 6, of the thesis.

My description has focused on some of the most typical areas of bilingual interference: English phonological and lexical influence in diamorphs and grammatical attrition (progressive loss of declensional distinctions) in the immigrant's Slovak, and Slovak-determined omission or hypercorrective addition of 'the' in his English. This is what one may mention when trying to reach conclusions of general expression patterns characterizing the respective speech types. This would be a significant part, yet just a part, of the whole story. This story is as infinitely varied, according to informant generations and individual informant traits, as suggested by the data and their evaluation throughout this study. The conclusion of this thesis, then, is the content of the thesis itself: the language features and their communicative significance; its value, the degree to which it helps to make immigrant expressions comprehensible to the non-immigrant, and the extent to which, from the understanding and appreciation of the immigrant Slovak's speech patterns, his fellow Americans will understand and appreciate his cultural patterns, his way of life. To this end, it is hoped, this thesis has made a contribution.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

Phonemic Transcription System

The phonemes of Standard Slovak can be symbolized as follows:

			Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Non-Syllabic	Stop	Voiceless	p		t		t'	k	
		Voiced	b		d		d'	g	
	Nasal		m		n		ň		
	Affricate	Voiceless			c	č			
		Voiced			dz	dž			
	Fricative	Voiceless		f	s	š		ch	
		Voiced		v	z	ž			h
	Glide						j		
	Lateral				l		l'		
	Flap				r				
Syllabic	Lateral				ĺ				
	Trill				ŕ				

	Front	Central	Back
High	í i		ú u
Mid	e é		o ó
Low	ä	a á	

For a discussion of Slovak phonemics, see e.g. Ľudovít Novák, Fonologia a Štúdium slovenčiny (Turčiansky Sv. Martin 1934), or Eugen Pauliny, Jozef Štolc, and Jozef Ružička, Slovenská gramatika 11-77 (Martin 1955). For a discussion of Slovak phonetics, based on experiments performed at the Prague Laboratory for Experimental Phonetics, see Bohuslav Hála, Základy spisovné výslovnosti slovenské (Praha 1929).

The bilabials /p/, /b/, and /m/. The voiceless /p/ and the voiced /b/ contrast in such pairs as

/puk/ 'crease' - /buk/ 'beech tree'

/paprat'/ 'to fool around' - /babrat'/ 'to pry into'

/zaplat'ení/ 'paid' - /zablat'ení/ 'muddy.'

The voiced stop /b/ and the nasal /m/ contrast in pairs like the following:

/baba/ 'old woman' - /mama/ 'mother'

/borit'/ 'to raze' - /morit'/ 'torment'

/hrob/ 'tomb' - /hrom/ 'thunder'

/hrbí (sa)/ '(he) hunches (his back)' - /hrmí/ 'it thunders.'

The labiodentals /f/ and /v/ contrast in pairs like

/frak/ 'dress coat' - /vrak/ 'wreckage'

/vifárat'/ 'come up from a mine' - /vivárat'/ 'cook'

/od fera/ 'from Teddy' - /vera/ 'indeed.'

The phoneme /v/ has an allophone [u̯], e.g. in final position after /o/, as in the feminine instrumental singular endings, illustrated in

/tov našov dobrov matkov/ [tou̯ našou̯ dobrou̯ matkou̯] '(with) our good mother,'

and as in other examples:

/chlapov/ [chlapou̯] 'men'

/otcov/ [otcou̯] 'fathers'

/kov/ [kou̯] 'metal.'

The alveolars /t/, /d/, and /n/ can be shown to contrast in such environments as

/to/ 'that' - /do/ 'into'

/topit'/ 'to drown' - /dopit'/ 'to drink up'

/hradu/ 'castle' - /hranu/ 'edge'

/hrdú/ 'proud (woman)' - /hrnú/ 'they pile up.'

The phoneme /n/ has an allophone [ŋ] before velars:

/maminka/ [mamiŋka] 'mother.'

The alveolar affricates /c/ and /dz/ contrast in such pairs as

/mece sa/ 'throws (itself)' - /medze/ 'boundaries'

/práca/ 'work' - /priadza/ 'thread'

/onuca/ 'foot-rag' - /núdza/ 'poverty'

The interpretation of /c/ and /dz/ as unit phonemes, instead of as combinations of stop and fricative, is justified by the fact that the unit-phoneme interpretation avoids the necessity of having unusual consonant clusters. This interpretation would make it convenient to use the unit symbol /ʒ/ instead of the digraph /dz/; as a matter of fact, both types of symbolization are current. My choice of digraphs, such as /dz/, is prompted by a desire to keep my phonemic transcription close to Standard Slovak orthography and, in general, by the ease of representation on the conventional typewriter.

The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ contrast in pairs like

/saňe/ 'sled' - /za ňe/ 'behind them'

/slepí/ 'blind' - /zlepí/ 'will glue together'

/srna/ 'doe' - /zrna/ '(of) grain'

The alveopalatal affricates /č/ and /dž/ can be shown to contrast in pairs like

/čad'ivý/ 'smoky' - /džavot/ 'chirping'

/mača/ 'kitten' - /hodža/ '(Mr.) Hodza'

/čpiet'/ 'to sting' - /džbán/ 'pitcher.'

What was said above (page 136) for the symbolization of the unit phoneme /dz/ by a digraph applies, mutatis mutandis, to /dž/.

The alveopalatal fricatives /š/ and /ž/ contrast in pairs like

/koša/ 'basket' - /koža/ 'leather'

/šial'/ 'deception' - /žial'/ 'grief'

/šupa/ 'peel' - /župa/ 'district.'

The palatals /t'/, /d'/, and /ň/. The voiceless and voiced palatal stops contrast with each other in such examples as

/t'ela/ 'body' - /d'ela/ 'cannon.'

/t'/ contrasts with /t/ in pairs like

/let'/ 'fly' - /let/ 'flight'

/t'i/ 'to you' - /ti/ 'you'

/mat'/ 'to have' - /mat/ 'checkmate.'

/d'/ contrasts with /d/, for example in

/vid'/ 'see' - /vid/ 'aspect'

/d'umbier/ 'ginger' - /dumka/ 'meditation'

/med'/ 'copper' - /med/ 'honey.'

/ň/ contrasts with /n/, as noticed in

/oňi/ 'they' (men) - /oni/ 'they' (women).

Standard Slovak orthography is not quite consistent in the spelling of /t'/, /d'/, and /ň/ (as also of /l'/, to be discussed below). Before back vowels, both t and t', d and d', n and ň, l and l' are written. Thus far, the spelling is phonemic. Before front vowels, however, the orthography lacks t', d', ň, and l', and writes only t, d, n, and l. Grammar books give the instruction that t, d, n, and l before front vowels are to be pronounced, respectively, as /t'/, /d'/, /ň/, and /l'/. If alveolars and palatals never contrasted before front vowels, this transcription might be defensible, but since they do contrast before /i/ (cf. /oňi/ - /oni/ as an illustration of page 137 above), this creates a problem. The orthographic convention of Standard Slovak solved this problem by using two graphemes, i and y, to render the phoneme /i/, and by treating y as if it were a back vowel. This system is not economic from the phonemic point of view, but at least it is regular and thus does not create a major spelling problem. Unfortunately, however, i and y also are found in environments where the use of one rather than the other of these two graphemes is not in any way justified either from the point of view of phonemics or from that of regularity. Yet, since y is not a phoneme, I shall not dwell any further upon its use in the Standard Slovak spelling system.

The velar stops /k/ and /g/ are shown to be phonemically distinct when we encounter such contrasts as

/klej/ 'swear' - /glej/ 'glue.'

The velar voiceless fricative /ch/ and the laryngeal voiced fricative /h/ are distinguished in pairs like

/chladní/ 'cold' - /hladní/ 'hungry'

/chorí/ 'sick' - /horí/ '(it) burns'

/na prachu/ 'on the dust' - /na prahu/ 'at the threshold.'

The use of digraphs instead of single symbols for phonemic units, as for /ch/, has been justified above (page 136).

/j/ is a palatal glide whose phonemic status will be examined in connection with /i/ below.

The laterals /l/ and /l'/ show contrast in such pairs as

/lad/ 'harmony' - /l'ad/ 'ice'

/lak/ 'lacquer' - /l'ak/ 'fright.'

The phonemic status of /l'/ in Standard Slovak is undeniable. There are, however, Slovak dialects which do not have a palatal /l'/, but instead have two "l" sounds of a different kind, as well as dialects which have only one phoneme /l/. This dialectal use, as well as the fact that the contrast /l/ - /l'/ does not distinguish very many words, may account for the absence, in my recordings, of even a single /l'/ from any of my Immigrant Slovak informants.

Between consonants, /l/ functions as a syllabic and, like the Slovak vowels presently to be reviewed, has a long counterpart /ĺ/ which can be heard in examples of contrasts like the following:

/vlk/ 'wolf' - /vĺča/ 'wolf cub'
/tlčiem/ 'I pound' - /tĺct'/ 'to pound'
/dlhí/ 'long' - /dĺžka/ 'length'
/slza/ 'tear' - /sĺz/ '(of) tears.'

This is also a relatively little used contrast, and I do not happen to have an example of any Immigrant form with /ĺ/ among the material presented in this thesis.

The alveolar flap /r/ can also function either as a non-syllabic or as a syllabic. As the latter, it likewise has a long counterpart, the alveolar trill /ŕ/. Compare:

/vrch/ 'hill' - /vŕšok/ 'little hill'

/krče/ 'cramps' - /kŕč/ 'cramp'

/srna/ 'doe' - /sŕňa/ 'fawn.'

This, too, is a contrast not very frequently in evidence, and /ŕ/ is not reflected in my Immigrant Slovak material.

The vowel /a/ and its long counterpart /á/ contrast in such pairs as

/pas/ 'passport' - /pás/ 'belt'

/parit' sa/ 'to steam oneself' - /párit' sa/ 'to pair off.'

The vowels /e/ and (long) /é/ contrast in pairs like

/dobre/ 'well' - /dobré/ 'good'

/cer/ 'a tree of the beech family' - /céra/ 'daughter.'

/ä/ contrasts both with /a/ and with /e/:

/päst'/ 'fist' - /pas/ 'passport' - /pes/ 'dog'

/pamät'/ 'memory' - /mat'/ 'to have'

/smäd/ 'thirst' - /med/ 'honey.'

The phoneme /ä/ exists in a relatively small number of Slovak dialects, and the wisdom of including it in a description of Standard Slovak has been debated. Cf. Ľudovít Novák, "Slovenské o̲ a ä̲ v písme a vo výslovnosti," Sborník Matice Slovenskej 1.172-183 (Turčiansky Sv. Martin 1936). The limitation of this /ä/ phoneme to few dialects, plus the fact that it is limited to the environment after labials, may account for my inability to find it in Immigrant Slovak. I have used the symbolization with the two dots instead of the unit symbol /æ/ for reasons similar to those adduced in support of earlier graphic representations in this appendix, namely, resemblance to conventional graphs and ease of rendering the unit on the usual typewriter keyboard.

The vowels /o/ and (long) /ó/ contrast in such pairs as

/hrom/ 'thunder' - /chróm/ 'chrome'

/zlatom/ 'with gold' - /atóm/ 'atom.'

/u/ and (long) /ú/ contrast, for instance, in

/muka/ 'torture' - /múka/ 'flour'

/sud/ 'barrel' - /súd/ 'court of law.'

/i/ and (long) /í/ contrast in such pairs as

/pili/ '(they) drank' - /píli/ '(he) saws'

/viprat'/ 'to wash out' - /víprava/ 'expedition'

/sir/ 'cheese' - /síra/ 'sulphur.'

It might be well to touch at least briefly upon one of the most discussed problems in Slovak phonemics, the status of /i/ and /j/. The question is whether we have one phoneme or two. For a discussion, based on the argument that these two sounds are never really in contrast, and

on that of parallelism with /l/ and /r/, each of which is composed of both syllabic and non-syllabic allophones, cf. L'udovít Novák, Fonológia a štúdium slovenčiny (Turčiansky Sv. Martin 1934).

As has become obvious from my listing of /i/ and /j/, the point of view adopted in my transcription is rather that of two phonemes. For a more detailed discussion of this point of view, cf. Štefan Peciar, "K otázke fonologického pomeru i a j v slovenčine," Linguistica Slovaca 4.107-120 (Bratislava 1946).

These two phonemes can be separated on the basis of pairs like the following:

/viem/ 'I know' - /vijem/ 'I wind'

/poviem/ 'I shall tell' - /povijem/ 'I shall wind'

/zriem/ 'I see' - /zrijem/ 'I shall dig up'

/vrie/ 'it boils' - /vrije/ 'he will dig in,'

and

/kraj/ 'edge' - /(na) kraji/ '(on) the edge'

/nád'ej/ 'hope' - /(v) nád'eji/ '(in) the hope'

/krajňe/ 'extremely' - /(v) krajiňe/ '(in) a country.'

Cf. in this connection N. S. Trubetzkoi, Grundzüge der Phonologie 46 (Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague, No. 7, 1939):

> Zwei Laute . . . dürfen . . . nicht als Varianten desselben Phonems gewertet werden, wenn sie in der betreffenden Sprache nebeneinander, d.i. als Glieder einer Lautverbindung stehen können, und zwar in solchen Stellungen, in denen auch einer von den beiden Lauten isoliert vorkommt.

Once we have separated these sounds into phonemes, we are still left with the problem of when to transcribe /i/ and when /j/ in positions where, according to the Prague school, there is neutralization, for instance in forms like /viem/ and /kraj/. Phonetic similarity does not seem to provide a solution; the pronunciation lies somewhere between the two.

A glance at the syllabic nuclei of Slovak and their patterning may help provide an answer. These nuclei are /ia/, /ie/, /iu/, and /uo/ (ô in Standard Slovak orthography).

Theoretically, /uo/ could be transcribed as /vo/. If this were done, however, we would obtain forms like /vvola/ for /vuola/ ('will'), and clusters like /vv/ are not characteristic of the language. If then we decide to write /uo/, for symmetry, we write /ia/, /ie/, /iu/. On the other hand, I decided to write sequences like /aj/ in /kraj/ with a /j/, in order to avoid having a whole new series of syllabic nuclei, and to widen the privilege of occurrence of /j/. These, in the main, are also the solutions accepted by the Standard Slovak orthography.

APPENDIX B

A Selected Vocabulary of Assimilated Loans

Abbreviations and symbols in Appendix B are used as follows:

Acc.	Accusative	Pc.	Past (Passive) Participle
Aj.	Adjective	pl.	plural
Av.	Adverb	Pr.	Present
Dat.	Dative	Prf.	Perfective
f.	feminine	Rfl.	Reflexive
Fu.	Future	sg.	singular
Gen.	Genitive	StSl.	Standard Slovak
Inf.	Infinitive	V.	Verb
Ins.	Instrumental	V.t.	Verb transitive
Ipt.	Imperative	Voc.	Vocative
Itr.	Iterative	1st	First Person
Loc.	Locative	2nd	Second Person
m.	masculine	3rd	Third Person
n.	neuter	/ /	phonemically
N.	Noun	/	or
Neg.	Negative	=	equals, means
Nom.	Nominative	-	separates affixes
Pa.	Past	*	discussed in Chapter 4

No symbols are used to indicate parts of speech for Immigrant or Standard Slovak forms if they are the same as those of the respective English forms.

Indeclinable forms are identified by the absence of explanatory abbreviations or symbolization.

Immigrant Slovak verb forms are indicative and imperfective unless otherwise specified.

English forms are written without underlining or any other symbolization. Standard Slovak forms are underlined. Immigrant Slovak forms are in phonemic transcription, i.e. between slant lines.

Cardinal numerals not parenthesized are informant code numbers. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of times the informant has used the item in the text analyzed for this vocabulary.

accident N.
/eksident/ m.Nom./Acc.sg. 16(2)

accidents N.
/aksidentú/ m.Gen.pl. 5
/eksidenti/ m.Nom.pl. 5, 16

advertise V.
/edvrtajzovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 16

advertisement N.
/édvrtajz/ m.Nom.sg. 8

affidavit N.
/afidavit/ m.Acc.sg. 14

affidavits N.
/afidaviti/ m.Nom.pl. 16

agreements N.
/egrímenti/ m.Nom.pl. 16

airplane N.
/ejrpláňe/ m.Loc.sg. 16

airplanes N.
/ejrpláni/ m.Nom.pl. 16(3)

Alice N.
/elis/ f.Nom.sg. 3(2)

Allentown N.
/alenton/ m.Nom.sg. 12(2)
/alentoňe/ m.Loc.sg. 12
/alentónu/ m.Gen.sg. 12(2)

ambulance N.
/ambulanc/ m.Nom.sg. 13
(StSl. ambulancia)

Anna N.
/éna/ f.Nom.sg. 6, 9(2), 11

anyway Av.
/enivej/ 4

apple pies N.
/épl páje/ m.Acc.pl. 14

applicant N. *
/aplikant/ m.Nom.sg. 16(2)

applicants N. *
/aplikantov/ m.Acc.pl. 16(2)
/aplikantú/ m.Acc.pl. 16
/aplikant'i/ m.Nom.pl. 16

Austria N.
/austrije/ f.Gen.sg. 14(3)
/austriji/ f.Dat.sg. 14(2)
/austriju/ f.Acc.sg. 14

automatic (washing) machine N.
/ademadik mašinu/ f.Acc.sg. 13

avenue N.
/evňu/ f.Acc.sg. 11

aviation N.
/éviejšn/ m.Nom.sg. 15

baby N.
/bebi/ n.Nom.sg. 9(2)
/bejbi/ n.Nom.sg. 7
/bejbinko/ n.Nom.sg. 14
/bejbu/ f.Acc.sg. 7
/bébi/ n.Nom.sg. 13(3)

back (out) V.
/vi-bekujem/ 1st sg.Fu.Prf. 6

bake sales N.
/bejk sejle/ m.Acc.pl. 12

baloney (sausage) N. *
/balóni/ m.Acc.pl. 3
/balónu/ m.Gen.sg. 14

bananas N. *
/bonanese/ m.Nom.pl. 14
(StSl. banáni)

bandages N.
/bendiče/ m.Nom.pl. 14(2)

banquet N.
/bankét/ m.Acc.sg. 2

banquets N.
/banketi/ m.Nom.pl. 6

bar (in tavern) N.
/bárú/ f.Ins.sg. 13(2)

barber N.
/barbír/ m.Nom.sg. 10, 12(4)
/barbíra/ m.Gen.sg. 2, 12
/barbírem/ m.Ins.sg. 3

barbers N.
/barbíri/ m.Nom.pl. 12
/barbírú/ m.Acc.pl. 3

barbering N.
/barbírčini/ f.Gen.sg. 12
/barbírčinu/ f.Acc.sg. 12(2)

barley N.
/barliho/ n.Gen.sg. 14(2)

bartender N.
/bartenderom/ m.Ins.sg. 5

basement N.
/bejzment'e/ m.Loc.sg. 4

basket N.
/bésketa/ m.Gen.sg. 6

bathroom N.
/bétrum/ m.Nom.sg. 3(2)
/bétrumu/ m.Gen.sg. 3

bathtub N.
/bétab/ m.Nom.sg. 5

beans N. *
/bínzi/ m.Nom.pl. 11

beat V.
/bítovat'/ Inf. 14

bedroom N.
/bedrum/ m.Nom.sg. 2, 3(2), 4(2)
/bedrumie/ m.Loc.sg. 3, 13
/bedrumu/ m.Gen.sg. 2, 3

bedrooms N.
/bedrumách/ m.Loc.pl. 8
/bedrumi/ m.Nom.pl. 4,10

beef N.
/bífu/ m.Gen.sg. 14
/bífovej/ Aj. f.Gen.sg. 14

bench N.
/benči/ m.Loc.sg. 14

benches N.
/benče/ m.Nom.sg. 14

bicycle N.
/bajsikl/ m.Nom.sg. 16
/bajsikli/ m.Loc.sg. 16

Binghamton N.
/bigamton/ m.Nom.sg. 1(2), 11
/bigamtonu/ m.Gen.sg. 1(5)
/bigamtoňe/ m.Loc.sg. 5(2)
/bighamton/ m.Nom.sg. 16(2)
/bighamtona/ m.Gen.sg. 16(15)
/bighamtoňe/ m.Loc.sg. 16(23)
/bingamtonu/ m.Dat.sg. 8(3)
/bingamtoňe/ m.Loc.sg. 1, 8(10)
/binghamton/ m.Nom.sg. 3, 7, 13(2), 15(6)
/binghamtona/ m.Gen.sg. 3(5), 7, 9
/binghamtonom/ m.Ins.sg. 12
/binghamtonu/ m.Gen.sg. 7, 10, 12
/binghamtoňe/ m.Loc.sg. 2(2), 3, 10(5), 12, 13(2)
/bighamtonská/ Aj. f.Nom.sg. 16
/bighamtonského/ Aj. m.Acc.sg. 16
/bighamtonských/ Aj. m.Gen./Acc.pl. 16(5)
/binghamtonski/ Aj. m.Nom.pl. 3

Binghamtonian N.
/bighamtončan/ m.Nom.sg. 16

blanket N.
/blenketom/ m.Ins.sg. 11

blouse N.
/blausku/ f.Acc.sg. 3
(StSl. blúzku)

board (room and -) N.
/burd/ m.Acc.sg. 14
/burd'e/ m.Loc.sg. 5(4), 14

boarders N.
/burderi/ m.Nom.pl. 16
/burderov/ m.Gen.pl. 5
/burderú/ m.Gen.pl. 14

boat N.
/bót'e/ f. Loc.sg. 13

boil V.
/bojlovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14

boiler N.
/balíra/ m.Gen.sg. 14
/bolera/ m.Gen.sg. 11

boots N.
/búti/ m.Nom.pl. 11

borax N.
/boraks/ m.Acc.sg. 3

boss N.
/baski/ f.Gen.sg. 14
/baskú/ f.Ins.sg. 14
/basovi/ m.Dat.sg. 6
/bás/ m.Nom.sg. 11(3)
/bos/ m.Nom.sg. 10(2)

boss V.
/basovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 14

bother V.
/bádrovat'/ Inf. 11(2)
/ne-bádrovalo/ 3rd sg.n. Pa.Neg. 10
/ne-bádruje/ 3rd sg. Pr.Neg. 12(2), 14
/ne-bádrujem/ 1st sg.Pr.Neg. 3

bottles N.
/bádle/ f.Acc.pl. 14

box N.
/baksi/ f.Loc.sg. 2, 14, 16
/baksu/ f.Acc.sg. 3, 14

boxes N.
/bakse/ f.Nom./Acc.pl.2, 3(2), 14(4), 16

boxcar N.
/bakskáre/ f.Loc.sg. 16

boy N. *
/bojs/m.Nom.sg.5, 7(6), 8, 9(2); 11(2)
/bojsa/ m.Acc.sg. 9, 13, 16
/bojsika/ m.Acc.sg. 11(2)
/bojsíčka/ m.Acc.sg. 14(2), 3

boys N. *
/bojsami/ m.Ins.pl. 11(2)
/bojsi/m.Nom.pl.2,7,10(3),11(7)
/bojsú/ m.Acc.pl. 14

boy friend N.
/bojfrend/ m.Nom.sg. 14
/bojfrenda/ m.Acc.sg. 14
/bojfrendom/ m.Ins.sg. 11

brakes N.
/brejki/ f.Nom.pl. 16

break V.
/brekovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 14
/ne-brekovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Neg. 14

break (a record) V. *
/zlomit' (rekord)/ Inf. 9

broken in Pc.
/brekovaní in/ m.Nom.sg. 14

build V.
/bildovat'/ Inf. 5
/vi-bildovat'/ Inf.Prf. 13

buildings N.
/bildinki/ m.Nom.pl. 3

bus N.
/bas/ m.Nom.sg. 3, 13
/base/ m.Loc.sg. 2, 13
/basem/ m.Ins.sg. 13
/basi/ m.Loc.sg. 3(3)

buses N.
/bosách/ m.Loc.pl. 12

bushel N.
/bušel/ m.Nom.sg. 11

bushels N.
/bušlú/ m.Gen.pl. 13(3)

businesses N.
/biznisi/ m.Nom.pl. 16
/biznisoch/ m.Loc.pl. 3
/biznisú/ m.Gen.pl. 3

busy Aj.
/bizi (já su -)/6(3),9,10,14(4)

butcher N.
/bučera/ m.Acc.sg. 1

butcher shop N.
/bučerňi/ f.Loc.sg. 12

butter N. *
/putra/ m.Gen.sg. 11

cabinet N. *
/kabinet/ m.Acc.sg. 3

cabinets N. *
/kabineti/ m.Acc.pl. 10

cake N. *
/keksa/ m.Gen.sg. 2

cakes N. *
/kejki/ m.Acc.pl. 4
/kekse/ m.Nom./Acc.pl. 2, 3
/keksi/ m.Acc.pl. 7
/keksú/ m.Gen.pl. 14

camera N.
/kamere/ f.Loc.sg. 3

cameras N.
/kamere/ f.Nom.pl. 16

camp N.
/kemp/ m.Nom.sg. 3
/kempa/ f.Nom.sg. 12(2)
/kempe/ f.Loc.sg. 12(2)
/kempu/ f.Acc.sg. 12

camps N.
/kempi/ m.Nom.pl. 16

can N.
/kénu/ f.Acc.sg. 14

cans N.
/kéni/ f.Nom.pl. 14

can V.t.
/kenovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 6
/za-kenovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa.Prf. 6
/za-kénovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. Prf. 13

candy N. *
/kendi/ f.Nom.pl. 2(2), 7, 8

canoe N.
/kenun/ m.Nom.sg. 16

car N. *
/kára/ f.Nom.sg. 6(3), 15
/káre/ f.Loc.sg. 6(4), 10, 12, 13, 14
/kári/ f.Gen.sg.2,3(3), 6(11), 7(4,8,9(3)),13
/káru/ f.Acc.sg 7, 8, 10(4), 16(7)
/kárú/ f.Ins.sg. 13

cars N. *
/kárami/ f.Ins.pl. 7
/kári/ f.Nom.pl. 13

care V.
/kérovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14
/kérovat'/ Inf. 14

carpet N.
/karpet/ m.Nom.sg. 10(2), 12(4)

carpets N.
/karpeti/ m.Nom.pl. 14

carrots N.
/keretu/ m.Gen.sg. 14

case N.
/kejs/ m.Nom.sg. 14, 16(3)

cases N.
/kejse/ f.Nom.pl. 14

cash V.
/po-kéšovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 14(2)

casserole N.
/keseróla/ m.Gen.sg. 14

cellar N.
/seleri/ m.Loc.sg. 6

censor V.
/sensrovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 16
(StSl. cenzurovali)

chalks N.
/čóki/ m.Nom.pl. 8

chance N.
/čenč/ m.Nom.sg. 14(3)

change V.
/čejndžuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 10(3)
/čenčovat'/ Inf. 14(2)
/čendžovat'/ Inf. 13
/čendžuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 14
/čendžuvat'/ Inf. 10
/pre-čenčované/ Pc.n.Nom.sg.Prf. 14(2)
/pre-čenčuvat'/ Inf.Prf. 5
/s-čenčoval/ 3rdsg.m. Pa.Prf. 14
/s-čenčovat/ Inf.Prf. 14
/s-čenčovat'/ Inf.Prf. 7

charge V.
/ne-čarčovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Neg. 7
/ne-čarčujú/ 3rd pl.Pr.Neg. 7
/za-čarčovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 16

checks and balances (system of -) N. *
/čekoví (sistem)/ Aj. m.Nom.sg. 16

cheese N.
/čizové/ Aj. m.Nom.pl. 14

cherry tree N. *
/strešňoví strom/ m.Nom.sg. 3

chicken N.
/čikinu/ f.Acc.sg. 3, 10, 11
/čikinovú/ Aj. f.Acc.sg. 10

chickens N.
/čikini/ f.Nom.pl. 14

chicken pox N.
/čikinpak/ m.Nom.sg. 5

Chinese Aj.
/čajni/ N. f.Gen.sg. 14

Christmas N.
/krizmus/ m.Nom.sg. 2(4), 6, 7(3), 10(2), 11, 13, 16
/krizmusi/ m.Loc.sg. 9, 13

class (English - , history -) N. *
/klasa/ f.Nom.sg. 8(2)
/klase/ f.Loc.sg. 8(4), 10(2), 12, 16
/klasu/ f.Acc.sg. 8(3)

classes N. *
/klasi/ f.Nom.pl. 8(6)
/klasí/ f.Gen.pl. 8, 16

clean V.
/klínovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 9, 10(2)
/klínovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 6
/klínovat'/ Inf. 4, 10, 12
/klínuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 8, 12
/klínujem/ 1st sg.Pr. 4(2)
/klínuju/ 1st sg.Pr. 8, 14
/klínuvat'/ Inf. 5
/ne-vi-klínovaní/ Pc.Neg.Prf.m.Nom.sg. 16
/o-klinuje/ 3rd sg.Fu.Prf. 13
/o-klínovat/ Inf.Prf. 14
/po-klinuje (sa)/ 3rd sg,Fu.Prf.(Rfl.) 8
/po-klínovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 11
/vi-klinuje/ 3rd sg.Fu.Prf. 8
/vi-klínované/ Pc.Prf.n.Nom.sg.16(2)

clerk N.
/klerk/ m.Nom.sg. 16(3)

clients N.
/klejentú/ m.Acc.sg. 16
(StSl. klientov)

Clinton N.
/klintoňe/ m.Loc.sg. 14

close V.
/klózovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14

closet N.
/klázet/ m.Nom.sg. 10

clubs N.
/klobi/ m.Nom.pl. 16
(StSl. klubi)

coach V.
/koučujem/ 1st sg.Pr. 10(2)

coats N.
/kouti/ m.Acc.pl. 6

coffee house N. *
/kafehauzi/ m.Loc.sg. 5

cold (to have a -) N. *
/zima/ f.Nom.sg. 13
/zimu/ f.Acc.sg. 2(2),3(3),4(3),8,10,12

collect V. *
/kolektovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 16
/kolektuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 12
/kolektujú/ 3rd pl.Pr. 12
/kolektuvat'/ Inf. 12
/s-kolektuje/ 3rd sg.Fu.Prf. 16
(StSl. kolekta N. = collection)

collector N.
/kolektorom/ m.Ins.sg. 16

college N.
/kálidž/m./f. 1(2),4,10(3),14(2),16(12)

colleges N.
/kálidže/ m.Nom.pl. 16(2)
/kálidžoch/ m.Loc.pl. 16

come on V.
/komán/ 11(2)

committee N. *
/kometi/ f.Nom.pl. 8

company N. *
/kompanické/Aj. n.Nom.sg. 5, 7(2), 11, 16(2)
/kompanického/ Aj. m.Gen.sg. 7
/kompanickí/ Aj. m.Nom.sg. 11, 16
(StSl. kompánia N. = company)

concrete N.
/konkritu/ m.Gen.sg. 16

congressman N.
/kongresňíkom/ m.Ins.sg. 16

congressmen N.
/kongresníci/ m.Nom.pl. 3, 16

cookies N. *
/kukíse/ m.Nom.pl. 2

cooler N.
/kúlera/ m.Gen.pl. 13

corn N.
/korna/ f.Nom.sg. 13
/kornu/ f.Acc.sg. 5, 11

corner N.
/koner/ m.Nom.sg. 2
/koneri/ m.Loc.sg. 16

corners N.
/koneri/ m.Nom.pl. 16
/kornerki/ m.Nom.pl. 6

couch N.
/kauč/ f.Nom.sg. 3
/kauči/ f.Loc.sg. 3
(StSl. gauč)

coupons N.
/kiupáni/ m.Nom.pl. 11
(StSl. kupóni)

courses N.
/korse/ m.Nom.pl. 16
(StSl. kurzi)

court N.
/kort'e/ m.Loc.sg. 16

crochet V.
/krošejroval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa. 14

cup N. *
/kaps/ m.Nom.sg. 14(2)

customer N.
/kostimérovi/ m.Dat.sg. 14

cut V.
/katujem/ 3rd sg.Pr. 6
/na-katovala/ 3rd sg.f.PaPrf. 14
/ne-katuje/ 3rd sg.pr.Neg. 14
/o-katovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa.Prf. 14
/po-katovat/ Inf.Prf. 14
/vi-katuju/ 1st sg.Fu.Prf. 14(3)

cutting rooms N.
/kating rumoch/ m.Loc.sg. 16

Czechoslovakia N.
/čechoslovakiji/ f.Loc.sg. 11
/čechoslovensku/ n.Loc.sg. 13
(StSl. Československu n.)

date N.
/dejtem/ m.Ins.sg. 14

deck N.
/dek/ m.Nom.sg. 10

decks N. *
/deki/ m.Acc.pl. 10

deeds N.
/dídi/ m.Acc.pl. 16

depositors N.
/dipozitori/ m.Nom.sg. 16

depot N.
/dipo/ n.Nom.sg. 5(2), 9
(StSl. depo)

diamonds N.
/dajmondi/ m.Nom.pl. 2
(StSl. diamanti)

dime N.
/desák/ m.Nom.sg. 2, 13
/desáka/ m.Gen.sg. 10
(StSl. desat' = ten)

dishes N. *
/dišes/ m.Nom.sg. 3
/dišesu/ m.Gen.sg. 3
/diše/ m.Nom.pl. 8(2)
/dišese/ m.Nom.pl. 10(2)

districts N.
/distrikti/ m.Nom.pl. 3
(StSl. dištrikti)

disturb V.
/distorbovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 14

dizzy Aj.
/dizi/ 5

dolls N.
/dále/ f.Nom.pl. 2, 13
/dálinki/ f.Nom.pl. 12

dress N.
/dres/ m.Nom.sg. 14(6)

dresses N.
/drese/ m.Nom.pl. 2, 14(4)
/dresi/ m.Nom.pl. 6(2)
/dresov/ m.Gen.pl. 6

driver N.
/drajver/ m.Nom.sg. 16

druggist N.
/drugistom/ m.Ins.sg. 16

drugstore N.
/drugštór/ m.Nom.sg. 16(2)
/drugštóre/ m.Loc.sg. 13
/drugštóri/ m.Loc.sg. 13
/drugštóru/ m.Gen.sg. 13, 16

dump (out) V.
/vi-dempovano/ Pc.Prf.n.Acc.sg. 5
/vi-dempujem/ 1st sg.Fu.Prf. 3

Dunn McCarthy (factory) N.
/danmekarti/ m.Nom.sg. 3
/dansmekarti/ m.Nom.sg. 1
/demokárňa/ f.Nom.sg. 11(2)
/demokárňi/ f.Loc.sg. 11(3)

dust V.
/dastovat'/ Inf. 10

dynamite N.
/dinamét/ m.Nom.sg. 5(2)
(StSl. dynamit)

East Pittsburgh N.
/ístpicburku/ m.Loc.sg. 9

Easter N.
/ísterom/ m.Ins.sg. 11

eat (out) V. *
/jí (ven)/ 3rd sg.Pr. 8

eighteen ... (1800's) *
/osemnást devadesát sedem/ 12
/osemnást devadesát tri/ 3
/osemnást osemdesát devat/ 12
/osemnást' devadesát jeden/ 5
/osemnást' osemd'esiat šest'/ 9

Elmira N. *
/almára/ f.Nom.sg. 1

Endicott N.
/endikát'e/ m.Loc.sg. 6, 9

Endicott Johnson Company N.
/endikát džánson kompánije/f.Gen.sg.1

Endicott Johnson Corporation N
/endikát džánson korporácije/f.Gen.sg.16(2)
/endikát džánson korporáciji/f.Dat.sg. 16

English
/englicki/ Av. 13(2)
(StSl. anglicki)

English (speaking) man N.
/englíka/ m.Acc.sg. 13
(StSl. angličana)

English (speaking) woman N.
/englička/ f.Nom.sg. 13
/engličku/ f.Acc.sg. 13(2)
(StSl. angličanka)

English (speaking) people N.
/anglíci/ m.Nom.pl. 12
(StSl. angličania)

enjoy V.
/endžojovat/ Inf. 14

expect V.
/ekspektuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 14

explain V.
/eksplejnovala/3rd sg.f.Pa. 14(2)
/eksplejmuju/ 1st sg.Pr. 14

facing N.
/fejsinku/ m.Gen.sg. 14

factories N.
/fektorije/ f.Nom.pl. 16
(StSl. faktórie)

family N.
/famélia/ f.Nom.sg. 6, 7(2)
/famélij/ f.Dat.sg. 11
/famélju/ f.Acc.sg. 6(2), 7(2)
/famili/ f.Nom.sg. 10
/femílija/ f.Nom.sg. 6
(StSl. família)

farm V.
/farmerovat'/ Inf. 11
/farmerčeňím/ N. n.Ins.sg. 3
(StSl. farmárit')

farmer N.
/farmer/ m.Nom.sg. 10, 11, 16(2)
/farmerka/ f.Nom.sg. 11
/farmerovi/ m.Dat.sg. 16
(StSl. farmár)

farmers N.
/farmere/ m.Nom.pl. 11(2)
/farmeri/ m.Nom.pl. 3, 5, 10

feel V.
/filovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14
/ne-filovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. Neg. 13,14
/ne-filuje/ 3rd sg.Pr.Neg. 2, 10

feet (of 12 inches) N.
/fíti/ m.Nom.pl. 6

fence N.
/fenc/ m.Nom.sg. 13
/fencu/ m.Gen.sg. 13

ferry N.
/féri/ f.Nom.sg. 3

fever N.
/fívr/ m.Nom.sg. 3

fight V.
/fajtovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14
/fajtovat'/ Inf. 14(6)
/fajtuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 14(2)
/fajtujú/ 3rd pl.Pr. 14(2)
/ne-fajtovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa.Neg. 14

figure V.
/figerovat/ Inf. 14
(StSl. figurovat')

file N.
/fajl/ m.Nom.sg. 16

fill up V.
/na-filoval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa.Prf. 6

film N.
/filma/ f.Nom.sg. 2(3)
/filmu/ f.Acc.sg. 2
(StSl. film m.)

find out V.
/fajndovala aut/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14

fine Aj.
/fajm/ f.Acc.sg. 13

finish V.
/do-finišoval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa. Prf. 5
/do-finišovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa.Prf. 14
/finišoval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa.14
/finišovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14
/finišujú/ 3rd pl.Pr. 5
/s-finišoval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa.Prf. 11
/s-finišovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa.Prf. 11

fireman N.
/fajerman/ m.Nom.sg. 7
/fajrman/ m.Nom.sg. 7(2)

firemen N.
/fajermanú/ m.Acc.pl. 3

fireplace N.
/fajrplejs/ m.Nom.sg. 16
/fajerplés/ m.Nom.sg. 5
/fajerplézi/ m.Loc.sg. 5

fish V.
/fišovat'/ Inf. 6(2)
/fišujem/ 1st sg.Pr. 6

floor N.
/flór/ m.Nom.sg. 10, 12, 16
/flóri/ m.Loc.sg. 12
/flóru/ f.Acc.sg. 1

force N.
/forsem/ m.Ins.sg. 14

force V.
/forsovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 14(2)
(StSl. forsírovali)

Ford N.
/fortku/ f.Acc.sg. 10(2), 16

forecast V.
/forkéstuvat'/ Inf. 10

foreman N.
/formana/ m.Acc.sg. 16

foundry N. *
/fándri/ f.Loc.sg. 1, 16(2)

friend N.
/frentkú/ f.Ins.sg. 11

friends N.
/frentami/ m.Ins.pl. 11
/frenti/ m.Nom.pl. 11(3)
/frentki/ f.Nom.pl. 14

front room N. *
/frondrum/ m.Nom.sg. 5
/prední rum/ m.Nom.sg. 10

fry V.
/frájovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 14

fun N.
/fan/ m.Nom.sg. 11, 13
/foni/ m.Nom.pl. 11

gamble V.
/gejmbloval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 16

games N.
/gejmi/ m.Nom.pl. 13

gangster N.
/gengstera/ m.Acc.sg. 13
/gengsterem/ m.Ins.sg. 13(2)
(StSl. gangster)

gas (petrol) N.
/gás/ m.Nom.sg. 13(3), 16
/géz/ m.Nom.sg. 6(9), 16(2)
/gézu/ m.Gen.sg. 6(4)
/gázoví/ Aj. m.Nom.sg. 10
/gázovú/ Aj. f.Acc.sg. 2

girl N.
/ger - devčátko/ n.Nom.sg. 9
/gerla/ f.Nom.sg. 5(2), 7(3), 9, 14, 15, 16
/gerle/ f.Dat.sg. 10
/gerlička/ f.Nom.sg. 2, 9(2), 13(3)
/gerličko/ f.Voc.sg. 11
/gerličku/ f.Acc.sg. 13
/gerlu/ f.Acc.sg. 7, 9, 14(5), 16(2)

girls N.
/gerlami/ f.Ins.pl. 11
/gerle/ f.Nom.pl. 14(3)
/gerli/ f.Nom.pl. 2, 10, 11(4)
/gerlički/ f.Nom.pl. 2
/gerlí/ f.Gen.pl. 14

give up V.
/givovat' ap/ Inf. 14(2)
/givuj (to) ap/ 2ndsg.Ipt. 14
/givujete ap/ 2ndpl.Pr. 14

go out V. *
/ít ven/ Inf. 12

good and hungry Aj. *
/dobrí hladní/ m.Nom.sg. 12

good time *
/dobré čase/ m.Nom.pl. 3(2)

grade N.
/grédu/ f.Acc.sg. 12

graduate V.
/gradžuloval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 5
/greduovala/ 3rdsg.f.Pa. 16(3)
/greduovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 16(2)
/greduvatovat'/ Inf. 8
/grédžuejtoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 2(2)
(StSl. graduovat' = graduate,
gradnácia = graduation)

grease N.
/grísu/ m.Gen.sg. 3

grocery businesses N.
/groceri biznise/ m.Nom.sg. 3

hall N.
/hal/ m.Nom.sg. 11
(StSl. hala f.)

hamburger N.
/hémburk/ m.Nom.sg. 11(2), 14
/hémburku/ m.Gen.sg. 2

handkerchiefs N.
/henkič/ m.Gen.pl. 11

heel N.
/híl/ m.Nom.sg. 10
/híla/ m.Gen.sg. 10

heels N.
/híle/ m.Nom.pl. 5(3), 10

help V.
/helpuje/ 3rdsg.Pr. 11
/helpuju/ 1stsg.Pr. 6

here Av. *
/(došel) tu/ 7(2)

hold V. *
/holdovat'/ Inf. 14

hook V.
/hukujú/ 3rdpl.Pr. 14
/za-hukujú/ 3rdpl.Fu.Prf. 14

hooks N.
/hukama/ m.Ins.pl. 14
/huki/ m.Nom.pl. 14(2)

house N.
/haus/m.Nom.sg.2,8(2),9(5),11,12,13(3),14(7)
/hauze/ m.Loc.sg. 10(6), 11(2), 14
/hauzi/ m.Loc.sg. 14, 10(3)
/hauzu/m.Gen.Sg.2,3,5(5),6(2),7,8(3),13(2),14(2)

houses N.
/hauzi/ m.Nom.pl. 13(2)
/hauzički/ m.Nom.pl. 2
/hauzoch/ m.Loc.Pl. 5, 7
/hauzú/ m.Gen.pl. 14

Hungarian goulash N.
/hungérien guláš/ m.Nom.sg. 14
(StSl. guláš)

hunt V.
/hantoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 6(3)
/hantovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 16
/hantovat'/ Inf. 6(11)
/hantujem/ 1stsg.Pr. 6
/ne-hantoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa.Neg. 6

hunters N.
/hanteri/ m.Nom.pl. 6
/hanterov/ m.Gen.pl. 6

hunting N.
/hantováňí/ n.Nom.sg. 16(2)
/hantováňím/ n.Ins.sg. 16
/honting/ m.Nom.sg. 11
/hontování/ n.Nom.sg. 11
/hantovích/ Aj. m.Gen.sg. 16

ice box N.
/ajsbaksa/ f.Nom.sg. 12
/ajsbaksi/ f.Gen.sg. 12
/ajsbaksu/ f.Acc.sg. 10

ice cream N.
/ajskrím/ m.Nom.sg. 2, 10

inches N.
/inče/ m.Nom.pl. 8
/inču/ m.Gen.sg. 4(5)

insurance N.
/inšurencoch/ m.Loc.pl. 16

interrupt V.
/interaptuje/ 3rdsg.Pr. 14

Irish N.
/ajriši/ m.Nom.pl. 7, 16
/ajrišskí/ Aj. m.Nom.sg. 5

jack N.
/džeka/ m.Acc.sg. 2

jail N.
/džejla/ m.Gen.sg. 15
/džejlu/ m.Gen.sg. 13

jelly N.
/dželík/ m.Nom.sg. 13(2)

jellies N.
/dželíkú/ m.Gen.pl. 13

Johnson (Endicott - shoe factory) N.
/džánson/ m.Nom.sg. 7
/džánsona/ m.Gen.sg.7,11,14(3)
/džánsonovej/ Aj. f.Gen.sg.11

juice N.
/džúsu/ m.Gen.sg. 14

July N.
/džulaja/ m.Gen.sg. 8, 11
/džulaji/ m.Loc.sg. 5(3),6,8,10,14
(StSl. júl)

jump V.
/džompnút/ Inf. 14

kidnap V.
/kidnépoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 13

kindergarten N.
/kindigardu/ m.Gen.sg. 8

kiss V.
/kisoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 11

knit V.
/nitovat'/ Inf. 2
/nituvali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 12

know V. *
/(ma už) neví/ 3rdsg.Pr. 6

lake N.
/lejk/ m.Nom.sg. 7
/lejku/ m.Gen.sg. 6(2)
/léku/ m.Gen.sg. 5

lasting room N.
/lasting rum/ m.Nom.sg. 16
/lasting rumie/ m.Loc.sg. 16

lasts N.
/lasti/ m.Nom.pl. 13

laundry N. *
/landri/ f.Nom.pl. 16(2)

license N.
/lajsnič/ m.Nom.sg. 11
/lajsnis/ m.Nom.sg. 6(4), 10
(StSl. licencia)

licenses N.
/lajsnise/ m.Nom.pl. 16

like V.
/lajkoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa.6(2),7(5),10,11,13(3),14
/lajkovala/ 3rdsg.f.Pa. 2(6), 11(3),14
/lajkovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 10, 11, 14
/lajkovat/ Inf. 11, 14
/lajko-vá-vala/ 3rdsg.f.Pa.Itr. 2
/lajkuje/ 3rdsg.Pr.2(2), 7, 11(4), 13(13), 14
/lajkujem/ 1stsg.Pr. 2(2), 6(3), 7(3), 10(2)
/lajkujeme/ 1stpl.Pr. 2, 6, 7, 13
/lajkuju/ 1stsg.Pr. 7(2), 13(2)
/lajkujú/ 3rdpl.Pr. 7(2), 13(2), 14(2)
/lajkuvali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 13
/ne-lajkoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa.Neg. 10
/ne-lajkovala/ 3rdsg.f.PaNeg 2(2), 6, 11(3)
/ne-lajkovali/ 3rdpl.Pa.Neg. 10
/ne-lajkujem/ 1stsg.Pr.Neg. 2,6,13,14
/ne-lajkujeme/ 1stpl.Pr.Neg. 14
/ne-lajkuješ/ 2ndsg.Pr.Neg. 14

limp V.
/limpovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 14

line N.
/lajna/ f.Nom.sg. 8(2)
/lajňe/ f.Loc.sg. 14

lines N.
/lajnách/ f.Loc.pl. 8
/lajni/ f.Nom.pl. 8(2)

lining N.
/lajnink/ m.Nom.sg. 6

listen V.
/lesnovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 14

living room N.
/livingrum/ m.Nom.sg. 3
/livingrume/ m.Loc.sg. 2
/livingrumie/ m.Loc.sg. 3
/livingrumu/ m.Gen.sg. 3

Main Street N.
/mejnštrit'e/ m.Loc.sg. 16(2)
/mejnštrít/ m.Nom.sg. 16

major V.
/mejdžuruval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 2

make V.
/mejkovat'/ Inf. 14
/mékovat'/ Inf. 14(4)

manager N.
/menedžr/ m.Nom.sg. 16

market N.
/market/ m.Nom.sg. 3, 10, 11
/market'e/ m.Loc.sg. 3, 13

marriage license N.
/meri lajsnič/ m.Nom.sg. 11

marry V. *
/meriovala/ 3rdsg.f.Pa. 14
/o-ženila/ 3rdsg.f.Pa.Prf. 11
/o-ženili/ 3rdpl.Pa.Prf. 11
/o-ženit'/ Inf.Prf. 14
/ženila/ 3rdsg.f.Pa. 11, 14

Mary N.
/méri/ f.Nom.sg. 16(6)
/mérinú/ f.Ins.sg. 3

match V.
/méčuje/ 3rdsg.Pr. 14

mean V.
/mínovalo/ 3rdsg.n.Pa. 14
/mínuje/ 3rdsg.Pr. 10, 14
/ne-mínuje/ 3rdsg.Pr.Neg. 14

measles N.
/mízl/ m.Nom.sg. 5

Mike N.
/majk/ m.Nom.sg. 16(2)
/majka/ m.Acc.sg. 16

miles N.
/míle/ f.Nom.pl. 6
/mílí/ f.Gen.pl. 7

Milwaukee N. *
/milvóka/ f.Nom.sg. 16
/milvóke/ f.Loc.sg. 16

mine N.
/majna/ f.Nom.sg. 11
/majni/ f.Gen.sg. 5, 16

mines N.
/majnách/ f.Loc.pl. 5(2), 13
/majni/ f.Nom.pl. 1, 2(3), 11(3)
/majnoch/ f.Loc.pl. 7(8), 11(5)

miner N.
/majner/ m.Nom.sg. 5, 7(2)
/majnerskích/ Aj. m.Loc.pl. 5

miners N.
/majneri/ m.Nom.pl. 5(2)

Minnesota N.
/minesoti/ f.Gen.sg. 7

miss V.
/misujem/ 1st sg.Pr. 6
/ne-z-misovat/ Inf.Prf.Neg. 3

Missouri N. *
/mizóre/ f.Loc.sg. 5
/mizóri/ f.Gen.sg. 5

Mr.White N.
/mistr vajtovi/ m.Dat.sg. 16

mixed Aj.
/miksované/ n.Nom.sg. 16
/miksovaní/ m.Nom.sg. 6

molder's work N.
/molderčinu/ f.Acc.sg. 16(2)

mop N. *
/mapu/ f.Acc.sg. 2, 4

mortgage N.
/morgič/ m.Nom.sg. 16(3)

mortgage V.
/za-morgidžoval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa.Prf. 13

move V.
/do-mufovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 8
/mufovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 2
/mufovat/ Inf. 14
/mufuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 2
/na-mufovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 2
/od-mufujú/ 3rd pl.Fu.Prf. 13
/po-mufoval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa.Prf. 13
/pre-mufovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 16

movies N. *
/mív/ m.Acc.sg. 1

museums N.
/múzeumí/ m.Gen.pl. 4
(StSl. muzeí)

name V.
/némujeme/ 1st pl.Pr. 2

names N.
/nejma/ n.Nom.pl. 10

New York N.
/nevi jork/ m.Nom.sg. 12, 13, 15(2), 16
/nevi jorku/ m.Loc.sg. 1(2), 2, 5(3), 7, 12(4), 13(2), 14, 16(4)
/ňujork/ m.Nom.sg. 1(2), 16
/ňujorku/ m.Loc.sg. 1(2)
/ňújork/ m.Nom.sg. 3
/ňújorku/ m.Loc.sg. 3(2), 4(4), 6, 9, 16(7)
/nevi jorského/ Aj. m.Acc.sg. 16
/nevi jorskej/ Aj. f.Gen.sg. 16
/nújorského/ Aj. m.Acc.sg. 3
/mújorském/ Aj. m.Loc.sg. 3(2)

news (radio broadcast) N. *
/novini/ f.Nom.pl. 3

nice Aj.
/najs/ 10, 12

nickel N.
/nikel/ m.Nom.sg. 12
/nikl/ m.Nom.sg. 3
/nikla/ m.Gen.sg. 2, 10, 13, 15

night (evening) N. *
/noci/ f.Loc.sg. 12

nineteen ... (1900's) *
/devatnást devet/ 3
/devatnást pat'/ 12
/devatnást trinást/ 5(5)
/devatnásto štrnástem/ 12
/devetnást' osmém/ 9

no
/no/ 1, 2(2), 5, 6(28), 7(10), 8(5), 9(6), 11(21), 12(5), 13(17), 14(4)

nurse N.
/nojska/ f.Nom.sg. 13
/nors/ f.Nom.sg. 5
/norska/ f.Nom.sg. 11(2)
/norski/ f.Gen.sg. 16
/norsku/ f.Acc.sg. 5(2)
/nrski/ f.Gen.sg. 16
/nurska/ f.Nom.sg. 16

office N.
/ofis/ m.Nom.sg. 7(2), 8(2), 9, 16
/ofis/ f.Nom.sg. 14
/ofise/ m.Loc.sg. 7, 9
/ofisi/ m.Loc.sg. 8, 10(2)
/ofisi/ f.Loc.sg. 14
/ofisu/ m.Gen.sg. 7, 8, 9, 11

offices N.
/ofisoch/ m.Loc.pl. 7

operates V. *
/aperejduje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 14
(StSl. operuje)

operator N. *
/aperédorki/ f.Gen.sg. 3
(StSl. operatér)

order N.
/ordel/ m.Nom.sg. 16
/order/ m.Nom.sg. 16

orders N.
/ordele/ m.Nom.pl. 14
/ordere/ m.Nom.pl. 16

order V.
/ordelovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 8
/ordelovat'/ Inf. 14
/za-ordelovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 16(2)
/za-ordelujeme/ 1st pl.Fu.Prf. 2

own V.
/ónuvala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 2
/ónuvali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 2

Pacific N.
/pacafiku/ m.Loc.sg. 5

pail N.
/péla/ m.Gen.sg. 5

paint N.
/pejntu/ f.Acc.sg. 13
/pentú/ f.Ins.sg. 5

paint V.
/pejntuvali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 9
/penduvali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 5(2)
/pentuval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa. 9
/pentuvali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 2
/pentuvat'/ Inf. 12
/za-pentuje sa/ 3rd sg.Fu.Prf.Rfl. 5

pancakes N. *
/penkekse/ m.Nom.pl. 13

paper (citizenship -) N. *
/papír/ m.Nom.sg. 6(2), 9

papers (citizenship -) N. *
/papíre/ m.Nom.pl. 16(6)

paper (newspaper) N. *
/papír/ m.Nom.sg. 8
/papírem/ m.Ins.sg. 8
/papíri/ m.Loc.sg. 10, 13

papers (newspapers) N. *
/papíre/ m.Nom.pl. 6, 10

partners N.
/partnéri/ m.Nom.pl. 16

patience N.
/péšnt/ m.Nom.sg. 14

pay N.
/peda/ f.Nom.sg. 11
/péda/ f.Nom.sg. 14
/pédi/ f.Gen.sg. 3, 8, 13
/pédu/ f.Acc.sg. 3(2), 5, 6, 7, 14
/pejdi/ f.Gen.sg. 7

peaches N. *
/píčese/ m.Nom.pl. 13

peas N. *
/písu/ m.Gen.sg. 14

peddlars N. *
/pitlári/ m.Nom.pl. 13

Pennsylvania N.
/pelsevánija/ f.Nom.sg. 5
/pelsevánije/ f.Gen.sg. 3(2), 5(2)
/penselvaniji/ f.Loc.sg. 3(2)
/pensilvánija/ f.Nom.sg. 16
/pensilvánije/ f.Gen.sg. 5, 12
/pensilvániji/ f.Loc.sg. 7(5), 16(2)

pension N.
/penšion/ m.Nom.sg. 11
(StSl. penzia f.)

pheasants N.
/fazane/ m.Nom.pl. 6
/fazamí/ m.Gen.pl. 16
(StSl. bažanti)

Philadelphia Store
/filadelfija štór/ m.Nom.sg. 14
/filadelfiji štóri/ m.Loc.sg. 14

pick V.
/pikovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 7(3)
/pikovat'/ Inf. 7

pictures N.
/pikčere/ m.Nom.pl. 12

pie N.
/páj/ m.Nom.sg. 2
/páju/ m.Gen.sg. 2

pies N.
/páje/ m.Nom.pl. 4, 14

piecework N.
/pízvork/ m.Nom.sg. 3(4)

pieceworker N.
/pízvorkerov/ m.Acc.pl. 3

piles N.
/pajle/ m.Nom.pl. 16(2)

Pilsen N.
/pilzňe/ f.Gen.sg. 16
(StSl. Plzňe)

pinochle N.
/pínákla/ m.Gen.sg. 2

pint N.
/pajnti/ f.Gen.sg. 6

pipe N.
/pajpa/ f.Nom.sg. 13
/pajpu/ f.Acc.sg. 16

place N. *
/plac/ m.Nom.sg. 7, 9
/placi/ m.Loc.sg. 9
/placu/ m.Gen.sg. 9(2)
/plejs/ m.Nom.sg. 6, 14
/plejzi/ m.Loc.sg. 14
/plejzu/ m.Gen.sg. 14(2)
/plézik/ m.Nom.sg. 5

places N.
/placoch/ m.Loc.pl. 9
/placú/ m.Gen.pl. 7, 10(2)
/plézov/ m.Gen.pl. 5

plants N.
/planti/ m.Nom.pl. 3, 13

plaster N.
/plástr/ m.Nom.pl. 7

(plural morpheme) *
/advokáts/ 15

points N.
/pojnti/ m.Nom.pl. 14(3)

poison V.
/s-pojzinovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 11

police department
/polic departmentu/ m.Gen.sg. 16

policeman N.
/polic/ m.Nom.sg. 9
(StSl. policajt)

policemen N.
/policmáňi/ m.Nom.pl. 15(6)
(StSl. policajti)

political Aj.
/polatickích/ f.Gen.pl. 7

politics N.
/palatiki/ f.Gen.sg. 7(5)
/politiks/ f.Gen.pl. 15
(StSl. politika)

porch N.
/porč/ m.Nom.sg. 3, 11, 13
/porču/ m.Gen.sg. 10, 11

pork N.
/porku/ m.Gen.sg. 14(2)

pork chop N.
/porčáp/ m.Nom.sg. 11

Portuguese N.
/porčigali/ m.Nom.pl. 12
(StSl. Portugalčania)

posted Pc.
/poustovano/ n.Nom.sg. 6

postmaster N.
/poustmastr/ m.Nom.sg. 3
(StSl. poštmajster)

pot N.
/pát/ m.Nom.sg. 14(2)
/páta/ m.Gen.sg. 14

powder N.
/paudrem/ m.Ins.sg. 14

powder cakes (baking -) N.
/paudrové kekse/ m.Nom.pl. 14(2)

power N.
/páveru/ m.Gen.sg. 6

press N.
/presom/ m.Ins.sg. 14

Press (newspaper) N.
/pres/ m.Nom.sg. 1
/presi/ m.Loc.sg. 16

presser N.
/presera/ m.Acc.sg. 16

prize N.
/prajs/ m.Nom.sg. 5

prohibition N.
/prohabicija/ f.Nom.sg. 7
(StSl. prohibícia)

prosecute V.
/prásekiutoval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa. 15

Prospect Street N.
/prospekt štrit/ f.Nom.sg. 11
/prospekt štrit'e/ f.Loc.sg. 2

public Aj.
/publičnej/ f.Gen.sg. 8(2)
/publičné/ n.Nom.sg. 8

pull V.
/pulovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14

puncher (woman) N.
/pončárka/ f.Nom.sg. 13(2)

punches N.
/ponče/ m.Nom.pl. 13
/ponči/ m.Gen.pl. 13

push V.
/pušneme/ 1st pl.Fu.Prf. 14
/pušovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 14
/pušovat'/ Inf. 14

quarter N.
/kvóder/ m.Nom.sg. 5(2), 7, 12
/kvodr/ m.Nom.sg. 3, 8
/kvodra/ m.Gen.sg. 13(2)

quarter after ... (time) *
/patnást' po šest'i/ 13

quarter to ... (time) *
/patnást do šestej/ 3(2)
/patnást' do šiestej/ 1
/patnást' do tret'i/ 13

quick Aj.
/kvik/ 6

quit V. *
/kvitovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 6
/ne-s-kvituval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa.Prf.Neg. 1
/s-kvitovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa.Prf. 2, 14
/s-kvitováňá/ N. n.Gen.sg. 14

racks N.
/reki/ m.Nom.pl. 14

radio N.
/rejdio/ n.Nom.sg. 9
/rádio/ n.Nom.sg. 1, 3(4), 7
(StSl. rádio)

raise N.
/rejsa/ m.Gen.sg. 11

raise V.
/rejzovat/ Inf. 13
/vi-rejzovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa.Prf. 13
/vi-rejzovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 13
/vi-rejzovat/ Inf.Prf. 13(2)

recollect V.
/rekolektuvat'/ Inf. 10

records N. *
/rekords/ m.Nom.pl. 15
(StSl. rekordi)

refuse V.
/refiuzovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14

remember V.
/remembrovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14

remodel V.
/remádeluju/ 1st sg.Pr. 14

rent N.
/rent/ m.Nom.sg. 3(2), 16(2)
(StSl. renta)

rent V.
/rendovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 3

renter N.
/rendatorka/ f.Nom.sg. 3

report V.
/reportovat/ Inf. 16
/reportovat'/ Inf. 14(2)

Republican N.
/ripublikán/ m.Nom.sg. 7
/ripublikánskú/ Aj. f.Acc.sg. 7

respect V.
/rispektovat/ Inf. 15
(StSl. rešpektovat')

rest V.
/restovat'/ Inf. 14
/restuj/ 2nd sg.Ipt. 14

restaurant N.
/rešterandu/ m.Gen.sg. 14(2)
/rešterant/ m.Nom.sg. 11
/rešterantu/ m.Gen.sg. 2, 5
/rešterant'e/ m.Loc.sg. 11(3)
(StSl. restaurant)

restaurants N.
/rešterantov/ m.Gen.pl. 5

retire V.
/retajrovala/ 3rd sg.f.Pa. 14
/ritajroval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa. 16
/ritajruju/ 1st sg.Pr. 16
/ritajrujú/ 3rd pl.Pr. 13
/z-ritajrovat/ Inf.Prf. 6

rheumatism N.
/rematis/ m.Nom.sg. 13
/reumatis/ m.Nom.sg. 14
/rumatis/ m.Nom.sg. 11(2)
(StSl. reuma, reumatizmus)

rice N.
/rajsom/ m.Ins.sg. 7

ride N.
/rajta/ m.Gen.sg. 6

ring V.
/ringá/ 3rdsg.Pr. 14
/vi-ringám/ 1stsg.Fu.Prf. 1

rip V.
/ripovat'/ Inf. 14

river N.
/revre/ f.Loc.sg. 11
/revri/ f.Gen.sg. 3
/revru/ f.Acc.sg. 3, 7, 10, 11, 16

rivers N.
/revri/ f.Nom.pl. 7

Rome N.
/róm/ m.Nom.sg. 1
(StSl. Rím)

room N.
/rum/m.Nom.sg. 2, 3, 5(3), 10, 12(2), 13, 14, 16
/rume/ m.Loc.sg. 11, 12
/rumie/ m.Loc.sg. 3, 13(2), 14, 16
/rumu/ m.Gen.sg. 3, 5, 7, 12, 14
/rumoví/ Aj. m.Nom.sg. 12

rooms N.
/rumi/ m.Nom.pl. 2, 5(2), 7, 11, 12(2), 13(2), 15, 16
/rumičkí/ m.Nom.pl. 13
/rumoch/ m.Loc.pl. 9

root N. *
/rutsa/ m.Gen.sg. 14

ropes N.
/ropi/ m.Nom.pl. 16(3)

sacrifice V.
/sakrafajzovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 14
/sakrafajzuju/ 1stsg.Pr. 14

salad dressing N.
/salát dresink/ m.Nom.sg. 14(2)

sale N.
/sejl/ m.Nom.sg. 12, 14, 16
/sejle/ m.Loc.sg. 12

save V.
/za-sejfovat'/ Inf.Prf. 11

scabs N.
/skébi/ m.Nom.pl. 5
/skébov/ m.Acc.pl. 5(2)

sets N.
/seti/ m.Nom.pl. 13

sewer N.
/súr/ m.Nom.sg. 7, 12

sewers N.
/súri/ m.Nom.pl. 7

ship N. *
/šífa/ f.Nom.sg. 5, 10(4)
/šífe/ f.Loc.sg. 3, 9, 10, 12(2)
/šífi/ f.Gen.sg. 10
/šífie/ f.Loc.sg. 15

shoe N. *
/šúch/ m.Nom.sg. 14
/šúcha/ m.Gen.sg. 1
/šúchu/ f.Acc.sg. 10
/šustrové/ Aj. n.Nom.sg. 9
/šúchovej/ Aj. f.Gen.sg. 4

shoes N.
/šúchi/f.Nom.pl. 2(2), 5(2), 6, 7, 10(3), 11, 13, 14(3), 16(2)
/šúchoch/ f.Loc.sg. 3, 5
/šúchú/ m.Gen.sg. 14

shoe factory N.
/šustrovňe/ f.Gen.sg. 3, 4
/šustrovňi/ f.Loc.sg. 4, 7(6), 16

shoe factories N.
/šustrovňoch/ f.Loc.pl. 7

shoe store N.
/šústór/ m.Nom.sg. 10(3)
/šústóre/ m.Loc.sg. 10
/šústóri/ m.Loc.sg. 10

shoemaker N. *
/šuster/ m.Nom.sg. 9(2)

shop N. *
/šapa/ f.Nom.sg. 11(2)
/šape/ f.Loc.sg. 6(2), 9, 11(2), 14(2)
/šapi/ f.Gen.sg. 5, 6, 9(3), 11, 14
/šapie/ f.Loc.sg. 14
/šapu/ f.Acc.sg. 12, 14

shops N. *
/šapách/ f.Loc.pl. 11
/šapám/ f.Dat.pl. 9

shop V.
/šápovat'/ Inf. 14

shovel V.
/na-šaulovat/ Inf.Prf. 14

show N.
/šó/ m.Nom.sg. 14

shows N.
/šovách/ m.Loc.pl. 9

sick Aj.
/sik/ 10(2), 14(2)

sieve V.
/pre-sivuju/ 1st sg.Fu.Prf. 14

sign N.
/sajna/ f.Nom.sg. 9
/sajni/ f.Gen.sg. 16

sign V.
/sajnoval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa. 14(2)
/sajnovat/ Inf. 14
/sajnovat'/ Inf. 14(2)
/sajnuj/ 2nd sg.Ipt. 14(2)
/sajnujte/ 2nd pl.Ipt. 14

sink N.
/sinek/ m.Nom.sg. 12
/sink/ m.Nom.sg. 3, 10, 13, 16
/sinkem/ m.Ins.sg. 16

sinks N.
/sinki/ m.Nom.pl. 16

situation N.
/situejšn/ m.Nom.sg. 14
(StSl. situácia f.)

slices N.
/slajse/ m.Nom.pl. 14(2)

slow down V.
/za-slóduje sa/ 3rd sg.Fu.Prf.Rfl. 14

smashed up Pc.
/za-smé̌šovaná/ Prf.f.Nom.sg. 6

soap N.
/sopini/ f.Gen.sg. 3

sororities N. *
/sororiti/ f.Nom.pl. 16

sorry Aj.
/sari/ 16(2)

sound V.
/ne-sáundovalo/ 3rd sg.n.Pa.Neg. 3

soups N. *
/súpi/ f.Nom.pl. 14

speak V.
/spíkovat/ Inf. 14

spell V.
/spelované/ Pc. n.Nom.sg. 16
/spelovat'/ Inf. 6, 14
/vi-spelovat'/ Inf.Prf. 16

spend V.
/spendovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 14
/spendujú/ 3rd pl.Pr. 14

spool V.
/spúlovaná/ Pc. f.Nom.sg. 2

square N.
/skvéru/ m.Gen.sg. 3

stamps N.
/stempi/ m.Nom.pl. 10
/stempli/ m.Nom.pl. 10
/štempi/ m.Nom.pl. 12

stand V.
/sténdovat/ Inf. 14

start V.
/za-startovali/ 3rdpl.Pa.Prf. 14
/za-štardoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa.Prf. 6(2)
/za-štartovali/ 3rdpl.Pa.Prf. 6
/za-štartujem/ 1stsg.Fu.Prf. 6

state N.
/stejtu/ m.Gen.sg. 11

statistics N.
/statistiki/ f.Gen.sg. 16
(StSl. štatistiky)

steady Aj.
/stidi/ 14(2)

steak N.
/stejku/ m.Gen.sg. 5

steam V.
/štímovat'/ Inf. 14

stew V.
/stuvovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 14

stitch N.
/stič/ m.Nom.sg. 10

stitches N.
/stiče/ m.Nom.pl. 14

stitch V.
/stičoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 10
/stičovana/ Pc. f.Nom.sg. 10
/stičovano/ Pc. n.Nom.sg. 10
/stičovat'/ Inf. 10

stitching room N.
/stičing rume/ m.Loc.sg. 16(3)
/stičing rumu/ m.Gen.sg. 16(2)

stop V.
/ne-štapovala/ 3rdsg.f.Pa.Neg. 14
/za-štapovala/ 3rdsg.f.Pa.Prf. 6
/za-štapovat'/ Inf.Prf. 11
/za-štapujú/ 3rdpl.Fu.Prf. 8(2)

store N.
/stór/ m.Nom.sg. 10(5)
/štór/ m.Nom.sg. 2, 7(3), 10, 16
/štóre/ m.Loc.sg. 7
/štóri/ m.Loc.sg. 10
/štóru/ m.Gen.sg. 3,6,7, 10,13(3),14(2),15,16(3)

stores N.
/štórách/ m.Loc.pl. 2
/štórov/ m.Gen.pl. 9
/štórú/ m.Gen.pl. 13

storekeeper N.
/štórňik/ m.Nom.sg. 13

stories N.
/stóri/ m.Nom.pl. 11, 14(2), 16

street N.
/strit'e/ f.Loc.sg. 16
/štrita/ f.Nom.sg. 7
/štriti/ f.Gen.sg. 7
/štrit'e/ f.Loc.sg. 2(2), 8, 11
/štrít/ m.Nom.sg. 11, 13(2)
/štritové/ Aj. n.Nom.sg. 7

streets N.
/štritoch/ f.Loc.pl. 7

streetcar N.
/štritkára/ f.Nom.sg. 12
/štritkáre/ f.Loc.sg. 5, 12
/štritkári/ f.Gen.sg. 16

streetcars N.
/štritkárach/ f.Loc.pl. 13
/štritkárách/ f.Loc.pl. 5
/štritkári/ f.Nom.pl. 12

stripped Pc.
/štripované/ n.Nom.sg. 11

suit N. *
/sud/ m.Nom.sg. 8
/sut/ m.Nom.sg. 13, 16

suits N.
/sudi/ m.Nom./Acc.pl. 6, 8(3)

suitcases N.
/sútkejse/ m.Nom.pl. 14(2)

support V.
/soperdovat'/ Inf. 11

sure Av.
/šúr/ 7(8), 11(7), 13, 14(2), 15

sweep V.
/po-svípuju/ 1st sg.Fu.Prf. 14

sweeper N.
/svíperom/ m.Ins.sg. 12(3)

swim V.
/svimovat/ Inf. 13

switchmen N.
/svičmeňi/ m.Nom.pl. 1

Syracuse N.
/sirakús/ m.Nom.sg. 16(4)
/sirakúsa/ m.Gen.sg. 13, 16
/sirakúskej/ Aj. f.Gen.sg. 5

tag N.
/tég/ m.Nom.sg. 14(3)

tags N.
/tégi/ m.Nom.pl. 14

take V.
/tejkovali/ 3rd pl.Pa. 14

talk V.
/tókujú/ 3rd pl.Pr. 14

tank N.
/tenku/ f.Acc.sg. 6
(StSl. tank m.)

tax N.
/teks/ m.Nom.sg. 13

taxes N.
/tekse/ m.Nom.pl. 13(2)

taxi N.
/teksi/ f.Nom.sg. 3
(StSl. taxík m.)

taxi driver N.
/teksi drajvera/ m.Acc.sg. 3

tea N.
/teja/ n.Gen.sg. 12
/tiho/ n. Gen.sg. 14
/tí/ n.Nom.sg. 3
/tía/ n.Gen.sg. 14

teacher N.
/tíčerkú/ f.Ins.sg. 14

tease V.
/tízujú/ 3rd pl.Pr. 13

television N.
/televizi/ f.Loc.pl. 5(2)

Theresa N.
/trísu/ f.Acc.sg. 14

thread V.
/tredovat/ Inf. 14(2)

ticket N.
/tiketu/ f.Acc.sg. 11

toast N.
/tosti/ m.Nom.pl. 14

tomato N.
/tomejdusa/ m.Gen.sg. 14

tomatoes N.
/tomejdosú/ m.Gen.pl. 14
/tomejtosi/ m.Nom.pl. 14

track V.
/trekovat'/ Inf. 6

tracks (animal -) N.
/trekov/ f.Gen.pl. 6

tractor N.
/trektorom/ m.Ins.sg. 16
(StSl. traktorom)

transfer V.
/trensfrovaná/ Pc. f.Nom.sg. 16(2)
/trensfrovaní/ Pc. m.Nom.sg. 16
(StSl. transferovat')

transplant V.
/trensplenovat'/ Inf. 14(3)
(StSl. transplantácia N.)

trim V.
/trimuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 14
/trimujem/ 1st sg.Pr. 6

trip N.
/trip/ m.Nom.sg. 6

troopers N.
/truperov/ m.Acc.pl. 6

troops N.
/trupi/ m.Nom.pl. 5

trouble N.
/trabl/ m.Nom.sg. 9
/trablu/ m.Gen.sg. 14(2)
/trobel/ m.Nom.pl. 11

Troy University N.
/troj universit'e/ f.Loc.sg. 1

truck N.
/troka/ m.Gen.sg. 1(4)
/trokem/ m.Ins.sg. 16
/troku/ m.Loc.sg. 11

trustee N.
/trostisom/ m.Ins.sg. 16(2)

trusteeship N.
/trostictví/ n.Nom.sg. 16

turkeys N.
/turki/ f.Nom.pl. 11

type (on typewriter) N.
/tajprajdovat'/ Inf. 8(2)

Ukrainian Aj.
/jukrajinskí/ m.Nom.sg. 7
(StSl. ukrajinský)

umbrella N.
/ambrélu/ f.Acc.sg. 14(2)

uniform N.
/juniforme/ f.Loc.sg. 1(2)
(StSl. uniforme)

uniforms N.
/juniformách/ f.Loc.pl. 1(2)

Uniontown N.
/junitán/ m.Nom.sg. 5

upstairs N.
/aps-/ 4
/apstersi/ m.Loc.sg. 2, 3
/apstérz/ m.Nom.sg. 2, 3
/apšters/ m.Nom.sg. 5

use V.
/juzovat/ Inf. 13, 14
/juzovat'/ Inf. 10, 14
/juzuje/ 3rd sg.Pr. 5, 13, 14
/juzujem/ 1st sg.Pr. 2
/juzuju/ 1st sg.Pr. 14
/juzujú/ 3rd pl.Pr. 2, 14(3)
/júzuval/ 3rd sg.m.Pa. 2, 14(3)
/ne-juzujem/ 1st sg.Pr.Neg. 13
/ne-juzuju/ 1st sg.Pr.Neg. 13
/ne-júzovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Neg. 14
/z-juzovali/ 3rd pl.Pa.Prf. 13
/z-júzovat'/ Inf.Prf. 5

vacation N.
/vekejšn/ m.Nom.sg. 14(5)
/vikejšn/ m.Nom.sg. 14
(StSl. vakácie f.pl.)

vinegar N.
/vinigru/ m.Gen.sg. 6

votes N.
/votov/ m.Gen.pl. 7
(StSl. votovat' V.)

walk V.
/vókovala/ 3rdsg.f.Pa. 14

ward N.
/vardze/ m.Loc.sg. 13
/vord/ m.Nom.sg. 7(2), 16
/vordu/ m.Gen.sg. 7
/vord'e/ m.Loc.sg. 7(9)

wards N.
/vordi/ m.Nom.pl. 7
/vordoch/ m.Loc.pl. 7

wash V.
/ne-vašujú/ 3rdpl.Pr.Neg. 14

wasn't very good at *
/nebil velmi dobrí/ 16

waste V.
/véstovat'/ Inf. 14

watch V.
/po-vačuj/ 2ndsg.Ipt.Prf. 11
/po-vačuju/ 1stsg.Fu.Prf. 13
/vačovali/ 3rdpl.Pa. 13
/vačovat/ Inf. 14
/vačovat'/ Inf. 8
/vačujeme/ 1stpl.Pr. 2,10,12,13

well Av.
/vel/ 1(8), 2(66), 3(16), 4(2), 6(46), 7(32), 8(18), 9(5), 10(24), 12(28), 13(35), 14(22), 15(2), 16(39).

what's that again *
/co je to zas/ 10

wheelbarrow N.
/vílbar/ m.Nom.sg. 8
/vílbári/ m.Loc.sg. 8

whiskey N. *
/visku/ f.Acc.sg. 10, 16

White House N.
/bílém dome/ m.Loc.sg. 3

Wilma N.
/vilma/ f.Nom.sg. 16(3)

witness paper N.
/vitnis pejpr/ m.Nom.sg. 1

(woman's surname) *
/bokšanskí/ 7, 11(2)
/brestovanskí/ 12
/bublinec/ 5(4)
/čupina/ 7
/kukliš/ 13
/mažar/ 8
/miňo/ 11
/plac/ 6
/podaní/ 11
/polák/ 5
/sasinek/ 12
/skubek/ 14
/smolinskí/ 16
/šepelák/ 6
/vavrica/ 9
/válki/ 9

work V.
/ne-vrkuje/ 3rdsg.Pr.Neg. 13
/vorkoval/ 3rdsg.m.Pa. 14

yard N.
/jard'e/ m.Loc.sg. 8(2), 10

yeast N.
/ístové/ Aj. m.Nom.sg. 14(2)

yeast cakes N.
/ístové kekse/ m.Acc.pl. 14

yes
/jes/ 2(5), 5, 6(14), 7(81), 8(4), 9, 10(6), 11, 12, 13, 14(2), 15

APPENDIX C

A Selected Vocabulary of Unassimilated Loans

Numerals not parenthesized are informant code numbers. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of times the informant has used the item in the text analyzed for this vocabulary.

A & P 2(2), 12
about one year 14
about that fellow 14
about the Slavs 16
about this fellow 14
absolutely 6
accent 2
accident 15
acclamation 7
across the street 14
active duty 10
add 8
adding machines 8
Adirondack Mountains 2, 13
Adirondacks 7
administration 10
aerial film 2
African violets 13
against the law 14
air corps 13(2)
Air Force 10
Air Force Reserve 10
airplane 7(3), 12
Airport Commission 7
airway 8
alarm clock 13, 14
Albany 3, 9
Albany State Teachers College 16
ale 14
Alfred 2
Alfred University 2, 5
algebra 13
all over 6, 14
all right 6, 7(4), 11, 12, 14(13), 15, 16(2)
all the time 14
all the work was 14
Allegheny 16
Allentown 12
alligator machines 14
almost twenty-three dollars 14
alone 14
always 14(2)
American Civic Association 2,16(4)
Americanization 16
Americanization League 16
and 2(2), 9(2), 14(4), 16(3)
and she said yes 16
and so and so 16
and then it was going on 14
Andy 11
Angora 13
Ansco 2(2), 7(2), 15(2), 16
Ansco Film Company 7
anti-tank company 10
ants 13
anyhow 14(3)
anything you have 14
anyway 8
apart 2
apartment 12
appendix 8
apple 2
application 2
apprentice 10
are you sure 14
arithmetic 13
army 16(2)
army camp 12
arthritis 9, 14(2)
Arthur Godfrey 9
artist 16
aspirin 13
assistant 2, 16(2)

assistant district attorney 15
asters 9
asthma-bronchitis 13
Atlantic City 8
attachment 8
attic 12
Auburn 13
Austria-Hungary 7, 8(4)
automatic 13
average 6(3)
awnings 13

baby 8(2), 13(3)
baby sickness 13
back in a good way 14
back to the United States 14(2)
back stays 14(2)
back yard 14(2)
bacon and eggs 13
bake sale 3, 13
bakery 13
baking powder 13, 14(2)
ball 8(2)
ballet slippers 2
ballot 7(2)
balls 13
Baltimore 7, 9(3)
barber 7
barber shop 13
barley 14(3)
barn dances 13
baseball 2, 8, 13
basket 7(2), 13
basketball 2, 7, 8(3)
basketball coach 7
bath 2
bathroom 2
bathtub 2, 12
Baxter Street 16
bazaar 2
Beacon Club 2
bean bags 2(2)
beans 2
beautiful 3
beauty parlor 2
beauty shop 12
because 14
because I get the hell 14
bedspread 13
bedspreads 8, 13
beef 6, 14
beer garden 6
beer joint 13
before I 14
before I get my paper 9
Belgium 7
belts 8
bench 13
beneficiary 16
berries 7
beside 14
better 14(3)
between 14(6)
Bible 7(2)
Big Payoff 9
bill 7
Binghamton 2(2)
Binghamton Central High School 16
Binghamton City Clerk 16
Binghamton City Hospital 16(5)
Binghamton City Library 16
Binghamton Kiwanis Club 16(2)
Binghamton, New York 16
bingo 14
birthday 2, 8, 9, 11
birthday present 12
blackboard 13
blanket 13
blind 14
block 13
blond 9
blue 2(2), 5, 13
blue plums 13
blueberries 7
bluebird 3
board 14, 16(2)
Board of Advisors 16
Board of Directors 16
boarding house 8
boat 2, 12
Bobby 12
bone 12
book 14
bounty 16(2)
bowling alley 13
boxing 13
boxing gloves 13(2)

break 14
Break the Bank 9
breakfast 8
brick 12
bridge lamp 2
bring her too 16
bring them all 16
brochure 16
broiled chicken 2
broke down 14
broken 15
bronchitis 9
brook trout 7
Broome County 5
Brown Street 5
Buffalo 6, 7
bug 14
Buick 10
building 13, 16
bulletin 6(2)
bunk beds 13
Burroughs adding machine 8
business 2, 7(2), 8, 13(2), 14
business course 8
business schools 8(3)
busy 6
but 14
but anyhow 14
Buton 2
butter 13, 14
buttons 14(2)
by the curb 13

C F J Boulevard 5, 9
cabbage 11(3)
cactus 2
Cairo 10(3)
Cameroons 10
camp barracks 16
canasta 13
cancer 13(3)
candy store 2(2)
canned food 10
canned milk 13(3)
Capetown 16
carbon copy 8
cargo 10
Carolinas 10
carrots 11
Casablanca 10
case 14, 15
case of work 14(3)
casserole 14
catch on 14
ceiling 12 ,13
Central High School 8
cereal 12(2)
certainly not 12
Chairman of Public Relations 16(2)
chaise lounge 8
chance 8, 10
change 9
Channel Twelve 3
checkers 13(5)
Cheer 3
cheeseburger 14
chemistry 10
cherry pie 2
Chicago 2, 6
chicken pox 2(2), 12
chifferobe 13
children 14
Chinango Street 16
chocolate 13(2)
chocolate chip cookies 13
choo choo train 13(2)
Christmas Day 13
Christmas dinner 13
Christmas Eve 2
citizen 6, 14
citizen's club 9
city clerk 16(3)
city directories 16
city doctor 14
city hospital 16
civics 9
Civil Service Commission 7
classes 7
classical 12
clear 14
Cleveland 6
Cleveland, Ohio 16
clever 2
Clinton Medical 16
Clinton Street 7, 9, 13

closer 14
clothes closet 13
club 16
clubs 2
coach 7
coal miner 15
coat 6
cocker spaniel 13
cocoa 14
coffee 13
coffee break 2(2)
coffee hours 13
coffee maker 12
coke 16
Coke Region 16
cole slaw 14(2)
Colfax 11
college 8(5), 9, 15
college course 4
college educated 16
college education 16
colored 16
colored people 16
colored pictures 16
Columbus 11
comforter 13(2)
commanders 7
commands 2
commission 7
common 2
Communist 7
Communistic 7
company 13(2)
company commander 10
Constitution 15
construction camps 15
conversation 2, 14
Cook 13
Cookie 13
cookies 2(2), 13
copper ore 7
copy 16(2)
corn cob 13
corn flakes 14
Cornell 16
Cornell University 5, 16
corner 13
cottage 12
couch 2
council meeting 13
County Clerk 16
County Clerk Office 16
couple 14
course 10, 16
court 15
cousins 16
covers 2
cream pie 13
credit 7(2)
Creyler's 4
criss-cross 6
cross-country team 10
cross stitch 8
cruise 2
cuffs 14
cup of coffee 14
cups 14(3)
curvy work 14
customs 12
cute 2
cutter 7
cutting room 7

DP's 7
daddy 12
Dalton Street 4
dam 7
damage 6
Danmore, Pennsylvania 8
date 2, 14(2)
daughter-in-law 13
day 14(3)
day work 11
decagrams 2
December 10
December Bride 3
deed 16(2)
degrees 10
delerious 13
den 10
department 2(3), 16
department store 2
derivative citizenship 6(2)
desk 12(2)
Detroit 2(2), 5

dictaphone 8(2)
dictionary 16
different 2, 10, 11, 12
different food 14
different story 14
different things 2
dime 7
dining room set 13
dinner 14(2)
directions 8
discharge 9(2)
dish 2, 14
dishes 2, 12, 14
displaced persons 16
district attorney 7, 16
district attorney's office 15
divorce 13
do you know Mr. Mazar? 16
do you know that you are one of the best? 16
doctor 16(11)
Dr. Burlinghoff 16
Dr. John Rozboril 16
Dr. Mazar 16
Dr. O'Neill 16
Dolly 13
done 14
Donny 5
don't talk for your wife 6
double 6
double hernia 14
down 14
downstairs 13
Dragnet 3
draperies 8
drapery 4
drapes 13
drawer 13
drinks 13
driveway 13
driving card 16
druggist 16
dry cleaning 4
dusting it 13
E J 3, 6, 11(2), 13(6), 14(2), 15(2), 16(3)
E J Corporation 5
E J doctor 14
E J worker 16
East Pittsburgh 9(2)
Easter 2(2), 8, 12, 13
Easter party 2
easy chairs 12
eczema 9(2)
edge trimming 9
editor 8
education 16(4)
educator 16
eighteen ninety-eight 14
Eisenhower 4
elderberry 13
electric sweeper 12(2)
electricity 10
elevator 9(3)
eleven o'clock 14(3)
eleventh year 10
Elliott Fisher 8(2)
Elm Street 16
Elmira 2
embroidery 12
emergency 8
Emerick 16
Empire State Building 9
empty 6
enamel 13
end of the week 14
Endicott 6(5), 8(5), 9, 13(2), 15, 16(4)
Endicott Bulletin 8
Endicott Johnson 7(6), 15(3), 16(4)
Endicott Johnson Corporation 16(5)
Endicott Union High School 16
Endwell 6, 8(4)
energy 10
engineer 2
engineer boots 14(2)
engineers 15
English 13
English muffins 14

entertainment committee 16
entitled 14(2)
equator 10
equipment 10
Erie Railroad 16
estimator 2(3)
evening gowns 8
everything 11
everything turned bad 14
ex-president 16
examination 7
exercise 6
experiences 10(2)
expert 4
extension 5
extenuating circumstances 15
extra 2
eyelets 14

factory 9
faculty advisor 16
Fairbanks 7, 11
family 11
feaver 12(2), 13
federal pension 13
fellowship 13
fence 14(2)
few feet 6
fifty-one 5
fifty cents 14(2)
fight 14
filing 2(2)
film 7(2)
film company 7
finally 14(2)
fine 16
finished 6, 7, 11, 14
fire insurance 13, 16(3)
fire station 8
First Assistant Secretary 16
First Ward 8(2), 16
fish 11
fitting 8, 9
five dollars 11
five thirty 2
flavor 14
flax seeds 13
flexible 14
flexible shafts 2
flood 7(4)
flood walls 7
floor 12
Florence 13
Florida 12
flu 5
fly rod 4
folk 10
football 13
for him 14
forecaster 10(2)
forecasting 10
foreman 7(2)
foreman of the jury 16
fort 14
Fort Benning 10
forty hours a week 6
Four Edna Avenue 12
four hundred 6
four thirty 2(2)
Fourth of July 8
Fowlers 2, 14(2)
Frances 8, 16
frankfurts 14
fraternities 8
free care 16
free expense 7
free period 8(2)
free time 10
freedom 15
French fries 3, 13(3)
fresh air 14
Frick Company 16
Friday 10
friend 14, 16
from America 14
frozen 14
frying pans 13
full 14(2), 16
Fuller brush man 2
fun 6
funeral 11
furnace 14
furniture 6, 7(2), 9, 10

GI Bill 4
gallbladder 13(2)

gallstones operation 10
game 2, 16
games 8
gangster 13(2)
gangsters 13
garden 14(3)
garlic 12
gas 13
gasoline 13
gauge 6
gee 12, 13, 14
gee, I don't know 12
general agent 16
general attorney 16
General Electric 16
Genesee Scholarship 8
geography 13
George 14
George F. Johnson 16
George Gribik 6
George, please 6
Georgia 6
gift 7
girls 9
give up 6
glad 14
Glenwood 11(2)
glue 11
go 14
go ahead 14
go right ahead 14
goiter operation 10
goldfish 2
golf 10
good 8, 11
good hearted 14
good time 8(2)
good work 6
gosh 7
Government job 16
gowns 8
grade 12
grammar school 7(2), 15, 16
grand jury 16(3)
Grand Union 2
grandfather clock 13
grape juice 13
grape leaves 13
grateful 10
great grandfather 10
green peppers 13
groceries 12
grocery store 10
grocery stores 12
group 2
groups 10
Guiding Light 3, 4
gunner 7

hairdresser 12(2)
hairpin lace 8
ham 7(2), 11
hamburg 2, 13(2)
hamburger 13
handy books 13
handyman 6
Harper's Lake 10
Harpur College 8, 16(2)
Harriet School 14
Hawaii Island 16
hayride 2(3)
Hazel Street 13
he was first like lame 14
headman 16(2)
heat 2(2)
heating 2
heavy 14
heavy work 14
hedge 6, 9
heel trim 5
Helen Baldwin 3
Helen Trent 13
hemorrhage 1(2)
hero 13
high 14
high school 2(2), 6, 7(5), 8(3), 9, 12, 14, 15, 16(16)
hill 2
his arm was stiff 14
his neck was stiff 14
historical 12
historical pictures 12
history 13
hobbies 10, 12
hobby 3, 6, 16
hockey 2
holidays 2(2)

Holland Street 9
Holly Street 16
Holy Moses 11
Holy Spirit 7
Holywood 16(2)
home office 16(4)
homeroom 8, 10(2)
Homestead, Pennsylvania 16
Honolulu 16(4)
honor committee 8
honor roll 14
honorable mention 5
Honsee Valley 6
Hornell 2, 5
hot box 9
hot dogs 13
hot potato salad 13
housewarming 2
housewife 13
housework 9
how come 14
how would I say - blame 7
how you call 12
hundred percent correct 16
hunter 6, 7
hurry up 16(2)
hyacinths 13

IBM 2, 5, 6, 7, 15(2), 16
I can't be bothered now 14
I can't make it 14
I can't take it 14
I can't think of it 13(2)
I don't know 8, 11, 14(2)
I don't know a word 13
I don't need any sandwiches 14
I don't think so 8
I got to go back 8
I guess 2, 3, 4, 16
I guess he was too weak 14
I guess that's about all 12
I guess twenty-four years 14
I have a patience 14
I hope 16
I know 13(2)
I know it but I can't think 13
I'm glad 14
I'm gonna clean it 13
I'm Lulu too 13
I'm sorry I don't know 16
I made the headline 8
I never have the urge 14
I says 14(3)
I was never on the water 12
I went around 14
ice cream 7
ice skating 2(2)
idea 8, 16
if you're gonna do that 6
Illinois 16(2)
in Broome County 16
in Medical Corps 16
in the air 2
in what Congressional district we live 16
income tax 7(2), 16
industrial 16
Industry on Parade 3
infantry 10
infected gallbladder 13
injections 3
instant 13
insurance 7
interest 7(6)
interested 14
international office 7
interpreter 12
interview 2(2)
invoices 8
iron ore 7
is that what it would be 12
Island Road 13
it's possible 14
Ivory Snow 13

jail 6
jailbreaks 13
Jane 16(2)
Jarvis Street 16
jazz 12
jeep 16
jeeps 16
jeweler 10
John 1(2), 6, 9, 11, 12(2)
John Hus 16
John Hus Czechoslovak Church 2

John Hus Presbyterian Church 2
Johnny 16(2)
Johns Hopkins 1
Johnson 7
Johnson City 2, 5, 6, 7, 8(2), 9(2), 11, 14(2), 15, 16(4)
Johnstown 2
joke 2, 8(2)
Joseph 2
juice 12
June 12
Junior High School 12
junior homeroom 10
jury 15
just the same 14

Kansas City 7(2)
Ken Murray 9
Ken Murray Show 9
kindergarten 2(2)
Kiwanis 16
knit 12
Knit and Chatter Club 2

labels 2
labor 7(2)
Lake Avenue 2, 6
Lake Erie 2
lambs 13
language colleges 16
lard 14(2)
last 10(2)
lasting room 16
lately 2
later on 14
lavender 13
law school 15
lawn 6
lawyer 13
lawyers 8, 13
leader 7, 16
leash 6
leather 7
leave 2
legal department 16
legion 7(2)
Leicestershire 16
lemon 2, 13(3)
lemon pie 2
Leroy Street 15
less 14(3)
lesson 8
lessons 16
let's see 2, 8(2)
letter 8, 14
Liberty ship 10
librarian 16
library 8, 13(2)
lieutenant colonel 16(2)
life insurance 16(5)
life insurance policy 16
life jacket 10
Lilian Avenue 6
lima beans 5
Link 15
Link trainer 15
Link's 3, 15
living room 4, 10, 15
Loblaw's 2, 12
locket 13(2)
log cabins 7
lonely 14
look over 14
Los Angeles 16(4)
lost 14
lots 10
lots of 7, 11, 13
lots of beer 7
lots of experience 10
lots of money 14(2)
lots of time 11
Love of Life 3, 4
love pictures 13
Lucy 3(2)
Lulu 13
Lux 3, 13
Lux liquid 13

Ma 13
macaroni salad 13(2)
machines 14
McKinley, Minnesota 7(2)
McLane's 2
made 14
magazines 7

mail box 13
mail man 13(2)
Main Street 16(2)
Maine 9
manager 10
maple set 13(3)
Marines 7
Mark Twain 16
marriage license 16
married 11, 14
married couples 2
Martin Company 9
Mary 3(3), 7
Mary Agnes 12
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material 14(7)
mathematics 10(2)
maybe 10
maybe for five or six years 14
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meanwhile 14(2)
measles 2(2), 12
meat loaf 13, 14(5)
meat market 12
medical 7(7), 13, 14(2), 16(3)
Medical Association 16(2)
medical convention 16
medical service 16
Mediterranean 10
meeting 8, 12, 13
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member of the board 16
meteorology 12(2)
Michigan 7
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Middle West 7
Middlebury 16
Middletown 2(4)
Mike 2, 7, 8
Milwaukee 7, 16
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Minnesota 7(4)
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missionary 10
missbnary work 13
Mister 16
Mr. Bartley 16
Mr. Bochnak 16(2)
Mr. George Dant 16(2)
Mr. George F. Johnson 16
Mr. Hastor 16
Mr. Klook 16
Mr. Polanski 7
Mr. So-and-So 16
Mr. Steflik 9
Mr. Suhr 16
Mr. Vavra 16
Mr. White 16
Mrs. Lee 16(2)
Mrs. Mazar 16
mixed marriage 2
mixmaster 12
Monday 10
Monday Afternoon Club 2
money 14
monotonous 6
Monroe 8
Montreal 3
monuments 9
more 13
more in the back 13
more or less flat 14
mortgage 7(2), 13
most of the time 14
mostly the stamps 12
mother of all factories 14
Mothers and Daughters banquet 2
Mother's Day 16(2)
motion 7
motor boat 2
movie 16
movies 3, 10(2), 12(2), 13(2), 16
moving picture 7
multiply and divide 8
mumps 12
murder stories 3
Muskegon 7
Muskegon, Michigan 7
My Country t'Is of Thee 16
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APPENDIX D

Supplementary Data on Informants

All of my primary informants live in the area of Binghamton, New York. The first among these to arrive in Binghamton came from Eastern Slovakia; by far the greatest number of Binghamton Slovaks, however, hail from the Western part of the old country. Central Slovakia eventually sent a few representatives as well, whereas the number of members of the informant group tracing their origin to the Eastern part has remained low. (The terms Eastern Slovakia, Central Slovakia, and Western Slovakia refer not only to geographical locations, but also to the major dialect divisions discussed in Chapter 2 and reflected in the diversity of linguistic forms of Chapters 4 and 5 and Appendix B of this thesis.)

In 1919 almost all the Slovaks lived in the First Ward of Binghamton, numbering 5,000 among 9,000 Slavs out of a total population of 12,000 for this part of the city, and even today the First Ward is predominantly Slavic.

Among the second generation one may now find a variety of occupations, including some in the professions (in 1919, only the priests and ministers were educated), but the great majority still work in the factories. In the early days many women found jobs making cigars; others, together with the men, provided labor for the manufacture of shoes. At the present time, the largest proportion of the Slovak population is employed at the Endicott-Johnson shoe factories, standing

at the same machines working on the same parts of a shoe day in and day out and year in and year out. This is piece work, and the only concern of these people is that there be enough work to go around to take care of them all. Some are hired by other shoe factories; some work for Ansco Film Corporation, and some are with the local I. B. M. plant.

In their spare time, especially in the days of greatest national activity, these unskilled workers, for the most part without much formal education, banded together and became a highly energetic, talented, and resourceful group. The religious societies which they established do not set them off from many another community of immigrants; what does surprise us, however, is the number of their organizations devoted to music, dramatics, gymnastics, and politics, as well as the number of individuals playing instruments, staging plays, and often being their own playwrights. Always on the lookout for their own and the community's civic betterment, they joined ranks with other city groups to accomplish needed improvements, such as more classroom space in the schools of the First Ward. But the old country was not forgotten, nor was the yearning of its people to be liberated from Hapsburg oppression, and to build a free, strong, and independent Czechoslovakia. Binghamton's Slovaks were in the forefront of those contributing to this cause not only with sizable contributions of money, but a large number of young men as well who went overseas to join the Czechoslovak Army in France. Since the time of World War I, Slovak group activities in the Binghamton area have been carried out on a somewhat reduced scale. The churches and folk festivities remain the most noticeable manifestations of enduring national identity.

Details on Binghamton informants.

Informant 1, male, 63, born in Central Slovakia, came to the United States at the age of 20, seeking economic opportunity. In Slovakia he was a farmer; here, he works in a shoe factory.

Informant 2, female, 35, born in Binghamton, is a highschool graduate, works for a company which produces photographic equipment, and is a housewife. She is the daughter of Informant 1.

Informant 3, female, 63, born in Western Slovakia, came to the United States at the age of 16, seeking economic opportunity. In Slovakia, she was a servant girl; here, she has worked in a cigar factory, but is now a housewife.

Informant 4, female, 51, born in Western Slovakia, came to the United States at the age of 21, accompanying her parents who migrated here to retire. She worked for a time in a lampshade factory, but is now a housewife.

Informant 5, male, 64, born in Western Slovakia, came to the United States at the age of 17, seeking economic opportunity. In Slovakia, he was a railroad construction worker; here, he works in a shoe factory.

Informant 6, male, 58, born in Eastern Slovakia, came to the United States at the age of 24, seeking economic opportunity. In Slovakia, he was a farmer; here, he works in a shoe factory.

Informant 7, male, 62, born in Minnesota, is an elementary school graduate. He works in a shoe factory, runs a liquor store, and is very active in city politics.

Informant 8, female, 48, born in Binghamton, is a highschool teacher and housewife. She is the daughter of Informant 16.

Informant 9, female, 70, born in Central Slovakia, came to the United States at the age of 27, after several years of working for a dry-cleaner in Vienna. She came to this country to seek economic opportunity, and is now a housewife.

Informant 10, male, 43, born in Binghamton, is a highschool teacher. He is the husband of Informant 12.

Informant 11, female, 65 (?), born in Eastern Slovakia, came to the United States at the age of 18 to find a husband. In Slovakia she worked on her parents' farm; here, she was for a time employed in a shoe factory, but now is a housewife.

Informant 12, female, 41, born in Pennsylvania, is a beauty operator and housewife. She is the wife of Informant 10.

Informant 13, female, 46, born in Binghamton, has worked in a cigar factory, but now is a housewife. Her husband is a first-generation immigrant.

Informant 14, female, 58, born in Western Slovakia, came to the United States to join her fiancé who came for economic opportunity. In Slovakia she was a dressmaker, but here she worked until very recently in a shoe factory. She is now a housewife.

Informant 15, male, 48, born in Binghamton, is a lawyer and has been assistant district attorney. He is very active in city politics.

Informant 16, male, 75, born in Western Slovakia, came to the United States for economic opportunity and to fulfill a desire for self-education. He worked in a shoe factory, and at the same time sold insurance and was a notary public. He held classes for his fellow immigrants in order to prepare them for securing United States citizenship. He became the historian of Binghamton's Slovaks. He is the father of Informant 8.

Details on supplementary informants.

Informant 17, female, 55, though a speaker of Western Slovak, came to Chicago from Central Slovakia before the Second World War at the age of 35. For the most part self-educated, she is the wife of a clergyman, and is on the editorial staff of a Czechoslovak monthly. She is the wife of Informant 18.

Informant 18, male, 56, born in Central Slovakia, came to Chicago before World War II at the age of 36. He is the clergyman-husband of Informant 17.

Informant 19, female, 72, born in Central Slovakia, came to Chicago at the age of 19, seeking economic opportunity. In Slovakia she worked on her parents' farm; here, she has worked for most of her life as a church visitor and missionary for two Czechoslovak churches.

Informant 20, male, 70, born in Central Slovakia, came to Chicago at the age of 18, seeking economic opportunity. He has been, and still is, a carpenter for a railroad company. He is the husband of Informant 21.

Informant 21, female, 64, born in Central Slovakia, came to Chicago at the age of 15 with her parents who migrated to seek economic opportunity. Until just recently she has done janitor work in addition to being a housewife.

Informant 22, female, 30, born in Central Slovakia, came to Chicago with her parents at the age of 11. She has used both Standard and Immigrant Slovak in addition to English since that time. She has lived most of the last twenty years in the Middle West, and is at present a graduate student in linguistics and a housewife.

APPENDIX E

Glossary of Terms

Appendix E is a glossary of terms useful for the understanding of concepts in bilingualism, with reference to the pages where the meaning of each concept is discussed in this thesis.

Assimilated loans - All loanshifts, and those loanwords which, to a greater or lesser degree, are integrated into the phonemic and morphemic structure of the borrowing language. (Page 53).

Bilingual - A person who can produce complete, meaningful utterances in two or more languages. (Page 23).

Bilingual description - Comparison of not-necessarily-related linguistic structures. (Page 45).

Diamorphs - Interlingually identified variants of morphemes or groups of morphemes. (Page 48).

Diaphones - Interlingually identified variants of phonemes. (Page 46).

Homologous diamorph - An interlingual identification of morphemes based on both their similarity of sound and their similarity of meaning. (Page 51).

Homophonous diamorph - An interlingual identification of morphemes based on their homophony or near-homophony. (Page 50).

Interference phenomena - Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals. (Page 45).

Loanshift - A morpheme group in which the individual morphemes are distributed in such a way as to correspond to the order of the equivalent morphemes in another language. (Page 52).

Loanword - A morpheme or morpheme group imported from one language to another. (Page 51).

Morphemic reinterpretation - The interpretation of a part of a loanword as a morpheme in the borrowing language, regardless of the morphemic status of the part in the language from which the loanword was imported. (Page 52).

Synonymous diamorph - An interlingual identification of morphemes based on the similarity of their meanings. (Page 50).

Unassimilated loans - Those stretches of speech which are imported from another language in such a way that they appear to be in no way integrated into the structure of the borrowing language. (Page 55).

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