The Canadianization of Slavic Surnames; A Study in Language Contact

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III. MORPHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENTS

By the term *morphology* we mean the structure or formation of words within the boundaries of a given language system. Parts of a word are called *morphemes* and a morpheme may be made up of one or more *phonemes*. For example, the Slavic words *sestra* (sister) and *sestrytsya* both have a common root or base, *sestr-*; but two different suffixes *-a* and *-ytsya*. Both suffixes, from the standpoint of morphology, are *morphemes*; the former, *-a*, consists of a single *phoneme*, and the latter, *-ytsya*, is made up of several phonemes.

In this work the term *morphological adjustments* is used in regard to those Slavic surname changes which show the removal of a major element or elements of the surname's structure, such as a prefix, an infix or a suffix. A removal of this kind results in a shortened or abbreviated form of the old Slavic surname. The new abbreviation may form the new surname with or without orthographical and phonological changes; or, sometimes, it may be combined with a morphological element imported from the new English language system, the resulting form being a hybridization.

1. Abbreviated Forms

The Slavic surname may be abbreviated by removing one or more morphemes from the beginning, from the middle, or from the end of the surname; that is, initial, medial or terminal abbreviations. For purposes of classification the terms *aphaeresis*, *syncope* and *apocope* are used here to signify initial, medial and terminal abbreviations, respectively.[60] The resulting abbreviated form is often accompanied by orthographical and phonological changes as discussed above in Chapters I and II.

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[60] These three terms were adopted by J. E. Alatis and E. Maass in their studies on name changing among the Greeks and Jewish refugees in the United States in 1955 and 1958, respectively.

The morphologic cut may be made anywhere in the old Slavic surname with complete disregard of its organic features. For example, the change *Karpinski – Karpins* may be termed an inorganic cut, because the suffix *-ski* has been partly retained and partly removed; similarly, consider *Yarslasky – Lasky*, and many others. There are reasons for both the aforementioned inorganic cuts: the *s* at the end of *Karpins* is analogous to *Jones, Williams, Peters* and many other common surnames; *Lasky*, instead of a possible organic cut resulting in *Slasky*, avoids the very uncomfortable-sounding *sl* combination.[61]

An organic cut, as opposed to the inorganic cuts above, showing attention to morphological features, is a strong indication of the name changer's knowledge of his Slavic tongue, as, for example, *Melnychuk – Melnyk*.

Aphaeresis. Examples of aphaeresis without changes in orthography or phonology are rare and few in number:

Dob*ruskin*	Ruskin
Przed*nowek*	Nowek
Yaros*lasky*	Lasky.

Aphaeresis with changes in orthography are exemplified by the following:

O*zarow*	Arrow
Skalaz*ky*	Kaye
Zul*koski*	Koskey, a.o.

The change of *Chrobak – Roback*, though in appearance an example of aphaeresis accompanied with an orthographical change, is considered by the author to be a simplification of a cluster[62] which is completely foreign to English, and therefore a phonological adjustment rather than an abbreviation.

Aphaeresis accompanied with changes in phonology are shown by the following surname changes:

Chador*kovsky*	Kofsky	phon. substitution
Coco*roch*	Roach	sound of *o* fixed by letter *a*
Him*chuk*	Chauk	phon. substitution

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[61] *Supra, Names* 11. 189, esp. n. 50.
[62] *Supra, Names* 11. 190.

Korna*kowsky*	Kosky	simplification of diphthong
Slo*bodzian*	Bowden	simplification of cluster *dz*, and phon. substitution
Szus*takowski*	Takoski	simplification of diphthong, a.o.

Aphaeresis with changes in both orthography and phonology are shown by the following:

Cer*kowny*	Bonni	phon. substitution *k–b*, giving "Bowny"; simplification of diphthong *ow*, giving "Bony"; the *n* doubled, the *y* orthographically changed to *i*, the resulting orthographical changes fixing the sound of the *o* (compare "Bony" and "Bonni")
Ew*usiak*	Ushok	dorsal palatalization; phon. substitution of *o* for *a*
Hry*horyshyn*	Harrison	phon. substitution (*o – a, y – o*); *sh* simplified to *s*; the letter *r* is doubled
Kar*husz*	Hughes	*u* made a diphthong, *yu*; *sh* substituted for *z*, this change probably on the basis of Anglicized mispronunciation of the *sz* (sh)
Petr*anick*	Vannick	phon. substitution of *v* for *r*; letter *n* doubled
Szyw*czyszyn*	Chesin	phon. substitution of *e* for *y*; *sh* simplified to *s*
Tes*ulk*	Locke	transposition (*ulk – luk*); phon. substitution of *o* for *u*; orthographical extension by addition of letter *e*
Za*kresky*	Christie	phon. substitution of *i* for *e*, and *t* for *k*; *k* orthographically changed to *ch*, a.o.

Syncope. Medial abbreviations without orthographical and phonological changes are exemplified by the following surname changes:

*Do*bovicsky	Doby
*Gra*bowsky	Gray
*Kru*glikoff	Kroff

Morozowsky	Morosky
Nemerovsky	Nemy
Weselak	Weslak, a.m.o.

The name changer may omit only a single phoneme and make a change in orthography, as shown by the following examples:

Brzyski	Briskie[63]
Kaspsik	Caspick
Kruk	Cook
Kuryk	Kirk
Mikolash	McLash
Penteluk	Pentluck
Woronick	Warnick
Yakemeshen	Yakmission, a.m.o.

The omission may be extreme, and sometimes only the first and last phonemes of the old surname are retained:

Dychkowski	Dee
Loeppky	Lee, a.n.o.

The sounds omitted may be distributed throughout the surname:

Dereworiz	Drewrys
Gushowaty	Gushway
Yuzwishyn	Ewen, a.o.

The abbreviated form may undergo a phonological change, as shown by the following examples:

Chmelnitsky	Chelsy	simplification of cluster *chm*
Drachuk	Drake	sound of *a* fixed by *e*
Ledwos	Lewis	phon. substitution of *i* for *o*
Monczakowski	Mundy	phon. substitution of *u* for *o* and phon. extension *d*
Pawlyszyn	Pawlson	phon. substitution of *o* for *y*; *sz* simplified to *s*
Puhach	Pauch	transposition
Salavich	Savage	phon. substitution of *age* for *ich*

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[63] Orthographical changes are largely self-evident and are not explained here, nor in the lists of examples that follow.

Saramga	Sago	phon. substitution of *o* for *a*
Stankewich	Stanwick	phon. substitution of *ck* for *ch*
Wasyleniuk	Wasylnuk	simplification of diphthong *iu*, a.o.

Syncope accompanied with changes both in orthography and phonology are shown by the following examples:

Antonowski	Anthony	phon. substitution of *th* for *t*
Hasiuk	Huski	transposition
Lyftiriuk	Leftrook	phon. substitution of *e* for *y*; simplification of diphthong *iu*
Pasika	Pascal	phon. extension by addition of *l*
Warowarycz	Warwick	phon. substitution of *ck* for *cz*
Wasny	Wayne	transposition, a.o.

Apocope. Of the three types of abbreviations, terminal abbreviation or apocope is the most common. We find that common suffixes such as *-owski, -chuk, -witch, -szyn* and others, which may cause difficulty or embarrassment for both Slav and non-Slav alike, are merely removed, and the resulting form is used for the new surname:

Antonichuk	Anton
Bartoszewski	Barto
Glowacky	Glow
Holowinski	Holowin
Howardeleczko	Howard
Karpinski	Karpins
Nykolaychuk	Nykol
Pashkovsky	Pash
Romanyszyn	Roman
Sobieszczanski	Sobie, a.o.m.

The resulting abbreviated form after apocope may undergo some orthographical change without altering the phonological features of the newly abbreviated surname:

Antonichuk	Antonie
Bonikowsky	Bonney
Burkoski	Burke
Hapichuk	Happy
Kolinsky	Collins, a.m.o.

As intimated earlier, many surname changes are suggested by an Anglicized pronunciation of the transliterated Slavic surname.[64]

Bukachewski	Buck	Slavic *u* is pronounced *oo*
Golembiowski	Gall	Slavic *o* is pronounced as *o* in "corner"
Kopaczynski	Copp	Slavic *o* is pronounced as *o* in "corner"
Kulczyski	Cull	Slavic *u* is pronounced *oo*
Lichacz, Lychacz	Leitch	Slavic *i/y* is pronounced as *i* in "*is*"
Rychlick	Rich	Slavic *ch* is pronounced as *ch* in "loch," a.m.o.

After apocope has been applied to the Slavic surname, the resulting abbreviation may be further revised phonologically, in a manner similar to that discussed above with aphaeresis and syncope:

Boychuk	Boyd	phon. extension
Galsky	Gale	sound of *a* fixed by *e*
Grzegorzak	Gregor	simplification of cluster
Kolodziejczuk	Kolodi	simplification of cluster
Mylymuk	Myles	phon. extension
Osmarchuk	Osmer	phon. substitution
Pasichnyk	Pase	sound of *a* fixed by *e*
Sawchenko	Shaw	phon. substitution, a.m.o.

The changes of *Kozachenko* and *Kozaczek* to *Kozak*, and of *Melny-czuk* to *Melnyk* may also, from the viewpoint of descriptive linguistics, be included with the foregoing list. In addition, however, they should be noted as examples of an organic cut, an indication that the name changer is aware of the morphological structure of his Slavic surname and has abbreviated his surname in complete accordance with the organic features of his name.

Apocope, as in the case of aphaeresis and syncope, may be accompanied by both orthographical and phonological changes, as shown by the following examples:

Horyczka	Horlick	*czk* cluster simplified to *k*; phon. extension by insertion of *l*; *y* and *k* are orthographically changed to *i* and *ck*, respectively

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[64] *Supra, Names* 11. 183 Section 2.

Kostnuk	Costin	*stn* cluster simplified by phon. extension of *i*; *k* orthographically changed to *c*
Kruszelnicki	Kerr	*r* made syllabic and doubled
Mechalevitch	Mitchell	phon. substitution of *e* and *a* by *i* and *e*, respectively; the *ch* (Sl. *kh*) mispronounced and orthographically changed to *tch* and *l* is doubled
Pylypchuk	Phillips	phon. substitution of *ph* for *p*; phon. extension by addition of *s*; *l* is doubled and both *y*'s orthographically changed to *i*
Stefaniec	Stephens	phon. substitution of *e* for *a*, and phon. extension by addition of *s*; *f* orthographically changed to *ph*
Symchych	Simms	phon. extension by addition of *s*; *y* orthographically changed to *i*, and *m* doubled
Szymanski	Smith	transposition (*Szym-* to *Szmy*); phon. extension by addition of *th*; *szm* simplified to *sm*; *y* orthographically changed to *i*, a.m.o.

Combinations of abbreviations. Occasionally the new surname may be a product of a combination of two or more types of abbreviations. In the following examples both syncope and apocope are applied to the Slavic surname, and the resulting form is accepted by the name changer as his new surname:

Burzminski	Burns
Jankowski	Jans
Kaplinski	Kalin
Karmyzanuk	Karman
Koncohrada	Konrad
Sokolowski	Sokols
Weleschuk	Welch, a.o.

Besides combinations of syncope and apocope, other combinations are also possible. However, on the basis of those surname changes excerpted from the *Manitoba Gazette*, these other combinations are first submitted to a revision either orthographically or phonologically or both.

The change of S*korobatc*y to Cory is an example of a combination of both aphaeresis and syncope, with the initial *k* being orthographically changed to *c*. The combination of aphaeresis and opocope is exemplified by O*mansky* – *Mann*, S*kibinski* – *Kibbins*, and Vere*me*ichuk – *May*, with each of these changes undergoing a change in orthography. The changes of F*edusenko* – *Dueck* and Pod*boroczyn*ski – *Bornes* are rare examples of all three types of abbreviations being applied to the old Slavic surname, accompanied with orthographic changes.

New surnames created by combinations of abbreviations are often difficult to detect because of phonological and orthographical changes, which camouflage the resulting form. The following examples will illustrate this point:

Dobrinsky	Dixon	syncope and apocope; transposition (Doinsk – Dikson); orthographical change to *Dixon*
E*hol*nikof	Hall	aphaeresis and apocope; phon. substitution of *a* for *o*; *l* doubled
Er*molo*wich	Malow	aphaeresis and apocope; phon. substitution of *o* by *a*
*Gat*manen*ko*	Hatten	syncope and apocope; phon. substitution of *h* for *g*; *t* doubled
Je*leniewicz*	Lavich	aphaeresis and syncope; *av* substituted for *ew*; *cz* orthographically changed to *ch*
*Meandzi*ja	Mandy	syncope and apocope; *dz* simplified to *d*; *y* orthographically substituted for *i*
*Palamar*chuk	Palmer	syncope and apocope; phon. substitution of *er* for *ar*
Pod*boroch*ynski	Berch	aphaeresis and apocope; phon. substitution of *er* for *or*
Za*ch*ark*iw*	Harrow	*ch* (*kh*) loses its guttural value (kh) and is mutated to *h*; diphthong *ow* substituted for *iw*; *r* is doubled, a.o.

2. Hybridized Forms

Many new surnames will preserve a syllable from the old Slavic surname. Hybridization occurs when this syllable is combined with another syllable or suffix originating in the new English language system.

As far as Slavic surname changes are concerned, usually it is the initial syllable of the Slavic surname which is retained and fused together with a suitable suffix. Among the most common suffixes are monosyllabics, such as *-er, -ers, -ton, -ie, -y, -ey, -son*. The following are several examples of hybrids bearing these suffixes:

*Ben*charski	*Ben*son
*Glova*chii	*Glov*er
*Kost*antiniuk	*Kost*y
*Kost*uchenko.	*Kost*er
*Krep*okavich	*Kret*on
*Oka*luk	*Oka*ley
*Oleks*uik	*Oleks*on
*Rabi*novitch	*Rab*son
*Rog*alski	*Rog*ers
*Smil*ovitch	*Smil*ey
*Woy*chyshyn	*Woy*ton, a.m.o.

In addition to the suffixes mentioned above, others are *-man, -in, -el, -and, -o*:

*Babin*iec	*Babin*o
*Bart*oszewski	*Bart*el
*Garl*ick	*Garl*and
*Gor*esky	*Gor*man
*Tob*osky	*Tob*in, a.o.

Occasionally, the Slavic syllable which is preserved in the new surname is taken from the middle of the old Slavic surname, whereupon the new suffix is tacked on:

Sa*wat*zki	*Wat*son
Yam*pol*ski	*Pol*son.

The Infix. The importation of a new suffix is often accompanied by an extension of the suffix, especially suited to the surname which

the name changer has in mind. The extension, or infix, acts as a bridge between the old and the new:

*Ba*sarowich	Ba-rr-y	Barry
*Be*doczka	Be-n-ton	Benton
*Frank*iw	Frank-l-in	Franklin
*Les*uk	Les-l-ie	Leslie
*Ma*ksymchuk	Ma-di-son	Madison
*Mi*recki	Mi-ll-er	Miller
*Mo*scovitch	Mo-rr-is	Morris
*Pa*skiewicz	Pa-r-son	Parson
*Pre*machuk	Pre-s-ton	Preston
*Sa*domsky	Sa-und-ers	Saunders
*So*lodky	So-mm-ers	Sommers
*So*pchuk	So-b-ie	Sobie
*Tur*kiewicz	Tur-n-er	Turner
*Wi*snowski	Wi-nt-ers	Winters,[65] a.m.o.

The Slavic syllable which is retained in the new surname often undergoes a suitable change in orthography:

*Cze*chnta	*Che*sney
H*ra*bez	*Ab*bott
K*rys*zcz	*Chris*tie
O*kon*ski	O'*Conn*ell
*Pere*hinchuk	*Perr*y
*Pit*usilnik	*Pet*erson
*Pol*eschuk	*Paul*ey, a.o.

Complex hybrids. In certain cases the element which is transferred from the old to the new surname first undergoes some phonological change, sometimes accompanied by orthographical changes:

*Chast*keiwicz	*Ches*ter	phon. substitution of *e* for *a*
G*ran*kowski	*Han*ker	phon. extension by prefixation of *h*
H*rush*ka	*Rus*kin	simplification of clusters *hr* and *shk*
*Kow*buz	*Know*les	shows the suggestiveness of orthography on phonological change

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[65] Note the suggestiveness of *Wisnowski* – *Winters*.

Krakalowicz	*Carter*	transposition of *kra* to *kar*; orthographic change of *k* to *c*
Lesnioski	*Lenson*	reversal of *sn* to *ns*
Lisowska	*Lester*	phon. substitution of *e* for *i*
Petrowski	*Peterson*	*r* becomes syllabic
Ruzycki	*Russell*	*z* is devoiced
Tymchuk	*Thompson*	phon. substitution of *o* for *y*; *t* orthographically changed to *th*, a.o.

The component which is transferred from the old Slavic surname to the new hybridized surname may be an abbreviated form of the old surname:

Boroditsky	*Borden*	syncope and apocope
Florkowski	*Forrest*	syncope and apocope
Mychalchuk	*Malen*	syncope and apocope
Staniuk	*Sanford*	syncope and apocope, a.o.

The abbreviated form may undergo a phonological and orthographical change before forming part of the new hybridized surname:

Baranowski	*Burnish*	syncope and apocope; phon. substitution of *u* for *a*
Krocolouch	*Cracklen*	syncope and apocope; phon. substitution of *a* for *o*; orthographic change of *k* to *c*, and *c* to *ck*
Niedzialkowski	*Nelson*	syncope and apocope; simplification of diphthong *ie* to *e*
Potaralski	*Patrick*	syncope and apocope; transposition of *Ptar-* to *Patr*
Yaremczuk	*Armond*	syncope and apocope; simplification of diphthong *ya* to *a*, a.o.

With regard to the Slavic elements preserved in *hybridized* surnames, the author wishes to emphasize that he has set as a bare minimum the prerequisite that those elements form at least a single syllable in the old Slavic surname. In the case of "complex hybrids," above, certain departures were made to allow for phonological

changes. It is also interesting to note that the majority of the trans-
ferred Slavic elements have been made on the basis of inorganic,
morphologic cuts.

Syllabic reduplication. There are only rare examples of this
phenomenon. In the name *Lazenko*, the initial *La* and final *o* are
removed by aphaeresis and apocope, respectively, leaving -*zenk*-.
The *z* is devoiced to *s*, and the *en* is reduplicated, giving *Senken*. In a
similar manner, *Lozenko* is changed to *Sancan*, and *Tanchuk* to
Tenszen, but with the following additional steps: in the former case,
the *a* is phonologically substituted for *e*, and *k* is orthographically
changed to *c*; in the latter case, the *e* is phonologically substituted
for *a*, and the *sz* for *ch*.

The change of *Bicanic* to *Buchanan* is accomplished in the follow-
ing manner: *Bicanic* is abbreviated to *Bican* by apocope; the sound
yu is substituted for *i*; the *c* is misread as *k* instead of the Slavic *ts*,
giving thus far *Bukan*. With a change in orthography of *k* to *ch* and
the reduplication of the *an*, we receive the end result, *Buchanan*.

IV. LEXICOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENTS

In the previous chapters, it has been shown how the old Slavic
surname can serve as the base for a new surname. In this chapter,
we are concerned with those new surnames which show little or no
linguistic connection with the old Slavic surname.

1. Formally Connected Surname Changes

"Formally connected" surname changes are those changes which
show only slight orthographical and phonological ties between the
old and new surnames. Very often only the initial letters or phone-
mes of both the old and new surnames coincide:

*Ch*melnitsky	*Ch*apman
*H*ucko	*H*ale
*K*olodzieczak	*K*ent
*K*ucharski	*K*ent
*K*ulbaba	*K*ason
*M*ykctiuk	*M*arlowe
*N*ychyk	*N*aden

Shcherbanievich	Smith
Sopiwynk	Shane
Zazula	Zenith, a.m.o.

Other connections between the old and new names are sometimes not at all as evident as the above examples, and, indeed, some may even doubt the existence of any connection whatsoever. Certain authorities on language, however, have advocated a new psychological approach to linguistics.[66] The change of *Pomozybida – Rossoll*, for example, is interesting if only for the parallel position of the two *o*'s; the change of *Hnatiw – Winslow* shows some similarity in that the final *-iw* in the Slavic surname is reversed and serves as the initial part of the new name. Other examples follow with the similarities italicized.

Cukrowsk*i*	*L*e*e*
K*achu*rowsky	R*oger*s
*K*ostnuk	Mc*C*ormac*k*
P*a*tzer	L*a*ngn*er*
Pe*tru*niak	B*ur*t*on*
Pic*k*erute	Coc*hr*ane
Pohoreck*y*	Brot*y*
Pot*er*yko	L*our*ie
S*k*rzypick*i*	*C*ase*y*
Z*ur*kowsky	St*er*n, a.o.

2. Semantically Motivated Surname Changes[67]

Semantically connected surname changes, or translated surnames, are not at all as common as some have thought. The complete list of fully or partially translated surnames, as excerpted from the "Dictionary," numbers no more than twenty-one!

The following is a list of the fully translated surnames:

Berezynski	Birch
Czornij	Black

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[66] For example, A. A. Roback, *Destiny and Motivation in Language: Studies in Psycholinguistics and Glossodynamics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1954), pp. 305–407.

[67] For changes similar to *Paulyshyn – Paulson*, see *Supra*, p. 232.

Kokorudza	Corne
Kovacs	Smith
Kucharavij	Curley
Melnik	Miller
Mlodzinksi	Young
Muszka	Flye
Popiel	Ash
Siwek	Grey
Zielinska	Green, a.n.o.

Partial translations of the Slavic surname are as follows:

Chornopyski ("black mouth")	Black
Melnychenko ("son of the miller")	Miller
Podguiski, Podgurski ("under the hill")	Hill
Tkachyk (diminutive, "little, young weaver")	Weaver, a.n.o.

Occasionally the translation may take on an extended meaning in the English surname:

Rybka (diminutive, "little, fish")	Fisher
Sloboda ("freedom")	Freeman, a.n.o.

A surname which serves as a noun in Slavic may become an adjective in English: *Wyrostak* ("a youth, punk") – *Young*.

A pseudo-translation is also in evidence: *Wasylkoski* – *Williams*.[68]

3. Changes Within the Slavic Language System

As discussed earlier,[69] the popular conception of the Canadian is orientated towards the two dominant culture groups in Canada, the British and the French. As far as surnames are concerned, the Canadianization of a surname has meant to simplify it orthographically and morphologically so as to adapt it to the spoken efficiency of English. There are, on the other hand, certain surname changes which from the "Canadian" point of view show no trend towards simplification. Instead of adapting his name in keeping with

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[68] The name *Wasyl* ("Basil"), a common Slavic given name, is popularly translated as *William*. Mention of pseudo-translations is to be found in Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (New York: 1953), p. 53.

[69] *Supra, Names* 11. 91.

the norms of the new English language system, the name changer
may work within the framework of the Slavic languages system.
Even in these cases, however, the newly adjusted surname shows
an attempt at simplification: the name changer may merely sub-
stitute a suffix with another more simple suffix that originates in
the Slavic language system:

Iwan*czyszyn*	Iwan*chuk*
Kouch*ka*	Kouch*er*
Koz*uch*	Koz*ak*
Ly*chacz*	Ly*sack*
Sym*czycz*	Sym*chuk*
Woro*bec*	Woro*bey*, a.o.

The Slavic surname may be simplified by various other methods
without conforming to the patterns of the English language system,
although, in effect, a form may be caused by contact with the Eng-
lish system:

Buchek	Boychuk
Cheremega	Chorney
Corzeluk	Kosheluk
Gnojek	Garski
Grishko	Guzik
Hnydiuk	Medyk
Hrycelak	Hrechuk
Klaponchy	Klaponski
Loszka	Lesuk
Scrwetmyk	Sagasky a o.

An analysis of the above two lists will show that all the new sur-
names are (1) still Slavic, and (2) of usually two and not more
than three syllables. The fact that *-uk, -chuk, -ski* and other Slavic
suffixes are taken on in the place of others seems to indicate that
these are becoming part of the Canadian family of surnames in
some regions at least, and this only if the name does not offer too
much difficulty.

There are certain surname changes that, although they are non-
"Canadianized," show no formal or linguistic connection as was
the case above. Occasionally the initial letter may coincide, but the
new surname is not a more simple surname:

Bcyko	Litynesky
Olechuk	Witiuk
Ostapchuk	Krawchuk
Piekowy	Prychitko
Proposki	Prokaska
Revega	Rogowski
Romaniuk	Storczuk a.o.

These changes are usually caused by extra-linguistic circumstances and therefore are not properly included in a linguistic analysis of surname changes.

4. Extra-Linguistically Connected Surname Changes

As mentioned above, surname changes may be motivated by non-linguistic circumstances.[70] In the case of *Romaniuk – Storczuk*, listed above, we see the old Slavic surname substituted by another Slavic surname, which for the average Canadian will present as much difficulty as the new one. In the case of *Ziolkowski – Bernard*, however, we see the old Slavic surname substituted by a name that is much more common, simple and acceptable than Storczuk.

Both of the aforementioned examples are linguistically unrelated, although there may be a stronger linguistic motive for a change of *Ziolkowski – Bernard* than in the change of *Romaniuk – Storczuk*.

The following are examples of extra-linguistically connected surname changes, showing a complete repudiation of the Slavic surname for which is substituted a non-Slavic surname:

Atamanczuk	Thompson
Babbie	Smith
Cebula	Gordon
Chmelnitsky	Bruce
Gwozdz	Neil
Manchurak	Loman
Osijchuk	Trent
Roboreski	Paige
Stadnyk	Anthony

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[70] Is it not possible, for example, that the name of a popular Hollywood television and movie star had come connection with the following surname change: *William Kobarynka – Jack William Bendick*?

Wlasiuk	Marshall
Zaychenko	Daniels, a.m.o.

Though not connected with the old Slavic surname it is notable that all the new surnames in the above list are of not more than two syllables, considerably more simple than the old Slavic surname, and more "acceptable."

5. The Slavic Surname Retained As a Second Name

Although, as seen above, a new and entirely different surname may be substituted for the old, the name changer's Slavic surname does not in all cases disappear altogether; it may be retained as a second name:

Alfred *Kowalski*	Alfred *Kowaslki* Vincent
Jan *Kryszczyszyn*	John *Kryszczyszyn* Semmer
Leon *Zlotnick*	Leon *Zlotnick* Saunders
Frank Augustus *Smutney*	Frank *Smutney* Rosborough.

Occasionally, Anglicized mispronunciation of a Slavic surname can suggest a new given name, and in this way the old Slavic surname is at least partly preserved: "Lubomir *Janicek*" – "*John* Lloyd Doyle."

The name changer may choose simply to rearrange or transpose his given names and surname without other adjustments whatsoever:

Bazil Dennis *Hrycyszyn*	Bazil *Hrycyszyn* Dennis
William Stephen *Procuronoff*	William *Procuronoff* Stephen, a.n.o.

6. Given Names as Surnames

Whereas it is shown how the old Slavic surname can be preserved as a given or second name, the reverse process is also in evidence. Sometimes the old surname may be replaced by one of the given names, which can form the whole of or the basic part of the new surname:

Nicholas *Alexander* Artemenko Nicholas *Alexander*
William *Robert* Bygarski   William *Roberts*
John Coozich   Ivan Edward *Johnston*
Raimund Florjantschitz   Ralph *Raymond*
Frederick *James* Gniazdoski   Frederick *James*
Anthony Hadas Hnatowich   Frank *Anthony*
Harry *Hartman* Kabarnik   Wally *Altman*
Philip Krysczynok   Philip *Philips*
Arthur *Reynold* Mazollek   Arthur *Rayner*
William Remenda   William Paul *Williams*
Steve Skokick   Stephen S. *Stevens*
Paul *Stanley* Smith (Ziolkowski) Leonard Paul *Stanley*
Adam Sochacky   Andrew *Adams*
Frank *Henry* Wondrasek   Frank *Henry*
Steve Yarmalovitch   Steve John *Stevens*
Michael *Paul* Zulkowsky   Michael Arnold *Paulson*.

Occasionally, pseudo- or popular translations of first names may influence the selection of a new surname:

Bronislaw Chmelmitsky   Patrick Tracy *Bruce*
Bronislaw Juzef Ziolkowski   Bernard Joseph *Bernard*.

V. ONOMASTIC ANALYSIS

In 1958[71] a scheme for an onomastic analysis of Slavic surname changes in Canada was drawn up by J. B. Rudnyćkyj, who based his scheme on his investigations in the field of toponymy conducted in 1938.[72] The system attempts to classify changes according to the extent or degree of change or assimilation as shown by the old Slavic surname in relation to the new surname. The scheme is divided into three main groups: (1) fully assimilated names, (2) partially assimilated names, and (3) hybridized names.

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[71] J. B. Rudnyćkyj, "Problems in Onomastic Bilingualism in Canada and USA," *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguistics* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1958), pp. 148–59.

[72] J. B. Rudnyćkyj, "Zur Frage der zwischensprachlichen Beziehungen auf dem Gebiete der Toponomastik," *Actes et Mémoires du Ier Congrès International de Toponomie et d'Anthroponomie 1938* (Paris, 1939), pp. 209–214.

While Rudnyćkyj's scheme attempts to classify surname changes according to the degree of change, the present author's method which follows is an attempt to classify surname changes according to the kind of change involved; that is, according to the actual linguistic behavior shown by the change in surname. The author's method is based on four main principles: that the old Slavic surname can undergo a change (1) in spelling (orthographically), (2) in sound (phonologically), (3) in structure (morphologically); or (4) it may be substituted by an entirely new and linguistically unrelated surname (lexicologically).

1. Orthographical adjustments (*Bohajczuk – Bohaychuck*)
2. Phonological adjustments (*Bohajczuk – Bohajczak*)
   2.1 with changes in orthography (*Bohajczuk – Bohaychack*)
3. Morphological adjustments
   3.1 abbreviations
      3.11 aphaeresis (*Bohajczuk – Hajczuk*)
         3.111 with orthographical changes
            (*Bohajczuk – Haychuck*)
         3.112 with phonological changes
            (*Bohajczuk – Hajczak*)
         3.113 with orthographical and phonological changes
            (*Bohajczuk – Haychack*)
      3.12 syncope (*Bohajczuk – Boczuk*)
         3.121 with orthographical changes
             (*Bohajczuk – Bochuck*)
         3.122 with phonological changes
            (*Bohajczuk – Boczak*)
         3.123 with orthographical and phonological changes
            (*Bohajczuk – Bochack*)
      3.13 apocope (*Bohajczuk – Bohaj*)
         3.131 with orthographical changes
             (*Bohajczuk – Bohay*)
         3.132 with phonological changes
            (*Bohajczuk – Behaj*)
         3.133 with orthographical and phonological changes
            (*Bohajczuk – Behay*)

        3.14 combination (*Bohajczuk – Haj*)

             3.141 with orthographical changes
                (*Bohajczuk – Hay*)

             3.142 with phonological changes
                (*Bohajczuk – Shaj*)

             3.143 with orthographical and phonological changes
                (*Bohajczuk – Shaye*)

     3.2 hybridizations (*Bohajczuk – Boer*)

        3.21 with orthographical changes (*Bohajczuk – Bowman*)

        3.22 complex hybrids (*Bohajczuk – Bailey*)

4. Lexical adjustments

    4.1 with formal connection (*Bohajczuk – Bilsley*)

    4.2 with semantic connection (*Bohajczuk – Richman*)

    4.3 changes within the Slavic languages system (*Bohajczuk – Bohajsky*)

    4.4 no connection (*Bohajczuk – Trent*)

If an attempt is made to compare Rudnyćkyj's scheme with the above system presented by the author, we find the following correlations: (1) "fully assimilated" names are exemplified by category 4.4, "no connection"; (2) "hybridized" names, by categories 3.2, 3.21, and 3.22; (3) all other categories listed in the author's scheme would fall under Rudnyćkyj's second group, "partially assimilated" names.

Of the three types of surname changes put forward by Rudnyćkyj the largest category from the numerical point of view is the "partially assimilated" names category. If for the moment we include hybrids with partially assimilated names, the ratio between partially assimilated names and fully assimilated names is approximately six to one on the basis of the surnames listed in the "Dictionary" included in his thesis. This fact is significant in that it shows that the majority of Slavic surname changers preserve some element of their old Slavic surname. Furthermore, it seems to indicate that the majority of Slavic surname changers are concerned basically with adapting their names to the written and spoken efficiency of the English language system and do not, as it is generally believed, merely seek to Anglicize or renounce their Slavic surnames. A more definite answer to this problem, however, awaits further research by sociologists and psychologists.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the number of surname changes is increasing year by year among Canadians of Slavic origin.[73] It has been estimated that there are over 100,000 different surnames in use on the North American continent, and that this is three times the variety of any other civilized people.[74] That spread is a fair indication of the large number to be eliminated in the course of time. In the process of that elimination it is likely that many Slavic surnames will be retained as part of the Canadian scene: among the possible candidates are simple surnames like *Chorney, Kozak*, and *Melnyk*.

Some Slavic surname changes have been long overdue. Such monstrous renderings as *Scrwetmyk, Podguiski, Mykctiuk* have had to wait for a later generation before being altered. The delay can be attributed partly to the preoccupation of Canada's early Slavic settlers with more immediate and pressing problems. Much of the blame for the chaotic renderings of Slavic surnames can be traced also to the high rate of illiteracy among Canada's early Slavic immigrants, who were not only unable to read or write in English, but in their own native tongues as well. As a result they were unable to check any error in the spelling of their names whenever and wherever they appeared in print – in passports, on landing cards, legal documents or elsewhere.

Confusion has also been caused by Canadian immigration authorities who are unaware of the problem and who have "never encountered any difficulties in translating or rendering foreign names into the English language. Also ... this problem has not come up for discussion at any meeting or conference" in which the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has been engaged.[75]

In contrast to the above attitude some writers on the problem have suggested that an agency be established to deal with it. "A

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[73] In 1957 there were approximately 150 Slavic surname changes recorded in the *Manitoba Gazette*. This is a 200 per cent increase over the number recorded in 1937, when the Gazette listed 46 Slavic surname changes.

[74] Maurice R. Davie, *World Immigration* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 510.

[75] Letter from E. P. Beasley, Acting Director, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Branch, Ottawa, February 3, 1960.

body of public-spirited citizens, properly constituted, could do a good work in advising and consulting with people laboring under burdensome names."[76] There certainly seems to be no reason why the Slavic immigrant should not be advised immediately upon his arrival in Canada, that the *cz* in his name should be changed to *ch*, and the *sz* to *sh*, the *c* to *ts*, the *j* to *y*, and so on. These are merely spelling changes. Any change in the phonological and morphological structure of the surname should, of course, be left to the discretion of the immigrant himself.[77]

Finally, the author wishes to stress that the investigations as presented in the preceding chapters cannot be considered exhaustive in any way: it is hoped, rather, that the analyses will help to serve as a starting point for additional research on interlingual relationships in Canada, as far as the Slavs are concerned, and on Slavic name-changing in particular. Many aspects of the problem remain to be explored. Of special interest is the creation of entirely new surnames, genuine Canadian onomastic neologisms such as *Puhach – Pauch, Derevoriz – Drewrys, Mikolash – McLash*, and many others.[78] In addition, it is to be emphasized that the surname changes discussed in this piece of work are based on those recorded in the province of Manitoba only. It is probable that future investigations among Slavic communities in other Canadian regions – for example, the Slavic community in French Canada – will show tendencies not discussed here.

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[76] Howard F. Barker, "Surnames in the United States," *The American Mercury* (June, 1932), 26.229–230.

[77] In this connection it is interesting to note that one Slavic newspaper raised the problem as early as 1912 and gave suggestions as to suitable ways of transliterating Slavic surnames into English; see "Yak nam pysaty ?" (How Should We Write It ?) *Ukrayins'kyi Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), Winnipeg, September 25, 1912. It should also be mentioned that in 1959 the American Name Society established a special committee to advise the public on onomastic problems in the USA and Canada.

[78] Neither *Pauch*, nor *Drewrys* nor *McLash* are listed in Elsdon C. Smith's *Dictionary of American Family Names* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956).

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