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THE PROCESS OF BECOMING MULTILINGUAL: INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES OF POLES IN BUKOVINA

Abstract

This article focuses on multilingual female speakers born in Bukovina in the 1920s using the language biography method. Analysing selected language biographies of Poles living in southern and northern Bukovina entails focusing on a heritage language. The language biography method shows the development process of individual language awareness. The cases analysed in the study indicate that it is difficult to preserve the linguistic and cultural identity of an individual in mixed-language marriages. For Bukovinian Poles, the Polish language and the Roman Catholic religion are factors of identification and indigenous values symbolizing their belonging to the culture of their ancestors. These two elements are at the core of their identity and are fundamental cultural values which are passed on to children. All the language biographies presented in the article show the speakers’ multilingualism and the way and time in which they learned subsequent languages. Their acquisition was voluntary on the one hand, but imposed on the other.

Keywords: language biography; heritage language; individual multilingualism; Polish language outside Poland; language awareness

1 The concept of language biography

The subject of the research presented in this article is the multilingualism1 of Poles born in Bukovina in the 1920s. The study relies on the language biography method, “a research method that is becoming more and more widely used not only in research in the field of language contacts and bilingualism, but also in speech therapy, description and analysis of the Polish language of individual users outside our country, or in the study of the process of developing individual language awareness” (Miodunka, 2016, p. 49; emphasis added). A language biography is to be treated as a collection of facts from a particular person’s life related to the ways and conditions of language acquisition, to the use of he language in various settings, and possibly to forgetting the

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1Multilingualism is to be understood as the everyday use of two or more different languages by a given social group; the alternate use of two or more languages by an individual allows them to be defined as bilingual or multilingual.
language. Language biographies are varied: some individuals acquire a language during courses while learning at school, which is a conscious acquisition, while other language biographies involve unconscious and unintentional but voluntary acquisition (e.g. while playing with children speaking (an)other language(s)).

Language biography is used as a research method in various humanities subjects and social sciences. Issues pertaining to language biographies have been the subject of research, among others, by Anne Betten and Miryam Du-nour (Betten & Du-nour, 1995), Klaus Brake (Brake, 1998), Ruthellen B. Josselson and Amia Lieblich (Josselson & Lieblich, 1999), Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2003), Ekaterina Protasova (Protasova, 2004), Katerina Meng and Ekaterina Protasova (Meng & Protasova, 2007, pp. 407–408).

The language biography method has also been used by Polish researchers. Considering the Polish literature on the subject of language biographies, it is worth noting the works of Michał Głuszkowski (2011), Władysław Miodunka (2016) and Tadeusz Lewaszkiewicz (2017). Władysław Miodunka, discussing individual academic papers, writes that “a typical language biography should contain two parts, both the narrative, which tells us about life facts and interprets them, and the analytical part, which shows excerpts of oral and written statements and analyses interferences that can be noticed in them, as well as the phenomenon of code switching” (Miodunka, 2016, p. 81).

Language biography is important at every stage of human development; it is unique for every person living in a given multilingual environment. In their personal and social development, individuals shape and enrich their language, often as a result of adopting a different culture. “The language development of an individual takes place in two dimensions — individual and social, with both types of development being closely related” (Głuszkowski, 2011, p. 125). Michał Głuszkowski describes the sociological and psychological conditions of the bilingualism of the Old Believers in the Suwałki–Augustów region and concludes that “idiomes of representatives of the older generation are less diverse than in the case of younger Old Believers, primarily due to the relatively uniform system of non-linguistic factors shaping their bilingualism” (Głuszkowski, 2011, p. 244). In his analysis, Głuszkowski identifies the most important phases of language biography as follows:

1. the language spoken at home during the preschool period;
2. the language spoken during contact with neighbours;
3. the language of the family home in childhood;
4. the language spoken during school days and adolescence;
5. the language spoken at home during adulthood/married life and the language spoken in the workplace.

Each period refers to the situation of one or more codes (Głuszkowski, 2011, p. 127). When analysing the language biography of a given speaker, Głuszkowski considers the specificity of a given group and the type of language contacts.

Władysław Miodunka, in turn, discusses in detail the works on the role of language biographies in the study of Polish-foreign bilingualism. He notes the imperfections of this method, but also its advantages (Miodunka, 2016, pp. 63–84).

The language biographies of Poles who have lived on the Ukrainian–Romanian border for more than two centuries have not yet been the subject of research or analysis. The book Świadectwo zanikającego dziedzictwa. Mowa polska na Bukowinie: Rumunia–Ukraina [A Testimony to a Vanishing Heritage. The Polish Language of Bukovina: Romania–Ukraine] presents a classification of the Polish dialects of Bukovina, their grammatical characteristics, and examples of the influence of Slovak, Romanian and Ukrainian (Krasowska et al., 2018). The volume outlines the geographical extent and classification of Polish dialects in Bukovina, the first time this has been done since Poles settled there in the nineteenth century. However, it does not discuss particular language biographies.
2 The concept of heritage language

When analysing selected language biographies of Poles in southern and northern Bukovina, one is studying a so-called heritage language, a relatively new term derived from the work of American scholars (cf. Valdés, 1995). Maria Polinsky and Olga Kagan apply the term heritage language to describe the native language of immigrants used in the home environment: they acquire it as a first language but have a limited scope of competence; in contrast, they achieve full competence in their second language, i.e. the language of the country of settlement (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007, p. 368). Polinsky notes that although users of an inherited language foster a cultural and family relationship with their heritage, they usually do not achieve full competence in the chronologically first language (Polinsky, 2015, p. 7).

Ewa Lipińska and Anna Seretny, who introduced this term to Polish scholarship, write as follows:

In the Polish nomenclature, the closest equivalent of heritage language is język domowy (home language), i.e. spoken and narrowed to topics related to everyday life, family life, a variation of the ethnic language that is currently used or was used in the past by members of a community as their mother tongue. This concept, however, does not fully reflect the historical, cultural and emotional depth inherent in the word heritage (heritage, tradition, identity), which is why the name język odziedziczony (literally: inherited language, in the sense: descendant, successive) seems to be more adequate, as it combines family values and the richness of national heritage. (Lipińska & Seretny, 2012, p. 21)

Lipińska and Seretny note that the term heritage language — with reference to the code used at home and in contacts with loved ones, in an environment in which the official code is a different communication system — gained popularity in the twenty-first century, especially in the United States (Lipińska & Seretny, 2013, p. 2). Writing about Polish, they observe that as a heritage language it is evolving, “as it is taught in Polish schools [abroad] and they strive to ensure that it does not differ from the standard variation of Polish” (Lipińska & Seretny, 2013, p. 3). Another observation they make about the use of the term heritage language is important in view of the topic of this study: “For Poles living abroad, language is a factor of identification and an indigenous value symbolizing their belonging to the culture of their ancestors. It plays an integrating role as one of the basic elements of the characteristics of a given ethnic group and one of the fundamental values of culture that parents should pass on to children” (Lipińska & Seretny, 2013, p. 3).

A heritage language is assimilated naturally through the auditory-oral route. It satisfies basic communication needs in the family sphere, neighbourly contact, and in the sphere of religion; sometimes it is improved at school. According to Lipińska and Seretny, “it also constitutes an important link in communication with the country and national heritage and defines the identity of its users” (Lipińska & Seretny, 2011). In the case of research conducted among Poles in Bukovina, the lexeme dziedzictwo (heritage) clearly reflects the historical, cultural, and especially the emotional and identity connotations that are connected with the ancestral country of our speakers. Bukovinian Poles, who inherited the Polish language from their ancestors, pass it on to future generations in a variety of ways. This is associated with an emotional approach to the language, as well as with identity and religion. A strong sense of being Polish is the main reason for striving to preserve the Polish language, especially in the sphere of prayer and home conversations. In the language biographies presented below, Polish speech developed in isolation from the main body of the Polish language and was surrounded by various Slavic and non-Slavic languages.

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2 Anna Żurek, describing the communication strategies of bilinguals based on the example of the Polish language inherited in Germany, points out: “Currently, the issue of heritage language (including Polish) is gaining popularity. In the Polish literature on the subject, the term Polish as an inherited language (heritage language) is still not widely used and clearly defined. In this study, it is understood as ‘the language of the country of origin of bilingual representatives of the Polish community, i.e. the first, second and third generation raised in a non-Polish cultural circle’” (Żurek, 2018, p. 12).
3 Language biographies

The language biography method shows the development process of individual language awareness. The language material for the present study was obtained through interviews conducted several times, participant observation (in the family, at work, at home, in the parish, at meetings of the local community) and the analysis of e-mail documentation and records of respondents. Thus, in order to ensure the objectivity of the results, the study applies triangulation, a strategy whereby more than one technique is used to obtain data on the same speaker (cf. Miodunka, 2016, p. 83). The research was conducted in the years 2015–2020. Material was collected from 30 people (22 women and 8 men) over the age of 60 at the time of the first interview. The language biographies of 3 women (2 residing in northern Bukovina (Ukraine) and 1 residing in southern Bukovina (Romania)) were selected for presentation in this article.

The language biographies of the interviewees presented below are divided into the following age periods: childhood, school age, further/higher education, work and adult life, retirement and the present day. The material used in the article comes from interviews and utterances spoken in unofficial situations, e.g. in personal meetings, in meetings with other speakers, accompanied by participant observation. Before presenting each biography, a brief introduction about the speaker is provided. Each period described by the speaker in authentic language (in semi-orthographic transcription) is followed by comments. Questions from the researcher are quoted in italic; the speakers are referred to using their initials.

3.1 The language biography of LN

LN was born to a Polish family in the village of Davydivka (Rom. Davideni), then in Romania, in 1925. Both her parents were Polish, so the home language was Polish. She attended Romanian and Polish schools. As a child, she attended a Polish church, where Mass was said only in Polish; the language of her private prayer was Polish. Her family, with whom she spoke Polish, also lived in Davydivka. The language of everyday conversation was Polish with the Poles, but she also used Romanian and Ukrainian because the village was multi-ethnic. After getting married, she moved to the village of Komarivtsi, where there was no Catholic church or Polish neighbours. The only Polish speaker LN had contact with was her sister-in-law, who lived nearby. As of March 2020, they were the only Polish speakers in the village. After LN got married her home language was Ukrainian: she spoke it to her husband and children. Polish still remained the language of private prayer; she taught her children and grandchildren to pray in Polish. LN was able to read and write in Romanian, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian. Her language can be classified as Bukovinian Polish, which is a continuation of the Polish of south-eastern Kresy with phonetic elements of the dialect of Bukovinian highlanders. LN died in March 2020.

CHILDHOOD 1925–1932

Official language: Romanian
Home language: Polish

Moi rodzice oni z Polski pochodzom wszystkie. A moja matka przy Austrii. Ona tutaj przyjechała, bo to było nieszczęście, to była wojna, i oni tutaj się pożenieli z ojcem i my tutaj się, dzieci wszystkie rodziły my tutaj i w domu po polsku wszystko.

But you speak Polish very well. Is it from home or school?

Z domu, moja matka mówiła, my po polsku, my po polsku mówili w domu. Literatury, literaturny, my nie rozmawiamy tak literaturno po polsku, bo tak, tak rodzice rozmawiali. a uż teraz w Polsce tak że inaczej, literaturno rozmawiajom.
Language of prayer
Tak to było tylko po polsku, te „Ojcze Nasz” i te wszystkie co w domu mama nas uczyła po polsku. Babcia Barbara też po polsku moliliś. Tak dawno to byli prawdziwi Polaki.

Explication
As a child, the speaker grew up in a Polish family; her first language was Polish, both in everyday life and during prayer. Due to social circumstances, her mother knew German as it was the official language before 1918 in Bukovina. They spoke to their neighbors in their languages, i.e. Polish, Romanian and Ukrainian. Her grandmother made sure that the Polish language and Polishness were present at all times. The speaker is aware that the language spoken at home was not literary Polish.

SCHOOL AGE 1933–1942
Official language: Romanian, Russian
Home language: Polish

School language
_Didn’t you attend a Polish school?_

Language of religion

Explication
The speaker attended a Romanian school where Polish was taught. At school she learned both Romanian and Polish. In the church the language of prayer was also German as the serving priest from Banyliv was German; he said Mass in German and in Polish, alternating the language every Sunday. It was the time of political changes, the eve of World War II, and the official language was about to change.
EDUCATION AND WORK 1943–1950, MARRIAGE (1948) AND FURTHER YEARS OF WORK

Official language: Russian, Ukrainian

Language of further education and environment
To kto sie dobrze uczył, jaka by to nie była literatura, to tych dzieci brali, daliej Rosjanie brali. Nas: mnie i mego brata i jeszcze dwoje z Dawiden, one som w Polsce, jedna umarła jedna jeszcze żyje. Nas posłali do Czerniowiec, pedałohiczne uczyliście tak sie nazywa. My tam przyuczyli sie dwa roki, nas byli. My nie mogli zakończyć, bo brat bardzo chorował i nas takich młodych uczniów takich specjlistyw młodych, i nas wygnali na roboty, i my pracowali. O. Pracowali my, a później my jużkończyli, jak to sie mówi, zaoczno. Tak. My kańczali to. Pani wi, bo pani tutaj wie, jak to było. No, to już je. Ja pracowalaśmy dźiesięć lat w szkole, a później my sie z mężem pożeniły (1948).

Dwanaście lat, panie kochany, ja przetargowałam w swojej chacie, i dzieci byli w porzondku, i monż nie był głodny, i ja nie była głodna, i gospodarke trzymaliśmy, i było dobrze. No i tak wyszłam na pensję później. Dostaje pensję, bo ja uczestniczył wojny. Temu, że uczyłam się we wojnie, i pracowała we wojnie.

Explication
The speaker continued her education in Chernivtsi in Russian and Ukrainian. The language of the environment was Russian, and at home she spoke Ukrainian to her husband and children. Polish remained the language of prayer and contact with the immediate family and one neighbour. After getting married, the speaker moved from Davydivka, where many Poles lived, to Komarivtsi, where she had only one Polish neighbour. It is worth noting that most Poles left Davydivka for Poland in 1945–1946, where they settled in the Lubusz region and Lower Silesia.

ADULT LIFE 1951–1985

Official language: Russian, Ukrainian

Language of marriage

Explication
Communist times also brought about a change in language. Polish schools were closed; Romanian schools were replaced with Russian and Ukrainian ones. After marrying, she moved to another village in which only one neighbour was Polish. The rest of the community were Ukrainians or Romanians speaking the local dialect of Ukrainian, which was used on a daily basis. LN spoke Ukrainian to her husband and children. Sometimes she also spoke Romanian to her husband (e.g. on private matters which they did not wish to reveal to their children).
RETIREMENT AND OLD AGE 1981–2020

Official language: Russian, Ukrainian
Home language: Ukrainian

Language of religion

Language of the environment
Czemu my nie możemy mieć swojego!? Toż to my za Rumunie mieli swoje szkoły polskie, mieli uczytela, mieli my ksiondzów. Czego my nie możemy w tej dzirżawie niczego mieć swoje. My nie narzekamy, że niedobra dzierżawa. My dzierżawe lubimy, szanujemy, bo my musimy, bo my żyjemy u niej. Ale my chcemy swojego prawa mieć, swojego porzondku. To już nie wróci panie kochana, to już bedzie gorzej jeszcze, ale ja już nie chcę to widzieć. Mam dużo literatury polskiej, czytam, to sie człowiek, ale to już pani wie, tak o naczytam sie, oczy boliom, oczy boliom w głowie sie krenci, cis dostane. I tak staram się, aby tak czytać, musze, bo mam ksionżeczki tej, tam modlitwy rozmaite som, modlimy sie tej, ale wiele pan Bóg pomoże, tyle bendzie życia mego.

Knowledge of different languages and their value
I tak że ja po rumuński możem czytać, pisać, po polsku możem czytać, pisać, bo ja literature mam. Po rosyjsku, po ukraiński też może. Tak że, ale to. Nierzawne dzieckieluminy, szanujemy, bo my musimy, bo my żyjemy u niej. Ale my chcemy swojego prawa mieć, swojego porzondku. To już nie wróci panie kochana, to już bedzie gorzej jeszcze, ale ja już nie chcę to widzieć. Mam dużo literatury polskiej, czytam, to sie człowiek, ale to już pani wie, tak o naczytam sie, oczy boliom, oczy boliom w głowie sie krenci, cis dostane. I tak staram się, aby tak czytać, musze, bo mam ksionżeczki tej, tam modlitwy rozmaite som, modlimy sie tej, ale wiele pan Bóg pomoże, tyle bendzie życia mego.

Explication
Since 1990, there have again been changes in the official language, as well as access to the church. The speaker talks emotionally about introducing Ukrainian as the language of liturgy, although she does not actively participate in religious services due to her age. She listens to Mass in Romanian and would very much like to be able to listen to it and pray in Polish. She speaks Polish and Ukrainian with her daughters and grandchildren. She speaks and reads Romanian to this day. The daughters blame her for not teaching them Romanian.

The speaker is a representative of the oldest generation of Bukovinian Poles. She has a rich language biography, which was influenced by socio-political events, changes of state borders and official languages: Romanian, Russian and Ukrainian. Her rich language biography was also influenced by her place of birth, where she mastered these languages while playing with Ukrainian- and Romanian-speaking children. Polish was her home language, the first one which she inherited from her grandparents and parents. She is very attached to it: she treats it as her own language because she feels Polish. This strong attachment is clearly apparent in her comments on the replacement of Polish in religious services. The influence of Russian and Ukrainian is visible in comments referring...
to events after 1950, which include words from these languages. Analysing the lexicon used by LN, we can see loan words from Russian, Ukrainian and Romanian.

We can see Russian: *august* ‘sierpień’, Rus. *avgust* (August); *pozdrowiać* ‘składać życzenia’, Rus. *pozdravliat’* (to give sb wishes); *przepisowała się* ‘korespondowała z kimś’, Rus. *perepisivatsia* (to correspond with sb); *pedagogicheckoe uchilishche* (teachers’ college); *charosza* ‘doba’, Rus. *khoroshaia* (good, fem.); *posłe* ‘po’, Rus. *posle* (after); *uziastna* ‘straszna’, Rus. *uzhastnaia* (terrible, fem.); *przyzwali do armii* ‘wezwali do wojska’, Rus. *prizvali v armiiu* (to get called up to the army); *uczitelke* ‘nauczycielkę’, contamination of Ukrainian with Russian, cf. Ukr. *uchitel’ka*, Rus. *uchitel’nitsa* (female teacher). In the sentence *Pozdrowiali mnie wszyscy*, *ładnie było* she uses the word *pozdrawiali* (Polish: they sent their regards) in the meaning *składali życzenia* (they gave me their wishes), Rus. *pozdravliali*.

From Ukrainian: *zal* ‘sala’, Ukr. *zal* (large room); *mobilish* ‘modliły się’, Ukr. *molylis’* (they prayed); *wiśniaty się* ‘brac słub kościelný’, Ukr. *vinchatsya* (to have a church wedding); *mołoda* ‘panna młoda’, Ukr. *moloda* (bride); *dzierzawa* ‘państwo’, Ukr. *derzhava* (state, country); *ticheńko* ‘cichutko’, Ukr. *tykhen’ko* (very quietly); *nichto* ‘nikt’, Ukr. *nikhto* (nobody); *batkowie* ‘świadkowie weselni’, Ukr. *bat’ky* (wedding witnesses); *interesno* ‘ciekawie’, Ukr. *intereso* (interesting); *nazwa* ‘państwo’, Ukr. *derzhava* (state, country); *ticheńko* ‘cichutko’, Ukr. *tykhen’ko* (very quietly); *nichto* ‘nikt’, Ukr. *nikhto* (nobody); *batkowie* ‘świadkowie weselni’, Ukr. *bat’ky* (wedding witnesses); *interesno* ‘ciekawie’, Ukr. *intereso* (interesting); *pohana* (bad, fem); *bałakajom* ‘rozmawiają’, Ukr. *balakaiut’* (they talk, say); *pałatki* ‘namioty’, Ukr. *palatky* (tents). In the utterances of LN one can observe code switching between Polish and Ukrainian, and Polish and Romanian, involving words, idioms and even entire sentences in the narrative. The speaker uses code switching consciously and repeatedly; e.g. with Ukrainian: *A ten hołowa mówi:* „Majte dwoje dityj. Uczytsia. A cej dwoje w swecie, w Sybirii deś. Ne jidty”. Mama posłuchała, myśli: „Może bedzie dobrze”. To nie było dobre. Another example is switching between Polish and Romanian: *Przychodzi na operacje człowiek, oni go nie rozumiom. Romanieci, grajeście!* from Romanian *grăiește* ‘mówić’ (to speak).

The speaker uses code switching when she quotes a third party and she wants to present the exact statement of that person. In the narrative about the wedding, LN also uses the lexeme *karuca*, which comes from the Romanian *caruţă* meaning ‘cart’. She uses this word on purpose, since she describes a situation about which she indicates that everyone in the village rode a *karuca* to the wedding at the time.

The linguistic repertoire of the 94-year-old speaker is rich; her narrative includes references to the social and historical-political situation related to changes of borders and official languages. The speaker talked very emotionally about events from her life and her language experiences. The first conversation lasted over three hours; the visit of a person from Poland was a great emotional experience: “because I have no one to speak Polish to”. An equally emotional request concerned the possibility of listening to Mass in Polish and the availability of the Bible in Polish. Polish plays a symbolic and identifying role in the narrative in question. The speaker kept the Polish language inherited from her parents and grandparents throughout her entire life; she also passed it on to her children and grandchildren: all of them have learned it from her and use it in various situations (e.g. in private prayer).

3.2 The language biography of LB

LB was born in 1927 in a Polish–German family in Păltinoasa, Romania. Polish and German were her home languages: her mother spoke Polish, her father spoke German. The village had a large German community until 1940, and Poles lived there until 1945. LB learned Romanian at school. She married a Pole and their home language was the Polish dialect of Bukovinian highlanders. After Germans and Poles left Bukovina, Romanian, as the official language, prevailed in the sphere of neighbourly relations. Currently, the main language of family communication is Romanian.
CHILDHOOD 1927–1933

Official language: Romanian

Home language

Language of the church, religion

Explication
The speaker was born to a Polish–German family in Păltinoasa. Her father spoke German, her mother spoke Polish. Her paternal grandmother was also Polish and spoke Polish. Polish was also the language of private prayer and the language of celebrating annual and family rituals. In church, German prevailed as the language of liturgy and Polish was used in private prayer. The language used during play with other children was German, as there were many Germans living in Păltinoasa before 1940.

SCHOOL AGE 1934–1944

Official language: Romanian

Home language and language of the environment
Mama była Polka! To w domu było polski język. Po polsku wszystko. Szkoła po rumuńsku, tak po drodze były Niemcy, po niemiecku, a w domu po polsku było z mamką, a po niemiecku z tatką. Tutaj było tyle Niemców, ale wszystko po rumuńsku. Wszystko po rumuńsku.

Language at school
Did you go to a Romanian school?
Po rumuńsku. Po rumuńsku. Nie było po polsku, wszystko po rumuńsku.
How long did you go to school? How many grades?

Language of playing with children

Explication
The speaker started learning Romanian at school. At home, she still spoke the Polish dialect of Bukovinian highlanders. She also used German in conversations with her father and immediate family, as well as with her German-speaking neighbours before they left for Germany.
Helena Krasowska

ADOLESCENCE 1945–1952, MARRIAGE 1946

Official language: Romanian

Language in marriage

Language in the church

Language of the environment

Explication
The speaker married a Polish man from Plesa and they lived in a Polish-speaking environment for a year. Their home language was the Polish dialect of Bukovinian highlanders and the speaker’s children use it to this day. Then the speaker moved with her husband to Păltinoasa, which had changed its ethnic composition: the German population had left for Germany and most of the Poles had left for Poland. At that time, Polish was the home language, but Romanian was used outside more and more often.

ADULT LIFE 1953–1987

Official language: Romanian

Home language

Language of prayer

Explication
In adult life, the Romanian language more and more often supplanted Polish in the sphere of neighbourly communication due to the small number of Poles living in the village. However, Polish remained the language of prayer. In contrast, the German language disappeared from all spheres: fewer and fewer people in her surroundings spoke German, since the oldest German speakers died and others left for Germany. The interviewee mentioned that her two sisters had also left with their German husbands for Germany.
RETRAINT AND OLD AGE 1988–2019

Official language: Romanian

Home language [About her daughter-in-law]

Nowadays
To jedzynie: mliko, kartofle, fazula, maslo, syr. I tak wyrosła sześć, sztyry wnuki.

Language in the church

Memories contrasted with modern times


Are you able to say anything in German?

Explication
The speaker compares old times to modern times. In the sphere of home communication things have changed: Romanian has replaced Polish, since she has a Romanian daughter-in-law. The son and daughter-in-law who live with the speaker speak Romanian to their children. The speaker has
not used German for a long time; when she was asked to say something in German, she admitted that she no longer remembered it and she had no one to speak in that language to. Romanian has also become the language of liturgy.

LB was bilingual as a child: both Polish and German were always present in her family home. She inherited Polish from her mother. The Polish language of the speaker has the characteristics of the subdialect of Bukovinian highlanders, which was discussed in the book Świadectwo zanikającego dziedzictwa. Mowa polska na Bukowinie: Rumunia–Ukraina [A Testimony to a Vanishing Heritage. The Polish Language of Bukovina: Romania–Ukraine] (Krasowska et al., 2018, pp. 84–96). Her mother came from the village of Soloneţu Nou, where all the inhabitants spoke in the subdialect of Bukovinian highlanders. The interviewee also spoke it after getting married, as her husband was from Plesa, where it was in common use.

The subdialect of Bukovinian highlanders has loan words from Romanian, which can be noticed in the speaker’s statements, e.g. Eszcze Bogu dzienkujem, eszcze nicht mi nie da ani tarunek jedzenia, cf. Rom. ţară ‘wiejski’ (adj. village, country) with -ek, meaning country food. In the next sentence: I Rumuny banowal, y za Nimcami, cf. Rom. a băni ‘şalovać za kimś’ (to miss someone) is used both in Polish and Ukrainian dialects in Bukovina. Describing how she was dressed on her wedding day, the speaker uses the lexeme koronice, e.g. W sukienke, welon, koronice tutaj. Welon biały i te koronice takie, cf. Rom. coroaniţa ‘korona’ (crown). In another sentence: A teraz Żydów uż ni ma. Uże ni ma to co byl, o, pani. Gata, the speaker uses the Romanian word gata, which most accurately describes a situation that is ‘the end’: there are no more Germans in the village, cf. Rom. gata ‘gotowe, koniec’ (end, done, over). A tato miał serviciu ‘służba’ (service). The speaker also uses words which are known in other subdialects of Bukovina, cf. Zrychtować ‘przygotować’ (to get ready): I byl, a taka kobieta, co cie zrychtowal, a do ślubu. The utterances of this multilingual speaker (born in 1927) indicate that she has preserved a good command of spoken dialectal Polish. Although her first languages were Polish and German, she no longer remembers or uses the latter: she has forgotten it due to a lack of communication opportunities. Her narrative does not feature code switching: she uses only single words in Romanian. The speaker does not like the fact that Poles of the younger generation speak Romanian. This mainly applies to her sons and daughters, whose home language is Romanian. The Polish subdialect inherited from her mother distinguishes her from other ethnic communities living in Bukovina and is the main element of her Polish identity.

3.3 The language biography of KO

KO was born in 1927 in Zastavna, then in Romania. She spoke Polish at home with her parents. At school she first learned Romanian, then Ukrainian (mainly at work). The speaker got married to a Pole (1947), and Polish has always been their home language. To this day, she only speaks Polish at home with her daughter. The language of her private prayer is Polish. She has a great sense of Polish identity, of which language is the most important element.

CHILDHOOD 1927–1933

Official language: Romanian

Home language

Tak, u nas wszystko po polsku, my tylko w domu po polsku rozmawiali. Później my sobie wypisyvali gazety po polski, moza było przez pocztę wypisywać. A tak u nas była przy kościele biblioteka, to my sobie brał ksionžki, coś troszki czytali. A teraz już nie, bo takie lata podeszli i w okularach nie widać nitki.
Language of the place / language of the neighbourly community

Przed wojną tu było dużo Polaków i z Polakami rozmawiali my po polsku, no a z Ukraińcami po ukraińsku.

Polish life before the war

I tam tańcy byli, i tam krakowiaka tańcowali, i co jeszcze, krakowiak taniec, i jeszcze co. A nie to rumuński — „hory mary”. Ja wiem, że nawet ja w cerkwi śpiewałam po rumuńsku na chórach był nauczyciel tam, ja tam śpiewałam brali nas do cerkwi, ja tam śpiewałam. Ale to jeszcze, kiedy ja była taka, a teraz już taka.

Language of prayer

Tak zbieraliśmy w niedzielę czy w jakieś święta, nu i do kogoś, to do nas czasem, to do Szydłowska, kuzenka była, to do Burdysz jeszcze wyżej.

Explication

KO was born to a Polish family in Zastavna; the home language of her mother and father, as well as of her grandparents, was Polish. Her ancestors came from Poland; they moved to Zastavna for economic reasons, as did other families who settled in Bukovina in the early nineteenth century.

As a child, the speaker spoke Polish and, as she recalls, went to sing in Romanian in the Orthodox church. It is worth noting that Romanian was the official language in her childhood. Before the war, the Polish cultural movement was teeming with life: Zastavna had a Dom Polski (Polish House) and Czytelnia Polska (Polish Reading Room). The priest taught religion in Polish. The interviewee spoke Ukrainian to her Ukrainian neighbours and Polish to the Polish ones.

SCHOOL AGE 1934–1946

Official language: Romanian, Russian
Home language: Polish

School language

Ja kiedy chodziłam [do szkoły], miałam siedem lat, poszłam i wczyłam się do trzydziestego dzie- wiontego roku w Rumunii, tam po rumuńsku, później czterdziestego roku byli Sowiety i ja poszłam dalej do pjontej klasy na ruski. Tak wczyłam się do czterdziestego siódmego roku, a później trzeba było jeszcze chodzić, jak ja poszłam do pracy. Wtedy trzeba było dziesięć klasy, a ja miałam siedem klas, to ja jeszcze wieczorem chodziłam.

Did you learn Romanian, Ukrainian and Russian at school?

Uczyli ukraińskiego, a rumuński, to tylko tam przed wojną. Pijeć klasów rumuńskich, bo później już nie było. A z pracy posyłali do Kijowa, jak to się mówi, na kwalifikację, na powyszenie kwa- lifikacji. No to to nie tak jak szkoła, ja wiencej, już nie uczyłam się. To tylko tak dziesięć klasy. A polski uczyłam, tylko nas ksiondz uczył religii.

Language of religion

Ja już powiem; ja chodziłam do kościoła, ksiondz nas uczył religii po polsku. Ksiondz Nawak. Eugeniusz Nawak. On był u nas w Zastawnie też z Polski, ja nie wiem skond.

Explication

KO went to school and studied Romanian for five years. She finished her education in Russian and Ukrainian, which had become official languages as a result of social and political changes. Polish was the language of the family and neighbourly contacts, as well as the language of religion and private prayers. After the Second World War, the number of Polish speakers in Zastavna decreased as most of them left for Poland.
EDUCATION AND WORK 1946–1953, MARRIAGE (1947) AND FURTHER YEARS OF WORK

Official language: Russian, Ukrainian
Home language: Polish (marriage 1947)

A my pożenili się. Ślub był u nas w Zastawnie, brali ślub w naszym kościele, ostanni, wiencej już nikt nie brał ślub w kościele. Wtedy ślub był zabroniony. To był tysiąc dziewięćset czterdziesty siódmy rok. Dziewiontego lipca. A mnie ślub dał ksiondz Andrzejewski.

Did he write in Polish?
Po polsku, a on wiedział. On z dwudziestego trzeciego roku był, on wiencej chodził do religii, jag ja. Mamy dokumenty takie, że on miał prawo po wojnie mieć tam. I pole dawali i pomieszkanie.

Language of the environment
Po wojnie było ciężko, trzeba pracować było i tak my pracowali. Nu przyszł już ruski jazyk, nu ruski, to znajetie ruski takoj i ukraiński tutaj w Zastawnie. Jak pojechało sie gdzieś do russkij nado znać, a tutaj na miejscu to po ukraińsku wszędzie.

ADULT LIFE 1954–1987

Official language: Russian, Ukrainian
Home language: Polish

Language of studies and environment
Spoczentku ja pracowałam w fin otdele, w finansach, później jak poszłam po pensiji, to ja tam dwadzieścia lat pracowałam, a później dwadzieścia dwa lata w aptece. A teraz już w domu pracuję. No to już było po rusku potem i ukraiński.

Explication
After the war, KO’s adult life revolved around Russian and Ukrainian. She worked in a finance department and then in a pharmacy, so she had to use clients’ languages and the languages that were in official use. She spoke Polish to her husband and daughter at home. Her husband also worked in a Ukrainian-speaking environment. In the 1970s they spent over a month in Poland, where they spoke Polish. After the war, Polish life in Zastawna changed. The Catholic church was closed; the Polish House and the Polish Reading Room were closed and ruined. Poles, especially those who attended church, were under surveillance and were threatened. At home, they spoke Polish only quietly to each other; they spoke loudly in Ukrainian, especially in the presence of neighbours.

RETIREMENT AND OLD AGE 1988–2019

Official language: Russian, Ukrainian

Reading
A tak ni: ksionżki my też, tak troszeczke i z Polskiej sobie przywiezłam i tak.

Language of the church, religion, private prayer. Language of the environment
And how do you communicate with the neighbours? In Ukrainian, or have the others learned a bit of Polish?
Nie, nie, wszystko po ukraińsku. To nawet kiedy Ruskie Sowiety byli, to i wtedy mówiło się — Dobryj deň.
So not even in Russian.

And can you still hear any Romanian in the streets of Zastavna?
To tak chyba jakieś słowa, a ja już czegoś zapomniała ta j tako rozumie, kto co mówi, a żeby już rozmawiać, to nie.

Explication
The 1990s brought about a huge change in the daily life of KO. She still speaks Polish at home with her daughter, but she says that sometimes she can say and express her thoughts faster in Ukrainian. She can no longer remember Romanian, which she learned at school, as she has no one to talk to. Polish became the language of prayer. Polish also occurs in names related to annual rituals: the speaker notes that Ukrainians make *kutia* for Christmas, and Poles make *pszeniczka*.

KO inherited the Polish language, i.e. Bukovinian Polish, from her parents and grandparents. She uses it to this day. She speaks Polish only when communicating with her daughter; she prays in Polish and reads religious literature in Polish too. She learned Romanian at school for five years, but she does not remember much of it today: she says that she cannot speak Romanian, although she understands it. After World War II, Russian and Ukrainian were the official languages in the country. The speaker acquired her qualifications in Kyiv in Russian, and the most commonly used language at work was Ukrainian, which prevailed in all spheres, especially after the speaker turned sixty.

The Polish spoken by this informant belongs to Bukovinian Polish, which is a continuation of the Polish of south-eastern Kresy and has all the phonetic and inflectional features of this variety.

In her utterances Ukrainian loan words can be observed, e.g. the sentence: *Ja już po menżu benda pisała się* displays a transfer of patterns from Ukrainian to a Polish utterance: Ukrainians say *po cholovikovi pyshusia* (I use my married name). In the sentence *Wiem tylko, że do czytalni my chodzili*, the word *czytelnia* was pronounced in Ukrainian with a Ukrainian accent to mean ‘czytelnia’ (reading room). Interlingual transfer can also be observed in the sentence *Teraz już tym korzystujesz*, which means ‘it is now used’, from Ukr. *korystuaticsja tym* (to use, utilise sth). Ukrainian is also visible in the following sentence: *Jeszcze jak my przyjechali jednego razu*, to jeszcze my *zajyszli w te kazarmy*, co on służył, gdzie on spał, cf. Ukr. odnoho razu ‘jednego razu’ (once, one day); *zayty v ti kazarmy ‘wejść do tych koszar’ (to enter the barracks). Ukrainian words used in Polish statements are as follows: *wczyłam się ‘uczyłam się’, Ukr. vchylasia* (I learned, studied); *po pensji ‘na emeryturze’, Ukr. na pensii (on retirement); ostatni ‘ostatni’ Ukr. ostatnii* (last, last one). The transfer of patterns is caused by the similarity of the Polish and Ukrainian language systems, which the speaker has used for over a quarter of a century in her environment. Additionally, after 1990, Ukrainian gained prestige and became the sole official language of the state.

The language biography of the speaker developed in a multilingual environment, where the dominant languages were Polish and Ukrainian. The close relationship of these languages en-
couraged the borrowing of Ukrainian or Russian words into Polish. There are also examples of the use of Ukrainian syntactic patterns and patterns for combining words, which are very similar in Ukrainian and Polish, the two languages used by the informant on a daily basis.

4 Conclusions

The linguistic and social development of an individual are interrelated. It is possible to observe turning points or periods in the psychological and social development of an individual: they determine the shape of his/her identity and language behaviour (Głuszkowski, 2011, p. 125). It is worth identifying the common social factors that influenced the multilingualism of the speakers discussed here. The main factors are the historical and political conditions that influenced their language experience. It should be mentioned that the official languages in this area changed: before 1918 it was German, in 1918–1940 — Romanian, in 1941–1945 — Romanian and Russian (in the northern part of Bukovina), in 1945–1990 — Russian and Ukrainian (in the northern part), in 1991–2010 — Ukrainian.

The speakers, born in 1925 (LN) and 1927 (KO and LB) in Romania, have diverse language biographies. Let us start with the immediate environment, i.e. the families in which they were born and the language they began to speak when Romanian was the official language. In all three cases, their home language was a subdialect of Polish; for LB German was a home language alongside Polish, as she was born to a bilingual Polish-German family. The speakers did not know Romanian before they began to learn it at primary school. In the case of LN, Polish was taught for a limited number of hours; KO learned it only in religion classes; LB did not have Polish at school at all. After 1945, LN and KO found themselves in another country (Soviet Ukraine instead of Romania) even though they did not change their place of residence. They continued their education in Russian and Ukrainian, the official languages of their new country.

The language biography of each of the speakers carries an extraordinary cognitive value, bringing in further interesting facts. Namely, that choosing a life partner also involves using a particular language at home. LN started using Ukrainian at home when she got married; KO married a Pole, so her language of communication at home remained Polish, similarly to LB, who lived in Romania and also married a Pole, and her children’s home language was a subdialect of Polish. Their language situations were also complex in their adult lives. LN and KO used official languages, i.e. Russian and Ukrainian, while LB used mostly Romanian. As it is today, the situation of the speakers is as follows: LN and KO usually communicate in Ukrainian, and LB — in Romanian; the language situation has also changed in the home sphere: LN usually speaks Ukrainian, and LB speaks Romanian as she lives with the younger generation who are in mixed marriages. There have also been significant changes in the language of prayer: LN switched from Polish to Romanian, she listens to Mass on the radio and prays more and more often in Romanian and Ukrainian; KO attends Mass in Ukrainian, but the language of her private prayer is Polish; LB uses Romanian more and more often in prayers next to Polish. Over the past ninety years, the speakers’ language repertoire has been enriched by new languages, and the role of Polish has diminished to only limited contacts in the home environment.

In all three cases the acquisition of further languages has been closely related to political and historical events and the experiences of each life period: school education, the surrounding environment, the choice of a life partner, and communication today with children, grandchildren, and other immediate family. The table below presents the acquisition of languages in various periods of life of the informants; it also includes information on the official language(s) as an important element of political and historical life affecting the place of residence (see Table 1, p. 17).

As can be seen from the above accounts, it is difficult to preserve the linguistic and cultural identity of the individual in mixed-language marriages. For Bukovinian Poles, the Polish language and the Roman Catholic religion are factors of identification and indigenous values symbolizing
Table 1: The acquisition of languages by speakers born in 1925 and 1927 in different periods of their lives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LN, born in 1925</th>
<th>KO, born in 1927</th>
<th>LB, born in 1927</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>official</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>childhood</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>Polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school age</td>
<td>Romanian, Polish</td>
<td>Romanian, Ukrainian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>official</td>
<td>Russian, Ukrainian</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>further educa-</td>
<td>Russian, Ukrainian</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>Polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>Polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult life</td>
<td>Russian, Ukrainian, Polish</td>
<td>Polish, Romanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>Ukrainian, Polish</td>
<td>Ukrainian, Polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language of</td>
<td>Romanian, Ukrainian, Polish</td>
<td>Romanian, Polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

their belonging to the culture of their ancestors. These two elements are at the core of their identity and are fundamental cultural values that are passed on to children.

All the language biographies presented here show the speakers’ multilingualism and the way and time in which they learned subsequent languages. Their acquisition was voluntary on the one hand, but imposed on the other. Functionally, the first languages were the official languages: Ukrainian and Russian for LN and KO, and Romanian for LB, acquired due to the change of the language of public administration and school education. LB spoke German as a first language along with Polish but she has forgotten it. KO learned Romanian but she does not speak it today. All three speakers are multilingual to this day; they use particular languages in particular situations, depending on the interlocutor and the setting. Knowledge of different languages also helps them to fill gaps in one code with words and phrases from another. The above examples show the processes of becoming a multilingual person during the life of an individual. They were influenced by microstructural and macrostructural factors: the historical and social situation of the region, place of birth, the place and possibilities of school education, the choice of a life partner, sending their own children to schools, and religious factors pertaining to membership of the Roman Catholic Church, such as the language of private prayer.

References


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