

## THE FUNCTIONING OF LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN THE DOMAINS OF 'FAMILY' AND 'SCHOOL EDUCATION' AND THE CHOICE OF UKRAINIAN AS THE FIRST LANGUAGE: THE CASE OF THE UKRAINIAN-POLISH BORDERLAND

OLENA PELEKHATA\*

\*Corresponding author: [olena.pelekhata@pnu.edu.ua](mailto:olena.pelekhata@pnu.edu.ua)

**Abstract.** The article analyses the functioning of the language ideologies in Ivano-Frankivsk (ancient Stanislav), a city that geographically belongs to the Ukrainian-Polish borderland. The purpose of the article is to describe the influence of the functioning of language ideologies of the domains 'family' and 'school education' on the choice of Ukrainian as the first language in Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislav), a city that geographically belongs to the Ukrainian-Polish borderland. The individual decisions and actions of language users of all generations in Ivano-Frankivsk can lead to powerful changes in 'language management' - situation with the choice of Ukrainian instead of Polish in everyday life. This choice is influenced by only 2 domains - the language of the family and the language of the school. The methods used are linguistic biography and questionnaires. The influence of language ideologies on language choice depending on socio-political events is analysed.

**Keywords:** linguistic identity, generational differentiation, domains, Ukrainian-Polish borderland, Polish language, Ukrainian language.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Today, sociolinguistics focuses on the analysis of the significant role of ethnic self-identification of a citizen, which should not contradict the state interests and guarantees of national security of Ukraine.

Democratisation in European countries has always promoted interest in the national and cultural traditions of individuals in a multinational community. Despite economic growth, urbanisation, and the interest of citizens in political activity, there is a growing understanding of the significant role of ethnic self-identification. A person representing a national minority, even in a multicultural community, is aware of his or her important involvement in the possible influence on the distribution of material resources, as the media actively promote the idea of such influence, actively calling for the participation of all citizens in socio-political processes, as this participation helps and, to some extent, influences the distribution of social resources.

Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislaviv) was within the borders of the Second Polish Republic until 1939. Today, the city is a regional centre in western Ukraine. Polish is the language of the Polish national

minority. The Poles, like other national minorities, were discriminated against by the Soviet authorities and their national, cultural and religious problems were ignored.

Kalakura O. also revealed the peculiarities of the linguistic and cultural development of the Polish ethnic group in Ukraine, stating the processes of assimilation, as well as the participation of Poles in the processes of democratisation of society and the development of national movements in the second half of the 1980s. The researcher stressed that the Polish intelligentsia supported the formation of the dissident and human rights movement in Ukraine, and during «perestroika» - Ukrainian national organisations. The assimilation processes during 1945-1991 were significant. Interethnic marriages, which were encouraged by the Soviet authorities, had a decisive impact on the assimilation of Poles (Kalakura, 2007, pp. 340-346 ).

This led to the loss of their own identity. As a result of such marriages, Poles lost their own ethnic identity. The internationalisation of public life deepened the assimilation and denationalisation processes, which had a negative impact on the development of the Polish community. It was only in 1985 that the national awakening, revival and ethnic mobilisation of Poles began. They began to form their own cultural and national societies, through which they actively participated in the socio-political processes of Soviet Ukraine.

Transformation processes have been taking place in Ukraine since the beginning of its independence. The negative example of the Transcarpathian region, home to Hungarians who even sought to identify themselves with a state other than Ukraine, is an unfortunate case. The outbreak of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war in 2022, the occupation of Crimea and parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions partly testified to the decline of Ukrainian self-identification in these territories, when local Russian-speaking residents welcomed the Russian conquerors. Polish national minorities on the territory of Ukraine are among many other national minorities that seek to maintain and continue their traditions and establish cultural societies solely with the state interests of Ukraine in mind.

In February 2024, the Government of Ukraine approved a document on the rules for the use of national minority (community) languages<sup>1</sup>. The document was developed as part of a reform aimed at protecting the rights of Ukraine's national minorities (communities) as part of the implementation of the European Commission's recommendations on the way to the start of negotiations on Ukraine's EU membership. The adopted law establishes uniform conditions and procedures for the use of the languages of national minorities (communities) of Ukraine in those localities where they traditionally live or constitute a significant part of the population, i.e. more than 15% of the total population. It should be noted that in the city of Ivano-Frankivsk, Poles do not constitute such a large community (approximately 30,000 people out of a population of 250,000) that Polish could serve as a second state language alongside Ukrainian in the area.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

The purpose of the article is to describe the influence of the functioning of language ideologies of the domains 'family' and 'school education' on the choice of Ukrainian as the first language in Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislav), a city that geographically belongs to the Ukrainian-Polish borderland.

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<sup>1</sup> Zatverdzheno Metodolohiiu vykorystannia mov natsionalnykh menshyn (spilnot).

<https://www.kmu.gov.ua/news/zatverdzheno-metodolohiiu-vykorystannia-mov-natsionalnykh-menshyn-spilnot>

According to Joshua Fishman, a domain is distinguished by three characteristics: participants, location, and topic. Domain participants are not characterised as individuals, but through their social roles and relationships. In the domain 'family» participants are identified by terms of kinship, such as father, mother, brother, sister, aunt or uncle, grandparent, or other relevant roles such as maid or nanny. In the school setting, typical roles are teachers, pupils.

It is impossible to create one's identity if there is no connection to a particular community, to cultural heritage. The family, as the first and closest environment of a person, plays a significant role in this difficult task of passing on cultural values, traditions, and faith. This self-awareness is nurtured in families not only at the level of simple transmission of knowledge about the traditions and customs of their people, but also the fact of a strong emotional connection with the awareness of being 'one of their own' in 'their' family, cultural community, and state.

Older people play a significant role in fostering a sense of national identity. The researcher emphasises that it is by fulfilling the task of transmitting cultural values, faith and traditions in families that older people satisfy their own needs for the meaning of their further existence. Older people get a sense of their importance, so a strong and positive emotional connection between the younger and older generations emerges. It is this emotional connection that later, in a person's adult life, serves as a connection to the representatives of their own, native, national community. Close emotional relationships between the youngest and the oldest generations in families create a sense of security in children. Therefore, in their older years, adults also seek to find the same sense of emotional closeness and security that they received in childhood, in their families, from the older generation. In turn, the sense of responsibility for fostering national identity in the younger generation and contributing to the distant future allows older people to overcome all the difficulties that old age brings and continue to live an active life for a noble cause.

Building a sense of self-identity, an awareness of 'who I am?', begins to take shape in the family thanks to a woman, in the vast majority of cases, a mother or grandmother. The example of family life, the emotional support of certain traditions and values that a young child receives, then in adulthood, forms the desire for self-improvement and the desire to continue the function of transmitting this knowledge to their children. It is important to note that the family still plays a major role in the formation of national identity on the borderland, as it forms emotional memory.

### **3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

It should be noted that in no case can we talk about fostering negative opposition to other cultures or nationalities. On the contrary, a woman-mother or woman-grandmother fosters positive emotions in a child towards other, 'foreign' cultures and traditions, which contributes to the formation of the child's own national identity and at the same time allows him or her to gain positive experience from meeting 'foreign' people and 'foreign' cultures.

Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislaviv) was founded in 1662 by Andriy Potocki on the Pokutska plain in southwestern Ukraine, at the junction of two rivers. Over the centuries, the city and the region have changed, but have always remained multinational, with more than 90 nationalities declared in the region according to statistics from 2001. As for the city itself, according to researcher Roman Lozynskyi, according to the Polish census of 1931, the majority of the city's population was Jewish - 41.2%, Poles accounted for 38.9%, and Ukrainians made up 18.6% of the total population. According to a study by

Volodymyr Kubyovych, the demographic situation in Stanisławów before the outbreak of the Second World War remained almost unchanged (Jews accounted for 41.4%, Poles for 36.7%, and Ukrainians for 18% (see: Kubyovych, 1983, pp. 6-18).

Already in 1959, the next census showed a striking change in the demographic situation, as the majority of Poles and Jews left the city as a result of the tectonic historical changes after the Second World War, many of whom were physically destroyed. Ukrainians, Russians, Belarusians, and other nationalities flocked to Stanislaviv from the surrounding villages and small towns, as well as from all over the former Soviet Union. Now Poles and Jews make up only 6 per cent of the population, compared to 78 per cent before the war. The number of Ukrainians increased from 18% before the war to 66% by 1959. As a result of the settlement of former military personnel after the war, Russians appeared in the city - 25%, which was absolutely absent in 1939. In 1989, the number of Poles decreased to 0.5 per cent of the total population. In the last census of 2001, only 653 people declared Polish origin, i.e. 0.3% of the 230,443 residents of Ivano-Frankivsk.

Proper upbringing of children, support of the household and husband - these were the roles traditionally assigned to women in the interwar period. The existence of traditional stereotypes about the role of women in the family and society. Passing on traditional cultural values, teaching their faith and traditions is the main function assigned to mothers and grandmothers in the family. Of course, the main role in the formation of a child's national identity belongs to women due to the prevailing traditional approach to upbringing in Ivano-Frankivsk.

As for the «school» domain it should be noted that the formation of language competence is completed by the age of 12. Therefore, the availability of Ukrainian-teaching schools and the closure of Polish-teaching schools led to the choice of Ukrainian as the first language in the families of local residents of Polish origin after the Second World War.

Using two criteria, I divided the research material: geographical area, i.e. origin from Ivano-Frankivsk (former Stanislavov), and the informative value of the interview. I then divided the research material into age groups taking into account the possibility of distinguishing subgroups.

The material now consists of some 400 questionnaires (three hundred and ninety-eight) conducted among five groups of respondents who are associated with Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislavov), were born there or came to the city permanently between 1930 and 2024.

The generational groups are:

- the oldest generation - these are people born between 1930 and 1950 (94-74 years old). This includes people aged 74 and over who stayed in the city after the Second World War for various reasons (elderly parents, illness, mixed marriages, young children, etc.) or came to the city permanently. After the outbreak of war in February 2024, some respondents left for Poland, but in less than six months most of them returned home.

- The older generation - these are people born between 1951 and 1963 (73-61 years old). For the most part, they are the children of the oldest generation or those who settled in the city permanently for various reasons. We see a similar situation to that of the oldest generation after the outbreak of war in February 2024, when some respondents left for Poland but later returned home.

- The middle generation - these are people born between 1964 and 1988 (60-36 years old). This group is the most complicated to analyse by economic conditions. For most representatives of the middle generation, Polish is a second language and Ukrainian is the first language.

the younger generation - these are persons born between 1989 and 2006 (35-18 years of age), 34 persons, who are mostly students in the field of study 'Polish Language and Literature' and others at the Vasyl Stefanyk National University of Transcarpathia in Ivano-Frankivsk, as well as 9 persons between 22 and 35 years of age, who do not want to go to Poland for various reasons (very well-paid job, elderly parents, others). It should be clarified that among the students there are people who resigned from their studies or were crossed off the list of students in Poland and returned to Ivano-Frankivsk for personal and economic reasons (including the appearance of the possibility of good earnings in Ukraine as a Polish language tutor).

- the youngest generation - people born between 2007 and 2010 (17-14 years of age), these are students in grades 7 to 11 studying in classes with Polish as the language of instruction at the General Secondary School No. 3 of the Ivano-Frankivsk City Council.

A total of 398 questionnaires were collected, of which in the oldest generation - 28, in the older generation - 40. For the oldest and older generation the questionnaire contained 8 questions. The middle generation collected 117, the younger generation 43 and the youngest generation 170. The questionnaire was prepared in Polish and Ukrainian.

It must be said that linguistic identity is inseparable from the notion of the mother tongue, the primary language, the first language a person uses in everyday life. In the book *Minority Languages. Status-Prestige-Bilingualism-Multilingualism*, Helena Krasowska thoroughly analyses the history of research into this problem in linguistics (Krasowska, 2020, p. 59-85).

According to Ewa Lipinska, the mother tongue can be defined as the language in which an adult 'thinks, dreams, counts and prays' (Lipinska, 2003, p.15). In order to understand the content of linguistic identity, a quote by Władysław Miodunka on mother tongue should also be included: 'The mother tongue is the first tool of communication, a tool that satisfies the typical human need to communicate with other members of the group' (Miodunka, 1980, p.57).

In collecting research material, I used the 'snowball sampling' method, in which each interviewee points to the next respondents (Babbie, 2009). Although the questionnaire consisted of questions concerning the linguistic identity and choice of language in everyday life, which depends on the language in the family (family domain) and the language at school up to 12 years of age (school domain).

Using the method of biographical interviewing derived from open-ended interviewing, I worked in the field with representatives of the selected five groups. Using the method of linguistic biography (Zielinska, 2013, pp.55-68), I was able to analyse the generational differentiation of linguistic identity in family and primary school education that determine the choice of the first, native language in adult life.

Wladyslaw Miodunka wrote about linguistic biography as one of the methods of research on bilingualism (theory and research methodology) in 2016 (Miodunka, 2016, pp. 49-88). Language biographies have also been analysed by Helena Krasowska in her book *Poles between the Don, the Dniester and the Prut. Linguistic Biographies* (Krasowska, 2022, pp.3-216).

Sociohistorical conditions always determine people's attitudes towards a particular language, leading to changes in linguistic ideologies. Given that 'arbitrary sets of beliefs about language expressed by users' are subject to change for historical and social reasons (Silverstein, 1979, pp. 193- 247).

The individual decisions and actions of language users of all generations in Ivano-Frankivsk can lead to powerful changes in 'language management' - situation with the choice of Ukrainian instead of

Polish in everyday life. This choice is influenced by only 2 domains - the language of the family and the language of the school.

Susan Gal and Judith Irwin identify Iconicity, recursion and deletion as processes that contribute to the ideologisation of language. Iconicity - the process by which speech becomes one type of ideological representation of groups, occurring under conditions where group-specific linguistic practices become their iconic reflection (in the local Polish communities of Ivano-Frankivsk, Poles converse in Polish; this is the hallmark of the group, the cultural organisation). Recursiveness - the process of opposition between different social groups, which are reflected at the level of symbolic opposition of those characteristics that characterise competing groups (competition of cultural organisations in organising cultural events). Recursion can trigger a process of group segmentation and division of the group into different sub-groups (invisible sub-group division into those who know Polish at a good level and participate in all events and those who come to similar events as spectators due to their poor knowledge of Polish). Deletion - a process opposite to recursion in which individuals hide their specific actions or beliefs, making them invisible in the general ideological field (Gal, 1995, 967–1001.).

Residents of Ivano-Frankivsk of Polish origin clearly demonstrate three signs of language ideologisation, as the conscious choice of Ukrainian or Polish at the micro level (in their families, cultural societies) depends primarily on language proficiency. It is obvious that those who spoke Polish with their parents and went to a Polish-teaching primary school have a good command of Polish. People who did not speak Polish in their family circle and attended Ukrainian-teaching schools have insufficient knowledge of Polish and choose Ukrainian as the language of daily communication in their adult life.

The Polish language brought in 2022 the ideology of the triumph of humanitarian values and a positive attitude towards the use of this language by the Polish aid to the Ukrainians during the Russian-Ukrainian war. Attitude towards a language is always an evaluation of a language, either positive or negative, and influences thought processes and the choice of a language in a person's life (Dolowy - Rybinska, Hornsby, 2021, pp.105 -106). The choice of the language (Ukrainian or Polish) used in everyday communication in Ivano-Frankivsk depends on the influence of macro-ideological attitudes in the state.

That is why about 10 per cent of residents of Polish origin consciously take Polish language courses and learn it on their own to master the language of their ancestors. The history of the city confirms the fact that attitudes to language are the obvious link between linguistic ideologies and human behaviour, and that linguistic ideologies can even be implicit or neutral. Linguistic ideologies are a tool that gives languages a certain value, based on ethnic, state or social affiliation (Busch, 2015, pp. 49–66).

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Sociohistorical conditions always determine people's attitudes towards a particular language, leading to changes in linguistic ideologies. Given that 'arbitrary sets of beliefs about language expressed by users' are subject to change for historical and social reasons.

The individual decisions and actions of language users of all generations in Ivano-Frankivsk can lead to powerful changes in 'language management' - situation with the choice of Ukrainian instead of Polish in everyday life. This choice is influenced by only 2 domains - the language of the family and the language of the school.

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Olena Pelekhata, PhD, Associate Professor of Slavic Languages Department of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine.

**ORCID ID:** 0000-0002-5142-2137

**Address:** Olena Pelekhata, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, 57 Shevchenko St., Ivano-Frankivsk, 76025, Ukraine.

**E-mail:** [olena.pelekhata@pnu.edu.ua](mailto:olena.pelekhata@pnu.edu.ua)

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Олена Пелехата. Функціонування мовних ідеологій доменів «сім'я» і «шкільна освіта» та вибір української мови як мови першої: приклад українсько-польського погранич. *Журнал Прикарпатського університету імені Василя Стефаника. Філологія*, 11 (2024), 116–123.

У статті проаналізовано функціонування мовних ідеологій в Івано-Франківську (давній Станіслав) - місті, яке географічно належить до українсько-польського прикордоння. Мета статті - описати вплив функціонування мовних ідеологій у сферах «сім'я» та «шкільна освіта» на вибір української мови як першої в Івано-Франківську (колишній Станіслав), місті, яке географічно належить до українсько-польського прикордоння. Індивідуальні рішення та дії користувачів мови всіх поколінь в Івано-Франківську можуть призвести до потужних змін у «мовному менеджменті» - ситуації з вибором української мови замість польської у повсякденному житті. На цей вибір впливають лише 2 сфери - мова сім'ї та мова школи. Використані методи – метод мовної біографії та анкетування. Проаналізовано вплив мовних ідеологій на вибір мови залежно від суспільно-політичних подій.

**Ключові слова:** мовна ідентичність, диференціація поколінь, домени, українсько-польське пограниччя, польська мова, українська мова.