COGNITIVE STUDIES | ÉTUDES COGNITIVES, 24
Warsaw 2024

Article No.: 3292
DOI: 10.11649/cs.3292

Citation: Pelekhata, O. (2024). The influence of linguistic ideologies on the value of the Polish language and Polish identity among middle-aged Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin. *Cognitive Studies | Études cognitives*, *2024*(24), Article 3292. https://doi.org/10.11649/cs.3292

Olena Pelekhata

Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine
olena.pelekhata@pnu.edu.ua

The Influence of Linguistic Ideologies on the Value of the Polish Language and Polish Identity Among Middle-Aged Ukrainian Citizens of Polish Origin

Abstract

This paper provides a thorough analysis of the influence of linguistic ideologies on the prestige of the Polish language and Polish self-identification among middle-aged Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin who emigrated to Poland both before the outbreak of the Russian–Ukrainian war and after Russia's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. The linguistic biographies of two families who have moved to Wroclaw for permanent residence are investigated in the article. Members of these families represent the middle-aged generation, as they were born in Ivano-Frankivsk in 1964–1987 (36–59 years old as of 1 April 2024), being children and grandchildren of the older and the oldest generations of Poles in Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislaviv) who have lived in the city for the last hundred years (1923–2023).
Keywords: Polish language; Ukrainian language; language ideologies; language prestige; self-identification

1 Introduction

Today, Ivano-Frankivsk is a regional centre in western Ukraine but it was a part of Poland before the Second World War and many Poles lived in the city.[1] After the German occupation, when Soviet troops entered the city, Ivano-Frankivsk (known as Stanislaviv until 1962) was incorporated into the Soviet Union as part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Due to historical circumstances, including the mass repatriation of the local Polish population to Poland, the deportation of local Poles to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and the south–eastern regions of Ukraine, the closure of the last Polish-language school in the 1960-s, and the massive resettlement of Ukrainians from surrounding villages, as well as Russians and other nationalities who came from the vast territory of the Soviet Union to Ivano-Frankivsk, Polish lost not only its status as an official language, but also its prestige.[2]

In 1991, Ukraine became an independent state. Since then, the territorial principle of linguistic macro-ideology has been in effect. Ukrainian has taken over as the state language, and Russian has lost prestige in Ivano-Frankivsk. In 1996, the Ukrainian government signed the European

[1] As of 1 January 1939, Former Stanislaviv – 41.4% of the total population, Poles 36.7%, Ukrainians 18% (Kubiĭovych, 1983).

[2] Prestige of language is understood by the author of the article "as a rank resulting from individual attitudes determined by local conditions and taking in to account subjective evaluations" (Krasowska, 2020, p. 16).

Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and ratified it in 2003. Polish is included in the list of minority languages and Ukraine guarantees by law the development and functioning of the language in all spheres of public life (non-governmental organizations, mass media, Polish cultural centres, religious life, and education in state and private schools). In Ivano-Frankivsk, Polish is the language of education as a national minority language at High School No. 3. Children from Polish families have the opportunity to study in classes with Polish as the language of instruction.

Nevertheless, the transmission of the mother language from parents to children in families was interrupted. Therefore, Polish, instead of being the first, native language inherited in the family, became in most families of the middle generation the language of their ancestors. Parents tried to speak Ukrainian to their children, as they saw no point in speaking their native Polish. Family communication took place in Ukrainian, although sometimes the parents themselves could not speak it well. However, Ukrainian was already being learnt spontaneously, as it was the language of the environment (Krasowska, 2020).

The aim of the article is to analyse how existing linguistic ideologies[3] impact the prestige of the Polish language and the sense of Polish self-identification among middle-aged Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin who were born in Ivano-Frankivsk and emigrated to Poland, both before the Russian–Ukrainian war and after the full-scale invasion in February 2022.[4]

2 Research Material and Research Methods

The material for the sociolinguistic research for this article is based on interviews recorded between 1 April and 15 May 2024 in Wroclaw with middle-aged Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin (36–59 years old as of 1 April 2024). The recorded interviews were divided according to several explicitly stated criteria. The first criterion is geographical, i.e., the interviews were recorded only with people who came from Ivano-Frankivsk. The second criterion, the beginning of the Russian–Ukrainian war (24 February 2022), is temporal and socio–political. Two groups were clearly distinguished: those who left Ivano-Frankivsk before the war and those who emigrated to Wroclaw after the war began. The third criterion for dividing the respondents is the significance of these conversations for further analysis of the impact of linguistic ideologies on the value of the Polish language and the self-identification of the respondents.

A look at the respondents in Group 2, who arrived after the outbreak of the war, reveals that some demonstrated a poor knowledge of Polish. These respondents said that they did not have time to learn Polish well because they were working, and in Ukraine they did not need Polish in order to obtain a Pole's Card (a document allowing foreign-born people of Polish origin to settle in Poland and obtain Polish citizenship). In Wroclaw, the total number of conversations recorded was 17. It should be noted that the respondents also filled out questionnaires. Four interviews with female respondents (mothers and daughters with minor children) were selected from among 17 interviews. These interviews are the most valuable for comparison, as they meet all three of the above selection criteria and provide an opportunity to analyse the changes in linguistic ideologies that lead to the acquisition or loss of linguistic self-identification, as well as form a sense of belonging to the region, i.e. a sense of community with Polish citizens in Wroclaw.

In analysing the interviews of 4 respondents from Group 1 (mother and adult daughter) and Group 2 (mother and adult daughter), the questionnaire method was used (Augustyniak-Żmuda, 2023; Dzięgiel, 2019; Krasowska, 2022; Levchuk, 2019), which made it possible to compare the influence of language ideology and socio–political events on the importance of Polish language knowledge and its impact on the self-identification of a middle-aged Ukrainian citizen of Polish origin in Poland.

[3] Linguistic ideologies are defined as "arbitrary, free sets of beliefs about language expressed by users" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193).

[4] The author will further refer to these two groups as Group 1 and Group 2.

In collecting research material, the "snowball sampling" method was employed, in which each respondent points to subsequent respondents (Babbie, 2009). The method of language biography, derived from multilingualism research, was also used.

> A linguistic biography is a history of language acquisition and use throughout a person's life, taking into account, one by one, the phases of a person's life (childhood, youth, adolescence, old age) and the events that influenced language change in the family. Linguistic biography shows the communicative value of language throughout the speakers' lives. (Zielińska, 2013, p. 68)

Wladyslaw Miodunka wrote about language biography as one of the methods of research on bilingualism (theory and research methodology) in 2016, and it was employed in the professor's work on Polish–Portuguese bilingualism in Brazil, which was published in 2003 (Miodunka, 2003, 2016). Language biographies were also analysed by Helena Krasowska in her book on Poles between the Don, Dniester and Prut (Krasowska, 2022). Based on language biographies, a history of an individual's speech depending on the period of life was created (Franceschini & Miecznikowski, 2004). The method of linguistic biography ascertains the spheres of functioning of linguistic ideologies and their impact on the consolidation of linguistic identity among permanent residents. This is illustrated by the examples in tables, showing the stages of acquisition, use and disappearance of different languages (Polish, Ukrainian) in each stage of the life of an individual. The method of analysing the functioning of different languages in one family has been described by E. Wąsikiewicz-Firlej (2016) and in the work of S. Stasiak (2019).

According to Anthony Smith's conceptualization, the concept of "nation" in the "Western" sense consists of several essential dimensions (Smith, 1991, p. 20). Firstly, a nation requires a specific, well-defined territory. As Smith notes, "territories and people must belong together," i.e. the concept of territory requires the characteristics of "historical" lands – territories within which a given society has developed over many generations. This is also known as the territorial principle. The second dimension of the concept of nation is the commonality of laws and institutions with a single political will. The third dimension is the nation as a cultural community. Within this dimension, the nation is defined by a key set of shared culture and civic ideology, a set of traditions, ideas, historical memory, myths and symbols, and the concept of mother tongue is one of the key elements of the nation (Smith, 1991, pp. 21–22).

The territorial principle is an ideology that ties a specific language to a specific land, resulting in the subordination of other languages to one language in one territory (Piller, 2016, p. 35).

Linguistic macro-ideologies should be understood as a set of beliefs, judgments and notions concerning or shaping the perception of languages and their users, which are shared across national, ethnic or linguistic boundaries. Internalized by people from different social groups, linguistic macro-ideologies directly or indirectly influence a large part of society. They change over time but are generally long-term structures (Zielińska & Księżyk, 2021, p. 692).

Socio–historical conditions always determine a person's attitude towards a particular language, and lead 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, it should also be noted that changes can go in two direction, not just one, from state authorities to language choice in the family (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015, p. 2).

In 1991, when Ukraine gained independence, the first emigration of Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin to Poland began. Young people left to study in Poland, while representatives of the middle generation emigrated for work purposes. Processes that contribute to the ideologization of the language play a decisive role on in the choice between staying in Ukraine or emigrating to Poland. The Polish language is becoming one of the types of representation of people of Polish origin, first in Ivano-Frankivsk and now in Wrocław. The consolidation of Polish linguistic identity has been expressed through iconicity – a process in which speech becomes one type of ideological representation of groups, and group-specific language practices become their iconic reflection (Gal

& Irvine, 1995). The inherited language among people who use Polish in their families contributes to the process of opposition with Group 2, people of Polish descent who chose to assimilate into the Ukrainian community, first in Ukraine and now in Wroclaw. In the families of Group 2, the generational transmission of the Polish language was previously interrupted (Dzięgiel, 2019).

The research problem is to analyse socio–historical conditions in the context of linguistic ideologies, focused on the choice of language by an individual belonging to a national minority. A person born in a multicultural and multilingual borderland is under the complex influence of the surrounding society and the local minority community, as well as his own family. A similar emphasis of standard linguistic ideology on the daily choice of the language of communication can rapidly change an individual's language attitudes. Language attitudes are evaluations of language, expressed positively or negatively, thereby influencing people's thought processes and language choices (Dołowy-Rybińska & Hornsby, 2021, pp. 105, 106).

Linguistic attitudes are a bridge between ideologies and behaviour and are therefore based on ideologies that are often implicit or perceived neutrally. Negative attitudes carry serious consequences for the minority community, leading to prejudice and discrimination, causing long-term trauma and ultimately a breakdown in intergenerational transmission. Linguistic ideologies are constructs that place a certain value on languages based on ethnic, national or social affiliation (Busch, 2015, p. 57).

The dominant linguistic ideology in Poland may have a negative impact on the consolidation of Polish linguistic identity among the two groups under study, as some individuals have a sense of separateness and alienation form the local Polish community due to their accent, which is characteristic of the Polish of the southeastern borderlands. The linguistic standard ideology contributes to the disappearance of the linguistic ideology of anonymity with which the respondents from Group 1 arrived before the beginning of the Russian–Ukrainian war (24.02.2022). The strong emotional experience associated with the use of Polish from the former eastern borderlands has led to the emergence of an ideology of linguistic authenticity and interferes with the consolidation of Polish linguistic identity in the marked group.

3 Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Linguistic Biographies of Respondents Belonging to Group 1

This section present two examples of the linguistic biographies of two middle-aged women living in Poland (in Wroclaw) before the start of the war (before 24.02.2022). Respondent A.L. was born in 1969 in Ivano-Frankivsk. She is of Polish descent and is an engineer by profession. Her family spoke Polish at home, she graduated from public school in Ukrainian and her higher education was in Russian. She worked as a clerk.

> W naszej rodzinie mówiono po polsku. Do szkoły chodziłam ukraińskiej. Rozmawiałam już po ukraińsku z mężem. Z córkami mówiłam po polsku, czasem po ukraińsku. Nie bałam się chodzić do kościoła na mszę w języku polskim. W pracy we Frankiwsku nikt mnie nie dopytywał, kim jestem, świetnie znam język ukraiński, o moim pochodzeniu polskim wiedzieli wszyscy. Wyjechałam do Wrocławia przed rozpoczęciem wojny w 2020 r., zrezygnowałam z pracy na Ukranie. Córka urodziła dwójko dzieci I trzeba było pomagać. Mieszkam w Polsce od 4 lat, czuję się ciągle „obcą" przez własną polszczyznę odziedziczoną w rodzinie w Iwano-Frankiwsku. W Polsce próbowałam pójść do pracy, ale zrezygnowałam ciężko pracować. Obecnie często jeżdżę do Frankiwska, bo tam została młodsza córka ze swoja rodziną. Mam ochotę wrócić do domu. Niech tylko wnuki trochę podrosną, ja ich tu nauczam języka ukraińskiego. Bo jak przyjeżdża do Wrocławia młodsza córka z dziećmi, to nie muszą się porozumieć.

To the question of whether the respondent's younger daughter knows Polish and wants to live in Poland permanently, A.L. gives a negative answer:

> Młodsza córka czuje się dobrze na Ukrainie, nie chce zamieszkać w Polsce, ukończyła studia w języku ukraińskim, pracuje jako kardiolog, ma męża Ukraińca, który jest na wojnie, mówiła, że zostanie we Frankiwsku.

To the survey question "In what language do you count, pray, dream, and think?", the respondent gives a positive answer only to the question about prayer, since there had always been prayer in Polish at home.

Respondent L.L. was born in 1980 in Ivano-Frankivsk and is the older daughter of respondent A.L. She came to Wroclaw after graduating from a Ukrainian school when she was 17. She is a graduate of the University of Wroclaw, has worked as a teacher and clerk, and is currently helping her husband run his own commercial company, in which she is involved in accounting.

> Moja matka zawsze ze mną rozmawiała w języku polskim. Myślałam, że dobrze znam język, miałam Kartę Polaka od małego dziecka. Ale kiedy poszłam na studia w języku polskim, okazało się, że nie znam dobrze języka, nie umiem dobrze radzić sobie ze słuchaniem i pisaniem po polsku. A jeszcze ta mowa odziedziczona z domu od matki I babci! Pierwszyn semestr to był szok dla mnie. Czuła się w obcym kraju jako biedna dziewczynka. Ale minęło trochę czasu, napewno już po pieciu – sześciu latach zaczęłam świetnie sobie radzić z językiem polskim. Obecnie myślę w języku polskim, liczę, modlę się. Z mężem rozmawiam tylko po polsku, chociaź on też jest z Iwano-Frankiwska, a poznali się tutaj, już we Wrocławiu. Z dziećmi rozmawiam tylko po polsku. Z matką rozmawiam po polsku, uczę ją prawidłowej polszczyzny. Już dla mnie jest trudno mówić w języku ukraińskim. Cieszę się z tego powodu, bo nie czuję się więcej «obcą», Polska stała dla mnie domem. Mam tu wszystko – przyjaciół, rodzinę, pracę, dom. Do Frankiwska nie chce jechać – a po co?

One of the most important factors in the influence of linguistic ideologies on the formation of Polish identity is the emotional linguistic experience marked in the responses of female respondents. Negative emotional experience is the main factor in the emergence of a disintegrative–innovative attitude toward Polish linguistic identity in the group. The individual constantly feels "other, alien" due to her own incorrect Polish, inherited from her family in Ivano-Frankivsk.

In the case of respondent L.L., who experienced a negative emotional experience during her student years, the preference for using Polish in everyday adult life has led to a sense of unity with the local community of Wroclaw residents.

4 Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Linguistic Biographies of Respondents Belonging to Group 2.

This section presents two examples of the linguistic biographies of two middle-aged women living in Poland (in Wroclaw) since after the start of the war (after 24.02.2022). Respondent O.L. was born in 1965 in Ivano-Frankivsk. She is of Polish descent, but her family spoke Ukrainian at home. With her grandmother, however, she spoke only in Polish. The respondent graduated from public school in Russian, studied in Russian, and later studied in Lviv for her second higher education degree in Ukrainian. She worked as a manager in a commercial company. It is very unfortunate that she has an accent which allows every Pole to immediately understand that she comes from Ukraine. In Ivano-Frankivsk she felt Polish, and in Poland she feels Ukrainian.

> Jak ja moge tu zamieszkać? Co ja będę tu robić? We Frankiwsku ja zarabialam dużo wiencej pieniendzy. A tu trzeba placić za mieszkanie grube koszty. W domu mam mieszkanie wlasne, duże, przepiekne, w centrum miasta nad jeziorem. Ale jak sprzedam we Frankiwsku, to co ja kupię tu, we Wroclawiu. Chyba 40 metrów kwadratowych? Nie pójde do Żabki pracować, uczę się języka, a w moim wieku to jest cienżko, nie tak latwo, jak by to ja chciala. Ale musze powiedzieć, że bardzo dobrze nas tu traktują, czuje się czasem, że jak dobrze bendzie znać jenzyk polski, to znajde jakojś prace. Nie powiodlo mi się. Już jestem za stara na takie migracje. W Polsce cieńżko trzeba pracować fizycznie. To ja ucze się jenzyka, mysle, że za rok zdam egzamin na B2 i otzymam polskie obywatelstwo. Dużo czytam literatury polskiej. Teraz w domu rozmawiam z córką po polsku. Dobrze, że ona ma prace, jest dobra programistka, zarabia na nas wszystkich. Wnuk chodzi tu do szkoły. Bardzo mu sie podoba tu, ma nowych kolegów. A ja co? Gotuje, sprzontam, chodze po sklepach, do kościola.

To the survey question "In what language do you count, pray, dream, and think?", the respondent gives a positive answer only to the question about prayer, since there had always been prayer in Polish at home.

Respondent C.L. was born in 1985 and is the daughter of respondent O.L. She came to Poland with her son (aged 15) after the war broke out. Her mother (respondent O.L.) later came to join her. Respondent C.L. has an excellent command of English and German. On the other hand, she knows Polish only at the A2 level. In her family no one ever spoke Polish with her and Ukrainian was the everyday language. In order to obtain a Pole's Card, the respondent learned Polish on courses. The Polish language was symbolic for the respondent:

> Później ja nie miala potrzeby rozmawiać z kimś po polsku, przecież mieszkałam na Ukrainie. Do kościoła nie chodziła, do Centrum Kultury Polskiej też nie chodziłam, a syn tam chodził na kursy języka polskiego. To on mówił, że zawsze chciał zamieszkać w Polsce. Kolega syna wyjechal już od 5 lat, to dlatego my i niedługo zastanawialisie, dokond pojedziemy, gdzie zamieszkamy. Jak by nie wojna, ja by nie wyjechala, mam dobrą prace, dobrze zarabiam, chcialam jechać do Kijowa i zamieszkać na stale tam, ale wraz wszystko się zmieniło. Mąż mój jest na froncie, on jest Ukraińcem, z nim zawsze rozmawiam po ukraińsku. A z synem rozmawiam po angielsku, a on mnie uczy polskiego. Mam tu już przyjacielek jak Ukrainek, taki Polek. Czuję się tu dobrze, chociaż martwię się przez wojnę. Na pewno, że zamieszkam we Wrocławiu na stale, miasto jest przytulne do Ukraińców. Musze się nauczyć języka polskiego. Bende miałam możliwość czuć się prawdziwą obywatelka. A to do mnie mówia, że ja Ukrainka. Chce zmienić to, chcę, aby synowi było tu dobrze, żeby czuł się w domu.

As in Group 1, the older representatives of Group 2 say that only prayer is always in Polish. In contrast, the younger respondents of group 1 already think, count and dream in Polish, which is not the case with group 2 (Lipińska, 2003).

The Polish language was one type of representation of people of Polish descent in Ivano-Frankivsk. The consolidation of Polish identity in Poland, a sense of its own distinctiveness from other residents of Ivano-Frankivsk, now depends on the tolerance of the local Poles in Wroclaw.

The dominant linguistic standard ideology in Poland in Group 2 causes the perpetuation of the ideology of linguistic anonymity by a very supportive and tolerant embrace of refugees in local Polish communities. Positive and friendly emotional experiences in the marked group are factors conducive to the consolidation of Polish linguistic identity.

It should be noted that the pragmatic motivation for learning Polish in Group 2 dominates the symbolic function of the language, as Polish has become a tool for work. The main factor shaping the consolidation of Polish identity will be the dominance of linguistic standard ideology in Polish society, proven in the responses. Language management at the level of the local Polish community can stop the process of separation of Ukrainian citizens of Polish who have settled in

Poland. Language management (e.g. supplementary language courses, the opportunity to study in Polish for free) at the level of the local Polish community fosters identity unification processes among people residing in Poland.

The disintegrative–innovative attitude to linguistic identity, which amounts to the elimination of inherited identity in favour of a new identity, is the result of language management in local communities (Dubisz, 2015).

The respondents in this study learn Polish, think about a future connected with Poland, and are involved in the social and cultural life of Wroclaw.

5 Conclusions

One of the most important factors in the influence of linguistic ideologies on the formation of Polish identity is the emotional linguistic experience mentioned in respondents' answers. Negative emotional experience is the main factor for the occurrence of a disintegrative–innovative attitude towards Polish linguistic identity in favour of a new (Ukrainian) identity. The individual constantly feels "other, alien" due to her own incorrect Polish, inherited from her family in Ivano-Frankivsk.

The main factor shaping the consolidation of Polish identity is the dominance of linguistic standard ideology in Polish society, proven in the responses. Language management at the level of the local Polish community (e.g. supplementary language courses, the opportunity to study in Polish for free) can stop the process of separation of Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin and can foster identity unification processes among those residing in Poland.

The selection of the most representative linguistic biographies in order to analyse the change in linguistic ideologies was made using two criteria. The first criterion is geographic area, i.e. the respondents are from Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislaviv) and have resided in Poland, since either before or after 24 February 2024. The second important criterion is the informational value of the interview, which made it possible to accurately create a linguistic biography of the respondent with statements on language acquisition and use, taking into account each stage of life and era.

Research on the influence of linguistic ideologies on the value of the Polish language and Polish identity among middle-aged Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin who are resident in Poland will join the canon of international works that also analyse the issue of linguistic ideologies (in multicultural societies) in different parts of the world. Ukraine has seen the emergence of social conditions and attitudes toward language and identity that have contributed to the disappearance of Polish language transfer in the families of local Poles.

Through the functioning of the standard linguistic ideology in Poland and the acquisition of "incorrect" inherited Polish from the family home, the respondents mostly have problems with the phonetics and syntax of the Polish language. A good solution to this problem would be to create a series of lessons on YouTube or other similar platforms, which will act as support lessons for adults who want to improve their Polish. The implementation of the project will prove the significant role of Polish on the consolidation of Polish linguistic identity among adults, and will promote the development of research into glossodidactics.

Sociolinguistic annotation can be used in the sphere of state language policy, which has a significant impact on the value of the Polish language among the respondents. Undoubtedly, the Polish language of the middle-aged Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin who have emigrated from Ivano-Frankivsk to Poland is an intangible cultural and linguistic heritage of both Poland and Ukraine.

For future research on the impact of linguistic ideologies on the value of the Polish language and self-identification of people of Polish origin, it will be important to focus on conducting research among these migrants in other EU countries and the reasons for their reluctance to stay in Poland.

References

Augustyniak-Żmuda, G. (2023). *Biografie językowe przesiedleńców ze wschodnich województw II Rzeczypospolitej mieszkających w regionie lubuskim*. Instytut Slawistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk; Fundacja Slawistyczna. https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12528/1965

Babbie, E. (2009). *Podstawy badań społecznych* (W. Betkiewicz, Trans.). Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Busch, B. (2015). Zwischen Fremd- und Selbstwahrnehmung: Zum Konzept des Spracherlebens. In A. Schnitzer & R. Mörgen (Eds.), *Mehrsprachigkeit und (Un-)Gesagtes: Sprache als soziale Praxis in der Migrationsgesellschaft* (pp. 49–66). Beltz Juventa.

Dołowy-Rybińska, N., & Hornsby, M. (2021). Attitudes and ideologies in language revitalisation. In J. Olko & J. Sallabank (Eds.), *Revitalizing endangered languages: A practical guide* (pp. 104–117). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108641142.008

Dubisz, S. (2015). Języki zbiorowości polonocentrycznych w świecie a kontakty międzyjęzykowe. In W. Miodunka & A. Seretny (Eds.), *Język, literatura i kultura polska w świecie* (pp. 229–239). Księgarnia Akademicka.

Dzięgiel, E. (2019). Polszczyzna w transmisji międzypokoleniowej w rodzinach jednolitych i mieszanych we Lwowskiem. *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, *43*, 143–160. https://doi.org/10.11649/abs.2019.013

Franceschini, R., & Miecznikowski, J. (Eds.). (2004). *Leben mit mehreren Sprachen: Sprachbiographien / Vivre avec plusieurs langues: Biographies langagières*. Peter Lang.

Gal, S., & Irvine, J. (1995). The boundaries of languages and disciplines: How ideologies construct difference. *Social Research*, *62*(4), 967–1001. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40971131

Krasowska, H. (2020). *Języki mniejszości: Status, prestiż, dwujęzyczność, wielojęzyczność*. Studium Europy Wschodniej.

Krasowska, H. (2022). *Polacy między Donem, Dniestrem a Prutem: Biografie językowe*. Instytut Slawistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk. https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12528/1946

Kubiĭovych, V. (1983). *Etnichni hrupy pivdennozakhidnoï Ukraïny (Halychyny) na 1.1.1939 / Ethnic groups of the South-Western Ukraine (Halyčyna-Galicia) 1.1.1939*. Harrassowitz.

Levchuk, P. (2019). Ukrainian, Polish and Russian trilingualism among Ukrainians of non-Polish origin living in Poland. *Cognitive Studies | Études cognitives*, *2019*(19), Article 1988. https://doi.org/10.11649/cs.1988

Lipińska, E. (2003). *Język ojczysty, język obcy, język drugi: Wstęp do badań dwujęzyczności*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Miodunka, W. T. (2003). *Bilingwizm polsko-portugalski w Brazylii: W stronę lingwistyki humanistycznej*. Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas.

Miodunka, W. T. (2016). Biografia językowa jako jedna z metod badania dwujęzyczności. In R. Dębski & W. T. Miodunka (Eds.), *Bilingwizm polsko-obcy dziś: Od teorii i metodologii badań do studiów przypadków* (pp. 49–87). Księgarnia Akademicka.

Nekvapil, J., & Sherman, T. (2015). An introduction: Language Management Theory in Language Policy and Planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *2015*(232), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2014-0039

Piller, I. (2016). *Linguistic diversity and social justice: An introduction to applied sociolinguistics*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199937240.001.0001

Silverstein, M. (1979). Language structure and linguistic ideology. In P. R. Clyne, W. F. Hanks, & C. L. Hofauer (Eds.), *The elements: A parasession on linguistic units and levels* (pp. 193–247). Chicago Linguistic Society.

Smith, A. (1991). *National identity*. Penguin Books.

Stasiak, S. (2019). Nienaturalna dwujęzyczność rodzinna: Studium przypadku chłopca ze spektrum autyzmu. *Języki Obce w Szkole*, *2019*(1), 43–47.

Wąsikiewicz-Firlej, E. (2016). Języki tożsamościowe w rodzinie transnarodowej: Studium przypadku. *Neofilolog*, *47*(2), 153–169.

Zielińska, A. (2013). *Mowa pogranicza: Studium o językach i tożsamościach w regionie lubuskim*. Instytut Slawistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy). https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12528/37

Zielińska, A., & Księżyk, F. (2021), Language shifts in the language biographies of immigrants from Upper Silesia residing in Germany. *Multilingua – Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, *40*(5), 675–706. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2019-0127

The article was prepared within the framework of the project "The influence of linguistic ideologies on the value of the Polish language and Polish identity" (Polonista programme, NAWA NO. BJP/PON/2023/1/00008/DEC/2).

The author declares that she has no competing interests.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0), which permits redistribution, commercial and non-commercial, provided that the article is properly cited.

© The Author 2024

Publisher: Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

Publishing history: Received 2024-10-15; Accepted 2024-11-08; Published 2024-12-13.