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**SPECIFICATION OF SELECTED HONORIFICS
IN RELATION TO THE GENERAL POLISH STANDARD
IN THE WRITTEN POLISH AS A HERITAGE
LANGUAGE IN UKRAINE
(USING THE MATERIAL OF THE POLISH-LANGUAGE
GAZETA POLSKA BUKOWINY PERIODICAL)**

(THIS ARTICLE WAS TRANSLATED FROM POLISH BY JAKUB WOSIK)

Keywords: linguistic etiquette, Polish as a heritage language, written Polish language, linguistic norm, interference

Abstract. In this article, the author analyses honorifics in relation to the codified general Polish norm in terms of the modes of addressing people, congratulating and well-wishing, as well as the use of the words “pan/pani” (sir/ma’am) in front of anthroponyms in non-addressable structures of information texts, on the basis of the texts of the *Gazeta Polska Bukowiny* periodical which represent the written version of Polish as a heritage language in Ukraine. The author reveals the reasons for the persistence of those forms among the small linguistic community: instances of interference from East Slavic languages; influence of the general Polish usage; the traditions of specific structures in those areas; as well as a series of extra-linguistic factors, e.g. the intention to express respect towards a recipient, warming relations with them, the efficiency of linguistic expressions, and, finally, the acceptability of specific etiquette units within a community.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is possible to study the features of contemporary linguistic etiquette in the written version of Polish as a heritage language in Ukraine based on the corpus of texts from newspapers issued by the Polish minority in Ukraine. As the material for the analysis of special honorifics in reference to the codified general Polish norm in terms of their forms or functions I selected texts which were published

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in *Gazeta Polska Bukowiny* (in circulation in the independent Ukraine since 2007 and before that – from 1883). The periodical is different from other contemporary Polish-language newspapers in Ukraine for its lack of editorial interventions by native users of general Polish, which offers its recipients (including the researcher) a natural written text of Polish as a heritage language, displaying many peculiarities of the studied language variety in all its strata: from inflection and syntax, through word formation and vocabulary, to honorifics. In this article, I shall limit myself to the analysis of the final element, the selection of which is bigger than in similar texts from other Polish-language newspapers in Ukraine¹. Naturally, those will only include selected types of expressions or honorific instances – which may appear in a newspaper text according to the limitations imposed by the genre structure of the press. Additionally, I analysed only the specific qualities of linguistic etiquette expressions, which I studied in reference to their general Polish counterparts. The justifications of those peculiar qualities of linguistic etiquette in the Polish as a heritage language are mainly sought (though not exclusively) in the interference impact of Ukrainian (or Russian, which is used as well as the national official language in Ukraine). The identification in a text from a Polish-language newspaper in Ukraine of specific linguistic units different from those in general Polish, on the one hand, defines the special character of Polish as a heritage language in Ukraine, and, on the other, proves its persistence and vitality. There is a generally known rule: if a linguistic unit appears in the press, it is considered by average language users as correct, one which can be copied. Allow me to add that in the case of the Polish language outside Poland, the function of the cultural and linguistic authority of the press is considerable. Therefore, further in the discussion, I shall reflect on to what extent the special, in terms of form or function, honorific units identified in the analysis of the texts from *Gazeta Polska Bukowiny* reflect phenomena which are typical and persistent, and how possible is it for them to be retained in the local variety of Polish in the future. It will also be important, during later analysis, to indicate other factors apart from the already-mentioned extra-linguistic interference which support the persistence of the analysed units, and to raise the issue of their acceptance within that variety of Polish. The material and study results may also be used for the purposes of teaching Polish as a foreign language, particularly in teaching Polish as a foreign language to Ukrainians. To begin with, one could show the overlapping of many honorific units in Polish as a foreign and heritage language in Ukraine when compared to general Polish (cf. e.g. works on the special nature of honorifics in Polish as a foreign language in Ukraine: Korol 2007; Krawczuk 2012b), which is why the collected press material can be successfully used for the linguistic and cultural education of Ukrainians.

¹ Cf. studies in this respect using the material from other newspapers: Krawczuk 2012a, 2103, 2014. Allow me to add that the analyses conducted in those articles were not based on large sets of sources, and some offered a preliminary studies of the matter.

Note that contemporary teaching of Polish as a foreign language already benefits from several large studies (monographs, doctoral dissertations) on Polish linguistic etiquette displayed by various foreigners (Żurek 2008; Sztabnicka-Gradowska 2017) and homogeneous linguistic groups, e.g. Germans (Schmidt 2004). Analyses of the situation in Ukraine which combine material collected both from Polish as a foreign language and Polish as a heritage language (which could be compared and juxtaposed) could, in the future, if collected in one volume, complete the picture of a book-based bibliography on Polish etiquette other than that performed by Poles in Poland.

The material collected for the purposes of this article consisted of over 500 units extracted from texts written by persons of Polish origin² published in *Gazeta Polska Bukowiny*. I analysed 82 issues, all of which are available online (<https://kresy24.pl/archiwum-gazety-polskiej-bukowiny/>, [17.04.2018]; <http://bukpolonia.cv.ua/index.php/pl/gazeta-polska-bukowiny/>, [30.01.2019]).

2. ANALYTICAL SECTION

2.1. ADDRESSING THE RECIPIENT

In terms of Polish honorifics, the manner of addressing the recipient is a somewhat introductory issue into the problems faced by even native users of Polish. That mainly applies to nominal forms, i.e. **addressing expressions**. One of the troublesome matters is the issue of titling. Yet probably the most debatable question in terms of its acceptability is the scope of use of the address “*pan/pani* [sir/ma’am] + first name” in public communication situations. The problem has been raised by linguists, and the evaluations of the spreading address “*pan/pani* + first name” in largely formalised contacts have not been unanimous, depending on the attitudes of normativists towards language, i.e. more or less liberal. In 2006, Marek Łaziński forecast the form of address to be widespread in the future and that it might become the universal Polish addressing expression, similarly to the East Slavic universal address expressions of “first name + patronymic first name” (Łaziński 2006, pp. 104–108) [Unless indicated otherwise, English versions of quotations were translated from Polish]. Within the last few years, not only has the addressing expression become common in public communication, but the attitudes of normativists towards its usage have tempered. A few years back Małgorzata Marcjanik in the language reference centre firmly condemned such structures in official relations (e.g. in electronic correspondence):

² The periodical also publishes reprints from other sources which use general Polish and those, of course, were not analysed in this article.

“The use of the first name form in an expression like *Pani Marto* is appropriate only if the correspondents know each other personally, have the same position or when the form has been previously agreed upon by the correspondents” (Marcjanik, <http://poradnia.pwn.pl/>, [29.06.2012]). The situation of academic relations were explicitly commented upon by Aldona Skudrzyk: “[...] a student can NEVER address their supervisor or lecturer using that form [“panie Marku” – AK]” (Skudrzyk, <http://www.poradniajezykowa.us.edu.pl/>, [22.02.2012]). That position has since softened. For example, when writing about the spreading phenomenon of decreasing the distance between interlocutors who often do not know each other in person, and when quoting the now popular address forms of *pani Janino* (e.g. to an applicant in an office), *panie Marku* (a journalist on air to a minister), or *Droga Pani Małgorzato* (e-mail from a student to a lecturer), Marcjanik continued to evaluate them as inappropriate and proving “a general lack of communicational competence on the part of the speaker”, yet she did indicate that similar communicational and linguistic behaviour was not a sign of “intentional violation of addressing standards” (Marcjanik, <https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/Boli-pacjencie;16149.html>, [21.04.2019]), which meant that she tolerated those instances to some extent.

The omnipresence of the “*pan/pani* + first name” structures in contacts other than private in Polish as a heritage language in Ukraine is partly related to the influence of general Polish, but, it would seem, it is more a result of the situation in the country, e.g. the influence of Ukrainian. Despite the fact that in contemporary Ukrainian linguistic etiquette there still exists the rule of addressing recipients in official communication using the universal form of “first name + patronymic first name”, it is being challenged (though not in all regions of Ukraine – mainly in Western Ukraine) by the form “*pan/pani* + first name”, which is usually considered neutral even in highly formalised situations. It is perceived as “more Ukrainian” as opposed to that inherited from the Russian and later Soviet empire form with *patronymicum*. That form of address in Polish as a heritage language is also more frequent and common due to, apart from interference, tradition. Jan Miodek wrote on the persistence of the use in Eastern Borderlands of the form of address of “*pan/pani* + first name”: “Poles in Eastern Borderlands [...] clearly prefer the first name-based type of address, and the age limitations [...] seem to play a minor role: *panie Andrzeju*, *pani Mario* – those can be used towards persons much older than the speaker” (Miodek 1980, p. 178).

In the analysed contemporary press texts, the form of address “*pan/pani* + first name” was used to various persons, regardless of their positions. I did not identify too many instances of that (9 examples), most probably only due to the special nature of the genre of press releases, where a situation of direct address occurs only in rarely published interviews, texts of commendations and good wishes, and

letters. E.g.: *Dziękuję serdecznie³ panie Władysławie za ten wywiad* [“Thank you very much, Mr Władysław, for the interview,” to a person with a doctoral degree and the title of senior lecturer – AK]. *W imieniu redakcji chcę podziękować Panu za te materiały, które ciągle dostajemy od Pana, a także za pomoc w redagowaniu wszystkich numerów „GPB”* [On behalf of the editorial board, I wish to thank you for the materials which we continue to receive from you, and for your help in editing all the issues of GPB] (15–16 (587–588) 2008⁴); *Panie Jarosławie, pan jest przewodniczącym rejonowej administracji państwowej od wiosny ubiegłego roku. Proszę wyjaśnić istotę sprawy przeniesienia [...]* [Mr Jarosław, you have been the chairman of the district state administration since the spring of last year. Please explain the essence of the transfer of (...)] (96–97 (679–680) 2015); *Szanowna Pani Jadwigo!* [to the founder and the first chairwoman of the Polish association – AK] *W dniu Wigilii Bożego Narodzenia mija dwadzieścia pięć lat od chwili założenia obwodowego Towarzystwa [...]* [Dear Ms Jadwiga! This Christmas Eve marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of establishing the district Association (...)] (92 (675) 2014). In each of the quoted situations, the authors could have used the appropriate titles of the recipients. They decided not to for either of two reasons: they were not familiar with the general Polish custom (which seems to be the main reason), or they intended to manifest a lack of any distance between them (regarding the latter cf. the following fragment of a text: [...]) *Bukowina gościła jednego z założycieli tego festiwalu, jego niezmiennego dyrektora Zbigniewa Kowalskiego, którego praktycznie wszyscy uczestnicy i oficjalne osoby nazywają po rodzinemu – Zbyszkiem* [Bukowina hosted one of the founders of the festival and its continuing director Zbigniew Kowalski, who by practically all participants and officials is addressed in the familiar form of Zbyszek] (136–137 (718–719) 2018). Therefore, one factor amalgamating the custom of addressing people as “pan/pani + first name” in Polish as a heritage language in Ukraine (apart from the factors of interference influence and the usage of general Polish, and the possible lack of competence) could be the connotations of that form of address for the community bonds between Poles abroad gathered within a small linguistic community.

The general Polish standard does not accept the addressing of a recipient using their **first name or surname**, while the analysed material featured (though infrequently: only 3 instances) examples of the type: *Czcigodny księżu Anatolij Szpak! Z okazji 55-tych urodzin życzymy Ci wiele radości, zdrowia, niesłabnącego żaru ducha w trudnej kapłańskiej posłudze* [Honourable Anatolij Szpak! In celebration of your 55th birthday, we wish you much happiness, health, and unrelenting heat of the spirit in your difficult ministry] (136–137 (718–719) 2018). This indicates a speaker’s lack of competence, and their use could possibly be explained as an attempt to clearly define the recipient.

³ I did not indicate nor analyse in the quoted texts any deviations from the general Polish linguistic standard other than those related to linguistic etiquette.

⁴ In parenthesis, I indicated the issue and the year of issue of *Gazeta Polska Bukowiny*.

Some aspects of using **pronominal addresses** are evaluated differently in terms of the norm in general Polish. That applies to the selection of third or second-person forms in the context of addresses using honorific pronouns of the second person plural: *państwo* (*panie, panowie*): *byli* vs. *byliście*. Even linguists agree that the choice of either of the forms is debatable, e.g.: “Our reference centre has received many questions about that, and the responses to those revealed differences between experts” (Bańko, <http://poradnia.pwn.pl/>, [29.06.2012]); “The practices [of using second-person verb forms] have their proponents and fervent opponents (there is also a similar divide among authors of books)” (Załaźnińska, Rusinek 2010, p. 73). In *Nowy słownik poprawnej polszczyzny* under the entry *państwo* both forms are stated, though the second person one is treated as “less polite” (*Nowy słownik...*, p. 636). In the article *Formy grzecznościowe* included in that dictionary, there is a passage on the acceptance of the second-person form “rather in spoken, colloquial Polish,” and there is a differentiation between the third and second-person plural forms as belonging to different levels of the norm, i.e. model-based and usage-based (*Nowy słownik...*, p. 1640). On the one hand, some experts explicitly opposed the use of second-person forms, e.g.: “Structures of the *państwo robicie, państwo widzieliście* (*państwo* [you formal plural] + verb in second person plural) kind are very colloquial and simply impolite in many situations. Some consider them even as equivalent forms of the *robisz pan* [you do], *widziałeś pan* [you saw] which feature the second person singular (as that is an address to a single recipient)” (Kłosińska, <https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/Panstwo-mowia;18000.html>, [21.04.2019]). On the other hand, we observe a spreading liberalisation in the approaches to the evaluations of the discussed second-person forms. When juxtaposing “unceremonious forms” (non-honorific) of the (*wy*) *jesteście* [(you) are] forms with “polite forms” (honorifics), Romuald Huszcza quoted both structures among those: both third and second-person forms, e.g. *państwo są* (*państwo jesteście*) [you, sirs, are] (Huszcza 2006, p. 79). A guidebook on rhetoric stated that “the use of second person plural from the psychological point of view introduces a sense of decreased distance and formality in the relations between the sender and recipients” (Załaźnińska, Rusinek 2010, p. 73). That reasoning could actually be applied to the existence of second-person forms in written Polish language in Ukraine (5 instances; the small number can be explained by the fact that in the press there are not too many contexts in which authors would address many recipients at once), e.g.: *Możecie być Państwo dumni z dotychczasowych osiągnięć. Przez minione lata Towarzystwo wspaniale się rozwijało* [You can be proud of your current achievements. The Association has developed wonderfully in the past years] (93 (676) 2015). On the one hand, second-person forms are used in similar contexts for expressing “warmed”⁵ inter-community relations (though

⁵ Cf. use of the term by Mirosław Bańko: “I perceive forms of the *wyobrażacie sobie Państwo* kind as attempts at a **warming** [hereinafter emphasis by AK] of the relations with the interlocutor. If

one should not exclude the possibility that they appeared as a result of the lack of competences in terms of the general Polish norm). On the other hand, though, a newspaper text should probably employ a normatively “safe” third-person syntax as the language of the press is perceived as the “model” of the Polish language.

Another issue, debatable again within the general Polish standard, is the **addressing** in official situations **using plural “you” in relation to a collective recipient** (when one is not on a first name basis with every member of the group). In practice, that is fulfilled by using verbs in the second person plural without the pronoun (e.g. *Czy chcecie...* [Do you want to...]) and the plural pronoun *wy* [you] in the forms of dependent relations (e.g. *Zwracam się do was* [I am asking you]). The establishing of such a contact is an alternative to the formally neutral mode of official address of *państwo/panie/panowie* [ladies and gentlemen/ ladies/ gentlemen]. The subject literature indicates that contacts using the form *wy* [you plural] may be undertaken by priests when addressing worshippers (as *brothers* and *sisters*) (Łaziński 2006, p. 74). There are idiolects of public figures who still use/ used to use *wy* when addressing a collective recipient (e.g. President Aleksander Kwaśniewski (Łaziński 2006, p. 46)). The form of address using *wy* is possible when publicly addressing young people (Bugajski, <http://www.zachod.pl/radio-zachod/poradnik-jezykowy/pytanie-od-uzytkownika-krzych-r/>, [29.03.2013]).

In the analysed Polish language of the press, there also appear forms of address using *wy* towards a collective recipient (14 instances). Their existence in Polish as a heritage language is clearly interference related. In Ukrainian (and Russian) there is no formal difference when addressing, both officially and unofficially, recipients in the plural: both types of contact are fulfilled using the *wy* pronoun. Therefore, the influence of East Slavic languages where the honorific function is fulfilled by the *wy* pronoun in combination with a second person plural verb, appears, in such contexts, as: *W imieniu Zarządu Głównego i swoim osobistym chciałbym serdecznie podziękować wszystkim członkom Towarzystwa, jego aktywowi, zespołom folklorystycznym za tak ważną działalność, którą **pro-wadzicie**, działalność na rzecz rozwoju polskości, naszej pięknej Bukowiny* [On behalf of the Main Board and myself, I wish to sincerely thank all the members of the Association, its active members, and folk groups for the important work **you do**, the work for the development of the Polishness of our beautiful Bukowina] (9–10 (581–582) 2008); *Dziękujemy członkom organizacji, młodzieży szkolnej oraz studentom, nauczycielom i wykładowcom za tak ważną sprawę, którą **robicie**, za aktywną propagandę języka polskiego, polskiej kultury i wielonarodowościowej kultury naszej Bukowiny na Ukrainie i poza jej granicami* [I wish

intentional, they prove good intentions”; “[The “Czy Państwo wiecie, że...?” [Do you know that...?] form] is, in my opinion, acceptable in contacts with people with whom we may not be on first name terms, but with whom our contacts are frequent (by speaking that way we indicate that we wish for our contact with them to be **warmer**)” (Bańko, <http://poradnia.pwn.pl/>, [29.06.2012]).

to thank the members of the organisation, school and university students, and teachers and lecturers for all the efforts that **you undertake**, for actively promoting the Polish language, Polish culture and the multinational culture of our Bukowina in Ukraine and outside it] (92 (675) 2014). In the immediate context of the *wy* pronoun, there appears the word *rodacy* [compatriots], which could justify the establishing of contact through *wy* as a “warm” expression emphasising the community bond: *Z okazji Święta Niepodległości życzymy **wam, drodzy rodacy**, satysfakcji z rozwoju naszej praojczyzny we wspólnej Europie, w której w końcu swoje miejsce będzie posiadała i Ukraina, mądrego korzystania z daru wolności i zjednoczenia w osiągnięciu wspólnych celów. Zarząd Główny Czerniowieckiego Obwodowego Towarzystwa Kultury Polskiej im. Adama Mickiewicza, Redakcja „Gazety Polskiej Bukowiny”* [In celebration of Independence Day, we wish **you, our compatriots**, satisfaction in the development of our original motherland within a united Europe, where Ukraine will finally have its place, too; wisdom in utilising the gift of freedom; and unity in reaching common goals] (115 (698) 2016). However, such applications may be unintentional. Certainly, the fact of knowing the general Polish standard is proven by the use of the forms of honorific pronouns of the *państwo* [formal *you* plural] type, towards the same recipients in similar contexts side by side with the *wy* forms, e.g.: *Praca każdego z **Was** i działalność w swoich ośrodkach w miejscach zamieszkania jest tą właśnie siłą. [...] Pragnę wszystkim tu obecnym serdecznie podziękować za nietatwą, szlachetną pracę, w której **uczestniczycie** i w miarę możliwości **pomagacie**. Dziękuję **Państwu** za stały kontakt, liczne inicjatywy, życzliwość, zrozumienie i wieloletnią współpracę, którą mam nadzieję będziemy kontynuować* [The work of each one of **you** and the activities in the centres at your places of residence is that strength. (...) I wish to sincerely thank all those present here for the difficult noble work in which **you participate** and **help** as you can. I wish to thank you for maintaining contact, numerous initiatives, kindness, understanding, and the many years of cooperation, which, I hope, we will continue] (128 (710) 2017). Similar contexts, with consecutive forms of the *wy* and *państwo* types, outnumber those which feature only verb-based second person plural forms and the *wy* pronoun, which could be treated as an argument in support of the uncertainty of the norm. A factor which justifies that inconsistency of use may be the secondary nature of the written texts in which the analysed forms appeared – those usually appeared in recorded spoken texts. In any case, once published in the press, with its role model function, consecutive forms of the *wy* and *państwo* types amplify the looseness of the pragmatic norm.

A clear interference influence from East Slavic languages is the use of the *wy* form of address towards a single recipient (3 instances), something the general Polish norm does not envisage, e.g.: *[...]Panie Senatorze! Modlimy się za **Was**, a razem z **Wami** za pokój na Ukrainie* [Mr Senator! We pray for **you**, and together

with **you** for peace in Ukraine] (117–118 (700–701) 2017). Such structures cannot be accepted either in written texts or in oral utterances as they indicate considerable deficiency in one's competence.

2.2. FELICITATIONS AND GOOD WISHES

In general Polish, there are two separate etiquette-related speech acts: **felicitations** and **good wishes**. Felicitations with the pragmatic content of "I am saying that I am happy together with you in event X" (Marcjanik 2002, p. 74), are fulfilled in relation to the emergence in the life of a recipient of a positive event in which the recipient had influence, e.g. a promotion, an award, or prize (Marcjanik 2002, p. 73). The typical forms of felicitations include: *Gratuluję (czego)* [I congratulate you (on something)], *(Moje) gratulacje* [Congratulations], *Składam gratulacje* [I wish to congratulate], which can be further expanded. Good wishes with the content of "I am saying that I wish you good (X)" (Marcjanik 2002, p. 64) are fulfilled in reference to an occasion: personal celebrations (name day, birthday), major events in one's private life or career, holidays: state, professional, or religious (Marcjanik 2002, p. 63). The template conventional Polish wishes are, e.g.: *Wszystkiego najlepszego* [All the best], *Wszystkiego dobrego* [All good], *Najserdeczniejsze życzenia* [Best wishes], or those which begin with: *Życzę...* [I wish you], *Z okazji ... życzę ...* [On... I wish you...], *Składam życzenia...* [I wish you...]. Therefore, in contemporary⁶ Polish, holidays, either personal or collective, cannot be an opportunity to congratulate or, accordingly, to express forms of the *Congratulations* type. In Ukrainian, the template equivalent (which, of course, can be expanded), which fits any occasion, both as felicitations and well wishing, is one of the performatives: *Witaju* or (less often) *Pozdrowliaju* (literally: *Welcome, Greetings*). The difference between felicitations and good wishes in Ukrainian (and Russian) is rather implicit. If one were to translate the analysis of a typical Ukrainian text expressed in celebration of some occasion into Polish terms, that would begin with congratulations on an event or holiday (!) *Witaju / Pozdrowliaju (z...)* – English: "congratulations (on something)", and later proceed to felicitations (*Bażaju...* – English: "I wish you"). That cultural difference results in the fact that in the Polish language in Ukraine, felicitations and good wishes are not usually separated, and the structures applied on those occasions include the words "welcome" and "greet" (and related "welcoming", "greetings"), which, obviously, would cause trouble in their reception by a user of general Polish, in which the performatives *witać* [to welcome] and *pozdrawiać* [the greet] possess

⁶ The situation was different in old Polish: holiday wishes were formulated in such a way to first congratulate on the holiday, and only then on the auspicious future (Cybulski 2003, p. 214).

completely different pragmatic contents. That custom is so persistent that such expressions are never omitted in the language of the press, which might be considered as norm-forming. Those include either felicitations or well wishing, or texts reporting on those. The former (approx. 40 instances) are dominated by structures copying the syntax of Ukrainian expressions *we welcome / we greet (someone) (with something)*, e.g.: **Witam Panią z Jubileuszem** Towarzystwa kultury Polskiej oraz z **Bożym Narodzeniem** [I welcome you with the anniversary of the Association of Polish culture and with Christmas] (92 (675) 2014). Another common structure is *to welcome / greet (someone) (in celebration of something)*, e.g.: **Serdecznie pozdrawiamy wszystkich pedagogów z okazji** początku roku szkolnego [We send our sincere greetings to all educators in celebration of the beginning of the school year] (15–16 (587–588) 2008). **Witamy Państwa serdecznie z okazji** zbliżających Świąt Bożego Narodzenia oraz nadchodzącego **Nowego 2010 Roku!** [We cordially welcome you on the coming Christmas holidays and the New Year 2010!] (31 (613) 2009). There sometimes appear autonomously used performatives, as in the title of the article: *550 lat nadania praw miejskich dla Rzgowa. Witamy!* [550 years since granting Rzgów town rights. Welcome!] (123–124 (706–707) 2017). The quoted speech acts are used for expressing felicitations, though they may also be used in celebration of holidays. There also exist units with performatives proper, though used in a syntactic context copied from Ukrainian (*congratulate someone*), e.g.: **Gratulujemy Starą Hutę!** [We congratulate Stara Huta!] (56–57 (639–640) 2012) – cf. Ukrainian: *Witajemo Staru Hutu!* There also sometimes appears the congratulatory lexeme, archaic for contemporary Polish: **Winszujemy z całego serca Pana Redaktora** [We congratulate from our heart Mr Editor-in-Chief] (122 (705) 2017). There also appeared felicitations which imitated one of the possible Ukrainian structures – with the dropped performative verb: *Otóż, z pierwszym jubileuszem pełnolecia festiwalu!* [And so, for the first anniversary of the festival's maturity!] (25 (607) 2009). After the congratulatory act, there usually appeared good wishes, which did not greatly differ from the general Polish structures, e.g.: **Witamy** [after elections – AK] **nowy Zarząd i życzymy sukcesów w tak ważnej działalności, którą prowadzi ZNPnU** [We welcome the new Board and we wish successes in the very important operations of ZNPnU] (36–37 (618–619) 2010). Well-wishing structures violating the general Polish norm were rare, e.g.: *Obecnie tą drogą składam wszystkim najlepszego w dalszym kontynuowaniu i rozwoju podjętego działania na rzecz wszystkich bukowinczyków* [Using this mode we wish all the best in continuing and developing activities for all Bukowinians] (32–33 (614–615) 2010).

Syntactic and lexical calques from Ukrainian also existed in texts which reported on the felicitations and wishes made (24 instances), e.g.: *Podsumowując konferencyjne dyskusje Władysław Strutyński jeszcze raz przywitał wszystkich obecnych z okazji jubileuszu Kościoła pw. Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego* [In

summary of the conference discussions, Władysław Strutyński once again **welcomed all the guests on the occasion of the anniversary** of the Elevation of the Cross Church] (87 (670) 2014); *Pozdrowić jubilatów przyjechali potomkowie górali czadeckich z Tereblecza* [**To greet the jubilarians**, there came the descendants of the Čadca highlanders from Terebleche] (139 (721) 2018). There were also instances of the use of the verb *gratulować* [to congratulate] within the syntactic context copied from Ukrainian (Ukrainian: (Pry)witaty kogo z czym), e.g.: *Senator RP, wiceprzewodniczący Komisji Zdrowia Członek Komisji Emigracji i Łączności z Polakami za Granicą Stanisław GOGACZ pogratulował Polaków Bukowiny z jubileuszem po mszy świętej w Bazylice Małej pw. Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego* [Stanisław GOGACZ, senator of the Republic of Poland, deputy chairman of the Health Commission, member of the Commission for Emigrants and Communication with Poles Abroad, **congratulated Poles** from Bukowina **on the anniversary** after a holy mass in the Elevation of the Cross Basilica Minor] (93 (676) 2015).

Among the interference felicitatory structures produced in Polish as a heritage language regardless of the type of positive occasion (both the event partly caused by a recipient and, e.g. annual holidays), the least acceptable are those which include the words *witać* [to welcome] and *pozdrawiać* [to greet] and their derivatives, as they refer, as a result of inter-lingual homonymy, to completely different speech acts. In the analysed newspaper, words with the root *-wit-* are clearly prevalent over those with the root *-pozdr-* (37 instances vs. 18, respectively) presumably because *witaty* is more often used in Ukrainian than *pozdorowliaty* (also Russian *pozdrawliat*).

2.3. THANKING

The most common Polish performative expressing thanks is *dziękuję/dziękujemy* [I/we thank you], which is also used in the Polish heritage community in Ukraine. In the analysed press material, however, there are many instances of thanking using the expression *Bóg zapłać* [May God pay you] (11 instances), which from the perspective of the contemporary general Polish norm is archaic (it is the oldest Polish form of thanking (Cybulski 2003, p. 190)) or functionally limited. In the context of the expression, there appear adjectives and adverbs, usually the word *serdeczne* [heartfelt, cordial]: *Za te świąteczno-noworoczne prezenty – słodycze, żywność, piękne dziecięce książeczki, zabawki serdeczne Bóg zapłać!* [For these Christmas / New Year gifts: sweets, food, beautiful children's books, and toys, **a heartfelt may God pay you**] (106 (689) 2016); *Do przygotowania świątecznych darów przyczyniły się rodziny, uczniowie szkół prawie z całej Pol-*

ski. **Serdecznie Bóg Zapłać!** [The Christmas gifts were prepared thanks to the help of families, school children from nearly the entire Poland. A **heartfelt may God pay you!**] (117–118 (700–701) 2017). Usually, the expression duplicates an earlier template thanking, e.g.: *W imieniu naszej grupy serdecznie dziękujemy za tak wspaniały pobyt w Krakowie i wielkie Bóg zapłać Stowarzyszeniu „Wspólnota Polska” (oddział w Krakowie)* [On behalf of our group, we wish to **cordially thank** for such a wonderful visit in Krakow and **a huge may God pay you** to the Wspólnota Polska Association] (15–16 (587–588) 2008); *Dziękujemy Księdzu Proboszczowi Tadeuszowi Dybło z Maniowa, sponsorom i wszystkim ludziom, których poznaliśmy w czasie podróży. Życzymy wszystkim zdrowia, miłości, radości i obfitych łask Bożych. Bóg zapłać!* [**Thank you**, Father Tadeusz Dybło from Maniowo, the sponsors and all the people whom we met during our trip. We wish all health, love, happiness and God’s grace. **May God pay you!**] (15–16 (587–588) 2008); *Wielce Szanowny Panie Senatorze, Drodzy Rodacy! Polacy Bukowiny Północnej ponownie serdecznie dziękują ofiarodawcom z Polski i mówią Bóg Zapłać!* [Distinguished Mr Senator, Dear Compatriots! Poles from Bukowina Północna again wish to **cordially thank** the benefactors from Poland and say **may God pay you!**] (117–118 (700–701) 2017). Another, less common (2 instances) form of thanking is *składać dziękę*⁷ [give thanks], which refers to the ceremonial religious style (and sometimes exists in Poland in prayer situations, usually addressed to God⁸), e.g.: *Dziękę składamy Tobie, który jesteś Panem, Bogiem naszym i Bogiem ojców naszych, za wszystkie dobrodziejstwa Twoje, za miłość i miłosierdzie, jakie nam przyznałeś i jakie nam wyświadczyłeś, a naszym ojcom przed nami* [**We give thanks** to you, our Lord, our God and the God of our forefathers, for all your blessings, for the love and mercy you bestowed upon us and which you have given to us and to our fathers before that] (83 (666) 2014).

⁷ In the 17th century, the more common form in the Polish language was *oddawać* [give back] (also: *odsylać, czynić, powtarzać* [send back, make, repeat]) *dziękę* [thanks], where the second element had the accusative plural form of the noun *dzięk* [of thanks]. In the Middle Polish age, the noun existed in thanking forms with an obligatory qualifier – cf. e.g. *unizone dziękę moje oddaję* [I give back my humblest thanks] (Cybulski 2003, p. 197). From at least the mid-18th century, there existed a structure with the verb *składać* [give] (*dziękę* [thanks]), usually directed at people positioned higher within the social structure than the sender, and it had a ceremonial nature; in 19th-century texts, *składam dziękę* [I give thanks] was sometimes abbreviated to *dziękę* [thanks], which no longer carried the ceremonial nature (Pawłowska 2014, pp. 177–179). In fact, in the old Polish language, unlike in the contemporary rare instances in prayer situations when addressing God, the analysed thanking expressions were also directed at people of various social statuses.

⁸ Cf. individual applications of the type in *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*, dated to 1985, 1999, 2009 (<http://www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/>, [22.05.2019]), including one in the *secular* context though directed to a force majeure but not God.

2.4. REFERENTIAL STRUCTURES TO THE WORDS PAN/PANI IN NEWS RELEASES

The most distinct feature in the studied material was the use of the words *pan/pani* in non-addressing (referential) structures in front of proper names (or titles) of persons to whom newspaper news texts applied. There were over 400 such instances. The huge number much higher than in the case of the previously analysed types could be explained with the special character of the undertaken study, i.e. written Polish language of the press. In news texts, official in nature, in line with the general Polish norm, the names of people on whom a text reports should not be preceded with the words *pan* or *pani*. The use of those words in such situations is redundant to say the least, and sometimes it may cause, despite a recipient's expectations, negative outcomes. The indicators of the honorific nature of *pan/pani* lose their direct functions in most narrative texts and become the carriers of other content. They may suggest a sender-initiated decreasing of the level of formality of an statement, and if the words *pan/pani* appear in front of the names of well-known figures, those words may indicate a person was deprived of their position/function or even serve to debase them. Katarzyna Kłosińska thus wrote on similar situations: "We should mainly use the forms of *Pan (pan)*, *Pani (pani)*, and *Państwo (państwo)* in situations when a person operates as a private person [...]. In official letters or in any other stylistically unmarked correspondence, in exhibition portfolios, in event announcements, etc. we use a person's first name and surname (and, possibly, their title or academic degree, full name of their function, etc.) without the *pan/pani* determiners. Not to mention the insufferable custom of adding the words *pan/pani* to the names of scholars, authors of scientific theories or even writers [...]" (Kłosińska, <https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/Pan-tylko-w-sytuacjach-grzecznościowych-i-osobistych;18154.html>, [21.04.2019]). The procedure of depriving one of title and thus one's debasement using the referential applications of the words *pan/pani* in front of anthroponyms (usually in front of bare surnames) was discussed in detail by Marek Łaziński (Łaziński 2000; Łaziński 2006, pp. 84–92; Łaziński 2015, pp. 83–85), and the inappropriate use of the words *pan/pani* in pre-positions of proper names was also indicated by other researchers (e.g. Jadacka 1999, p. 1640; Grybosiowa 2003, p. 63; Sosnowska 2006; pp. 129–130; Marcjanik 2009, p. 205), as well as in relation to foreign language teaching (Janowska-Wierchoń 2005, p. 125). Regular users of the Polish language are not always aware of the pragmatic subtleties associated with the functioning of referential anthroponymic structures with the words *pan/pani*, as is indicated by questions sent to the language reference centre (e.g. <https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/Jan-Nowak-czy-pan-Jan-Nowak;19183.html>, [21.04.2019]; <https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/Pan-prezydent-a-prezydent;17368.html>,

[21.04.2019]; <https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/Pan-tylko-w-sytuacjach-grzecznościowych-i-osobistych;18154.html>, [21.04.2019]). That applies even more so to the users of Polish as a heritage language in Ukraine. For them, the words *pan/pani* are only honorific indicators; they are also considered as elements which connote one's Polishness. That is why there were such numerous instances in the studied texts, the authors of which had the best of intentions.

The most common instances (266) had the structure with the first name and the surname, e.g.: *Swoją obecnością zaszczytili nas Wójt naszej gminy **Pan Stefan Drugun**, Naczelnik Wydziału Oświaty w Krasnoilsku **Pani Lilia Markulak**, Proboszcz starohuckiej Parafii pw. Siedmiu Boleści Matki Bożej Ks. Janusz Gnat oraz, po raz pierwszy, goście z Polski, z zaprzyjaźnionej z nami Gminy Rzgów pod Łodzią – Przewodniczący Rady Miasta Rzgowa **Pan Jan Michalak** wraz z małżonką Haliną* [We were honoured to receive Mr Stefan Drugun, the Head of our commune, Ms Lilia Markulak, the Chief Educational Officer in Krasnoilsk, Fr. Janusz Gnat, vicar of the Stara Huta Virgin Mary of Seven Sorrows Parish, and, for the first time, our guests from Poland, from our friend, the commune of Rzgów near Łódź, Mr Jan Michalak, Chairman of the Rzgów Town Council, with his wife Halina] (133 (715) 2018). Often (95 instances) those were structures which referred to only people's first names, especially distinct when compared to general Polish, which reflect the "warm" inter-community relations, e.g.: *Z poezją bukowińskiej poetki zapoznali się nie tylko mieszkańcy Mrągowo, Warmii i Mazur, ale również goście z Litwy, Białorusi, Ukrainy i Rosji. I wreszcie, **pani Łucja** zaprezentowała swój dorobek literacki uzbierany przez z wiele lat w swoim rodzinnym mieście* [The poetry of the Bukowina poet was experienced not by only the inhabitants of Mrągowo, Warmia and Masuria, but also guests from Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia. And, finally, Ms Łucja presented her output collected over the years in her hometown] (108 (691) 2016); *Kierownik teatru Zbigniew Chrzanowski podziękował za ciepłe przyjęcie i zauważył, że chętnie przyjmie kolejne zaproszenie na Bukowinę. Zaprosiliśmy **Pana Zbigniewa** z teatrem nie tylko do Czerniowiec, ale również do Storożynca* [Zbigniew Chrzanowski, manager of the theatre, gave thanks for the warm welcome, and indicated that he would gladly accept another invitation to Bukowina. We invited Mr Zbigniew, with the theatre, not only to Czerniowce, but also to Storożyniec] (56–57 (639–640) 2012). There were 25 referential combinations of "pan/pani + title noun", e.g.: *O tym świadczą również hasła przewodnie konferencji, które były organizowane podczas „Bukowińskich Spotkań” przez **Pana Profesora*** [That was also indicated by the mottoes of the conferences which were organised during *Bukowińskie Spotkania* by Mr Professor] (25(607) 2009). The least common, 16 instances, were the referential structures with only the surname, which, however, do not possess negative connotations, as their counterparts in general Polish do, e.g.: *Prezes Towarzystwa Polskiego Lwowa **pan Legowicz** mówił o potrzebie budowy Ośrodka Polonijnego*

w mieście lwa, ponieważ funkcjonują tu ponad dwadzieścia przeróżnych organizacji polskich [Mr Legowicz, Chairman of the Polish Lviv Association, spoke on the need to build the Polish Heritage Centre in the city of the lion, as more than twenty different Polish organisations operate here] (56–57 (639–640) 2012).

3. CONCLUSIONS

In the written variety of Polish as a heritage language in Ukraine, as indicated by the analysis of the Polish language texts published in *Gazeta Polska Bukowiny*, there exist features of linguistic etiquette which are not entirely compliant with the codified general Polish standard. Some are clearly the results of the negative impact of transfer, e.g.: felicitations which include the words *witać* [to welcome], *pozdrawiać* [to greet], the proximate formal counterparts of which in Ukrainian and Russian are performatives used in celebration of holidays and any other positive event, the faulty grammatical structure of the felicitational formulation (*gratulować kogo z czym* [congratulate someone with something], as per the Ukrainian model of *witaty kogo z czym*), and addressing individual recipients (as well as plural) on a first name basis under the influence of the honorific *wy* [you] in East Slavic languages. The presence of other typical honorific qualities of the Polish language in Ukraine could be justified both through extra-linguistic interference, and the possible impact of new, debatable in terms of normative acceptance, communicational and linguistic habits in Poland. That mainly applied to the address formulations of “*pan/pani* + first name” used in official situations, as well as to the use of second-person forms (of the *jesteście, byliście, pozwólcie* [you are, you were, (you) allow me to] forms in the context of the honorific pronouns of *państwo/panowie/panie* [sirs/gentlemen/ladies]. The use of the words *pan/pani* in front of anthroponyms in non-addressing structures of written texts is based on similar (non-normative) habits in Poland, though, at the same time, I considered as a decisive factor of a major part of their instances in the studied press releases the intention to particularly highlight a person being referred to, who is assigned with a kind of “Polish respect”, as the words *pan/pani* in Ukraine connote Polishness. Some features of contemporary Polish politeness in Ukraine can also be treated as traditional in that community: that would apply to the already-mentioned addressing forms of “*pan/pani* + first name”, as well as the methods of expressing thanks which retain the archaic qualities (and, thus, ceremonial character), which are founded in the religious context. The specificity of expressing politeness within the small language community consisted of, apart from the traditional nature of some linguistic etiquette units in that community, other factors which displayed community bonds. It seems that a linguistic behaviour, which is

considered in Poland as generally inappropriate and excessively liberal (to address some using the structure “*pan/pani* + first name” or the verbal second-person forms, including in the case of honorific pronouns) may take another guise, a positive one, within a small community as warming relations and serving the maintenance of a particular bond between the members of a minority community. Those are the reasons why most of the analysed forms of linguistic politeness in Ukraine may be fully acceptable as not interfering with communication within the studied community, and not depreciating the recipient, but rather the opposite: highlighting them in a positive way. Even the hybrid felicitational/well-wishing expressions, unacceptable outside the community, which include the words *witać* [to welcome], *pozdrawiać* [to greet], in the community’s internal relations are completely comprehensible, clear, and interpreted by interlocutors as appropriate and not distorting the act of communication; additionally, they offer one more communicational quality: they are economical (being brief, not burdening one’s memory, applicable to any “good” occasion and thus properly received in every situation). The continued presence of the politeness forms in the language of the press, which is considered by the community as having authority, remains one of the major reasons for the retention of these structures in the future.

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Ała Krawczuk

**SPECYFIKA WYBRANYCH FORM GRZECNOŚCIOWYCH NA TLE
NORMY OGÓLNOPOLSKIEJ W PISANEJ ODMIANIE POLSZCZYZNY
ODZIEDZICZONEJ NA UKRAINIE (NA MATERIALE POLSKOJĘZycznej
„GAZETY POLSKIEJ BUKOWINY”)**

Słowa kluczowe: etykieta językowa, polszczyzna odziedziczona, polszczyzna pisana, norma językowa, interferencja

Streszczenie. W artykule na materiale tekstów „Gazety Polskiej Bukowiny” reprezentujących pisaną odmianę polszczyzny odziedziczonej na Ukrainie przeanalizowano swoiste na tle skodyfikowanej normy ogólnopolskiej formy grzecznościowe w zakresie sposobów zwracania się do adresata, składania gratulacji i życzeń, podziękowań, a także używania słów pan/pani przed antroponimami w strukturach nieadresatywnych tekstów informacyjnych. Ujawniono przyczyny trwałości tych form w małej wspólnocie komunikatywnej: interferencja z języków wschodniosłowiańskich, oddziaływanie uzusu ogólnopolskiego, tradycyjność określonych struktur na tych terenach, także szereg czynników pozajęzykowych – np. chęć szczególnego wyrażania szacunku wobec odbiorcy, ocieplania z nim relacji, ekonomiczność wyrażen językowych, wreszcie akceptowalność swoistych jednostek etykietalnych w ramach wspólnoty.