

Kateryna Shestakova*

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LINGUISTIC PRACTICES OF ROMANIANS AND MOLDOVANS (ON THE EXAMPLE OF CHERNIVTSI OBLAST, UKRAINE)

In Ukraine, Chernivtsi Oblast can be observed as a region of mixed ethnic structure. As a result of historical context, the region seems to have a linguistic specificity. Based on the example of Romanians and Moldovans living in this region, we can see that one's mother tongue performs both communicative and symbolic functions (which is an important element of ethnic identity). As an element of ethnic identity the mother tongue becomes very important, especially while entering the linguistic space through language practices, and especially when entering a Slavic tongue (Ukrainian and Russian). Romanians do not have problems with defining their own language and ethnicity. Some Moldovans use both names of the mother tongue (Moldovan or Romanian), and accordingly declare two ethnic affiliations. This practice is a result of the development of Romanian and Moldovan cultures in two different geopolitical areas, which exerts a significant influence on both ethnic groups.

Key words: social identity, ethnic identity, language practices, Romanians/ Moldovans in Ukraine, name of language

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Contemporary nation-states have profound regional dissimilarities which are often related to their multi-ethnicity. Mutual penetration of cultures is characteristic also for Ukraine, where 22.2% of the population belongs to an ethnic minority¹. Similar to the background of Crimea, Zakarpattia Oblast, Halychyna, Halizia and Podolia, its distinct specification also includes Chernivtsi Oblast², which borders Romania and the Republic of Moldova. According to the Census in 2001, this oblast is 75% Ukrainian, 12% Romanian and 7.3% Moldovan, and is also home to Russians, Poles, Jews and others³. Sociological research conducted in the Chernivtsi Oblast in the early 1990s, showed that members of ethnic minorities were willing to change their status. A part of them assumed Ukrainian nationality, being pressurized

* Pomeranian University in Slupsk; kateryna.shestakova@gmail.com.

¹ *Про кількість та склад населення України за підсумками Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року (національність)*, <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/> [24.06.2012].

² The historical name of Chernivtsi Oblast is Northern Bukovina.

³ Ethnic minorities in Chernivtsi Oblast live together: Hertsa Raion – 91.5 % Romanian, 5 % Ukrainian; Hlybocka Raion – 46.8 % Ukrainians, 45.3% Romanian; Novoselytsia Raion – 57.5 % Moldovan, 34 % Ukrainian; Storozhynets Raion – 59.6 % Ukrainian, 36.9 % – Romanian (Національний склад 2003: 42–45).

by various factors (Гакман 2004: 183–184). Romania’s foreign policy has significantly affected the dynamic of ethnic relations in the Oblast. In 2000 regional media drew attention, for the first time, to the problem of Ukrainian citizens receiving Romanian passports⁴.

Due to the dynamic of social interactions and its dependence on the context, the following research questions can be formulated: what role does language play in creating the ethnic identity of Romanians and Moldovans inhabiting Chernivtsi Oblast? And does mother tongue play only a communicative function for these groups, or does it constitute an essential element for both groups in developing ethnic identity? In other words, there is one language (Romanian), but two ethnic identities – Romanian and Moldovan. The analysis is based on qualitative data gathered from in-depth interviews, carried out among Romanians and Moldovans living in Chernivtsi Oblast (15 altogether, between the ages of 21–55). On the basis of everyday language practices three types of declared ethnic identity of Romanians and Moldovans have been established: one Romanian (based on the Romanian language) and two Moldovan (one based on the Moldovan language, the other on the Romanian language).

ETHNIC IDENTITY VERSUS LANGUAGE: A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

Putting aside the factor of ambiguity of the term “identity”, its cultural social dimension becomes most important (Paleczny 2008: 20–22). In traditional societies identity was established being influenced by tradition, language and culture. It could be assumed that such elements were innate. The contemporary design of identity seems problematic. As a result, an individual is not assigned to a specific role or a social position automatically. Identity is a reflective process, in which individual changes intertwine with social changes. Zygmunt Bauman points this out when he says that now everyone can choose whom one wants to be (Bauman 2004: 33).

In the subject literature, considerable attention is drawn to the structure of identity, as it either occurs as a whole (Bokszański 2006), or there is a multitude of identities (Mach 1989; Wojakowski 2002: 50–52; Paleczny 2008: 52–54). Accepting the latter option, which arises from affiliation to the community and performing social roles, one has to come to terms with the fact that each ethnic group offers their own (antithetic) patterns and values while interacting with other groups. It is related to Grzegorz Babiński’s statement that ethnic identity is appointed by two phenomena: affiliation to the social group and its system of values (Babiński 1997: 84). Whereas self-determination of an individual takes place based on factors both impartial (language, religion, etc.) and subjective (that is, based only on self-determination with a particular nation) (Шульга 1996: 84).

Returning to the structure of identity, it is crucial to posit these questions: a) which social identities remain in relation with ethnic identity? b) of what type are these relations (supporting or conflict-related)? and c) which of the identities in the system has a basic character? (Wojakowski 2002: 57). Taking into consideration that 91.9% of Romanians of Chernivtsi Oblast indicated Romanian as their mother tongue, and 91.6% of Moldovans indicated the Moldovan

⁴ For a detailed discussion see: Бєліцєп 2011: 10.

language⁵, two distinct findings can be concluded: mother tongue is either a component of ethnic identity or it exists as a self-dependent linguistic identity.

Reflections of linguists, sociolinguists, anthropologists and sociologists generate an identical deduction, that is, language influences the progress of interactions (Bokszanski, Piotrowski and Ziółkowski 1977: 94 and further). In anthropology and sociology linguistic repertory is a frequently used term. The authors of “Sociology of language” emphasized that “only these linguistic forms that are used in this group during acts of communication” (Bokszanski, Piotrowski and Ziółkowski 1977: 58–59) should be included in linguistic repertoire. It means that the use of linguistic repertoire forces the researcher to interpret language as a usual act of communication. It has to be noted that in ethnic and culturally heterogenic societies, a linguistic community very often does not limit itself to choosing one language (or it uses more than one language in everyday communication). If there is social space (Bourdieu 2009: 15), linguistic space may also exist. And if there are social practices, there are also linguistic practices present. In practice of everyday life in a multicultural society, individuals can use their mother tongue in everyday contacts, or as in Ukraine, the official language (Ukrainian or Russian). They can also demonstrate their knowledge of other languages that they treat as foreign languages, which they acquire in the process of education. These languages are perceived as an important element of human capital. Whereas social contacts between people from different cultures, and also the interaction that they are entering, are the basis for shaping the ethnic borders (Barth 2004: 354–355).

Speaking of linguistic practices, we should draw our attention to the mother tongue of ethnic minorities, which in the Ukrainian political realm exists as an important factor of national language policy. For instance, legislation of a new act regarding languages⁶ has already led to a certain succession in the researched region. For example, the administration of Tarasivtsi village in Novoselytsia Raion legislated a decision in September 2012 regarding “acknowledging the Romanian (Moldovan) language as regional in the territory of the village”⁷. It must be indicated that at the beginning of the 1990s, the representatives of minorities in Chernivtsi Oblast emphasized the necessity of realization of the discussed language policy (a transition from Russian language to Ukrainian language) (Гакман 2004: 184). However, while the generations of the 1980s and later possess enough linguistic competence to communicate in the Ukrainian language, for the older group of Romanians and Moldovans the basic means of communication outside the ethnic community still remains the Russian language.

In densely populated areas, children from ethnic minorities often choose schools teaching in a non-Ukrainian language. When establishing the curriculum, a so-called optional part is allowed. It is established by the school with consideration of the region’s specificity and

⁵ Про кількість та склад населення України за підсумками Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року (мова), <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/language/chernivtsi/> [9.12.2012].

⁶ Закон України про засади державної мовної політики від 03.07.2012 No 5029-VI, <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/5029-17> [9.12.2012].

⁷ It must be emphasized that the main newspaper of opinion in the region «Молодий Буковинець» in the title wrote about accepting not Romanian, but Moldovan language (Село на Буковині визнало молдавську мову регіональною, http://molbuk.ua/chernovtsy_news/49937-selo-na-bukovin-viznalo-moldavsku-movu-regionalnoyu.html [9.12.2012]).

the individual preferences of students⁸. This means that there are problems with entrance exams to universities. The language division between Russian and Ukrainian becomes apparent during interviews with respondents. When a choice of language for communication is allowed, the generation of the 1980s and 90s, irrespective of the level of education, often chooses the Ukrainian language. Older interviewees choose Russian.

The linguistic criteria of Romanian and Moldavian languages are another important element of the analysis. Romanian can be divided into four main dialects: Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian. The Daco-Romanian dialect includes the whole of Romania, the Republic of Moldova, regions of Ukraine, Serbia, Bulgaria, Hungary and the absolute majority of the Romanian-speaking Diaspora (Lozovanu: 571). It means that the glossonym “Moldavian” should be understood as a local “name” of the Romanian language in the Republic of Moldova, the former Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic⁹. In the early 1990s in the independent Republic of Moldova, two nations were being created, one pro-Romanian and the other pro-Moldovan. It can be found not only in the attempts to grant the official name to the national language¹⁰, but also in promoting the idea of Great Romania, in returning to the Latin alphabet¹¹, and in adjusting linguistic standards to literary language¹². Based on linguistic criteria (structural differences, distinctions in social or national group membership, and differences in the value associated with them) Matthew Ciscel writes: “The Moldovan dialect of Romanian does have several structural features that mark it as potentially distinct from standard Romanian. Many common words with labial consonants in initial position in standard Romanian are pronounced with non-labial equivalents in the Moldovan dialect” (Ciscel 2005: 110).

Roman Szul emphasizes that the name of a language and its acceptance by a specific group is highly crucial because of two functions of a language: communicational (to understand people) and symbolic (identification) which leads to attributing a person to a specific language and, simultaneously, “draws” the individual into the community (Szul 2009: 23). The use of, or at least identification with, a language that has a specific name,

suggests affiliation to a certain nation (ethnic group, usually of the same name as the name of the language. The name of the language has, though, a significant meaning there where various ethnic communities use the same or very similar languages – the recognition of a common name

⁸ Закон України Про загальну середню освіту від 13.05.1999 № 651, <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=651-14> [24.03.2009].

⁹ Soviet authority called the local language in Moldova as “Moldovan” and introduced Cyrillic. Soviet Union tried to change Romanian into Moldovans, persuading them that they are not only Moldovan in geographical sense, but also in historical, additionally, using an ethnonym “Moldovans” when directing them (Буркун 2004: 200).

¹⁰ Article 13 of the 1994 Constitution of Republic of Moldova: “The national language of the Republic of Moldova is Moldovan, and its writing is based on the Latin alphabet” (*Constituția Republicii Moldova. Publicat: 18.08.1994 in Monitorul Oficial Nr. 1 art Nr: 1. Data intrării in vigoare: 27.08.1994*, http://lex.justice.md/document_rom.php?id=44B9F30E:7AC17731 [13.03.2013]).

¹¹ Alphabet Or Whiting are one of the most important historical signs of ethnic of cultural affiliation (Dąbrowska-Partyka 2000: 169).

¹² Apart from that, there was a political disagreement concerning granting Russian language an official status. For more details, go to: Шорников 2002: 112 and further; Ciscel 2008; Belitser and Gerasymchuk 2008.

is a declaration of linguistic-ethnic communion, whereas, using different names – a demonstration of dissimilarity (Szul 2009: 49).

Examples of this include Moldovan and Romanian languages in the Republic of Moldova, Serbian and Croatian, and Catalanian and Valencian (Szul 2009: 42). Looking at those data from an ethnical perspective, we can see that ethnolect is an instrument of creation of “one-self” through language practice (frequency and width of the use of a native language) and linguistic identity (perception of the language as marker of cultural and ethnic differences).

ROMANIAN IDENTITY: IN OPPOSITION TO SLAVIC LANGUAGES

In the analysis of Romanians’ narration it is notable that every respondent, without exception, declares their nationality, whatever the age, social background or place of living, without hesitation. Almost everybody has graduated from Romanian schools¹³. Everyone uses the Romanian language in conversations with parents, family and friends, apart from the time when they are at work. Everyone comes from an ethnically Romanian area of the countryside in Northern Bukovina, even though, at the time of the interviews most of them had been living in Chernivtsi for a long time, or had moved to the city to continue their education. Aside from one person, they all have emphasized that their first conscious reflections concerning their origins and nationality appeared when they began their studies. In their opinion, it was related to the need of a more intense usage of a Ukrainian language (Russian). At the same time, for some of them the discomfort in communicating became essential motivation for a more profound study of the Ukrainian or Russian languages (depending on the generation). Contact with other groups has made them ponder their own culture.

I felt Romanian when I was still at university, because I saw how many Ukrainians, Russians and Jews there were. Therefore, I began to respect my nationality more. Do you know why? Because, I started to differentiate them. I felt the difference between nationalities (Rm21).

I have learnt in a school with Russian as the language of instruction where the question of nationality was not present. I studied concurrently at a music school in Chernivtsi, therefore sometime in the second year my level of knowledge and use of Russian was good enough not to feel discomfort. I mastered the language almost immediately. I began to feel the discomfort later on, at university (Rm49).

I am Romanian, I am a representative of a Romanian-speaking community, but knowing I live in this country, having experienced problems that children who finished Romanian-speaking school are facing, when you don’t know what oxygen means, what hydrogen means [in Ukrainian]. You understand, I tell them, it’s a problem. Girls from Bahrynivka who want to take the Matura exam in history at school come to me. I speak to them, but they don’t understand me (Rk36).

The story of one person from a Romanian village, born in 1937, is slightly different from the others. Being a Romanian, he went to a Moldovan school in 1945. It was the time when

¹³ The term school concerns the whole education system, including junior high school and secondary school.

the policy of “Moldovazation” of the Romanian population in the region started, which does not seem to have influenced his self-determination.

In my childhood I never heard Ukrainian and Russian in my village. I went to university if they accepted Moldovan groups and they admitted them without exams, unlike in Ukraine, where it would have been more difficult (Rm75).

Another helpful factor in shaping the idea of one’s own group in the “we” category is the feeling of kinship with the Moldovan ethnic group together with the coexistent emphasis on differences. First among them is the Moldovan writing based on Cyrillic (in recent years). Another is the historical past; that is the influence of Romania or Moldova (as part of the Soviet Union) on the Romanians or Moldovans, as well as the proper policy of Soviet authorities. Romanians themselves indicate that the Moldovan language is a Romanian dialect. Hence the declaration that Moldovans are an ethnic group of the Romanian nation, and thus they have the right to speak the dialect. Considering the discrepancies between Moldovans and Romanians, the Romanians sometimes disregard “simple” arguments, such as dialects and phonetic specification. Interviewees with a higher education emphasize the role of similarities in culture and systems of values.

I think that Moldovans differ from Romanians only in the fact the Moldovans were under a stronger influence of Russia, they were under the influence of Cyrillic. I know there used to be a common country, and afterwards it was divided. And so they, how to say it, talk in a dialect (Rk20).

However, such an attitude to Moldovans as a political nation goes against the grain.

To immediately answer a question about my attitude towards nationality, whether there are Moldovan and Romanian nationalities, looking at it from the point of view of an ethnic group who lives in Bukovina, I’ll say – yes, there are. It is connected to self-determination of a person; every person has the right to think of himself in such a way. Is there a Moldovan nation in a political sense? Yes, because a Moldovan country exists. Are Romanians and Moldovans different ethnic groups? In my opinion, no they aren’t. It is the same ethnic group that possesses the same self-identification in relation to historic and geographical development, starting from the nineteenth century (Rm49).

In analyzing people’s statements another assumption comes to mind, one which requires verification. Almost all of the interviewees have travelled to Romania. It can be concluded that the affiliation itself to the Romanian ethnic group, and the knowledge of a language constitute additional resources in the ancestral motherland. Nevertheless, the interviewees have numerously indicated that their first visits to Romania were accompanied by discomfort and uncertainty. First of all, it concerns language, only if the Romanian language in Romania itself seems to be slightly foreign, incomprehensible and too literary, for the interviewees. Second of all, the distance of interviewees from the motherland is noticeable. In their interpretation, it is often a foreign country, both unknown and uninteresting.

I have been to Romania. Although I think of my nationality as Romanian, it is a foreign country for me, therefore it was interesting. Everything there is in Romanian; here everything is in Ukrainian (Rk20).

A: Did you want to leave for Romania? R: What do you mean, forever, or to study? Yes, I'd like to see interesting places. But I couldn't rest only on that, I would like to visit many interesting places in the world. But I couldn't leave Ukraine permanently! I am a bit of a Ukrainian nationalist. I was born here. All my friends live here, and I commit my life to Ukraine (Rm21).

To explain this seemingly paradoxical situation, statistical data must be verified, as they characterize the frequency and dynamics of relations between Romanians in Chernivtsi Oblast and their fellow-countrymen from Romania.

MOLDOVAN IDENTITY: TWO LANGUAGES, ONE NATION?

Just as among Romanians, among Moldovans in Chernivtsi Oblast reflections concerning affiliation start when the frequency of contacts with Ukrainians rises, especially while studying in a secondary school or at university.

Until I came to the city to study, I would mostly use Moldovan. I live on the border with Moldova, I am not a Romanian, I am Moldovan most of all. I learnt in a Moldovan school, all the subjects were in the Moldovan language. Before I started studies in the city, I went to a preparation course, for about 8 months, to not have the accent because my parents feared that I wouldn't pas, (Mf25).

All the subjects at school were taught in the Moldovan language. And even if you knew the subject very well, if you didn't know the language, it was difficult to say anything. It was really hard for me. It was a great psychological trauma for me. The first two years were really hard for me, it was the general subjects, like Chemistry, which I found most difficult (Mm55).

Remembering what the Romanians said, in stories where the territorial-symbolic divisions basically did not exist in any meaningful sense (unless in relation to the need to have a passport to cross the EU border), it could be assumed that the Moldovans would not pay attention to territorial-symbolic divisions either. However, as the research shows, Moldovans often emphasize the importance of transborder contacts, and refer to historic events related to establishing the borderline between the USSR and Romania. More meaningfully, a frontier between Moldovan and Romanian culture occurs. It is especially noticeable among people originating from places that border with Moldova. A visible division appears in people's answers: Novoselytsia Raion – Moldovan, Hertsa Raion – Romanian, which reflects the structure of occupancy of the Oblast.

It is clearly visible in conversations, that in the Moldovans' interpretation, the borderline is transparent, and quite easy to cross. One has to remember that all one needs to travel from Ukraine to Moldova is a valid passport, whereas it is definitely harder to enter Romania (an EU member), even for people of Romanian or Moldovan background. It means that it is much easier to maintain family relations and friendship in Moldova and through them develop language contacts. Not focusing on discrepancies between languages, the interviewees often simply establish the fact of difference between Romanian and Moldovan. Explaining why it is easier to understand the Moldovan language from Moldova, the interviewees frequently base their opinions on the norms of literary and unliterary language:

Yes, Romanian is definitely different from Moldovan. Well... they are simply different. The pronunciation is different. For example in Voloka, where there are Romanian nationalists, they are more polite. And here, in Ukraine everybody speaks as Moldovans do. And if you listen to how Romanians in Romania speak, it is beautiful and cultural. I could also speak that way, but I've already forgotten (Mm41).

For the older generation, an example of phonetic differences between Romanian and Moldovan languages is often seen on television. It appears that the language of television both of the local Chernivtsi television programs¹⁴ (which use a standard Romanian literary language), and of those broadcast from Romania, sometimes bring about problems with understanding. The Moldovan television product is more oriented to the post-Soviet context. This is understandable, as Moldova, like other former Soviet republics, is still under post-Soviet Russian cultural influence. The residents often watch television, and there are not only Russian series broadcast on the local television, but also films of Soviet production. The situation is similar with pop music, as Russian pop dominates the radio air time.

Television has to be watched constantly to understand it. When the speaker speaks Romanian on television – it is understandable. He has wonderful diction. And when you can hear the local language, when the non-presenter appears, not everything can be understood, a different accent. And when you watch other programs, not the news, it isn't entirely understandable... And the local Romanian television is not of good quality. There are more interesting programs (Mm55).

In light of the described situation, it has to be emphasized that not all Moldovans described the Moldovan language as their own mother tongue, at times declaring the Romanian language instead. They hesitated in determining their nationality (Romanian or Moldovan) simultaneously. Dualism occurs also through the prism of changes in standards of writing (Latin/Cyrillic).

A: Are there mixed Moldovan-Romanian families in your village? R: Yes, there are. A: What language of communication do they choose? R: Well, only Romanian language. A: That language, is it Romanian or Moldovan? R: Now, it's Romanian. There is no Moldovan now. Then, it used to be Moldovan, but written with Russian letters. And now everything is in Latin (Mk38).

In the above-mentioned context two interesting examples are given. Both interviewees originate from mixed families: they are half Moldovan (maternally) and half Ukrainian (paternally). They both spent their childhood in Moldovan villages. The first speaker, after having moved to the city where her parents had lived, and who used Russian when speaking to each other, went to a Russian school. Declaring her Moldovan nationality, she admits to suffering from a feeling of discomfort. The other speaker, who finished Ukrainian rural school, calls herself Ukrainian.

A: What is your nationality? R: I am Moldovan, but to be more precise we should say I am Romanian. When they ask, it all depends on, how to say it... For instance, many people ask: who should

¹⁴ According to official information, almost 25% of air time of regional Chernivtsi national television is comprised of Romanian-speaking programs. Information about Romanian-speaking programs is available through an official website: <http://www.bukodtrk.gov.ua>.

I be to be prestigious, Russian or Ukrainian? And Moldovans, they are, in a way, backward, stupid, something like that. I don't know what to say. They have never been regarded as a nation. And Romanians, they are in the EU now. Romania has always been better educated, and it was more prestigious for us Moldovans to speak their language (Mk33).

Using two names to determine a mother tongue can be treated as a classic manifestation of situational linguistic self-determination, as long as external conditions require a certain adjustment.

CONCLUSIONS

Approaching the analysis of problems connected to ethnic identity of Romanians and Moldovans in Chernivtsi Oblast, I assumed that this identity can be based on language (although not always). There are plenty of examples which either support or deny this dependence – from Germans for whom the German language is without a doubt the basis of their ethnic identity, to the Irish, for most of whom the Irish language has a symbolic meaning rather than communicational. Therefore one can clearly state that Romanians without hesitation declare their national affiliation, whereas among Moldovans there are individuals who perceive themselves as Romanians.

One should look for quite believable reasons for dichotomy in the processes related to the politics of the three countries, both in terms of the mother tongue, as well as the Ukrainian or Russian languages. So, it can be assumed that among Romanians, their mother tongue (Romanian) plays two roles simultaneously: communicational, on the level of intercommunication within their ethnic community, and symbolic, which begins at the moment of joining the Slavic linguistic space, because at this point a separation into “we” (Romanians and Moldovans) and “they” (Ukrainians and Russians) is created. In times of reflection, the emotional recognition of the borderline plays an important role, which separates Romanians in Chernivtsi Oblast from their historical motherland. We can observe that national identity arises, revealing itself not only in the awareness of an emotional bond with the local community, but also through a reluctant attitude towards changing one's nationality and leaving Romania for good. It confirms the opinion of many experts who indicate that the problem of massive issuing of Romanian passports to Ukrainian Romanians is not a result of a change in national identification, but it results from the need to simplify formalities related to crossing the border, most often due to economic reasons, and granting the possibility to travel around Europe without any obstacles. Secondly, symbolic specification of the role of the mother tongue is also noticeable, because the difference in linguistic standards is a stress factor while communicating with countrymen from Romania.

One has to remember that politicization of ethnic processes not only in the region, but throughout Ukraine, as well as behaviour of Romanians towards Romanians remaining outside the borders of the country leads to strengthening the ethnic identity of Ukrainian Romanians. In conversations it can be seen in the emphasis of proximity of Moldovans and Romanians. If Romania, being a member of the EU (which is perceived in Ukrainian public opinion as an unequivocal success and a defeat for Ukraine) continues to show a positive dynamic of

changes, this development will strengthen the position of Romania in the “ranking” of ethnic minorities in Northern Bukovina. In connection with realizing the necessity to deepen one’s own competence in relation to the national language, it will be the preliminary condition for achieving success and increasing the social status of individuals and groups as a whole. That means the need to change the point of view and modify the strategy of behavior among the Ukrainian social-cultural majority.

It also has to be emphasized that some of the above-mentioned assumptions also concern Moldova, especially when it comes to the role of interethnic relations and the meaning of the Ukrainian language (in the conditions of earlier linguistic “isolation”) in shaping their own ethnic identity. It also concerns the phenomenon of using different names to indicate the mother tongue (Romanian or Moldovan). As Roman Szul claims, it confirms the need to emphasize one’s own dissimilarity (Szul 2009: 42), which seems to be a frequent phenomenon among some European nations. It also correlates with the results of research conducted in Moldova, which shows ideological “instability” and a division towards identity inside the Moldovan ethnic group (Шорников 2002). To put it another way, Moldovan and Romanian cultures develop in different geopolitical areas, which is supposed to influence their identity. And it is a process that is continuing (Гакман 2004: 186). A specific ethnic frustration among some Moldovans is still noticeable to the present day. Its causes can be found in the situation of Moldova itself, and the sources of information for inhabitants of Ukraine are, most of all, the television, family relationships, friendships, and also relationships of an economic nature. Moldova, being a post-Soviet country, is often associated with a type of a country whose development is not much different from Ukraine’s, or is even lesser (Moldova ranks as one of the countries with the lowest GDPs in Europe). Thus, for residents of Chernivtsi Oblast, its attractiveness as a potential labor market and destination for emigrants is very low. The range and scope of the frustration phenomenon is hard to determine, and requires further research. But if Moldova develops economically, in the medium-term perspective, the ethnic and linguistic frustrations will be leveled.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Babiński, Grzegorz. 1997. *Pogranicze polsko-ukraińskie: etniczność, zróżnicowanie religijne, tożsamość*, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy ”NOMOS”.
- Barth, Fryderyk. 2004. *Grupy i granice etniczne: społeczna organizacja różnic kulturowych*, in: Marian Kempny and Ewa Nowicka (eds), *Badanie kultury. Elementy teorii antropologicznej. Kontynuacje*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, pp. 348–377.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. 2004. *O tarapatach tożsamości w ciasnym świecie*, in: Wojciech Kalaga (ed), *Dylematy wielokulturowości*, Kraków: TAIWPN UNIVERSITAS.
- Belitser, Natalya and Sergiy Gerasymchuk (eds). 2008. *Interethnic relations, minority rights and security concerns: a four country perspective (Ukraine – Moldova – Romania – Hungary)*, Kiev: Strategic and Security Studies Group & Pylyp Orlyk Institute for Democracy.
- Boksański, Zbigniew. 2006. *Tożsamości zbiorowe*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

- Boksański Zbigniew, Andrzej Piotrowski and Marek Ziółkowski. 1977. *Socjologia języka*, Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 2009. *Rozum praktyczny: o teorii działania*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Ciscel, Matthew H. 2005. *Language and identity in post-Soviet Moldova*, in: Preisler Bent, Anne Fabricius, Hartmut Haberland, Susanne Kjærbeck and Karen Risager (eds), *The Consequences of Mobility*, Roskilde: Roskilde University: pp. 106–119.
- Ciscel, Matthew. 2008. *Uneasy compromise: Language and education in Moldova*, "International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism" 11: 373–395.
- Constituția Republicii Moldova. Publicat: 18.08.1994 în Monitorul Oficial Nr. 1 art Nr: 1. Data intrării în vigoare: 27.08.1994*, http://lex.justice.md/document_rom.php?id=44B-9F30E:7AC17731 [13.03.2013].
- Dąbrowska-Partyka, Maria. 2000. *Pismo jako znak tożsamości*, in: Maria Bobrownicka (ed), *Język a tożsamość narodowa: Slavica*, Kraków: TAIWPN UNIVERSITAS, pp. 169–182.
- Lozovanu, Dorin. 2012. *Romanian-Speaking Communities Outside Romania: Linguistic Identities*, "International Journal of Social Science and Humanity": 569–572.
- Mach, Zdzisław. 1989. *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Palczyński, Tadeusz. 2008. *Socjologia tożsamości*, Kraków: Krakowskie Towarzystwo Edukacyjne – Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM.
- Szul, Roman. 2009. *Język, naród, państwo. Język jako zjawisko polityczne*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Wojakowski, Dariusz. 2002. *Polacy i Ukraińcy. Rzecz o pluralizmie i tożsamości na pograniczu*, Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy NOMOS.
- Беліцер, Наталія. 2011. «Переважно всі заяви президента Румунії витягнуті з контексту», "Український Журнал" 11: 10–11.
- Буркут, Ігор. 2004. *Проблеми етнічної толерантності у полі етнічному середовищі (на прикладі євро регіону «Верхній Прут»)*, in: Андрійко, В.І., Ігор Буркут and Петро Брицький (eds), *Євро регіони: потенціал міжетнічної гармонізації*, Чернівці: «Букрек», 191–208.
- Гакман, Сергій. 2004. *Розвиток міжетнічних взаємин та території євро регіону «Верхній Прут»: динаміка, реалії та перспективи*, in: Андрійко, В.І., Ігор Буркут and Петро Брицький (eds), *Євро регіони: потенціал міжетнічної гармонізації*, Чернівці: «Букрек», 180–190.
- Закон України Про загальну середню освіту від 13.05.1999 № 651*, <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=651-14> [24.03.2009].
- Закон України Про засади державної мовної політики від 03.07.2012 № 5029-VI*, <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/5029-17> [9.12.2012].
- Національний склад населення Чернівецької області та його мовні ознаки (за даними Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року)*. 2003. Чернівці: Чернівецьке обласне управління статистики.
- Про кількість та склад населення України за підсумками Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року (національність)*, <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/> [24.06.2012].

Про кількість та склад населення України за підсумками Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року (мова), <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/language/>, [9.12.2012].

Село на Буковині визнало молдавську мову регіональною, http://molbuk.ua/chernovtsy_news/49937-selo-na-bukovin-viznalo-moldavsku-movu-regionalnoyu.html [9.12.2012].

Шорников, Петр. 2002. *Национальная элита и национальная идея в Молдове: конец 80-х – 90-е гг. XX века*, in: *Регіональні та національні еліти: хто формує політику? Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції, Чернівці, 7–6 грудня 2001 р.*, Чернівці: «Букрек», 109–122.

Шульга, Николай. 1996. *Этническая самоидентификация личности*, Киев: Институт социологии НАН Украины.

TOŻSAMOŚĆ ETNICZNA ORAZ PRAKTYKI JĘZYKOWE RUMUNÓW I MOŁDAWIAN (NA PRZYKŁADZIE OBWODU CZERNIOWIECKIEGO, UKRAINA)

Na Ukrainie wśród regionów o mieszanej strukturze etnicznej wyróżnia się Obwód Czerniowiecki. Ze względu na konteksty historyczne w regionie obecna jest specyfika językowa. Na przykładzie Rumunów i Mołdawian, zamieszkujących obwód, pokazano, że język ojczysty wykonuje funkcję komunikacyjną oraz symboliczną (jest ważnym elementem identyfikacji etnicznej) w obu grupach. Jako element tożsamości język nabiera szczególnego znaczenia dzięki praktykom językowym, zwłaszcza w trakcie wchodzenia do słowiańskiej przestrzeni językowej (ukraińskiej oraz rosyjskiej). Rumuni nie mają problemów z określeniem własnego języka i przynależności etnicznej. Część Mołdawian wykorzystuje dwie nazwy języka ojczystego (mołdawski lub rumuński) i odpowiednio deklarują dwie przynależności etniczne. Praktyka ta jest rezultatem rozwoju kultury rumuńskiej i mołdawskiej w dwóch odmiennych przestrzeniach geopolitycznych, co wywierało istotny wpływ na kształtowanie tożsamości etnicznej obu grup.

Słowa kluczowe: tożsamość społeczna, tożsamość etniczna, praktyki językowe, Rumuni/Mołdawianie na Ukrainie, nazwa języka