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Summary

The problems of language island situation have been present in humanities for over 160 years. However, in spite of the changing world, this question remains valid. The Polish community near Irkutsk – the village of Vershina is a 100-year-old language island. With the flow of time its social, economic, political and language situation has been evolving. The article is an attempt to analyse changes in Vershina's dialect against the criteria of language island description. The present analysis is based on the results of research so far as well as on the material gathered during field research.

1. Theoretical grounds.

The notion of language island is much older than contemporary research on this problem. According to Klaus J. Mattheier, it has been used for the first time in 1847 in German language (*Sprachinsel*) to describe a Slavonic community near Königsberg (Kaliningrad) in German surroundings (Rosenberg 2005: 221). Despite the long history of the term of language island its understanding did not change much. Moreover, many of the contemporary definitions are devoid of contradictions and can be treated as complementary. Claus J. Hutterer underlines the internal structurization and the geographical aspect of language islands: „Sprachinseln sind räumlich abgrenzbare und intern strukturierte Siedlungsräume einer sprachlichen Minderheit inmitten einer anderssprachigen Mehrheit“ (Hutterer 1982: 178). The question of an island territory, from the culturological-sociological point of view, has been noted also by Ewa Nowicka, who claims that the island must be unequivocally smaller than its 'sea', i.e. its foreign surroundings. Otherwise it would not be an island but a continent (See: Nowicka 2011). The geographical, social, cultural and political factors affect the language situation of an island community and set the direction of its development. One has to admit that the influence of a linguistically different surrounding refers not only to the lexicon of a language island but also to its phonetics, morphology, syntax as well as pragmatics. Aleksandr Duličenko paid special attention to the lexical aspect of a language island situation. Referring to the genesis of island situations, he points at the minority communities' lexical deficit:

Островные ситуации возникают вследствие переселения части того или иного этноса по тем или иным причинам – социально-политическим, военным, экономическим и прочим – в регионы проживания иного этноса (иных этносов) с иным языком (иными языками). Оторванные от исходного этно-языкового корня, такие острова постоянно ощущают языковой дефицит, особенно что касается его использования в области культуры, образования, науки. С одной стороны, их представители должны овладеть

языком окружающего этноса (что в действительности и наблюдается), с другой – для них важно сохранить язык своих предков (Duličenko 1998: 26).

Duličenko admits that, on the one hand, island situations increase the amount borrowings in the island lexicon and, on the other hand, their specific conditions help to preserve some language features, which have already vanished in the ethnic territory of a given group (Ibidem: 26-27).

A dialect island is a special type of language island. Its community speaks not the literary variant of the given language, but one of its dialects or an interdialect. One has to notice the specificity of the dialect islands while these minority groups usually do not have the written variety of their language (or the written variety is only vestigial), and the island dialect differs from the norm existing in the country of their origin. Island communities may speak one dialect variety at the moment of migration – when they come from the same region. However, according to Anatolij Domašnev, it is not rare that the dialect island is formed by people coming from different territories of their fatherland. In the foreign-speaking surroundings the dialects or language varieties of an island merge, and form a new code – an interdialect (Domašnev 1983: 12).

A comprehensive set of criteria for a dialect island description has been given by Iryda Grek-Pabisowa, who enumerates several factors influencing the language of an island: a) type of isolation, b) bi- or multilingualism of the given island, c) type of language barrier between the island language and the language (languages) of its surroundings, d) direct ($L_1 - L_2$) or indirect (i.e. with a third, intermediary language: $L_1 - L_3 - L_2$) contacts between the island and its surroundings, e) existence of a written variety of the dialect, f) differences between the dialect and literary language before migration (Grek-Pabisowa 1999a: 73). Grek-Pabisowa's scheme of characteristics will be used in this article to analyse changes in the lexicon of the village of Vershina (around 400 inhabitants), a Polish dialect island in Siberia.

2. Historical setting.

The evolution of Vershina's language situation has been strongly influenced by its history. Although the name 'Siberia' in Polish historiography and culture has been associated with exiled Poles, Vershina does not match this stereotype. On the contrary, for Vershina's founders, Siberia was the land of space and new possibilities. The village was founded 130km northwards of Irkutsk in 1910 by voluntary settlers – peasants as well as workers and miners of peasant origin from Little Poland. The Prime Minister of Russia of that time, Peter Stolypin planned to colonise uninhabited Siberian territories and the tsarist authorities encouraged people in the Western districts of the Empire to migrate. The colonisers had been promised 75% of travel costs, subsidies of 100 roubles, a 16ha lot, free building materials and lower taxes for several years. While Stolypin's plans coincided with the economic crisis in Southern Poland in the beginning of the 20th century, people from Little Poland (Małopolska) were eager to change their situation (Cf. Bazyłow 1975: 169-170; Petshik 2008: 6-7).

The history of the Polish community near Irkutsk can be divided into three main periods with special language situations. The first of them had begun in 1910, at the moment of

Vershina's foundation, and lasted till the late 1930s. Despite the subsidies first years in a new place were extremely difficult to survive. Until the immigrants built their houses, they had to live in dugouts (Petšik 2008: 11-12). In the first period the community pretended to reconstruct social conditions of a typical village from their region of origin. Their first common undertakings were aimed at building a Polish school and a Roman Catholic church, what proves how important religion and Polishness were for Polish settlers (Szostak 2002: 226-227). The inhabitants of Vershina had strong feeling of their identity – their farming methods, machines and tools remained Polish. They also preserved traditions and customs from Little Poland (Figura 2003: 75-79). Cultural and anthropomorphical differences from the local natives – Buryats, were the main factors strengthening the isolation and prevented heterogenous marriages (Cf. Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003: 42-44).

In the first period of Vershina's history Polish was the only language used in contacts inside the village. The Russian language was used by the settlers practically only for contacts with administration and with Buryats from their surroundings (Głuszkowski 2011a: 158).

This situation started to change in the early 1930s. Although the former Russia with its economic and political system collapsed at the moment of Revolution in 1917, the wind of changes came to distant villages in taiga only after some years with the process of mass collectivisation. The inhabitants of Vershina were forced to join the kolkhoz and their horses, cattle, pigs as well as agricultural machines were confiscated. Lack of acceptance for the orders of the communist authorities lead to arresting and intimidation (Petšik 2008: 14-15). In the time of hardest repressions 1937-1938 local church was closed, and 30 Poles were arrested, accused of hatching a plot against the USSR and shot after a fixed trial (Szostak 2002, pp. 228-234). The beginning of intense sovietization and atheization meant the end of the first, 'Polish' period in Vershina's history, and the switch point for the new period was in 1940, when people from small settlements near the Polish village joined the Vershinian kolkhoz (See: Petšik 2008: 19). The Polish community lost its former ethnocultural homogeneity.

The Second World War caused other social and demographical changes. Men from Vershina served in the Red Army, and some of them never returned to their homes, where they were killed or remained in the regions they fought. After the war it would be difficult for the descendants of Polish migrants to strictly obey the former traditional rule of homogeneous marriages. However, they still avoided choosing a Buryat partner and married Russians. Although people of Polish origin were still in majority, these proportions began to change. The mentioned changes coincided with the communist authorities' activities aimed at making Vershina a part of the Soviet society. The process of sovietization was still more successful, while the mixed families tend to choose Russian identity and language (Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003: 45). The social changes were extremely visible in the system of traditions and customs. In the first period after migration the system of holidays depended on the church calendar and the Roman Catholic religion was an important factor helping to maintain the Polish culture. After the church had been closed, the Polish peasants were forbidden to celebrate the religious holidays, which were replaced with new, communist ones. The memory of the biggest church holidays like Easter and Christmas still existed, but their religious meaning was

forgotten with the flow of time, e.g. the common name for Easter in Vershina is *lejki* ‘pouring water’ which is connected with an old Polish custom *Śmigus dyngus*: boys pour water on girls on Easter Monday.

Such popular ceremonies and customs as christening, engagement and burial were being successively modified and enriched with foreign, i.e. Russian, Soviet and Buryat elements. For example, the namedays, popular in Poland and in Vershina before the Second World War, were replaced with birthdays, according to Russian tradition. Young couples on their way home from the civil registry office stop in holy Buryat places to sprinkle the soil with alcohol (so called *bryzganye* ‘sprinkling’) – a Buryat custom (Cf. Figura 2003: 100-107). Thus, the cultural system of the Polish village in Siberia became a hybrid consisting of mixed Polish, Buryat, Russian and Soviet elements¹.

The last period in Vershina’s history began after perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1991. The political changes helped the inhabitants of Vershina to regain their minority rights, first of all religious, institutional and educational. The church was reopened and repaired. The Polish language is taught at the local school, and the community has rights to found cultural organisations. Although thanks to perestroika Poles in Siberia achieved new possibilities to maintain their language and culture, during the years of communism their culture and customs dramatically changed. The socio-cultural changes strongly affected the language situation. The children from still more popular heterogeneous Polish-Russian marriages become (became) monolingual, while they use Polish very rare, in contacts with grandparents. The language of their ancestors is not used among peer groups even in their village. According to the newest sociological reports, even the middle-aged generation of Polish origin prefer Russian as the basic communicational code (Nowicka 2011). Although Polish is present at school as a subject, this fact does not much affect the language situation of Vershina because of the differences between the literary variety taught in class and the dialect used in the community.

We can find answers for some of Grek-Pabisowa’s criteria of language islands description on the basis of the socio-historical background: type of isolation, type of language barrier and directness of language contact. Polish community in Siberia from its very beginning was almost completely isolated from its language continent and the contacts with fatherland were limited up till 21st century, when Vershina became an obligatory plank for Polish tourist groups visiting the lake of Baikal and its surroundings (See: Głuszkowski 2009: 74-75). The isolation between Poles and their surroundings was weakening with the flow of time, but the descendants of the immigrants have always tended to assimilate with Russians, not with Buryats. Although there is a Polish community in Irkutsk, the contacts between peasants from Vershina and the descendants of exiled noble- and townsmen have been always rare². One has to admit, that there was no language barrier between the island

¹ The problem of hybridization of the Vershina’s cultural system has been described in Głuszkowski 2010.

² According to the information gathered in 2008, there was only one case of mixed peasant-exile marriage in Vershina. The differences between voluntary settlers and deportees were not only of social character but also linguistic. The exiles’ language was not a dialect but a variety of the Polish literary language.

language and its surroundings, while the first settlers had come from Little Poland, which had been a part of Russian Empire at that time. Being the citizens of Russia, they had contacts with tsarist administration and civil service. Moreover, at least some of them attended Russian schools, where all subjects were taught in the Russian language. There are also other premises that the inhabitants of Vershina knew Russian before the migration³. Thus, Polish immigrants needed no other language to speak with their Russian and Buryat neighbours and the contacts were direct, i.e. L₁ – L₂. In order to characterize other factors influencing the language of Polish island in Siberia, we have to pay attention to its dialectal features.

3. Linguistic researches in Vershina and the main features of its dialect.

The Polish village near Irkutsk has aroused interest of scholars, journalists, film makers, publicists for several decades. In the 21st century it has been also noticed by some celebrities and politicians, especially because of the 100th anniversary of the settlement. Hanna Krall, a famous Polish writer, has even devoted to Vershina a chapter in her book of reportage from the USSR *Na wschód od Arbatu* (*Heading east from Arbat*). However, the dialect of Polish migrants has not been a subject of a comprehensive linguistic study so far. Jurij Golceker's researches in the 1980-1990s as well as Natalia Ananieva's project in the 2000's were only preliminary researches and their results can be considered only as fragmentary data. Information about the language of Vershina may be found also in ethnological, sociological and historical studies from the last two decades (See e.g.: Figura 1995; Wiśniewska 2000; Szostak 2002; Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003; Ananiewa 2007). The latest dialectological expeditions organised in 2008 (12 days) and 2011 (17 days) at the Nicolaus Copernicus University (Toruń) aimed at gathering linguistic and sociolinguistic material in order to describe the preserved Polish dialectal features as well as Russian influence in Vershina's language. Due to the considerably big amount of recordings (over 60 hours), the material has not been fully analyzed yet, and the reports so far are fragmentary or devoted to selected problems, e.g. sociolinguistic situation of the community (e.g. Głuszkowski 2011b), maintenance of the dialectal features from Little Poland in Vershina (Kozłowska 2009), derivational loans from Russian (Paško 2009) or borrowings (Paško-Konecniak 2011).

While nowadays it is impossible to reconstruct the state of Vershina's language in its first period after the migration, we can only compare the present situation with the descriptions of the dialects in Little Poland. Golceker found in the dialect of Poles in Siberia many phonetic phenomena typical for the Southern regions Poland, e.g. raised articulation of the narrowed *a* (*o* < *a*): *nos* < *nas* 'us', which has been proved during the expeditions in 2008 and 2011 – *spod'obo še* < *spod'oba še* 'will be liked_{3S}', *pšyj'exol* < *pšyj'exal* 'he came_{3SM}', *d'obro* < *d'obra* 'good_{SFNOM}', *najl'epšy* < *nojł'epšy* 'the best_{SMNOM}', *najv'inkšy* <

³ Not long after the migration the Russian authorities organized lessons of reading and writing in Russian for the adult illiterate inhabitants of Vershina and there was no mention about the need of teaching spoken Russian (Cf. Wiśniewska 2000: 102). These facts let us to presume that Polish migrants were able to communicate in Russian before they had left Poland.

nojv'inkšy 'the biggest_{SMNOM}' (Cf. Decyk 1995: 24-25; Golceker 2001: 210). However, Agnieszka Kozłowska noted singular exclusions⁴ in the youngest informers' speech (Kozłowska 2009: 28). According to Kazimierz Nitsch, this feature is typical for the dialetes in Little Poland (Nitsch 1957: 37). There are also other phenomena of Vershina's dialect vocalism, which shall be classified as preserved since the moment of migration: the narrow *o* is pronounced as *u* ($u < o$) *k'ũa* < *k'on'a* 'horse_{GEN}', *un* < *on* 'he', *rub'ota* < *rob'ota* 'work_{NOM}', *kš'unška* < *kš'onška* 'book_{NOM}'; the articulation of the narrow *e* after palatal consonants as *i* ($e < i$), e.g. *ž'im'a* < *ž'em'a* 'ground; land; soil; earth_{NOM}', *v'im* < *v'em* 'I know_{1S}', *nab'irać* < *nab'erać* 'to hoax_{INF}', what has been also classified as a Southern Polish dialectal features (Nitsch 1957: 33; 104; Dubisz et. al. 1995: 80). Another example of maintained phonetic phenomenon is the loss of nasality, occurring also in other Polish dialects, e.g. *r'ynce* (Cf. Polish literary *r'ęce*) 'hands_{NOM}', *v'inkše* (*v'ękše*) 'bigger_{SNNOM/PLNOM}', *m'uv'um/m'uv'om* (*m'uv'a*) 'they speak_{3PL}', *v'unz'al'i* (*v'qz'al'i*) 'they tied_{3PI}', *t'ysunc* (*t'ysqc*) 'thousand_{NOM}', *p'unty* (*p'qty*) 'fifth_{NOM}'⁵.

Among the maintained phenomena in the consonant system one has to notice the mazuration, i.e. the replacement of fricatives and affricates (*š, ž, č, ǰ*) with the alveolar consonants (*s, z, c, ʒ*). However, in Vershina's dialect mazuration does not affect all mentioned consonants and all words with them. Except for widespread replacement of *č* with *c* (*ct'erec* – cf. Polish literary *čt'erec* 'four of them_{GEN}', *st'ycen* – *st'ycen* 'January_{NOM}', *cym* – *čym* 'what_{INSTR}', *c'ego* – *č'ego* 'what_{GEN}'), this phenomenon referring to other consonants was observed only in several words, e.g. *tros'ecke* (*troš'ečkę*) 'a little', *mos* (*maš*) 'you have_{2S}', *zryć* (*žreć*) 'to gobble_{INF}'; (Cf. Kozłowska 2009: 35). One has to admit, that the mazuration is present in Vershina's anthroponomical system, e.g. in the first name *Ruz'yccka* (Cf. *Różyczka*) or in the last name *Kust'os* (Cf. *Kustasz*). Another characteristic feature of Vershinian consonant system is conversion of the consonant cluster *kt* into *xt*, e.g. *xt'uro* < *kt'ura* 'which_{SF}', *xto* < *kto* 'who_{NOM}'.

Golceker made an important remark on Vershina's dialect orthophonics. The intonation and prosodic system of the dialect in question is very close to the literary variety of the Polish language (Golceker 1989: 138). This fact has been proven during the expeditions in 2008 and 2011, but is also noticed by the descendants of Polish migrants themselves⁶.

The inflectional system of Vershinian dialect practically does not differ from the Polish literary variety. The only differences in declination are connected with the ending -*uf* in N.Pl. and Acc.Pl., e.g. *n'azvuf* 'names_{GEN}', *pšč'oluf* 'bees_{GEN}', *menšč'yznuf* 'men_{GEN}', *pož'umkuf* 'wild strawberries_{GEN}' (Cf. Polish literary *nazw, pszczól, mężczyzn, poziomek*)

⁴ The pronunciation *a*, typical for the literary variety of the Polish language, instead of dialectal *o* may be explained as a possible result of learning Polish at school.

⁵ The loss of nasality in /a/ is connected with narrowing of the vocal preceding the nasal consonant: *un* < *on* < *q*, e.g. *v'unz'al'i* < *v'unz'al'i* < *v'qz'al'i*. A parallel phenomenon has been observed according to /e/: *in/yn* < *en* < *ę*, e.g. *v'inkše* < *v'enkše* < *v'ękše*.

⁶ According to Figura, the Polish language from Eastern borderlands because of its accent is not appreciated by the inhabitants of Vershina. The pronunciation and intonation of Poles from Vilnius visiting the Polish village near Irkutsk was disapproved and compared to Russians speaking Polish: *łny m'uv'om tak, jak u nos m'uv'om R'usk'e po p'olsku* 'They speak Polish' just as our Russians do' (Figura 2003: 120).

and in conjugation they refer to the forms of the past tense in plural – built up of the 3rd person forms with the personal pronoun, e.g. *p'ośl'i my* 'we came_{1PL}', *poś'ol'i my* 'we sowed_{1PL}', *my b'yl'i* 'we were_{1PL}' (Cf. Polish literary *poszliśmy, posialiśmy, byliśmy*); (Kozłowska 2009: 36-37).

The differences between Vershina's lexical system and the Polish literary lexicon are also not of big importance⁷. There are some words, which are not used or have other meanings in other regions of Poland, such as *g'ażina* 'cattle, pigs and fowl' (Polish literary *zwierzęta hodowlane*; cf. *gadzina, gad* 'a bad man'), *neż'ela* 'week' (*tydzień*; cf. *niedziela* 'Sunday'), *kaj* 'where' (*gdzie*), *ć'epać* 'to throw' (*rzucić*), but they are not unintelligible for other native speakers of the Polish language and its dialects. Thus, the differences between the dialect and the literary language before migration, mentioned by Grek-Pabisowa as one of the characteristics of a language island, were not serious neither structurally nor in subjective consciousness of the language users.

4. Bilingualism of the Polish language island in Siberia.

Most Poles in Vershina acquired the Polish dialect as well as the Russian language in everyday communication. Thus, their bilingualism can be classified as naturalistic (or folk), i.e. formed without formal instruction, according to Barbara Bullock and Almeida Toribio's typology (2009: 9)⁸.

Language acquisition type entailed the phenomenon of diglossia in Vershinian bilingualism. According to Charles Ferguson's definition, the 'high' code "is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes" and the 'low' one – for ordinary conversation (1959: 336). Although from this point of view we should consider Russian as 'high' code and Polish as 'low', in the first period of Vershina's history the prestige level of both languages was equal (Głuszkowski 2011a: 160). The high prestige of the Russian language was connected with its position of the official language of the country; the prestige of the Polish dialect was also high, while it was practically the only means of communication in the contacts inside the village and the traditional language of the group. In the communist period the role of the Russian language in the community was increasing. The Polish language was not approved by the state authorities, and according to our informers, speaking Polish outside the community as well as revealing someone's Polish origin and identity, might entail persecution. However, even in such circumstances, the Polish dialect preserved its hidden high prestige inside the community. Nowadays, its prestige is overt, because of the institutional and tourist contacts with Poland as well as of the possibilities of studying in Poland for the youth from Vershina.

⁷ The lexical differences between the Polish language in Poland and the dialect island of Vershina aroused after the migration and were caused by the multidimensional influence of the Russian language.

⁸ Only the Polish literary language is achieved at school and could be described as elite, i.e. classroom based language acquisition (Cf. Bullock, Toribio 2009: 9). However, it is not used in the communication inside the community and this code does not affect the bilingualism of the group of our interest.

Language prestige is often connected with the literary heritage of the given code. Vershina's dialect exists practically only in the spoken variety. There are 5 persons in the village who have graduated from secondary and high schools in Poland and are able to read and write in Polish. The children are learning both written and spoken Polish language at school, but according to our observations they do not practice it outside the classroom. Polish texts, e.g. lyrics of the local folk group or songs and prayers in the church prayer-books are written in Cyrillic alphabet. Poles in Vershina do not tie their dialect to the Polish literary language. The role of the literary variety⁹ has always been fulfilled by the Russian language.

According to Grek-Pabisowa, the existence of a written variety is an important factor influencing the situation of a dialect island (Grek-Pabisowa 1999a: 73). It may help to preserve the norm of the minority language and raises its prestige. While the dialect of the Polish community in Siberia practically does not exist and the only texts are written in foreign alphabet, this factor is very weak in the situation of our interest.

One has to admit, that with the flow of time the Russian language was replacing the Polish dialect in succeeding domains. At the beginning of the 21st century the use of each code in different spheres of life depends first of all on two factors: type of the family (homogenous vs. heterogeneous¹⁰) and the generation. Table¹¹ below is based on the results of sociolinguistic researches in 2008 and 2011 and refers to the homogenous Polish families as well as to the heterogeneous ones who consider themselves Polish.

Table 1. The use of the Polish dialect and the Russian language in different domains.				
<i>domain</i>	<i>family type</i>	<i>old generation</i>	<i>middle-aged generation</i>	<i>young generation</i>
home	homogenous	<u>P</u> /R	<u>P</u> /R	P/R
	heterogeneous	P/R	<u>P</u> / <u>R</u>	<u>P</u> / <u>R</u>
neighbourhood	homogenous	<u>P</u> /R	<u>P</u> /R	<u>P</u> / <u>R</u>
	heterogeneous	P/R	<u>P</u> / <u>R</u>	R
public	homogenous and heterogeneous	R	R	R
religious ¹²	homogenous	P	P	<u>P</u> /R
	heterogeneous	P	<u>P</u> /R	P/R

5. Types of interference in the Polish dialect.

⁹ Cf. Heinz Kloss' notion of 'hochsprachliches Dach' – the language L₂ may be used as the literary variety for the structurally close dialect L₁ (Hentschel 2002: 85).

¹⁰ Under heterogeneous we understand families where at least one of the adult members (parents, grandparents) is not the descendant of the Polish immigrants.

¹¹ The symbol 'P' is used to mark the use of the Polish dialect in the given domain, 'R' – the use of Russian; the distinct dominance of one of the codes is marked with underlining.

¹² Only 20-30 inhabitants of Vershina regularly take part in the religious life of the community (only on biggest holidays the situation is different). Thus, the observations refer only to this small group.

According to the works concerning Vershina's social history (Figura 2003; Petšik 2008), in the first period of the village, the contacts with foreign surroundings were limited. The community tried to live their lives as they did before migration. and they did not feel any serious lacks in their language. Although Duličenko wrote that language island's lexicon is usually insufficient in the new reality (especially in the domains of foreign culture, education or science), the inhabitants of Vershina did not feel the lacks of lexis in their dialect, while the social conditions of their village were changing very slowly (Cf. Duličenko 1998: 26).

The second period of Vershina's history with its intensification of contacts with non-Polish surroundings bore fruit also in the linguistic dimension: the Russian influence onto the Polish dialect's lexicon increased. According to Dorota Paško-Koneczeniak's preliminary analyses borrowings in Polish migrants' language, foreign words appear practically in all spheres. She divides the Russian lexis in Vershina's dialect into several thematic groups: professional life, health and medicine, household, school and education, transport, food, family, tradition, trade and army, which reflect the civilizational changes in the community's life. Adaptation of Russian lexis in the Polish dialect is connected with substitution of phonemes, affixes and endings. If all these elements are replaced with their Polish equivalents, it is considered as fully adopted. Otherwise the adaptation is partial (Cf. Grek-Pabisowa 1999b: 224-225). The following examples reflect the types of the borrowings' adaptation in the Vershinian language:

- (1) *do Irk'ucka, to kto jak, a p'otem tam samal'otem, a kto xce p'ojezdem* 'to Irkutsk you get anyway, and then on a plane, and who wants – on a train'
- (2) *t'erasz mag'azyn ma v d'umy, otkryła* 'she has a shop in her house, she had opened it'
- (3) *L'uda z Val'erkom tyż tu m'ajom dvuxet'ażny dom* 'Luda and Valerka also have a two-storeyed house'
- (4) *i s'erce śe ostanov'ilo* 'and the heart stopped'
- (5) *rosp'isot śe, 'ona śe rosp'is'ala, p'erść'onek j'eden drug'emu n'ażać, t'ak'i v'elk'i* 'he signed it, she signed, and they were to put each other a ring, a big one'
- (6) *j'eśl'i śf'et jes to fkluc'ymy* (example after: Kozłowska 2009: 55) 'if there is electricity, we will turn the light on'
- (7) *'una jes r'usko, 'ale żyje z m'oim s'ynem, ze St'ašk'em, no to 'ona vr'ačka* 'she is Russian, but she lives with my son Stasiek, and she is a doctor'
- (8) *te b'edne pensjoń'ery xl'eba kup'ić nie m'ogom, p'ensje potuč'ajom m'iz'ernom* 'and these poor pensioners can not afford themselves to buy bread, they had so little pension'

The Russian borrowings in the utterances from (1) to (3) are adopted to the Polish dialectal declension and conjugation. The word *samal'ot* 'plane_{NOM}' in (1) has been borrowed with Russian pronunciation: none of the phonemes have been replaced with the Polish and the inflection is the only adopted element. The pronunciation of all other cited borrowings has been assimilated to the Polish dialect. The passages (4) and (5) are examples of the borrowed reflexive verbs' adaptation. The Russian reflexive morpheme -*sja(s')* has been replaced with Polish reflexive pronoun *się*. In (5) and (6) we may observe some characteristic features of the dialects of Little Poland reflected in the borrowings: in

rosp'ísoc'se 'to sign_{INF}' the phoneme *a* is replaced with *o*, and the adaptation of *fkłuc'ymy* 'we will turn on_{1PI}' is an example of mazuration (*c* instead of *č*). However, there are also examples of borrowings, which assimilation does not reflect the dialectal phonetic features, e.g. (7) and (8) the words *vr'ačka* 'doctor_{SFNOM}' and *poluč'ajom* 'they receive_{3PL}' are pronounced without mazuration¹³.

One needs to note, that the Russian language is not the only source of an enrichment of the Polish language island's lexicon. Single words have been borrowed from the Buryat language, especially toponyms (e.g. *Nashata*, an eastern part of *Vershina*) and names of objects and traditions from Buryat culture, e.g. *tarasun*¹⁴ – a Buryat home-made vodka. Nowadays there is also another direction of borrowings into the Polish dialect – the Polish contemporary literary language. This phenomenon refers to few people (no more than 15-20 persons in the village) who have been to Poland or are engaged in the organization of Polish tourist groups' reception. The present state of *Vershina*'s lexicon is reflected in the following utterance:

(9) *jo to všegd'a zar'ob'om tak ct'ery j'ojka, stak'an c'ukru – fil'iz'lanke c'ukru, fil'iz'lanke m'onk'i, jest i margar'yn, to p'acke t'ego margar'ynu* 'I always mix four eggs, a glass of sugar – a cup of sugar, a cup of flour, there is also margarine, I put there a slub of it'

Except of the Polish dialectal lexis borrowings from the Russian everyday lexis (*všegd'a* 'always', *stak'an* 'a glass'), the cited passage contains the word *fil'iz'anke* (cf. Polish literary *filizanka* 'a tea- or coffee-cup', which is an example of the distortion of the dialect island's isolation. The word *maragar'yn* 'margarine_{NOM}' may be interpreted as a morphological loan¹⁵ (under Russian influence the substantive changes its gender from feminine (*margar'yna*) to masculine) or as a borrowing, while we can not be sure if the word *margar'yna* existed in the *Vershina*'s dialect in the first period after the migration. However, the morphological loans are very rare in *Vershina*'s dialect¹⁶.

The semantic loans, i.e. words in the recipient-language which change their meaning or achieve additional sense under the influence of the Russian language (Cf. Obara 1989: 200-201), are also a sparseness in the gathered material. Many of the potential semantic loans have to be classified as borrowings while the given word did not exist in the dialect before migration. Thus, there are no more than 10 examples of undoubted semantic loans, e.g.:

¹³ The Russian phoneme /č'/ in *vr'ačka* has been dispalatalized, what shall be considered as a form of phoneme equivalence, and in *poluč'ajom* it has maintained the palatal pronunciation. The palatalism of /č/ in Russian borrowings in the *Vershinian* dialect is not regular, however its proportions in the gathered corpora has not been counted yet.

¹⁴ One has to admit, that Poles in *Vershina* consider the term *tarasun* as their own, on the contrary to *samogon* 'home-made vodka' (Russian-Polish homonym), which is interpreted as a Russian word.

¹⁵ According to Jerzy Obara's classification morphological loans are cases of changed grammatical categories of the given word, e.g. gender, number, aspect, comparison (Obara 1989: 209).

¹⁶ There were only single examples of changed morphological categories under Russian influence in the material analyzed so far.

(10) *v šk'ole to zastav'ul'i naucyć'ele: pacem'ú Pal'ack'i za Bur'atov nie vyxož'íce* 'the teachers were forcing us at school: why do you, Poles, do not marry Buryats'

(11) *a to tr'ova: m'inta* 'and this is a grass: mint'

In (10) Polish *zastawiać* 'to block, to obstruct' achieved new meaning under the influence of Russian homonymous *zastavljat'* 'to force'. In (11) the word *tr'ova* 'grass' broadened its meaning under the influence of its Russian homonym *trav'a* 'grass; herb'. We did not observe the Polish notion *ziolo (ziele)* 'herb' in the records from Vershina, so it may be fully replaced with *tr'ova* in its new meaning.

The gathered material contains around 20 examples of derivational loan translations, i.e. new words coming into being with own morphemes as a copy of a foreign word (Ibidem: 194). However, only some of them can be considered as indubitable, e.g.:

(12) *p'otem zapšec'one b'ýlo v'so* 'after that everything was forbidden'

(13) *m'óže być poćepl'enie* (example after: Paško-Konecniak 2011: 32) 'warming up may come'

The new word *zapš'econe* 'forbidden' (12) was created under the influence of Russian *zapreščat'* 'to forbid'. The morpheme *-pr'e-* was replaced with its equivalent in the Polish dialect *-pše-*. The new word has Polish conjugation. In (13) *poćepl'enie* 'warming up' the prefix *po-* was used to reflect the structure of Russian *poteplenie*.

Another type of loans distinguished by Obara are phraseological loan translations – idioms and phrases built up from own elements under the influence of the donor-language (Obara 1989: 204-209). There was only one undoubted example of them in the material from the expeditions 2008 and 2011:

(14) *b'ýžěš w kol'usce inval'idnej' ež'zić*

The phrase *kol'aska inval'idna* 'wheelchair' in (14) was created as a copy of Russian construction *invalidnaja koljaska* on the basis of two Polish words: *kol'aska* 'a kind of Polish small carriage' in its broadened meaning 'trolley' and Russian adopted borrowing *inval'idna* 'for crippled persons'.

There are many types of syntactic loan translations, i.e. copying of foreign language syntactic structures, government and word order (Ibidem: 205-209) in Vershina's dialect. Both Kozłowska and Paško-Konecniak enumerate schemes used to determine time and frequency, age as well as various changes in the government (Cf. Kozłowska 2009: 52-54; Paško-Konecniak 2011: 32-33). The following examples reflect some of these cases:

(15) *Ir'ina mu p'iše p'isma* 'Irina writes him letters'

(16) *tam naučyć'elkom ins'tit'uta jej m'ama prac'uje* (example after Kozłowska 2009: 54) 'her mother works as a teacher in an institute'

(17) *lat p'ińć, bo to m'i še p'asport sk'oncyl'* 'about five years, because my passport is out of date'

In (15) instead of Polish scheme *pisać (do kogo?)* ‘write (to) someone’ Vershinians use a copy of a Russian syntactic model *pisat’ (komu?)*. The example (16) *prac’uje naučyc’elkom* ‘works as a teacher’ reconstructs a scheme from the Russian language *rabotat’ (kem?)* ‘to work (whom? INSTR)’ instead of Polish *pracować (jako kto?)* ‘to work (as who? NOM)’. Approximation of time duration *lat p’ińc* ‘around five years’ (17) replaced the Polish structure *około pięciu lat* under the influence of the Russian scheme of expressing approximation with inversion *let pjat’* (cf. *pyat’ let* ‘five years’).

One has to note, that there are analogies in the genesis of various interference types. The process of borrowing is caused by the lexical gap in the vocabulary of the recipient language and syntactic loans occurred as an effect of its structural shortage. There are no Polish equivalents for the copied syntactic schemes, e.g. we did not observe other way of expressing one’s occupation but the structure *rabotat’ (kem?)*.

Although the instances of code-switching (hereafter CS) and code-mixing (hereafter CM) do not fit the classical definition of interference¹⁷, unless they infringe upon the norm of either code, they are important phenomena connected with the Russian influence onto the Polish dialect in Siberia. The dialect of Vershina contains loan translations and many borrowings, but it is still a Southern Polish dialect with its orthophony and structure. The preliminary studies in Vershinian language show that juxtapositions of the codes in the speech of the group of our interest are not differentiated. The material analyzed so far contained either the instances of CS, i.e. intersentential switches and functionally meaningful intrasentential switches, e.g. between clauses or phrases in a clause (Auer 1991: 410) or insertional CM, i.e. an element from the L₁ language placed in an L₂ sentence (Muysken 2000: 4-5). The change of the code in a single utterance is perceived as meaningful by participants of the communicative situation e.g. when a passage in L₂ appears as a citation or is used to contrast the L₁ statement:

(18) *jak na mńe, j’akbym zajex’ala kaj, tak p’atšom, u mńe akc’ent, ja c’ysto po r’usku ěe m’uv’e, z akc’entem, zgd’ujom, zgd’ujom: kak’oj an’a n’acji, kak’oj an’a n’acji i p’otem zgd’ujom, nu, ja že ěe skryv’alam n’acje sv’ojom, a ot’una skr’yva. Kazil’ickaja L’ida Kazim’irovna, a ty kak’oj n’acji? m’oi d’edy byl’i Pal’ak’i. No jo m’uv’e, ja še P’olkom sč’ytam, a’una še juž ěe sč’yta* ‘they are looking at me, when I arrive at any place, I speak with an accent, I can not speak Russian clearly, with accent, they are guessing, guessing: what nationality is she, what nationality is she, and then they pretend to guess, well, I did not conceal my nationality, and she conceals. Kazilitskaya Lida Kazimirovna, what nationality are you? my grandparents were Poles. I tell it, I consider myself Polish, and she does not’

(19) *p’ec’orka, jak’ona – šampj’on po r’usku* ‘champignon_{POL}, how it is – champignon_{RUS} in Russian’

¹⁷ Cf. „Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as interference phenomena” (Weinreich 1963: 1).

In (18) fragments in Russian are citations – the informer tells about a situation from the past and cites her interlocutors in indirect speech, which is an often case in such interviews. The last sentence of the given utterance contains a Russian borrowing – *sč'ytac'se* 'to consider oneself_{INF}', which is adopted to the phonetic and conjugational system of the Polish dialect and shall be considered as a part of the Polish code. The distorted Russian word *šamp'injon* (*šampj'on*) 'champignon' in (19) was placed in the Polish utterance to make the information more precise, while the informer was not sure if the researcher understands her. While "locally meaningful" switches between clauses and phrases (CS) and inside simpler units (CM) are only prototypes, the example (19) shall be located on a continuum between CS and insertional CM, which is presented in its more distinct form in the following fragments:

(20) *ńikt'o tu nie xce być* 'noone wants to be here'

(21) *tym nie żv'eżem, ż'eby l'użi napug'ut'* 'this bear, to frighten people'

(22) *my še drug dr'luga somś'aduf n'e boimy, že tam ktoś vl'eże, coś spask'użi* 'we are not afraid of our neighbours, that someone might come in and spoil anything'

(23) *oduv'ančik, t'ak'e žulč'utk'e kv'at'eck'i* 'Taraxacum, such yellow flowers'

Russian words in the examples form (20) to (23) were inserted into Polish utterances. Various parts of speech in the cited passages were used without adaptation. The lack of own lexis entails using the lexicon of the other language. Thus, the process of insertional CM resembles the genesis of borrowings – lexical shortage. In the cited fragments our informers did not know Polish equivalents of the Russian insertions. In (23) the informer, being not sure, if the researcher understands her words, tried to define the Russian word *oduvančik* 'Taraxacum' (Cf. Polish *mniszek lekarski*; colloquial and incorrectly – *mlecz*), what resembles the example (19), where instead of definition, the informer used both Russian and Polish term.

Some scholars would classify the examples (20) to (23) not as insertional CM, but as non-adopted borrowings (Cf. Grek-Pabisowa 1999: 224-225). Russian insertions, adopted borrowings as well as derivational and semantic loan translations fill the lexical gap in insular dialect's lexis, and the syntactic loan translations are the solution for structural lacks. In such a situation one has to consider a problem of completeness of the Polish dialect in Siberia and its dependence from the Russian language. Most likely the two codes are connected very close what raises a question of merging systems and coming into existence of a mixed code. The emergence of a new system depends on one important condition – stabilization (at least partial) of its structures built up from two codes in contact. Trying to answer the question referring to the hypothetical mixed language on the basis of the Vershinian dialect, one has to have a look at the socio- and psycholinguistic circumstances of its evolution.

6. Further development of the Polish dialect island in Siberia.

There are various possibilities of language island development, what (which) makes any predictions risky and uncertain. However, there are some premises which let us anticipate the direction of further faith of Vershina's language situation. According to the

sociolinguistic research so far, there are serious differences between the young and old generation. The languages of the youth and of the oldest members of the community were developing in different social, economic and political conditions (Głuszkowski 2011a: 165-169). Nowadays the oldest members of the community still use the language of their childhood. However, even they have a feeling that their competence in Russian is higher than in the Polish dialect¹⁸ and use the Russian language in everyday communication. The Polish language of the young generation is reduced to the role of a school subject (the literary variety) and for limited contacts with grandparents (the dialect). The ‘Polish identity’ of young Vershinians is reduced to the consciousness of their origin.

Still more important role of the Russian language and the lack of the Polish dialect in primary socialization leads to language death (Ibidem: 168-170). One has to admit, that everyone in the community understands and speaks Russian, so the language of the first settlers is only an additional code in the communication of the community. Further existence of the dialect depends on the support from the field of identity and tradition. New languages emerge when L₁ is still vivid in the group communication under the influence of L₂. In such situations the new mixed code plays an important role for a considerably large part of the community and/or is connected with the new ‘mixed’ identity (Cf. e.g. Auer 1991: 434; Jørgensen 1998: 242; Thomason 2003: 35-36). The Polish dialect still plays an important role in the old generation’s communication, but trying to predict the future one has to consider the young generation. Although the new (mixed or hybridized) identity has already emerged (See: Głuszkowski 2010), most likely it will not entail the mixed language, while the youth perfectly speak Russian and need no other code to fulfil their social necessities.

The inhabitants of Vershina are successively forgetting their mother tongue. There are some factors which could hinder the actual changes if they were stronger: religion, culture, local organisations and activists. However, none of them is of great importance now while they refer only to a small group of 20-30 people. Thus, the most probable direction of Vershina’s language situation will be a language shift – in the nearest decades the Polish dialect will be replaced with the Russian language and the Polish language island will sink in the ocean of its Russian surroundings.

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¹⁸ One of our informers claimed: *mnie lży pa,r’usk’i rozm’av’ac’ cem pa,p’olsk’i* ‘it’s easier for me to speak Russian than Polish’ (example after Kozłowska 2009), and it was not any unique opinion.

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