Code-switching and code-mixing in the conditions of Slavic-Slavic language contact. Vershina – a unique Polish language island in Siberia

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Introduction

Various forms of reflection on the phenomenon of language change during speech, as in the case of language contact and the bilingualism it accompanies, are much older than systematic research on this topic. Certainly, the coexistence of many languages could already be found in the ancient world (Taylor 2002), and evidence of this state of affairs is, among others, the biblical story of the Tower of Babel as the genesis of linguistic diversity. Yet, the first attempts at scientific studies in this area did not occur until the end of the Middle Ages (Heinz 1983: 81–82). Descriptions of the phenomenon of code-switching have been present in linguistic literature since, at least, the end of the 19th century; however, back then, the terms "mixture in language" and "passing from one language to another" were used (Paul 1891: 457–460). The term code-switching, in its current understanding, appeared in scientific circulation only in the era of systematic research on bilingualism, i.e. since the 1950s, when, in the publications of Uriel Weinreich (1963 [1953]), Einar Haugen (1953), and Charles Ferguson (1959), the concepts of language contact, interference and diglossia were also developed. Linguistics borrowed the concept from communication engineering, where the term "switching code" was used by the Italian-American computer scientist Robert Fano (1950), in the context of interpretation of speech sounds by the recipient (Benson 2001: 26). As Erica Benson (2001: 25–27) points out, in the currently known order of the words "code-switching", the pioneer is Hans Vogt (1954a; 1954b). The concept was then popularised by, among others, Einar Haugen, in his speech at the International Congress

of Linguistics in Oslo in 1957 (Хауген 1972: 69), and Albert Richard Diebold (1963), who was the first to make code-switching the title problem of an article.

Over time, the issue of changing language during speech has become a permanent part of contact linguistics and, subsequently, other studies have appeared to clarify the dimension of the phenomenon, to analyse its structural and non-structural conditions and connections with other phenomena accompanying bilingualism, especially loanwords, and to introduce typologies and classifications as well as the differentiation of code-switching and code-mixing. Without detracting from the importance of the theoretical development of analyses of the phenomenon of the present interest[1], it is also necessary to note the expanding scope of the material under analysis, covering increasingly the languages of new bilingual communities. However, there are disproportions, which is to the detriment of certain language groups and contact situations, and Slavic languages, including Polish, are insufficiently studied. This was the first motivation to take up the title problem of the research – to include extensive field material from Slavic-Slavic language contact into the discussion of various aspects of code-switching and code-mixing.

The second motivation was to expand the existing research on the Polish language in the diaspora with an in-depth analysis of the important dimension of bilingualism. Research on the language situation of Poles living abroad developed after the political transformation, starting in the 1990s. One of the most important publications in this field was the collective monograph edited by Stanisław Dubisz (1997), *Język polski poza granicami kraju* (*Polish language abroad*), but soon many other studies appeared. A lot of research works created already in the 21st century were the first extensive studies in the given communities; therefore, despite their original goal being of a linguistic nature, they were transformed into interdisciplinary studies, also addressing socio-historical and cultural problems. To a greater or lesser extent, the monograph by Wiesław Stefańczyk (1995) on the language of the Polish diaspora in Hungary, Władysław Miodunka's (2003) monograph on the langauge situation of the Polish community in Brazil,

[1] They will be the subject of considerations in Chapter 3.

and Robert Dębski's book on the Polish language in Australia (2009) were of such a nature. Sociological studies devoted to Polish emigration also touched upon language problems, although from the perspective of social sciences, i.e. addressing the function of the minority language in the given community, and they concerned both the biggest communities, such as Polish diasporas in the USA (Fiń 2015) and the UK (Akhurst et al. 2012), and smaller groups, such as Poles in Iceland (Budyta-Budzyńska 2016) or in Turkey (Cichocki, Godzińska 2006). Over the course of about twenty years, most often in an interdisciplinary approach, the language situation of Poles in various parts of the world has been discussed. In addition to the countries already mentioned, these have included areas of the former USSR (e.g. Dzięgiel 2003; Geben 2017), Canada (Lustanski 2018), and German-speaking countries (e.g. Cieszyńska 2006; Pułaczewska, Terelak 2019).

However, despite the multitude of studies, of which only a few have been mentioned as an example of the territorial and problem-specific scope, the title issues of the present monograph, i.e. code-switching and code-mixing, have been relatively rarely discussed[2], and mostly only touched upon in texts describing other processes related to bilingual communication (cf. Sękowska 1995; Nagórko 2012). As already mentioned, this is a phenomenon that has accompanied bilingualism since its beginnings. Therefore, the problem of underrepresentation in studies on code-switching and code-mixing, not only in the context of Polish diasporas (including Siberia) but also in other contact situations of Slavic languages, is worth addressing. Meanwhile, in world contact linguistics, it is one of the most studied questions: in addition to numerous articles and monographs, encyclopaedias (Bullock, Toribio 2009a) and special issues of journals are devoted to it (*Sociolinguistica* 2004).

The theoretical concepts discussed in this study have been applied to linguistic material from one specific and small community – the Polish language island in Siberia (the village of Vershina in Irkutsk Oblast). As explained in Chapter 2, the inhabitants of this village form one of many

[2] One of the few examples of more extensive studies on code-switching issues involving Polish is Kathryn Northeast's (2023) research on language behaviour in family communication in mixed Polish-English families in the UK and Poland.

Polish communities in the East, in the territory of the former USSR, but, at the same time, they stand out from this group because they were not forced to live abroad as a result of deportation or the loss of lands by Poland; instead, they were economic emigrants. This makes the studied group an unusual and interesting community, which has already been pointed out by researchers. The Vershinian community has been the subject of extensive studies in various disciplines, including linguistics (Mitrenga-Ulitina 2015), but the issue of code-switching is yet to be addressed. Thus, one of the aims of the present monograph is to contribute to this field with a comprehensive sociolinguistic study based on extensive language material collected during the field research covering four expeditions over 11 years. In addition to being the analysis of the juxtaposition of codes occurring between the standard variety of an East Slavic language (Russian) and a West-Slavic non-standard variety (the Lesser Poland dialect), it is an attempt at presenting a multidimensional description of bilingualism of a specific religious, linguistic and cultural minority – the descendants of Polish voluntary settlers from the beginning of the 20th century in Siberia.

The research questions are based on the results of the previous research on the linguistic situation of Vershina (for more details, see section 2.4), and this study aims to clarify the following issues: a) What factors guide the descendants of Polish settlers in their choice of language in specific communication situations and what are the mechanisms leading to intentional and unintentional code-switches? b) To what extent do social factors determine code-switching and code-mixing, and what are these factors? c) Which code is marked in the chosen community and in what social circumstances does it occur? d) Is the minority language a form of expression of the group identity? e) What are the features of an ideal/prototypical code-switcher in the community studied? f) Which of the instances of code-mixing convert into a mixed code and why? g) To what extent is the Lesser Poland dialect in Vershina an endangered language and is the scenario of the death of the language probable?

The monograph is divided into four chapters. Chapter 1 is devoted to the social history of Vershina. Due to the comprehensive and sociolinguistic

character of the given study, it is important to characterise the socio-historical background of the language situation of the community in question. This part of the work will deal with the terminology used to describe Poles abroad, with a particular emphasis placed on the areas of the former USSR and the multitude of names referring to Siberia, depending on whether they take into account a geographical or mental area. For the current situation of the informants, their social background and the nature of their migration are of great importance. Unlike the majority of people of Polish descent in Siberia, who were forced to settle there as part of repression in various periods of Poland's historical dependence on Russia, those who settled in Vershina did it voluntarily. The main part of the first chapter is a description of the most important social and cultural events and changes, divided into three basic periods of the history of the Polish settlement in Siberia: 1910–1939 – adaptation to new conditions and the experience of political and economic changes; 1940–1990 – progressing Russification and Sovietisation as well as stabilisation of the successive generations; after 1991 – a revival of contacts with the ancestral homeland.

The purpose of Chapter 2 is to discuss the sociolinguistic situation, i.e. the circumstances that directly determine code-switching and code-mixing in the Polish village in Siberia. The first sections are devoted to the discussion of the basic terminology used in characterising the Vershinians, as found in the sociological and cultural literature on them: the notions of a language island and "a Polish community in the East". The next extensive part of this chapter is a description of the genesis and the most important features of bilingualism in the community discussed, as well as the social differentiation of the functions of languages in the conditions of diglossia, taking into account the changes occurring in the subsequent periods of the history of the village. An issue related to bilingualism and diglossia is biculturalism and the social differentiation of cultural systems in which community members participate. The problem analysed in the following sections consists in the components of the identity of the inhabitants of Vershina, both in the group-based and individual dimensions. The last part of this chapter is devoted to the methods of gathering material and description of the subsequent expeditions to Siberia.

Chapter 3 deals with the phenomena that characterise unbalanced or partial bilingualism, i.e. all the instances when at least one of the languages is not used according to its norm. In the following sections, key concepts for the research are addressed (interference, code-switching and code-mixing), along with a discussion of terminological disagreements and different variants of theoretical approaches. The chapter endeavours to explain where the boundaries of borrowing and code-switching are, how to divide various types of borrowing, and what is understood by the concept of code-switching. These discussions are illustrated with the relevant linguistic material and constitute the introduction to Chapter 4, in which the answers to the research questions, already posed at the beginning, are provided. The analyses are carried out at the two main levels: the macro- and microsociolinguistic ones. In the first case, phenomena in the group-based dimension are discussed, concerning the strategies of language choice in communication situations, possible emergence of the mixed code and the question of language shift and death, as well as the phenomena of co-existence of two languages in the written form in the conditions of biscriptality. The summary of the macrosociolinguistic part is the proposal of possible paths of development of the Vershinian dialect. The discussion at the micro-sociolinguistic level concerns individual phenomena, and thus primarily the idiolectal differentiation, with a particular emphasis placed on the level of competence in the Lesser Poland dialect as a heritage language. The next section discusses the problem of the ideal/prototypical code-switcher and the social conditions determining this state.

The conclusion of the monograph is primarily the verification of the answers to the most important research questions. It also attempts to make predictions about the future development of the language situation of the Polish village in Siberia.

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1. The social history of Vershina

1.1. Polish people in Siberia and "Sibir" – historical and terminological backgrounds

After the Third Partition in 1795, Poland disappeared from the map for 123 years, not existing as a state until the end of World War I in 1918 and the approval of the new world order under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. However, the strong influence of the neighbouring powers – the Russian Empire, Prussia and Austria – on the territory of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania began earlier, even before the First Partition in 1772, which resulted from many factors, but, above all, from the weakening central royal authority, increasing socio-political divisions within the country and geopolitical processes that not all states managed to cope with (Topolski 2015: 202–235). As a result of subsequent divisions, the Russian Empire received as much as 63% of 733,000 km of the territory and 45% of the then 12.3-million population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Jezierski et al. 1994: 20); it was with this country that the Polish history would most closely be connected for almost a century and a half. Sociocultural, economic and scientific ties between Poles and Russians were often enforced due to the political situation, e.g. through a community of institutions (see, e.g., Leczyk 1980). Poles went to study in Russia – in Saint Petersburg, Kazan, Moscow – because it was cheaper than pursuing one's education in the West (Głuszkowski 2009a: 53). Departures

to Russia were sometimes motivated by a desire to make a career, e.g. in the sector of administration, the access to which was otherwise difficult for Poles in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the censorship prevailing in Polish cities was harsher than in other regions of the tsarist state (cf., e.g., Hoesick 1929: 7). The predominant demand for engineers, teachers, doctors, civil servants and representatives of other professions, together with a greater ease of career advancement without exclusion on the grounds of improper origin, attracted Poles to Russia, including Siberia (Opłakańska 2007: 206–208).

However, it is not the voluntary exodus to the East, and especially to Siberia, that has made the greatest mark in Polish historiography, but it was the history of forced deportations. The beginnings of Poles' exile to Siberia are related to the growing dependence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on Russia, which culminated in the subsequent annexations of the territory until the final loss of independence in 1795. The phenomenon of exile is associated, due to its largest scale, with the 19th and 20th centuries, but the first large groups experienced forced deportations already in the 18th century. Although the lack or inaccurate statistical data makes it difficult to determine the number of Polish exiles from that period, Joanna Getka (2014: 166–169) quotes the estimates by historians and the diary accounts of Karol Lubicz Chojecki, who was exiled to Siberia in 1769 for participating in the Bar Confederation, a union fighting against the Russian influence and the policy of King Stanisław August Poniatowski, which shows that, in the second half of the 18th century, approximately 10,000 Poles had been already deported to Siberia. At the end of the century, after the Kościuszko Uprising of 1794, another 15,000 people, approximately, were exiled. Some of them returned to Poland in the following years under the tsarist decrees of 1796 and 1801 (Caban 2014: 99–100). Exiles were most often used in the form of sanctions applied to those who fought militarily to regain independence in the November (1830–31) and January (1863–64) Uprisings. The first of these groups, according to estimated data, constituted almost 10,000 people (Caban 2014: 100), and in the case of the second one, almost 20,000 (cf. Мулина 2012: 178–190; Caban, Michalska-Bracha 2017: 37).

Socially active, usually young, people involved in the resistance movement against tsarism, representing different political options, ended up in exile, somewhere deep inside the Empire. Sometimes they ended up in the same places as Russian rebels or those coming from other areas of the Empire. Thus, Siberia was a place of exile not only for Polish insurgents, but also for Estonian deportees, among others (Viikberg 2004), as well as for the young generation of Russian aristocrats who organised an uprising against Tsar Nicholas I in 1825, known as the Decembrist Revolt (Rus. *Vosstaniye dekabristov*) (Łukawski 1981: 177–191). As Krzysztof Czajkowski (2013: 54–55) has pointed out, the Prince Volkonsky Mansion in Irkutsk was a meeting place for both Russian and Polish co-exiles, the Decembrists and the Konarschists[3], and retained its open and partly Polish character until the 21st century. In addition to the tens of thousands of deportees sentenced for their participation in the Polish national uprisings, members of their families, mainly their wives but often also their children, followed them to Siberia (Мулина 2012: 74–75). The large group of exiles consisted of people representing various social classes, including the intelligentsia, who had often distinguished themselves in pioneering research on Siberia in various disciplines, e.g. ethnography – Bronisław Piłsudski and Wacław Sieroszewski; biology – Benedykt Dybowski and Mikołaj Jankowski; geography – Jan Czerski; and many others (see, e.g., Śliwowska 1990; Kuczyński 2007). At the beginning of the 20th century, over 50,000 Poles lived in Siberia, among whom there were also voluntary emigrants (Wiśniewski 2019: 63–65; see also section 1.2).

In textbooks and educational materials, an unambiguous exile image of Siberia is recorded without taking into account the important trends of voluntary emigration (see, e.g., ZPE 2023). In Polish, there are two similar terms *Syberia* and *Sybir*. *Syberia* has a neutral connotation and is defined as "a geographic region in North Asia, the main part of Russia's Asian territory" (see, e.g., EPWN 2023). The situation of the second term is more complicated. *Sybir* is an adaptation of the Russian *Sibir'*

[3] The participants in a conspiracy against the Russian government in the Eastern regions of the former Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania – headed by Szymon Konarski (Pol. *konarszczycy*).

and the reference to the foreign geographical name is not a coincidence. The inequivalence of the names *Siberia* and *Sybir* results from, among others, the geographical character of the former and the socio-historical character of the latter, which covers not only the territory of Russia located East of the Urals but also Kazakhstan, and is associated with exile and forced hard labour. Wiktoria Śliwowska has thus defined this socio-historical phenomenon: "the general experience of Polish exiles[4], forcibly separated from their places of permanent residence, experienced in the vast areas of the Russian Empire"[5], because the presence of Poles there was primarily the result of enslavement and the actions of the tsarist and, later, the Soviet system of repression[6] (Strawińska 2013: 62). At the same time, in the sources described by Anetta Strawińska as "being in line with the policy of correctness", *Sybir* is treated as a synonym of *Syberia*, which confirms its presence in 19th-century dictionaries with reference to *Syberia*, and in more recent dictionaries – with the qualifier 'obsolete' (Strawińska 2013: 59). Popular automated translation systems also operate in this spirit: Google Translate dictionary and online translator (GoogleTranslate 2023) and even the Reverso system for contextual translation (Reverso 2023) give the same equivalent for both of the Polish terms – the neutral *Siberia*, but it is already possible for Deepl to make a distinction by proposing its translation of *Sybir* as *Sibir* (cf. Deepl 2023).

Jarosław Ławski's words provide an accurate summary of the above terminological considerations:

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[4] Due to this "common national experience", in Polish social consciousness *Sybir* functions as a cultureme, i.e. a lexical unit in the semantic structure of which connotation prevails over denotation (Rak 2015: 313; cf. Oskaar 1988; Nagórko 2021).

[5] Here and hereafter, unless otherwise indicated, quotations translated by the author.

[6] Strawińska enumerates a number of stylistically various euphemisms with which the term "Sibir" is replaced in Polish journalism, fiction and scholarly literature (mainly historical): *czyściec odkupienia* 'the purgatory of redemption', *dom niewoli* 'the house of slavery', *nieludzka* (*lub przeklęta*) *ziemia* 'the inhumane (or cursed) land', *kraina powolnego konania* 'the land of slow dying', *lodowe piekło* 'the icy hell', and others (Strawińska 2013: 63).

> The imaginary of Sibir/Siberia is a huge, powerful complex of perceptions of Poles and Eastern Europeans, whose stance is based on the experience of exile in Siberia, and whose point of departure is sometimes the process of getting to know Siberia, an undiscovered land with its own culture, history and geographical peculiarities. (Ławski 2013: 153)

In the Polish humanities, studies treating Siberia as a special place in Polish history, linked to the struggle against Russian domination and the martyrdom of the Polish nation (Pol. *Sybir*), are most common, although some researchers also consider this social-historical and geographical space in universal terms, focusing on the Siberian multicultural specificity (ibidem).

The issue of naming people living in the area under discussion is equally complicated. In Polish, apart from the word *Sybir*, as previously defined, there is another term used to refer to people associated with this area – *sybirak*$_{SG}$ and *sybiracy*$_{PL}$, which can be translated into English as 'Sibirac' ('Sibiracs'), and these distinctions will be retained (see, e.g., Jackowska 2005). However, unlike the similar-sounding Russian *sibiriak*$_{SG}$ and *sibiriaki*$_{PL}$, it is not a neutral term for an inhabitant of Siberia. The notion is defined as "a prisoner deported to Siberia or an exile to Siberia in tsarist times or during the Soviet Union", and also as a former prisoner or exile, including repatriates (cf. SJP 2023). To name the inhabitants of Siberia, the descriptive term "mieszkaniec Syberii" (Pol. inhabitant of Siberia) is used and it is the translation equivalent of the Russian *sibiriak*. The inhabitants of Vershina, as voluntary migrants, are not "Sibiracs" but Siberians. Although they characterise themselves as *sybiracy*, they use this word as a regional ethnonym in accordance with the Russian meaning of *sibiriak*, i.e. people belonging to various ethnic groups who share a sense of local pride resulting from the ability to survive in the difficult climatic conditions, and from their perseverance to the hardships of life (Wiżentas 2022a: 54). Nevertheless, it will be shown in the following sections that, as victims of the Soviet system of repression during the Stalinist era, to some extent they also became Sibiracs in the Polish sense. The issue of locating the descendants of settlers from 1910 in the Polish historical imagination is complex and most often subject to simplification, in which authors,

especially publicists, equate them with exiles, which has been the subject of considerations already in previous studies (cf. Głuszkowski 2009c; Głuszkowski et al. 2022). In the context of the linguistic situation and the impact of identity on linguistic behaviour, with a particular emphasis placed on language choice, much more important than the media images of Vershina is the self-awareness of its inhabitants and reflection on their location in the Siberian multicultural society (Głuszkowski 2009b). These issues will be discussed, among others, in sections on the formation of identity in the face of changing socio-political and economic conditions, the functional distribution of languages, their prestige and metalinguistic reflections (see sections 2.2, 2.3, 4.1.1 and others).

1.2. Voluntary settlement in Siberia and the origins of Vershina

In the mid-19th century, Siberia was referred to as all of Russia's possessions beyond the Ural Mountains in the Old World, i.e. excluding Alaska, which was located on the American continent and later sold to the United States. Ludwik Bazylow also provides other definitions drawn from geographical studies up to the early 20th century that similarly characterise the area, including the Asian territories of Russia in addition to the southern Caucasus, the Trans-Caspian region and Turkestan (Bazylow 1975: 7–8). Siberia, seen as the territory from the Urals to the Pacific Ocean and from the Steppes of Central Asia, the Altai and its connected mountain massifs to the Glacial Ocean, extends over an area of 12,765,900 km^2 (Łukawski 1981: 7). Although the concept of Siberia was redefined in the USSR period and did not include the Russian Far East, i.e. the mountain ranges separating the basins of the rivers flowing into the Arctic Sea from those flowing into the Pacific Ocean (Bazylow 1975: 9), it is still a vast territory characterised by low population density (about 2 people per square km) and by ethnocultural diversity (Łukawski 1981: 7). From the beginning of the 18th century, the regular settlement of people from the European part of Russia began in the Siberian lands, as a result of which, already in that period, about 300,000 Russians inhabited the area east of the Urals (Bazylow 1975: 53–54). After the discovery of gold deposits in Siberia in the first half of the

19th century, the period known as the Gold Rush in the history of the region began (Łukawski 1981: 168–172).

Wishing to control the multicultural social organism and to make full use of the natural resources, which, at first, were mineral deposits and timber, and later also hydropower, the Russian authorities sought to regulate the legal order of the newly conquered lands. The issue of voluntary settlement in Siberia was addressed by the Ministry of State Property, established in 1837, under the 1842 law on the conditions of settlement, and, later, in 1861, Tsar Alexander II's decree on the settlement of Russians and foreigners in the Outer Manchuria and Primorye regions of Eastern Siberia (Masiarz 2016: 19; Leończyk 2017: 46–47). Population growth in the territories of the Kingdom of Poland was one of the factors stimulating migration to areas beyond the Urals (Leończyk 2017: 53–55). At the end of the 19th century, migration processes and contacts between Siberia and the European part of Russia were significantly improved by the commissioning of successive sections of the Trans-Siberian railway (Bazylow 1975: 70–71).

Poles took part in the construction of the train connection and later, with its help, reached towns with direct and indirect access to the railway line in order to settle there and take up positions in the administration. In the context of this study, however, the most relevant are the conditions of the migrations of the peasant people who were the most numerous and, at the same time, the most economically disadvantaged social group in the Russian Empire (Zajączkowski 2015: 97). In the 1860s and 1870s, the number of peasant settlers in Siberia increased by a few thousand new arrivals per decade, but from the 1880s onwards, migration processes accelerated rapidly (Masiarz 2016: 20), especially after the abolition of village communities as a result of the land reform carried out by Pyotr (Peter) Stolypin, prime minister, in 1906 (Bazylow 1975: 72). It was the peasantry in its various forms that was the main driving force in the colonisation processes of Siberia, while the industrial conquest of these lands was much less dynamic (Дамешек, Ремнёв 2007: 55). It was the time when the representatives of many ethnic groups living in Russia arrived in Siberia, e.g. Germans who had already settled in the European part of the Empire during the reign of Catherine the Great, and who were heading East of the Urals *en masse* from the end of the 19th century (Goreva 2021:

68–69), or Latvians, who formed one of the largest groups of emigrants coming from the western provinces (Reinsone 2014: 37–38). Among the peasant migrants were also Ukrainians, Belarusians and Poles, who were the dominant ethnic group in many of the newly established villages (Leończyk 2017: 39). For instance, in 1899, a Polish village was founded in the Tomsk region, whose name Białystok comes from the region of origin of its founders. Due to the peasant and economic nature of the emigration, this village is often compared to Vershina[7] (cf. Haniewicz 2008: 17–22). Furthermore, as part of the peasant emigration to Siberia at the end of the 19th century, other villages were established in the Yenisei Governorate (Stupiński 2009: 8–9; Leończyk 2017: 141–142). The scale of this phenomenon inspired Waldemar Masiarz (2016: 81–90) to call it "the Siberian Rush" (Pol. *gorączka syberyjska*). In the years 1885–1914, about 60 villages inhabited by Poles were established in Siberia (Wiśniewski 2019: 65). Most of those settlements lost their Polish character over time due to cultural assimilation of the population and the abandonment of the Polish language by the successive generations (Głuszkowski 2022a: 19).

This is the context in which the emigration of the founders of Vershina, who in 1910 sent their representatives to the Irkutsk area, took place. They were citizens of the Russian Empire living on its western periphery, i.e. the Dąbrowa Basin and Lesser Poland, roughly from Olkusz and Będzin in the southwest to Piotrków and Końskie in the northeast, part of the administrative unit of the Kingdom of Poland. The migrants were peasants or workers of peasant descent. In their case, the migration was economically motivated: the future settlers encountered an economic crisis in the Dąbrowa Basin in the years 1905–07 and were tempted by the allotment of 16-ha parcels and development allowances, subsidised travel expenses, house building materials, loans on preferential terms and promises of tax relief in the first years (Петшик 2008: 6–8). The decision to leave, despite the large distance separating the Kingdom of Poland from

[7] However, as a result of a more drastic nature of the repressions and the subsequent socio-political situation, the degree of preservation of the Polish language and culture was much lower (cf. Haniewicz 2008: 24–56; Głuszkowski 2014: 176).

the Irkutsk Governorate, was favoured by the fact that it was still internal migration within the same state organism. Poles attended tsarist Russian-language schools, and petitions for permission to leave were submitted to the Russian administration, whose representatives they later worked with at their destination several thousand kilometres further east. No one forced the residents of Lesser Poland to emigrate, and many of them did not belong to the poorest strata of society, but all of them hoped that emigration would improve their material situation, and when the first plans to leave in 1909 were halted by the authorities, the future emigrants prepared the lists of applicants again and asked the tsarist administration for the allotment of land and permission to settle in Siberia (Masiarz 2016: 113–115). Thus, their migration was not of a political or national nature, which some publicists nowadays try to attribute to it (see, e.g., Wyrostkiewicz 2010; Głuszkowski 2022b: 301), and, notwithstanding the obvious differences, it could be compared to the conquest of the Wild West by settlers from the East Coast of the United States.

Before whole families left, groups interested in emigrating sent their representatives to Siberia in order to find suitable areas for settlement – the "khodoks"[8], from Rus. *khodok* 'walker', i.e. "chosen from among the peasants, sent somewhere to inspect and prepare this place for the arrival of others" (Ушаков 1940). Following the authorities' recommendation to delegate members of families interested in settlement to carry out the reconnaissance, the khodoks who chose Vershina as the location were its later residents (Masiarz 2016: 40). Although Cheremkhovo seemed to be the most attractive place for workers, due to the opencast hard coal mines and the railway station located there, the delegates of the peasants from the Piotrków governorate chose to settle further along the Ida River, in the area surrounded by taiga and hills, which, according to some accounts of their descendants, "captivated them with its undeveloped state and beauty

[8] Swietłana Mitrenga-Ulitina (2015: 17) uses the variant *chodak* (khodak), but Władysław Masiarz (2016: 17) insists on using the original *chodok* (khodok) so as to avoid confusion with Pol. *chodak*, meaning 'wooden shoe; clog', and Lesser Polish *chodak*, meaning 'boy; young man' (cf. Wronicz 2010; 2018). In the present work, the word khodok (*chodok*) will be used, according to the Vershinian pronunciation.

of the landscape" (Mitrenga-Ulitina 2015: 17; Masiarz 2016: 121). It was a place called Trubacheyevskiy Uchastok, derived from the surname of the plenipotentiary of the Buryat Rural Community – Trofim Trubacheyev, in the Balagan district, Bokhan region of the Irkutsk Governorate (Петшик 2008: 8; Masiarz 2016: 122).

1.3. Key sources for the study of the social history of Vershina

The history of Vershina has been described in a comprehensive way in an extensive monograph by Władysław Masiarz (2016). The book is based on archival sources and field research, and it takes into account almost all available studies on the history and present-day situation of the Polish village in Siberia. However, there are more sources that can serve as the sources for discussing the social history of Vershina, and they include the following:

a) Publications in the field of cultural anthropology, ethnology, ethnography and sociology, whose authors have also presented an extensive socio-historical background (e.g. Wiśniewska 2000, 2004; Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003a; Галеткина 2015).
b) Works devoted to selected events or periods, e.g. victims of Stalinist repressions (Szostak 2001; Szostak 2002) and the history of the Catholic Church as an important social institution in the life of the Polish community and its national revival after the collapse of the USSR (Soska 2002; Wiśniewska 2002; Węcławik 2020).
c) Journalistic texts and reportage from the Soviet era by Hanna Krall (1972: 5–17) and Dionizy Sidorski (1973: 185–194), as well as later ones, from the 21st century (Sowa 2013; Jastrzębski 2013; Zieliński, Maniura 2013), including entire books and reportage works by Anna Łabieniec (2003) and Krzysztof Gilewicz (2010).
d) Articles in the daily and popular printed press (e.g. Minkowski 1990; Soska 1994; Czartoryski-Sziler 2013) and on the Internet (Koperski 2003; Tryk 2007; Herman 2009; Wyrostkiewicz 2010; Gomulak 2012; Rzeszotek 2014; and many others).

e) Linguistic and sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Гольцекер 1991; Ananiewa 2007; Kozłowska 2009), particularly Svetlana Mitrenga-Ulitina's (2015) doctoral monograph.
f) Valuable scholarly works by the residents of Vershina: a master's dissertation and an article on the language and socio-cultural situation by Ludmiła Figura (1995; 2003), a chronicle of the village based on archival materials and Valenty Pietshik's (Петшик 2008) own memories, as well as works on the Vershinian musical culture[9] by Evelina Vizhentas (e.g. 2020).
g) School essays in local history competitions written by the teenagers from Vershina.
h) Oral history – statements by Vershinians on the history of their village, as documented by the team carrying out the major research project to which this study is related (Głuszkowski et al. 2022).

Due to the availability of the detailed study on the history of Vershina (Masiarz 2016), this chapter will focus primarily on the events and processes that have shaped the social, economic and cultural situation of the village, and thus they have influenced the language situation determining the choice of language and code-switching in the recorded dialogues and monologues. They will be discussed taking into account the periods in the history of the village distinguished on the basis of the sources mentioned above and the research in the field of the collective memory of Vershinians.

1.4. The main periods in the social history of Vershina

Due to the nature of this study and the focus on the language situation, there will be a less detailed periodisation than the one existing in the historical research (cf. Masiarz 2016: 113–232). It has already been used in the earlier sociolinguistic studies and takes into account three main periods: I – covering the years 1910–39, characterised by ethnic homogeneity and the relative possibility of cultivating cultural and linguistic distinctiveness;

[9] The musical culture of Vershina is also the subject of studies of other researchers (see, e.g., Smoluch 2014; 2021; Соколова 2020).

II – the times of intense Sovietisation and gradual mixing of cultures in the years 1940–90; III – the period of regaining some minority rights and reviving contacts with Poland and Poles after 1991 (see, e.g., Głuszkowski 2011a; 2012a; 2014a; Głuszkowski et al. 2022).

1.4.1. The years 1910–1939: adaptation to new conditions and experience of political and economic changes

The first period in the history of the Polish settlement in Siberia was associated with its development under new and difficult climatic conditions, in a new socio-cultural environment, and then, after several years of peace, with new political and economic conditions that had to be faced due to forced collectivisation, and finally, with the Stalinist repressions of the late 1930s.

Initially, the Polish settlers lived in dugouts (Rus. *zemlyanka*), wooden housing structures partly below ground level sealed and insulated with soil layer outside, and with animal hides or bark inside, and later also in the so-called *balagans* – hut-shack buildings made of birch planks and branches covered again with animal hides and bark (Szostak 2002: 222–224; Masiarz 2016: 127–128). This period is clearly etched in the collective memory of the inhabitants of Vershina, both in the statements of older people, familiar with the first years of the village from the stories of its founders, and representatives of the younger generation, as can be seen in their school essays on local history. One of the older informants describes the life in dugouts as follows:

> WII[10]: pʼˈeršy rok pšyjėxˈalʼi to pˈokə nɑcˈelʼi kɑrcˈuvəć kaś lˈas vykɑpˈovəć | ˈalė jag uvʼiźˈelʼi žė do źˈimnə ńė uśpʼėvˈajum | ńė zdˈonzəm […] cas ṭšˈebə mʼˈeć | i nɑcˈyńi prˈosto | no tɑkˈoj vʼˈenkšə

[10] Hereinafter in the cited examples, the letter means gender, and the Roman numeral – the generation to which the interviewee belongs (for more on informants and their generational division, see section 2.4 and Appendix 3).

> gˈurkə vyrvˈal’i | v’ˈirx džˈevėm pokrˈyl’i kaś jˈak’iś škˈur nˈa‿v’erx | ź’ˈimńə ˈalė | i vˈot | no ˈalė žˈyl’i tak | p’ˈecyk stɑv’ˈal’i i jˈakəś po trˈoxu žˈyl’i | i pˈuźńėj kaś juš na drˈug’i tšˈeći rˈok dɑp’ˈerə nɑcˈel’i kaś trˈoxė dˈomk’i jˈak’ėś stˈav’əć (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 108)
>
> WII: The first year after their arrival, they began to cut down the forest, but when the settlers realised that they would not make it before winter, because more time was needed, they made their plans less ambitious. They chose small hills, erected a wooden structure, insulated with some animal hides, and although it was cold, it was possible to live there. They put in a stove and lived like that for some time. Only later, in the second or third year, normal houses began to be built.

Shortly after their arrival, the settlers began building a Roman Catholic church and a school with Polish as the language of instruction in the years 1912–1916[11]. It was a period when not all villagers had the time to build their own houses, so making efforts to build the temple as early as 1911 (Figura 2003: 78) proves the great importance of religion in the life of the community. Together with the Polish-language school, the parish was to become the centre of Polishness and enabled attempts to maintain cultural continuity with the country of origin.

The first years after arrival were associated not only with adapting to the new reality but also with negotiating relations with neighbours, the indigenous inhabitants of southern Siberia – the Buryats, exotic in the eyes of the settlers. The emigrants from Lesser Poland, arriving in their lands, involuntarily became the heirs to the tradition of Russian-Buryat and, more broadly, Slavic-Buryat relations that had been developing in these areas for about one hundred and fifty years. Although the Buryats and other peoples of Siberia were not generally hostile towards the newcomers from the European part of Russia, exploitation and other dishonest behaviour shown by the representatives of the tsarist administration, especially tax collectors, as well as the corruption of indigenous leaders, caused mistrust

[11] In 1910, at one of the first village meetings, the request was made to the authorities for permission and co-financing enabling the inhabitants to build a one-class elementary school and to begin the teaching process there (Masiarz 2016: 130).

on the part of the indigenous population (cf. Łukawski 1981: 103). The newly arrived Poles, entering into the existing relationship between the "wild" indigenous inhabitant of Siberia and the "civilised" tsarist agent, often silently agreed with the Buryats about the bad behaviour or depravity displayed by the Russian soldiers and traders, but they were dependent on the tsarist authorities and implemented their colonisation plans (Kalinowski 2013: 443). Arriving in Siberia, the emigrants from the Kingdom of Poland met with a cool reception, which resulted from, among others, the fact that the settlement plots allocated to the Poles were located on the lands of the Buryat Rural Community, and both its plenipotentiary, Trubacheyev, and other members opposed the practice of taking their lands and giving them over to the settlers in 1910 (Masiarz 2016: 121–122). The encounter with people of a different appearance, religion, language and customs was an experience of culture shock for the founders of Vershina (Głuszkowski 2015a: 174–175), but despite this, and despite the reluctance and the difficult beginnings of building mutual relations, cooperation with the native population was necessary to survive. Some Poles were forced to work for the Buryats on the land or at haymaking, receiving only a modest payment in food (Masiarz 2016: 121). The newcomers and their culture were also interesting in their own way for the local population, who, thanks to the Polish settlers, got to know potatoes, previously not grown in these parts (Figura 2003: 76).

> WII: nˈɔ tɔ ˈuna bˈywa rɔsʲˈijskɔ źˈėmʲa vɔt tak dˈanɔ pɔ takʲˈėmu że burʲˈaty pšyjexˈalʲi fcˈeśńij ot pɔlˈakuf […] a tˈutej tˈerɔ ɔny š:ytˈajɔm że tɔ burʲˈackɔ źˈimʲa nɔ bɔ tu pšyjexˈalʲi (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 105)

> WII: It was Russian land, well, it was because the Buryats came earlier than the Poles […] and here now they think it is Buryat land because they came here.

> WII: jak tu pšyjexˈal'i że tak ɔ tˈegɔ ˈɔj | pɔd gˈɔʷym ńˈebem ńˈic ńe mʲˈel'i | muśˈel'i se karcˈɔvać te źˈim'e žˈeby cɔś pˈɔśɔć | nɔ tˈak | tam burʲˈaći | tam burˈaći rɔbʲˈil'i burˈaći | kańˈešna burˈaći im pɔmɔgˈal'i | vˈyžyć | kˈaś tɔ davˈal'i | a tag by tˈegɔ ńė mʲˈel'i (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 106)

> WII: When they came here, they lived in the open air and had nothing. They had to clear these lands to plant anything, yes. There Buryats lived, Buryats. Of course, the Buryats helped them survive, they gave them something, and they wouldn't have it anyway.
>
> MI: na tėj źˈem'i burˈaty žˈywy | no a pˈuźńėj jak | co ix porośćėrˈal'i | num v''ˈincėj m''ˈejscə dˈal'i dla pɑlˈakuf (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 108)
>
> MI: The Buryats lived on this land, and later, when they changed it, they gave us more space, for Poles.

Mutual acceptance, however, did not mean a diminishing sense of otherness, because the Poles, due to the Buryats' disturbing appearance and incomprehensible rituals, for a long time perceived them as "distant others", as opposed to "close others", i.e. the Russians and Ukrainians[12] (Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003b: 42–44; Głuszkowski 2015a: 174–175). However, regardless of the degree of cultural distance, the inhabitants of Vershina in the first period of the village's history almost exclusively entered into homogeneous marriages, and the functioning of the community was oriented inwards.

From the very beginning, the history of the Vershinian community was intertwined with the events of state and international history, but for the first two decades their impact on the socio-cultural situation of the village was small. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 was not noticed in Vershina because, although Russia was involved in the conflict, military operations took place in Europe. Initially, the February and October Revolutions and the subsequent Russian Civil War (1917–1922) between the Bolsheviks and the anti-Communist White movement did not have a great impact, although at that time there were also struggles in Siberia (Łukawski 1981: 295–304). The end of the First World War in 1918 was related to the regaining of independence by Poland, which meant that, after eight years, the immigrants became separated from their home regions by the

[12] People of Ukrainian descent live in the village of Tikhonovka, which was founded about 15 kilometres from Vershina in the same period and under similar conditions of granting land and privileges.

state border, and their migration turned from internal to external. The fact that Poland and Russia were from then on separate states was further emphasised by the outbreak of the war between them that took place in the years 1919–1921[13]. Since the new borders of the Republic of Poland did not cover all the pre-Partition territories[14], and, besides, there were Polish exiles and voluntary emigrants in Russia, the Treaty of Riga, signed on 18 March 1921, was the document essential for the Poles living beyond the eastern border. It gave the inhabitants of Vershina the right to return to their homeland, and some of them made use of this opportunity, but neither Masiarz nor Pietshik gives the exact number of repatriates; thus, it is difficult to determine today whether the others found themselves adapted to living in the Siberian conditions – they simply did not think about the possible effects of the geopolitical changes or were not sufficiently informed about their rights and the possibility of co-financing their return by Polish diplomatic missions (Петшик 2008: 10; Masiarz 2016: 155–156). Archival documents on Komsomol and on the Communist Party meetings in Vershina show that the communist agitation was not very effective there and only few inhabitants decided in the 1920s to join the ranks of these organisations (Masiarz 2016: 156–157).

The forced collectivisation and the organisation of the kolkhoz in Vershina were certainly the clearly perceptible effects of the socio-political changes. Although the relevant legal acts concerning the regulation of land use in the Bokhan region were developed already in 1929–1930 (Masiarz 2016: 159–160), the collectivisation in the Polish village stepped up in 1931, when the kolkhoz called "Chervona Vershina" ('Red Vershina') was established. It was to deprive the Poles of what they had decided to emigrate for, and what they had paid for with so much effort and sacrifice:

> The fact is that the Polish settlers had been living in the new place for only 15–20 years. Each of them has gone through great hardships. There was a lot of risk in the very departure from Poland. Then each of them

[13] The apogee of combat actions came in 1920 and, therefore, the conflict is also known as the 1920 War.

[14] The eastern parts of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania remained within Russia's borders after 1918.

> managed to clear his meagre plot of land, uprooting stumps and pulling out huge stones, and there suddenly and unexpectedly came: "Collectivise everything" and give their farm for common use. Therefore, collectivisation sounded to them like a bolt from the blue […] They joined the collective farm reluctantly, unwillingly, but there was nowhere to go. (Петшик 2008: 14)

Forced by repressions in the form of arrests, and the confiscation of agricultural machinery as well as livestock, they attached their plots of land to the collective farm. They also lost some of their earlier rights: in 1934, learning Polish in the local school was forbidden (cf. Szostak 2002: 228; Figura 2003: 83).

In the times of Stalin's Great Terror, among many repressive actions against Soviet society, ethnic cleansing was also carried out, in which the Polish Operation of the NKVD was the major force. This, due to the number of victims and the way they were singled out, i.e. on the basis of their ethnicity, had many features of genocide (Gluza 2022: 1). Groundless arrests, false trials and executions were carried out mainly in the areas where there were large concentrations of the Polish population, i.e. in the Ukrainian and Byelorussian SSRs (Bednarek et al. 2010; Rogozin 2022), but the police terror did not spare even the small village on the edge of the taiga in Irkutsk Oblast. It can be assumed that the resistance during the organisation of the kolkhoz and the Polish origin of the inhabitants of Vershina, as well as their Roman Catholic confession[15], were among the causes of the greatest tragedy in the history of the village, which took place in 1937–1938, when 29 men and one woman suspected of counter-revolutionary activities were arrested, and then, after a fixed trial – condemned to death and shot (Szostak 2002: 228–234; Петшик 2008: 38–47). The tragic events of 1937 were clearly etched in the memory of the villagers, and many eyewitnesses were still alive during the research conducted by the expedition team, and this is how they recalled the arrests of their loved ones:

[15] One of those first arrested was Kacper Soja, the chairman of the Polish Catholic Community in Vershina, and, after the arrest, in 1937, the NKVD recognised this organisation as a subversive and insurgent group (Masiarz 2016: 181).

> MI: wˈɔjćec i dvˈux brˈaći | krˈɔf s məwakˈɔm | tˈylkɔ pɔžyńˈil’i śe | mˈɔja mˈama | stryjˈinka mˈɔja | drˈugɔ | tɔ čšˈex brˈaći bˈywɔ […] tɔ ńˈi ma ńikˈɔgɔ | […] | pwakˈal’i | lamentovˈal’i | a cɔ wˈɔ tˈy zrˈɔb’iš cɔ | ńikˈɔmu ńe pˈɔv’iš ńˈic | ugńatˈal’i tˈutej śˈeb’e te te te fsˈ’ɔm gˈɔryč wykˈal’i (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 124)
>
> MI: My father and two brothers – “blood and milk”. They just got married, my mother, my aunt, there were three brothers – they are all gone. We cried, we lamented, but what can you do? What? You can’t complain to anyone, so we grieved and swallowed all the bitterness inside us.

The repression of 1937 ended with the closure and devastation of the church, which was only saved from complete demolition thanks to the heroic attitude of the inhabitants (Figura 2003: 82–83). The loss of the church, which was one of the first buildings erected in Vershina and set the rhythm of the community’s life, was a great loss in many dimensions, which would be visible in the subsequent periods of the village’s history (see also section 2.3.1).

The deprivation of property and the *de facto* banning of religion, as well as the political murder of a large group of residents, as a result of which 113 children were orphaned (Петшик 2008: 42) and each of the residents of Vershina had someone in their family who suffered as a result of repression, radically changed the social situation. This, in the middle of the 1920s, had been relatively stable and had enabled maintaining the rhythm of life, which the settlers tried to transplant to the new place from their hometowns and villages in Lesser Poland.

1.4.2. The years 1940–1990: progressing Russification and Sovietisation as well as stabilisation of the successive generations

Another period distinguished in the history of Vershina is the longest one and covers half a century. Its beginning is associated with the events of world

history affecting the history of the village. The initial date (1940) was set in connection with the incorporation of the inhabitants of the khutor[16] of Odigon into the Vershinian kolkhoz (Петшик 2008: 19–20), which marked the symbolic end of the ethnic homogeneity of the village. However, the late 1930s and early 1940s saw a whole series of landmark events, beginning with the repression of 1937 and ending in 1941, the year in which the war – in Soviet and Russian historiography known as the Great Patriotic War – began. As Masiarz notes, the main source for the characteristics of these years consists of Pietshik's chronicle and oral accounts of the oldest inhabitants (Masiarz 2016: 194). In this study, the period of war is dated in accordance with the Soviet history and covers the years 1941–1945, which is different from the Polish and world perspective encapsulating the years 1939–1945. The terminology adopted by Pietshik, i.e. the Great Patriotic War, instead of World War II, also proves that the descendants of Polish settlers participated in these events as Soviet citizens (Głuszkowski 2022a: 23). The inhabitants of Vershina were recruited to the Labour Army[17] and, less frequently, to the Red Army (Masiarz 2016: 216). Only eight men from Vershina were sent to the 1st Tadeusz Kościuszko Infantry Division organised by the Union of Polish Patriots, and none to the army of General Anders (Masiarz 2016: 195–198). Due to the absence of men, women and children had to do all the physical work, including felling the trees and transporting the wood (Figura 2003: 84–85; Петшик 2008: 51–57).

> WI: ˈu͡o: | m'i śe ta vˈɔjna tɔ i dɔstˈɔwa | vɔt zebrˈal'i fšˈystk'ix mỹščˈyznuf | zebrˈal'i xwɔpˈɔkuf | a fšˈysk'e te robˈɔty ćˈėńšk'e nˈa‿nɔs | na kˈɔb'ėt | bˈɔ śe ɔstˈɔwy tˈam‿cɔś tšˈy invˈal'ida s xwˈɔpuf | i jinvˈal'idy drˈug'ėj grˈupy | ˈɔt | ˈɔt | ji kɔbˈ'ity śe ɔstˈawy i mˈy mˈawolˈetk'i | vˈɔjna śe zacˈyna | mńė jˈešče šėsnˈastu ńė bywɔ | vˈɔjna śe zacˈyna dvuźėstˈygɔ drug'ˈigɔ cˈyrfca a mńˈė f śˈirpńu dop'ˈirɔ bˈywɔ šėsnˈaśćė | tɔ dɔstˈɔwɔ m'ˈi śė

[16] Khutor – a minor settlement site.

[17] Labour Army (Rus. *Trudarmiya, Trudovaya Armiya*) – "paramilitary units, consisting of citizens performing labour service during the years of the Civil and Great Patriotic War" (Мокиенко, Никитина 1998), to which people originating from countries outside the Soviet Union were sent, e.g. Germans, Finns, Romanians, Poles and also those who seemed ideologically suspicious to the authorities.

> tˈak | fšysk’ˈėgɔ | i gwˈɔdu i ć’ˈiĵšk’ix rɔbut | fšˈyskɔ | pam’ˈėntom dˈopše (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 115–116)
>
> WI: Oh, I had a difficult life during the war. They took all the men, they took the boys, and all the hard work fell to us – the women, because out of the men only the disabled ones of the second group remained, apart from the women and us – the girls. When the war started, I was not yet sixteen years old: the war started on June 22, and I had only turned 16 in August. So I experienced everything – the hunger and hard work. Everything. I remember everything well.

In this way, the inhabitants of Vershina became part of the nationwide uprising against the Nazi invaders, and they experienced the “holy wrath” of representatives of all social strata and ethnic groups of the USSR (Lewandowski 2014: 97). The Communist authorities created the myth of the great victory, on the foundation of which the idea of the Soviet nation was built, which for the next decades became superior to various local and ethnic identities (cf. Dębowicz 2015: 90–92).

Both Pietshik and Masiarz have discussed in their studies the post-war period up to the years of perestroika and the collapse of the USSR from the perspective of the functioning of the community within the local kolkhoz. Although the times described as the “everyday life of the collective farm” (Петшик 2008: 60–74) and “kolkhoz-existence in the years of ‘building the communism’” (Masiarz 2016: 201–210) span half a century, both the amateur author and the academic historian have devoted little space to this period when compared to their descriptions of the others. Although in these years, apart from the outbreak and end of the war, there were no milestone events in the world history, this does not mean that this period was unimportant in the social history of the village. On the contrary, significant processes were taking place that gradually, but inexorably, transformed Vershina from a Polish cultural and language island (see section 2.1) into a Siberian community with Polish roots. First of all, the changes related to the elimination of Polishness (abolishing the teaching of the Polish language, closure of the church, Stalinist ethnic cleansing) started in the late 1930s, and progressing Sovietisation, which manifested

itself on many levels, continued. Vershina had been a peasant community since its beginning, and the cult of farm work and caring for one's own farm were important components of the Polish migrants' collective identity (Głuszkowski 2009b: 11–12). After the loss of their individual farms as a result of the forced collectivisation, some attitudes of respect for the land were transferred to work in the kolkhoz. In his chronicle, Pietshik, as a former agronomist in the collective farm, proudly cites statistical data on haymaking, crops of cereals, potatoes and corn in the consecutive years (Петшик 2008: 66–74). It is noteworthy that one of the subsections in Petshik's chronicle is entitled "The development of new arable land by the Andreev kolkhoz brigade of Vershina in the years 1953–1957", which shows that the descendants of Polish settlers, along with the entire Soviet Union, took part in the most important agricultural project implemented under the rule of Nikita Khrushchev – "the development of virgin lands" (Rus. *osvoyeniye tseliny*) (cf. Петшик 2008: 64–67; Pichoja 2011: 191). Masiarz is critical of the vision of the prosperous kolkhoz and claims that, compared to 1931, i.e. the last year before the collectivisation, the cattle population increased only three times, while the sown area increased seven times, which, combined with the changing technical and economic conditions, meant, according to him, the lack of effectiveness of the collective economy in Vershina (Masiarz 2016: 203). However, in the collective imagination of Poles, what is important is not so much facts as beliefs in the creation of the image of collective farm reality then and now, and these, as the statements of the inhabitants show, are much closer to Pietshik's point of view than to the economic facts analysed by Masiarz:

> MI: no jak na kumbˈajńė žem prɑcˈuvəw | jak śė dɑvˈawə | a u mńė ten kɑmbˈajᵉn byw tˈak'i kɑmbˈajn najlˈepšy ot fšˈystk'ix […] ʷon u mńė šet xˈoćby ʒiń i noc | to by ńė šet | jˈeščė jėdnˈegə rˈazə jˈakuś ja bˈut:ə pšėswˈyšəw śė | ja bˈuttə pšėpəv'ėʒˈawėm | ja rɑbˈotəju a ty uprɑvl'ˈaj | no to śeć fxˈoʒi ʒėń i noc i uprˈavl'əj | a tyn mˈotər ćˈunglė bˈyʒė rˈob'iw | no a u drug'ˈegə kɑmbˈajnə tˈegə ńė bˈywə […] jˈa na kɑmbˈajńė śėdėmnˈaśćė lat žėm pšėrˈob'iw | m'ėdˈal'i to cˈawa strˈona zap'ˈinto tym'i m'ėdalˈam'i | kˈag žė ˈetə za pšėvyšˈeńė | za […] ubˈork'i vot | za dˈobrė uzupėwńˈeńė (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 137–138)

MI: I worked on the combine as much as possible. And this harvester of mine was the best of all. It could work even all day and night, it never refused to obey. And one time, I thought I heard him say to me: I work and you drive. Well, you had to sit at the wheel day and night, and this engine would still run, but other combines were not like that. I worked on the combine harvester for 17 years, I have medals hanging all over the lapel of my jacket, received for exceeding the harvest norm, for good fulfilment of the plans.

WI: jɔ z dvunˈastu lˈɔt | rəbʼˈiwam | dɔ sˈamy pɔkˈa ńe vˈyšwam na pʼˈensʼije | i tˈegɔ rəbʼˈilʼi mˈy | jˈeź ńe bˈywɔ cɔ vˈezńece jak kartˈɔflʼi jak ta… nˈɔve kartˈɔfle juš sum ˈabɔ cɔ | tɔ se dɔ mʼisˈeckuv veznˈymy […] tam sˈumkuf pakʼˈetuv ńe bˈywɔ | xustˈecke zavʼunžˈeće mʼisˈecke dɔ xustˈeckʼi i na pˈɔle | nɔ ˈale zaś ftˈyncɔz bˈywɔ | xɔć kʼˈiška bˈywa gwˈɔdnɔ ˈale vesˈelʼij bˈywɔ | mˈy jˈeš:e ńe žėnˈate bˈywy s pʼesʼńˈamʼi na pˈɔle | s pˈɔla na s pʼesʼńˈamʼi (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 134)

WI: I worked [in the kolkhoz] from the age of twelve, until I retired. And we worked, and there were times when there was nothing to eat, and even when new potatoes started to grow, we at least took them to bowls or bags. There were no bags [like now] or plastic bags then, we used to tie a handkerchief, a bowl to the handkerchief and go to the field. But it was different then: although we were hungry, there was more fun. We were still unmarried, singing we were going to the field, and from the field we were coming home singing, too.

If with reference to the first years of the history of the village one could talk about adaptation to life in the multi-ethnic social organism of Siberia, then, in the second half of the 20th century, it was already an assimilation process related to blending into the Soviet society and progressive hybridisation of the Vershinian culture (Głuszkowski 2010; Wiżentas, Pawlaczyk 2022; see also section 2.3.1). Despite the efforts of the inhabitants of Vershina to preserve various elements of their cultural identity abroad, discussed in the previous section, over the years, the generation of the first settlers, i.e. those still brought up in their country of origin, became part of the past, and the generations brought up in the Soviet reality began to play an increasingly important role in the life of the community. An additional factor accelerating

the assimilation was the attitude of the authorities eliminating Polishness from official life, as well as the increasing share of people of non-Polish origin among the inhabitants of the village, due to the merger of the local kolkhoz with the farms run by the Buryats – Dundai and Kharagun, which took place in 1957, despite the opposition of the Vershinian Poles (Masiarz 2016: 204). In the same year, Vershina was electrified, which enabled access to the Soviet media: first, the radio and, then, the television. The first private means of transport, which in the 1960s were motorcycles, and in the 1970s also cars, facilitated communication and thus the inclusion of the Polish community in the society of the USSR (cf. Figura 2003: 86).

In the years 1940–1990, people of Polish origin were still in majority, but, gradually, there were more mixed Polish-Russian marriages and many children brought up in the mixed families tended to choose a Russian identity (Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003b: 45). Marriages with the Buryats were not concluded at that time, because they constituted a group that was much more culturally alien to the Poles than the Russians or Ukrainians, who were also Slavs, and the Buryats themselves showed some isolating tendencies and did not strive to enter into such relationships (Nowicka 2000: 57–65). Moreover, the main way of social advancement was leaving Vershina in order to obtain an education, and thus blending even more into the Soviet society. Leaving their hometown, the descendants of Polish settlers, for fear of being stigmatised because of their differentness, did not reveal their origin and pretended to be Russians (Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003b: 52).

Despite the hardships of life and the lack of freedoms, including freedom of movement, the communist times are remembered in relatively positive terms, even taking into account the Stalinist crimes. The last years before the collapse of the USSR, i.e. perestroika and the rule of Gorbachev in 1985–1991, are remembered as a period of anxiety and destabilisation (cf. Głuszkowska 2009: 19; Głuszkowski 2016a: 43). The assessment of political changes from the perspective of the informants is therefore consistent with the results of public opinion polls across Russia (Горшков, Петухов 2005: 367 et passim), which can be considered another result of progressive assimilation of the minority community. The phenomenon of nostalgia after communism is common and expressed in various forms in

the countries of the former socialist bloc (see, e.g., Arsenijević et al. 2004; Михалёва et al. 2013; Głuszkowski 2021). In a broader context, it is one of the variants of mythologising the past, regardless of the political and economic system. Still, for the minority community, which at the same time experiences unfavourable demographic changes, it has a special dimension, too (cf. Pawlaczyk 2021a).

1.4.3. The contemporary period since 1991 – a revival of contacts with the ancestral homeland

Despite the changes described above and Vershina's blending with the Siberian surroundings[18], complete assimilation has not yet taken place, and the village retains its unique socio-cultural character. Although, as a result of the political changes, the Poles gained the rights of a national minority to gain access to their own culture, language and religion, initially, their position in the region was unprivileged, because, despite the fact that they constituted the majority of the population in Vershina (with approx. 75% inhabitants of Polish origin there), they had no representatives in the commune authorities or even in the village council (Masiarz 2016: 225). There were several factors that contributed to a higher level of self-esteem among the minority community members: the support of the consulate in Irkutsk and of Polish organisations, as well as the increased interest in Vershina on the part of Poles and Russians (Głuszkowski 2022b: 301–302).

At the same time, changes were taking place in other spheres. At the end of 1990, Marianna Dobrowolska, a Polish language teacher still remembered by the inhabitants of the village, came to Vershina, and, in 1992, the church was renovated and reconsecrated (Figura 2003: 96; Masiarz 2016: 214–224). The revitalisation and restoration of Polishness in

[18] Ewa Nowicka (2013: 17–26) noticed that, while in the local Buryat environment, Vershina was able to retain many features of its original culture, but intensified contacts with Russian society and culture made great changes in this respect.

Vershina were facilitated by legal conditions, because the location in Ust-Orda Buryat Autonomous Okrug, an administrative unit that survived from the times of the USSR and continued the Buryat autonomy rights from the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, established in 1923, gave all minorities living there special rights (Nowicka 2013: 14–15). One of these privileges included the funds allocated for the cultivation of the minority culture and language, including the provision of teaching the mother tongue (Buryat and Polish) in the district public schools. In addition, competitions were organised in the region in the field of local history and the functioning of small homelands, which resulted in, among others, the creation of essays on the home village by young residents of Vershina, e.g. "The fate of my family in the history of Russia", "The fate of a man in the history of Russia in the 20th century" (Głuszkowski 2014b: 337–338). This favourable state after the collapse of the USSR did not last even two decades, because, in 2008, the autonomy was incorporated into Irkutsk Oblast (pursuant to the referendum held in 2006), which resulted in the restriction of minority rights, including the reduction of the number of mother tongue lessons to one per week (Nowicka 2013: 21–22). After the collapse of the USSR and the political transformation in Poland, contacts between the inhabitants of Vershina and their former homeland intensified: there were visits of official delegations and tourists from Poland to Siberia, the Vershinians' trips to Poland and cooperation with diplomatic missions and other organisations, which also contributed to the increase in the importance of the village in the eyes of local Russian authorities and the community members themselves[19].

Reflecting the situation in the entire former Eastern Bloc, the 1990s in Siberia was a period of major economic transformation. Decollectivisation was taking place in the rural areas of Russia, but after decades spent in the conditions of the planned-economy system without individual farming, collective farm workers were not prepared to take up self-employment. According to the statements of the informants, they tried to comprehend and cope with various aspects of the new situation, but some socio-economic

[19] For more information on the relationships of the inhabitants of Vershina with their ancestors' fatherland, see section 2.1. Vershina as a language and cultural island.

phenomena, especially unemployment, had a negative impact on the condition of the minority community. For example, with increasing wealth disparities, the sense of social justice has been violated:

> MI: nɔ tˈerɔz już ʒˈèśińć lˈɔt rɔzumˈalʲi tˈutėj | drˈugʲe pɔstrˈɔjėlʲi | i tˈɔtɔ narˈėšće rɔzvalʲˈilʲi | pˈɔślʲi na čʲˈasnɔm axˈa | kˈaždy sˈɔbʲe žˈepke skˈrɔbʲe | axˈa | fpšˈeʑi bˈywɔ ˈɔbše | pwˈan gɔsudˈarstfʺen:yx […] jˈeslʲi bɔgˈactfo śe naxˈɔʑi v jˈèdnyx rˈəw̃kax | to jˈes ńebɔgˈactfɔ […] fśˈyskɔ dˈɔpše ji tˈerɔ jes dˈɔbže axˈa bʲèzrɔbˈɔtńica że tˈerɔ fśˈèńʑe | no jˈakʲi pɔvʲˈimė drˈuk ńi s tˈegɔ ńi z ovˈegɔ ˈɔn śe rˈɔbʲi | pɔvʲˈèmė čʲˈasnym sˈɔpstfʺèń:ikʲem (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 122)
>
> MI: Well, now ten years have passed and something else has been launched and the rest [of the kolkhoz] has been liquidated. Now everything is private, and everyone cares only for their own good, and before that, everything was common, and the plan was imposed by the state. If wealth is concentrated in one hand, it is not real wealth. Everything has its good sides and now it's good too. But unemployment is everywhere. Well, someone was our friend, and all of a sudden he becomes a private owner.

Unemployment is even more acute because it is accompanied by a sense of helplessness on the labour market resulting from the excess of dishonest employers and the lack of protection of employee rights in the conditions of wild capitalism:

> WII: cˈyw̃sto lˈuʑom žˈyje śė ćˈėnško | byvˈajum lˈuʑė że fśˈysk'm ńė pracuvˈaʷy za žˈyćė | tak ćixˈutko se | i jesᵗ tˈerəs mwˈoźėš xtˈurə ze fśˈystk'm ńė pracˈuje i ńė šˈuko prˈacy | a pˈuźńėj jak mˈuv'um na te cˈasy że tˈak'im ńė bˈyᵉⁿʑė ze fśˈystk'im emerytˈury | no to ńˈė‿v'em jag bˈyʑė […] i tyn co tšˈymo jˈak'iś prˈacė to b''ere cwovʲˈeka i ńė ofˈorm'o dokumˈenty žˈeby za ńˈego ńė pwˈaćić i f kśˈonš:ė u ćˈeb'e ńa zap'isˈane że ty pracˈuješ | i pˈuźńėj to ći pʲˈens'ji s tˈego ńė bˈyʑė | ˈalė mˈuv'um ńė b''erćė tˈakum prˈace jak tak jesᵗ | trˈebujćė od ńˈego prˈośᶜ́ė žˈeby na b''awe rob''iwo | a jak ty jˈemu ukˈożeš | on pˈov'i ić v drˈug'e m''ejsce […] a cˈynsto o tˈeros jo pˈatše tyš dˈužo tak''ego że cygˈańum pˈuźńėj | cwˈov'ek pracˈuje pracˈuje | m''eśunc odrˈob'w a un mˈuv'i | a jˈo ćˈi ńė mˈogė zapwˈaćić bo ńˈė‿ma cˈym (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 294)

> WII: Life is often hard for people. There are those who have not worked all their lives and live somewhere quietly. Now there are young people who do not work or look for a job at all, and later, as they say, there will come a time when they will not receive a pension at all. Well, I don't know how it will be. And the employer hires a person, but does not fill out documents for him, so as not to pay for him [contributions to health and social insurances, taxes] and you are officially treated as unemployed, so you will not save anything for retirement. They tell us not to take such a job and demand an official contract, but if you ask the employer for it, he will say to you: go elsewhere. And often, as I look now, there are a lot of situations where they cheat the employees later. A man works for a whole month and goes to get his pay check, and the employer tells him: I can't pay you because I have no money.

Among the positive aspects of the new economic reality, the freedom to run one's own farm, with no limits set on the number of farm animals, is indicated, which may prove the durability of the peasant ethos among the descendants of the Lesser Poland settlers:

> MII: nɔ trˈɔxe śe lžˈy | trˈɔxe lžˈy śe žˈyje jak pšy kɔmuńˈistax | trˈɔxe lžˈy | i kˈajś cˈɔś i mašˈyne pˈɔtym nacˈyńi dˈavać | lˈuʒe kupˈuvać stˈal'i | tˈerɔ gaʒˈiny v'ˈele xcˈeš tˈyle ṭšˈymɔš | ʒˈeći tɔ za śᶜˈot gaʒˈiny tˈutej vyxˈɔʒum | krˈɔvy ṭšymˈajum ćelˈynta mᵊwɔdńˈak'i te mˈaʷe mˈajum | tˈɔ tɔ se ˈu‿mńe sˈyn tˈutej dˈužɔ čšˈymɔ | ʷˈośim śe krˈuv dˈɔji | telˈaxna xˈeba ze dvaʒˈeśća mˈɔ mˈaʷyx ćˈelunt | mɔwɔdńˈa | mˈɔžna pšˈedɔć ʒˈeći dɔ škˈɔwy oʒˈivać | nɔ tˈak | nɔ za śᶜˈot tˈegɔ || (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 292)

> MII: Well, it's a little easier, a little easier to live, like under the communists, a little easier. And something started to change bit by bit, and cars appeared – people began to buy them. Now you can have as many farm animals as you want. A farm like this can maintain your children here. They keep cows, calves, and heifers are small. My son rears a lot of them, he has eight dairy cows, and maybe 20 small calves. You can sell them and dress your children for school with that. Well, with the money from the sale.

Ten years ago, Ewa Nowicka (2013: 25) wrote about the divisions within the community along various lines: relating to the economic situation

of individuals and families, but also depending on the nature of Polishness. She divided the members into those who were active and those who were indifferent to their own national identity. Her observations were confirmed during the expedition of researchers from Nicolaus Copernicus University in 2016 and 2019. Changes in the social and economic situation had an impact on the linguistic behaviour of the inhabitants of Vershina, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

2. The sociolinguistic situation of Vershina

2.1. Vershina as a language and cultural island

The concept of an island in linguistic and cultural research is a metaphor referring to the following semantic elements: separation from the mainland, being surrounded by water, a relatively small size in relation to both the continent and the sea. According to Max Black's concept, "language island" is an example of catachresis, i.e. "the putting of new senses into old words" by "the use of a word in some new sense in order to remedy a gap in the vocabulary" (cit. after Zanker 2016; cf. Czarnocka, Mazurek 2012: 8). According to Peter Rosenberg (2005: 221), the term language island (Ger. 'Sprachinsel') was first used in 1847 to describe the Slavic community surrounded by the German majority in East Prussia. Since then, this theoretical model has been widely used in German dialectology (Mattheier 1996: 31). The factor encouraging dialectologists to study language islands was their isolation, as a result of which phenomena such as language contact, interference, bilingualism and multilingualism, and language acquisition in a social context were expected to appear in an undisturbed, almost natural form (Löffler 1987: 387). Moreover, functioning far from the language homeland, in relative isolation, may allow the preservation of archaisms that may have already disappeared in the country of origin (Grek-Pabisowa

1999a). For the sociological aspect of language research, the simplified social structure of these small communities is important (Löffler 1987: 387).

The island situation is related to migration, which introduces into the research the parameters of time, distance, direction and possible circulation related to the return and influx of new immigrants (Kerswill 2006: 2273–2276). Moreover, the population forming a language island may come from different regions of their home country, and therefore, when in a foreign environment, settlers function within one language community, different variants or dialects of one system merge into a single whole – the insular variety[20] (Домашнев 1983: 12). Aleksandr Dulichenko has drawn attention to the emigration origin of the islands, writing that they are communities created as a result of the transfer of one ethnic group to regions inhabited by representatives of another ethnic group, voluntarily or forcibly (Дуличенко 1998: 26).

Iryda Grek-Pabisowa (1999a: 73) distinguished the following factors determining the condition of dialectal islands: isolation, bi- or multilingualism of the dialect carriers, the nature of the language barrier between the dialect and the languages of the environment, the possible use of an intermediary language in contacts with a foreign language environment, the functioning of the dialect only in oral form, the degree of proximity of the dialect and the literary language of the country of origin in the period before resettlement. A valuable addition to these parameters is Ewa Nowicka's observation that the island must be clearly smaller than the sea in which it is located (Nowicka 2011).

Bearing in mind the above considerations, a very synthetic definition, proposed by Claus Hutterer, can be used. It contains the main features of this concept: "Language islands are internally structured settlements of a linguistic minority on a limited geographical area in the midst of a linguistically different majority" (cit. and transl. in Rosenberg 2005: 221). Although the term linguistic minority is used in the above formulation, it is not the same as an island community: every island is a minority, but not every minority is insular. Minorities in various periods of Polish history

[20] Mattheier (2005: 1443) writes in this context about koineisation of the variety used in a language island.

have been, for example, Jews or Roma, and today there are, for example, Mexicans in the United States or Turks in Germany, but these will not be called insular communities, due to the dispersion of their representatives – individuals, families or groups of families – among other inhabitants of a given country. The island metaphor is capacious and allows for the possibility of the existence of archipelagos and various constellations of islands (cf. *Sprachinselkonstellationen* in Mattheier 2005: 1442), but the constituent elements must have an island character consisting, among other elements, of internal structuring and cohesion within a limited area (cf. Rosenberg 2005: 221).

The usefulness of the concept of language and cultural island does not mean that it lacks its shortcomings, as Eriksen notes

> no society is entirely isolated, that cultural boundaries are not absolute, and that webs of communication and exchange tie societies together everywhere, no matter how isolated they may seem at a first glance. (Eriksen 1993: 134)

However, at the same time he states: "the idea of societies, groups and cultures as entities which can meaningfully be isolated for analytical purposes has not been discarded in practice" (Eriksen 1993: 134). Thus, adherence to the metaphor of the island in dialectology or cultural anthropology, also in the present study, does not mean a lack of criticism and blind faith in the existence of petrified isolated communities, but it only treats this concept as a useful model providing a conceptual framework for the interpretation of sociolinguistic processes (cf. Czarnocka, Mazurek 2012: 5).

In order to avoid excessive mental shortcuts, it is important to take into account the diversity of island situations. Despite the common features associated with isolation from the homeland and immersion in a foreign environment, the development of the langauge and cultural situation of various communities follows different paths, even if the founders of the settlements represent the same ethnic group, and these differences result from both the distinct nature of external influences and internal processes within the language island (Rosenberg 2005: 228).

Only in special cases, which include, e.g. communities isolating themselves for religious reasons, it is possible that the varieties that come into contact do not influence each other and coexist uninfluenced (Mattheier 2005: 1442). In other cases, functioning in a foreign environment is associated with a situation of language contact with the accompanying states and processes:

> Separated from their original ethno-linguistic roots, language islands constantly experience a shortage in lexical resources, especially as regards their use in culture, education and science. On the one hand, the members of the minority community have to master the language of their surroundings; on the other hand, it is important for them to preserve their ancestral language. (Дуличенко 1998: 26)

Although borrowing processes occur not only in insular situations and not only in contacts between the minority and the majority, they are most intense in these communities. In this respect, Vershina requires an analysis taking into account the broader context of contact linguistics (see section 2.2); but, in sociolinguistic terms, the more local specificity of this contact is also important, treating the language island studied as one of the Polish communities in the East.

2.1.1. Vershina as a Polish community in the East

Due to its location, Vershina can be considered a Polish community "in the East", which is understood as the lands located east of the current Polish border. This area is not homogeneous in terms of the nature of Polish settlements and several types of islands can be distinguished in terms of their genesis. These are communities created as a result of: a) voluntary migrations – e.g. Vershina in Irkutsk Oblast, Białystok in Tomsk Oblast or Znamienka and Aleksandrovka in Krasnoyarsk Krai; b) exiles and forced resettlements – e.g. Poles in Kazakhstan and in various regions of Siberia,

including Irkutsk; c) political and territorial expansion of the states and the main ethnic population in the expanding political organism – e.g. Poles in Lithuania or Belarus (Nowicka, Głuszkowski 2013: 10). As Ewa Nowicka has noted, in the Polish tradition, compatriots living abroad are referred to by the two main terms: "Polonia" or "Poles abroad"; in the case of Vershina, both terms are arguable (Nowicka 2013: 13). "Polonia" refers to people who have emigrated of their own free will, primarily for economic purposes, and "Poles in the East" – to those who found themselves in the area they inhabit as a result of deportations and exiles or changes in the borders of Poland, which concerns the Polish population from the former Eastern Borderlands, i.e. first, the areas lost as a result of the Partitions, and then, due to the arrangements between the Allies and the USSR after World War II. As voluntary settlers without exile pedigree, the inhabitants of Vershina might meet the criteria defined as "Polonia", but the geopolitical changes that took place shortly after their settlement in Siberia meant that, like "Poles in the East", they had no possibility of returning to their homeland or that this possibility was very limited (Nowicka 2013: 13–14; Głuszkowski 2022c: 14).

Despite the problems concerning the socio-historical classification of Vershina, the community shares many characteristics with other Polish communities in the former USSR, primarily due to Russian and Soviet cultural influences and contacts with Russian or other East Slavic languages, e.g. as in archipelagos or separate Polish islands in Ukraine (see, e.g., Dzięgiel 2003; Rudnicki 2000), Belarus and Lithuania (see, e.g., Zielińska 2002; Grek-Pabisowa 2017; Grek-Pabisowa et al. 2017). In many respects, the descendants of Polish settlers in Vershina experienced similar problems related to the suppression of Polishness (cf. Pawlaczyk 2021b) and similar processes took place in their language (Głuszkowski 2018).

2.2. Bilingualism and diglossia

2.2.1. The genesis of Vershina's bilingualism and its main features

The founders of Vershina, as citizens of the Russian Empire, spoke Russian before their migration and wrote petitions to the authorities in this language when applying for permission to leave; however, the level of command of this language displayed by them varied and was not always linked to the ability to write (Masiarz 2016: 115, 139). Information on the extent of bilingualism and language competences in both languages in the first period of the history of the village is limited and conclusions can be drawn on the basis of historical studies or retrospective reports of informants, including those concerning the knowledge of the languages demonstrated by their deceased ancestors (see, e.g., Moroz, Dobrushina 2020), who were born in Poland, before the migration. In the Vershinian case, both types of sources confirm that immigrants from Lesser Poland in the first years after arriving in Siberia spoke both Polish and Russian (cf. Masiarz 2016: 139; Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 177).

Bearing in mind the varied level of knowledge of the languages in contact among the members of the Vershinian community, including the changes taking place over more than 110 years of its existence, it is advisable to adopt a broad understanding of bilingualism, which will enable the analysis to cover various individual characters and stages of bilingualism. Therefore, although the classic definition by Uriel Weinreich (1963[1953]: 1), who understood bilingualism as "practice of alternatively using two languages", will not be abandoned; in the case of Vershina, the demarcation line between mono- and bilingual members of the community will be drawn on the basis of Einar Haugen's (1953: 6–7) theoretical concept, according to which

> [b]ilingualism […] may be of all degrees of accomplishment, but it is understood here to begin with the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language. From here it may proceed through all possible gradations up to the kind

> of skill that enables a person to pass as a native in more that one linguistic environment.

In the light of this definition, knowledge of both languages does not have to be complete. A similar point of view is also presented by François Grosjean (1992: 52), and it is currently the most common perspective in sociolinguistics:

> The 'real' bilingual has long been seen as the one who is equally and fully fluent in two languages. He or she is the 'ideal', the 'true', the 'balanced', the 'perfect' bilingual. All the others (in fact, the vast majority of people who use two languages in their everyday life) are 'not really' bilingual or are 'special types' of bilinguals; hence the numerous qualifiers found in the literature: 'dominant', 'unbalanced', 'semilingual', 'alingual', etc.

Thus, the "not-perfect-bilingualism" may be accompanied by the phenomenon of interference, i.e. "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" (Weinreich 1963: 1).

Among the inhabitants of Vershina, there are both people whose competence in one of the languages is limited to "producing meaningful utterances" – the weaker language being always the heritage one, and those who reach the level of "passing as natives" in the two codes. Thus, from the very beginning, it was "naturalistic" or "folk" bilingualism, i.e. one formed in the course of natural interaction, e.g. in everyday life of immigrant communities, as opposed to intelligentsia or "elite" bilingualism, arising as a result of systematic foreign language teaching (Bullock, Toribio 2009b: 9), although elements of the latter, especially in the last period of the village's history, are also present among its inhabitants (Dobrowolska 2003: 166–189; Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 178).

In Vershina, several languages are used in different varieties: Polish in the standard and the Lesser Poland dialect variety, Russian in the standard and the mixed-Siberian dialect variety of Irkutsk Oblast, as well as the Buryat language. Although the Buryats have inhabited the neighbouring

villages of Dundai and Kharagun from the beginning to this day, and they also owned the settlements of Honzoy and Nashata, now part of Vershina (Masiarz 2016: 226–227), the presence of this neighbourhood did not result in intensive contact with the Buryat language. Firstly, the Buryats were bilingual, so it was possible to communicate with them in Russian; secondly, the degree of friendship between Poles and them, especially in terms of entering into mixed marriages, was always lower than in the case of the Russians and the Ukrainians (Głuszkowski et al. 2022: 184–196). Based on the definition by Weinreich (1963: 1), according to which "languages are in contact if they are alternately used by the same persons", one can notice that the main axis of contact runs between the Lesser Poland dialect and the standard Russian language.

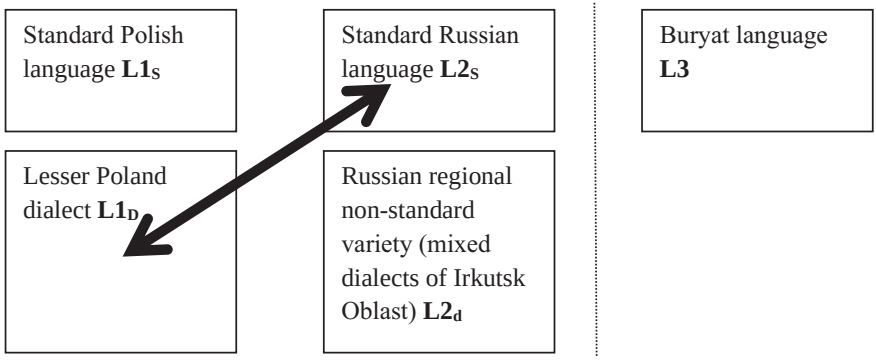


Chart 1. The main axis of language contact in Vershina

Thus, it is the contact between the dialectal variety of the L_1 language and the standard variety of the L_2 language, and their relations were changing in the subsequent periods of the history of the village (see section 2.2.2). Regardless of those changes, practically until the early 1990s, when, after the collapse of the USSR, it became possible to teach literary Polish in a local school, the Lesser Poland dialect was deprived of contact with its standard variety. In this regard, the idiom spoken by the founders of Vershina is a roofless variety (Ger. *dachlos Außendialekte*; cf. Cadiot, Lepicq 1987: 755), and, therefore, the community filled this functional gap by using Russian as a roofing language (Ger. *hochsprachliches Dach*; cf. Hentschel

2002: 85). Similar relations in many bilingual and diglossic situations are not uncommon (Ammonn 1987: 318–319), especially in the case of language islands where geolinguistic conditions enforce interactions between the autochthonous dialect and the allochthonous roofing (Mattheier 2005: 1438). Gerd Hentschel, describing the relationship of the Polish language with the Kashubian language and the Silesian dialect in Poland[21], notices that literary varieties, especially those structurally close to a given dialect, can act as a roofing variety for it (Hentschel 2002: 85). The structural distance between the languages in Vershina is slightly greater, but the role of Russian as a roofing language for the Lesser Poland dialect is undisputed.

The relationship between the L_1 dialect and the L_2 literary language is asymmetric, as is the contact of languages with the participation of a minority community. Symmetrical relations occur with a relatively similar mutual influence, such as Macedonian, Bulgarian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, Romanian, Modern Greek and Albanian in the Balkans (Lindstedt 2000: 241; Mišeska Tomić 2011: 308) or linguistic borderlands, where both groups in contact have a "base" in the form of their own state with administration, education system, and cultural resources – with a particular emphasis on *belles-lettres*. Asymmetric relations are typical of arrangements between a minority and a majority, with the latter being dominant not only in terms of population size but also political and economic position, and often also social prestige. One is then dealing with the dominant and usually majority language having an influence on the target language which is usually a minority language or is characterised by a lower social status (Głuszkowski 2015b: 54–55). Such a case is especially evident in the conditions of language islands (Дуличенко 1998: 26).

In search for the answer to the question concerning the relationships between the two codes and the reasons for dominance of the Russian language in Vershina, the notion of primary language is useful:

[21] Due to its special social status resulting from its wide presence in everyday communication and the aspirations of regional activists to give Silesian the legal status of a language (regional language, by analogy to Kashubian), the term regiolect is also used to refer to it (see, e.g., Hentschel 2020).

> [O]ut of two or more languages used by an individual, the principal or primary language is that one which he uses for the basic range of subjects […] i.e. available to all members of a given group (community) at a given period and place; it is also available to anybody at any period of history. […] Other languages used by them are secondary languages. (Zawadowski 1961: 14)

Since, at the beginning of the existence of this community, the function of the primary language was fulfilled by the dialect of Lesser Poland, and now the Russian language also plays this role, it is necessary to characterise such changes in diachronic terms.

2.2.2. Diglossia and its evolution over more than one hundred years of the existence of the village

Only a few years after the introduction of the definitions of bilingualism, language contact and the accompanying interference processes (Weinreich 1963[1953]: 1; Haugen 1953: 6–7), Charles Ferguson (1959: 336) proposed the term diglossia to describe

> a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Because Ferguson's theory grew out of the language situations he described and was rooted in Egyptian, Swiss, Haitian, and Greek contexts, it had some limitations. The high (official) and low (colloquial) codes functioning in these systems were variants of one language, although structurally very different, while today the notion of diglossia is also widely

used to refer to the relationship between separate languages. There is no contradiction in these approaches, however, because the observations made about variants or dialects in the H and L functions in L_1 may well be applied to L_1 and L_2 in the H and L functions (cf. Ferguson 1959: 328–336; Fishman 1985: 39). In the case of the present research, diglossia will be understood in the manner modified by Fishman (1980: 3), that is, as

> an enduring societal arrangement, extending at least beyond a three generation period, such that two "languages" each have their secure, phenomenologically legitimate and widely implemented functions.

Allowing the application of the notion of diglossia to describe the socially differentiated use of two languages does not mean that this phenomenon is identical with bilingualism, but that it may accompany it. Therefore, Fishman has distinguished four types of bilingualism-diglossia relations: a) both diglossia and bilingualism; b) bilingualism without diglossia; c) diglossia without bilingualism; d) neither bilingualism nor diglossia (Fishman 1971: 288–299). If type b) corresponds to full bilingualism without the presence of domains in which one of the languages is dominant, then one can assign it primarily to the situation of "elite" bilingualism (cf. Bullock, Toribio 2009b: 9). It is often individual in nature and refers to, for example, people learning a foreign language at philological faculties, but in the case of a bilingual community, using two languages interchangeably in each sphere is simply inconvenient. Therefore, in cases of "folk" or "naturalistic" bilingualism, which also occurs in Vershina, the basic system is a) bilingualism accompanied by diglossia (Głuszkowski 2011a; 2012a).

If the phenomenon of diglossia itself does not raise much discussion, the distinction of the spheres of life activity of the surveyed communities is presented in various ways. The reason for the differences is the individual nature of each situation of linguistic contact, and John Edwards (2010: 9) specifies this idea by noting that "not all domains are of equal psychological significance, coupled with continuing and ever more intertwined contact between groups of unequal status and power". However, it is possible "to identify – for a given variety, at a given time, in a given context – what one might call domains of necessity". Therefore, regardless of differences,

the following are most often distinguished: home or family, school, church or religion, street/neighbourhood, administration and work, which "are related to the most pivotal aspects of people's lives, and so one could single out settings such as the home, the school and the workplace" (Edwards 2010: 10; cf. e.g. Weinreich 1963: 87; Fishman 1972a; Bright 1990: 12–13; Gardner-Chloros 1991: 69–86; Zielińska 1996: 15–16; Myers-Scotton 1997: 42–50; Sayahi 2014: 58–69; Gvozdanović 2014: 6–7; Stępkowska 2022; Cheang, McBride 2022).

This study will apply the method of dividing the spheres of use of individual languages developed in the research into the social conditions of bilingualism of Old Believers living in Poland (Głuszkowski 2011: 88–93) and further expanded in the subsequent research into the Polish minority in Ukraine (Głuszkowski, Pawlaczyk 2021). Since the field research conducted by the Nicolaus Copernicus University research team has been ongoing since 2008, the information on the condition of diglossia from the first two periods of the village's history is reconstructed on the basis of historical studies, with a particular emphasis placed on the chronicle of Valentin Petshik (Петшик 2008), and also on the basis of the informants' retrospective accounts concerning the usage of languages by their living and deceased ancestors (see section 2.4).

The issues of diglossia and its relationship with the bilingualism of the inhabitants of Vershina have already been discussed in the earlier studies contributed by the Nicolaus Copernicus University researchers (see, e.g., Głuszkowski 2011a; 2012a), but the statements given by the informants and the participant observations conducted during the subsequent expeditions provided new data, especially in terms of the dynamically changing language situation in the recent period of the village's history. The arrangement of languages in the first years after the founding of Vershina, presented below in Table 1, is by far less complicated.

Table 1. Diglossia in Vershina in the first period of the village's history

I. The use of the Polish (P) and Russian (R) languages in various domains in the years 1910–1939			
domain	old generation	middle-aged generation	young generation
home	P	P	P
neighbourhood	P/R	P/R	P/R
religion	P	P	P
administration	R	R	R
school	P/R	P/R	^{1}P→R^{22} | ^{2}R
work	P	P	P

In the first ethno-culturally homogeneous period of the village's history, the inhabitants of Vershina were bilingual, but the Polish language was used by representatives of all of the three generations, in almost all spheres of life. Vershinian people communicated in Polish not only in the most intimate areas, i.e. home life in homogeneous families and the Church, to which only immigrants from Lesser Poland belonged, but also at work, on their own farms, and later also in the kolkhoz (until it was merged with the nearby collective farms where there were also Buryats and Russians). In contacts with the administration, Russian was used, even before the migration. The presence of Russian in the neighbourhood sphere was marked in italics, because it did not concern conversations with members of the Vershinian community, but inter-ethnic contacts with the Buryats living nearby. The school domain, as the only one with the coexistence of two languages, requires a separate commentary. In the case of adults at the time of migration, the language used at school refers to two contexts: a) a Russian school in the Kingdom of Poland, where Polish was only an optional subject; b) writing courses in Russian for adults already organised in Vershina (Szostak 2002: 228). The young generation growing up in Siberia attended the local school, where both languages were present in

[22] Hereinafter in the tables showing diglossia in the subsequent periods, the arrows indicate the direction of language shift in the given domain.

various forms[23], and in the case of those whose school age fell in the last years of the first period, after the cancellation of the possibility to learn Polish, only Russian was used in the school domain.

Due to the nature of the changes taking place in the particular periods of Vershina's social history and the complicated situation of mixed families that emerged after the community of Polish settlers lost its ethnic homogeneity, this factor will be included in the present analysis as an additional parameter differentiating the use of languages in particular spheres after 1940. The dissemination of the media in Vershinians' life in the form of the press and, after the electrification of the village, gradually, also the radio and television, forced the addition of this domain in the study.

Table 2. Diglossia in Vershina in the second period of the village's history

II. The use of the Polish (P) and Russian (R) languages in various domains in the years 1940–1990				
domain	family type	old generation	middle-aged generation	young generation
home	Homogenous	P	P	P
	Heterogeneous	P	P→R	P→R
neighbourhood and work	Homogenous	P/R	P→R	P→R
	Heterogeneous	P/R	P→R	R
religion	n/a	P	P	P
school	n/a	R	R	R
administration	n/a	R	R	R
media (press, radio, TV)	n/a	R	R	R

[23] Initially, as Agata Wiśniewska (2000: 102) reports, Polish was the language of instruction.

The changes taking place in the second period of the history of the village resulted, as described in section 1.4.2, from the loss of ethnic homogeneity and the new political and economic situation, accompanied by civilisational changes. The role of the Russian language in the life of the community was constantly increasing, not only because the Vershinians were taught in the Russian-language school, worked in the kolkhoz together with the Russians and Buryats, and, at the same time, had practically no possibility of contact with Poland and the Poles, but also because of the typical reality of a multicultural and multilingual state and social organism, which the USSR was. Despite more or less real pluralism in the language sphere, Russian fulfilled the role of the official language of the entire country (cf., e.g., Brady, Kaplan 2009: 47–48), and its use by non-Russian Soviet citizens, especially in the other republics, led to the phenomenon of national-Russian bilingualism[24] (Rus. *natsionalno-russkiy bilingvizm*; see, e.g., Дешериев 1976; Баскаков 1979). If within a minority community there was a division of spheres between two languages, going beyond its framework imposed the use of Russian:

> Family members have to leave the home, have to interact with others, have to make their way in a wider world, and will – over time – increasingly develop intimate and longstanding relationships with non-group members. (Edwards 2010: 198)

Migration to the cities was mostly associated with abandoning the Polish language and choosing a Russian identity. Also, mixed marriages in Vershina, over the years, increasingly used Russian on a daily basis, and their children learned the Polish language in contacts with their grandparents and older neighbours (Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003b: 45).

The dominant role of the Russian language in contacts with the outside world and its role as a means of social advancement also contributed to the strengthening of its position in all spheres within the community, except for the home domain in homogeneous families and the sphere of religion.

[24] National-Russian bilingualism is the result of contact of the mother tongues of the ethnicities of the Russian Empire, the USSR and the Russian Federation with Russian as the official language of the state (Głuszkowski 2020).

It should be emphasised that the role of the latter in the life of the Vershinians has significantly decreased, because the atheisation of the public sphere meant that the religious differences between Poles and Russians as well as Ukrainians lost their importance and that contacts between these groups became closer. This resulted in the emergence of more and more frequent exogamous marriages, which led to changes in the language situation in the domestic sphere of mixed families. As representatives of the older generation underwent language socialisation in homogeneous conditions, they still used Polish in this sphere, but middle-aged people marrying Russians (and Ukrainians), as well as their children, used both languages alternately.

The spheres related to work and neighbourly life are practically identical in this period, because most of the residents worked in the local kolkhoz. Outside the village, only a few individuals were professionally active, and usually in selected periods of their lives, which did not affect the phenomenon of diglossia of the entire community at the macrosociolinguistic level. The administrative sphere in the second period of the history of the village was no longer the only one served exclusively by the Russian language, because the mass media and school domains had a similar character. In the latter, Polish was not used not only as a language of instruction but also as an ethnic language until the collapse of the Soviet Union:

> WI: nˈɔ | nˈɔ fšˈystk’e urˈɔk’i bˈywy […] nˈɔ cɔ tˈam ubrˈal’i ja dˈaže ńˈe v’im cɔ ubrˈal’i | tˈerɔ drˈug’e jˈak’eś pr’edm’ˈety som | cɔ rˈańše ix ńe bˈywɔ | bˈywa | ar’ixm’ˈet’ika | rˈusk’ij | č’t’ˈeńije
> – *A polski był?*
> ńˈe | bˈyw ńem’’eck’ij | ńem’’eck’i | pɔlsk’’egɔ ńe b’ywɔ
> – *A Pani dzieci? Uczyły się już polskiego w szkole?*
> ńˈe | tɔ tˈerɔ dɔp’ˈirɔ śe vnˈuk’i ˈucɔm (Głuszkowski et al. 2022: 207)

> WI: Well, there were all the lessons. I don’t even know what they removed from the curriculum there. Now there are some other items that weren’t there before. There was arithmetic, Russian, reading.
> – *Was there Polish?*
> No, it was German, there was no Polish.
> – *And your children? Did they already learn Polish at school?*
> No, it is only now that the grandchildren are learning Polish.

Recently, the languages actively used by the inhabitants of Vershina have been joined by the literary variety of Polish (P_L), which is why Table 3 includes its use in some spheres in parallel with or instead of the dialectal variant (P_D).

Table 3. Diglossia in Vershina in the third period of the village's history

III. The use of the Lesser Poland dialect (P_D), Polish literary variety (P_L) and the Russian language (R) in various domains after 1991				
domain	family type	old generation	middle-aged generation	young generation
home	Homogenous	P_D	$P_D \rightarrow R$	$P_D \rightarrow R$
	Heterogeneous	P_D/R	R	R
neighbourhood and work	Homogenous	$P_D \rightarrow R$	$P_D \rightarrow R$	R
	Heterogeneous	R	R	R
religion	Homogenous	P_L	P_L/R	P_L/R
	Heterogeneous	P_L/R	P_L/R	P_L/R
school	n/a	R	P_L/R	P_L/R
administration	n/a	P_L/R	P_L/R	P_L/R
media (press, radio, TV)	Homogenous	P_L/R	P_L/R	P_L/R
	Heterogeneous	R	R	R

Despite the optimistic-sounding title of the chapter on the last period of Vershina's history in Masiarz's monograph (2016: 210–232), "Rebirth of Polishness and return to the roots", analogous changes are difficult to see in the linguistic sphere, because regaining the minority rights and religious freedoms did not turn out to be a milestone beginning the revival of the Polish language. The social changes initiated in the second half of the 20th century accelerated and resulted in the further subsidence of the Polish language in favour of the Russian language. In the home sphere, only members of the oldest generation in homogeneous families predominantly use the Polish language, and in the remaining cases the Vershinian people speak either exclusively Russian (heterogeneous families in the younger

and middle generations) or both languages with an increasingly pronounced predominance of Russian. In the neighbourhood domain and at work, only the older and middle generation in homogenous families still use Polish, but to a lesser extent, and people working outside the village, for obvious reasons, speak only Russian at work.

In the above-mentioned spheres, the minority language occurs only in its Lesser Poland dialectal variant. In the school sphere, the Polish language appeared in the form of an optional subject – a heritage language, and it was already the literary variety, which undoubtedly constituted a factor supporting the maintenance of the dialect as well, but their relationship is not simple. A noteworthy example can be the situation observed during the expedition in 2008: a 9-year-old boy asked in Polish about his knowledge of this language answered affirmatively. When asked additional questions about whether he learned the language in class, he replied, "I already spoke Polish before I went to school", but he formulated this sentence in Russian. He understood Polish throughout the conversation, but answered only in Russian. This and many other similar examples show that learning Polish at school, unless supported at home, does not revitalise the minority language. This does not mean that the youngest residents are not fluent in Polish – such people were encountered even in the 2019 expedition, despite the further reduction of the role of the language of the ancestors in the community, but they are not numerous. According to the observations made during the field research and shared by the Nicolaus Copernicus University team members, the reasons for these differences do not lie in the variable influence of external factors, e.g. from the school, because such changes have not occurred in recent years, but they result from the different role of the Lesser Poland dialect in family communication and individual language abilities, which enables different individuals in similar conditions to achieve various language skills not only in the heritage language but also in the official language.

The administration, of course, remains within the Russian-speaking sphere, but the presence of the Polish language in it has also been marked (in italics). These are more or less frequent contacts with Polish diplomatic missions and sociocultural organisations, but they are not of a mass nature and concern mainly people most involved in the life of the community and

visiting Poland. The presence of literary Polish in the media sphere looks similar. Thanks to the visitors from Poland and the help from the Polish Consulate in Irkutsk, over the last three decades Vershina has been receiving Polish films on DVD, recordings on cassettes and compact discs, as well as books and press materials[25]. Both books and multimedia materials were kept in a small library in the Polish House, a building and property purchased (from a family that had left Vershina) thanks to the financial support of the Polish organisation helping Poles abroad, "Wspólnota Polska" ('Polish Community'), in 2004, and since then serving as a cultural centre (Masiarz 2016: 228). The use of these materials, however, had a limited range and involved a few homogeneous families, and in recent years, after the closure of the Polish House and the library located in it, only individuals have been using the Polish press, literature and multimedia.

The relationship of languages in the religious domain is by far the most diverse and complicated one due to the use of Polish by people who do not speak it every day. Relatively free use of the Polish language in the religious sphere applies only to the oldest inhabitants belonging to the families where religion (along with the knowledge of prayers) survived the communist period, and to the people with the highest competence in the minority language. Although in the Roman Catholic Church, since the Second Vatican Council, there has been no liturgical language and local national languages have been used, in Polish-East Slavic relations this function is often unofficially performed by the Polish language, called the "Catholic language", in opposition to the "Orthodox language" (cf., e.g., Straczuk 1999; Golachowska 2012). This Catholic-Polish connection results from centuries-old traditions and, after the restoration of freedom of religion in the countries that emerged after the collapse of the USSR, from the ethnic origin of many priests, often delegated to Ukraine, Belarus and Russia from Poland. The priests who go to Vershina and permanently reside there come from Poland, but they know Russian, so the choice of the language of the services was not enforced in their case by lack of competence, but was

[25] Internet connection in Vershina, even at the beginning of the 2020s, is too slow and unstable to be treated as a channel of access to Polish multimedia content (TV streaming, VOD resources) and information portals.

a response to the needs of the inhabitants longing for the Polish character of the religious sphere. While in the case of the older and middle-aged people from homogeneous families the level of knowledge of Polish allowed them to quickly master it in the field of religion, for the younger people and people brought up in mixed families, with less contact with the Polish language, not only speaking but also understanding the gospel and religious content is difficult or even impossible. Therefore, the clergy decided to partially introduce Russian into the religious domain, and it has become the language in which the gospel and the sermon are summarised at the end of the service[26].

In the case of people participating in services in Polish, but not using this language actively in communication situations, one can talk about the phenomenon of diglossia without bilingualism. Elżbieta Smułkowa has described this phenomenon in a similar context, also in the religious domain in Polish-East Slavic contact: some members of the community use the Polish language solely in the sphere of liturgy, but they are able only to repeat prayers and songs, whose words and lyrics they do not understand (cf. Smułkowa 2000: 95–96).

The discussed changes in the subsequent periods of the sociolinguistic history of the village took place gradually; therefore, the criterion of durability covering at least three generations, as introduced by Fishman (1980: 3) has not been violated, but those changes were so consistent that comparing the first years after migration to Siberia with the beginning of the third decade of the 21st century shows radical changes, transforming the language situation of the village beyond recognition. Although the Polish language maintained a high internal prestige for the first two periods of the community, and notwithstanding the growing interest in Vershina after the collapse of the USSR, also externally, the connections of the Russian language with the economy, education and information, shaped in the years 1940–1991, have secured its position in the balance of power for good (cf., e.g., Rindler Schjerve 2000: 43–46).

[26] In addition, texts in church songbooks and prayer books are written in Cyrillic in Polish (see, among others, Ananiewa 2013 and section 4.1.4).

2.3. Bi- and multiculturism. Diethnia

There would be no contact of languages without contact of communities, which, in turn, implies contact of cultures. However, just as the contact of languages does not always lead to social bilingualism, the contact of cultures does not always result in biculturism. Einar Haugen, using the division of bilingualism and biculturism proposed by James Soffietti, distinguished four theoretically possible types of interdependence of these phenomena: a) simultaneous bilingualism and biculturism; b) monolingualism combined with biculturism; c) bilingualism with monoculturism; and d) monolingualism and monoculturism (Хауген 1972: 63–64). Bilingualism and biculturism can exist independently, an example of which is found in various forms of "elite" bilingualism (Bullock, Toribio 2009b: 9), e.g. school bilingualism, in which mastering a foreign language is accompanied by acquiring knowledge of the culture associated with it, but "the knowledge of this particular culture" does not have to lead to "the participation in the very culture". In the case of "folk" bilingualism, which arises spontaneously, worth considering is the question whether one can notice there a reverse situation and a natural link to biculturism. In Vershina, despite the presence of bilingualism in the community from the very beginning of its existence, the initial contact with Russian and Buryat culture was limited, and the settlers focused on cultivating their own Lesser Poland culture. Starting from the second period in the history of the village, i.e. from the 1940s, contact with the Russian and Soviet culture significantly intensified (with the continued relative isolation from the Buryats), but the question remains whether it can entail actual biculturism. Just as the functions of two languages can be regulated within the scope of diglossia, so biculturism can depend on the sphere of life. Joshua A. Fishman, in his search for an ethnocultural equivalent of diglossia, came up with the concept of di-ethnia: "a sociocultural pattern that is maintained by means of specific institutional arrangements" (Fishman 1980: 9–10). The analogy with diglossia is that these institutional arrangements require "repertoire compartmentalization", but "ethnic compartmentalization and linguistic compartmentalization are only weakly related to each other in any causal sense" and there are two

possible relationships: "a) multiculturism with and without di-ethnia, as well as b) diethnia with and without either bilingualism or diglossia" (Fishman 1980: 10–11).

The concept of di-ethnia aptly describes, e.g. the relationships between the culture of the nations of the USSR and the Russian-Soviet culture, where the educated elites in contacts with the outside world focused on the dominant culture, and within their ethnic group, especially in rural areas, they tended to adhere to the principles of the culture of their ancestors (see, e.g., Brady, Kaplan 2009: 40). Although useful for years in describing the situation of multilingualism and multiculturalism, also in the context of Slavic-Slavic contacts (Smułkowa 2000: 97), di-ethnia as such assumes the division of domains between relatively coherent cultural systems in which it is possible to draw a border between culture C_1 and culture C_2. However, Fishman (1980: 13) notes that "di-ethnia is a relatively rare phenomenon", which would suggest that this concept should be used with great caution. On the basis of the results of the previous research on the cultural system of Vershina (see, e.g., Figura 2003; Głuszkowski 2012b; Wiżentas, Pawlaczyk 2022), it can be assumed that the division into spheres in which Polish, Russian and Soviet or Buryat culture predominates does not run clearly between these spheres, making their relatively unambiguous assignment along the lines of the arrangement of languages in diglossia impossible. Therefore, in order to avoid simplifications blurring the overall picture of the multiculturalism of the Polish rural community in Siberia, the analysis will use an approach modelled on the structuralist dialectology proposed by Uriel Weinreich (1954). Moving away from the general point of view of a given dialectal territory (in the original) or cultural system (in the case under discussion) allows one to see that what is initially perceived as a relatively homogeneous whole turns out to be a diverse mosaic when broken down into prime factors (Weinreich 1954: 392–393). This is also the case which manifests itself in zooming in on individual subsystems of the Vershinian culture, as will be demonstrated in relation to selected spheres, as well as traditions and customs occurring in them. As regards the first of them, which could be defined as the macro level, it would seem that one can talk about the hallmarks of di-ethnia and define the domain of religion as Polish, and popular culture as Russian. However, this is just the tip of the

iceberg, which becomes more diverse as one approaches the base. The phenomenon of cultural mixture in individual domains will be presented on the basis of a few examples:

1) The calendar of holidays related to religion, which sets the rhythm of the life of a traditional community as a result of the reduction, and sometimes even the elimination of the sacred element, underwent significant modifications during the communist era. Although initially, after settling in Siberia, the inhabitants of Vershina celebrated the same holidays that they remembered from their hometowns, the lack of the possibility to practice the Catholic religion made religious holidays lose their importance in favour of state ones, and Polish customs related to religion were supplanted by Russian ones, e.g. "ostatki" ("zapusty"), i.e. the period of the last days of Carnival in Poland, was replaced with its Russian equivalent – "maslenitsa" (Figura 2003: 108–109). However, it cannot be said that this sphere was Russified because the most important religious holidays, i.e. Christmas and Easter, although in a changed (more secular) form, have been preserved (see section 2.3.1.1).
2) Family calendar holidays, i.e. name days and birthdays, have also been transformed, combining Polish and Russian elements. The name day celebrated in Vershina to this day is a Polish custom related to the celebration of the patron saint's day, which has survived in the emigrant community from the former homeland. As Figura (2003: 100) points out, however, they are not as popular as they used to be, and some of them, referring to names popular in this community, are solemnly celebrated, e.g. Helena, Franciszka, Antoni and Antonina, Władysław and Władysława. The custom has therefore been partially preserved, and at the same time, under the influence of Russian culture, birthdays have gained a greater importance and popularity.
3) Polish and Russian elements are also combined in the custom of seeing a child after their birth. The event is attended by the immediate family soon after home birth or on the day of arrival from hospital. It is a custom with a wider Slavic range, still present in both Polish and Russian villages. Probably, the currently observed Vershinian custom is preserved at least to some extent from the times before the migration; but, since the procedure of visiting a newborn child in Vershina is referred

to as "smotriny" (cf. Pol. *oględziny*) (Figura 2003: 101), so its name comes from the Russian language, it proves the Russian influences and a mixed character.

4) Ceremonies related to death and burial are extensive in nature, so here only a few elements confirming the mixed nature of this sphere of the cultural system will be indicated[27]. Polish traces in the Vershinian system of customs are visible in, among others, the habit of covering mirrors and keeping clocks in the house of the deceased (Figura 2003: 111). The Russian element, in turn, is the custom of saying goodbye to the deceased, with a glass of vodka drunk by the funeral participants and leaving food and alcohol on the freshly filled grave, following the example of their Russian neighbours. The secular form of funerals in the years of communism was an enforced influence of the Soviet culture. The space of the cemetery also has a mixed character: Catholic crosses were placed on the graves throughout the entire existence of Vershina, but during the communist period some people decided to put there red stars instead. The mixing of elements from different symbolic spaces is also visible in the grave inscriptions, which are written in both Cyrillic and Latin alphabets (Głuszkowski 2012b: 126–127).

As can be seen in examples 1–4, in the given domains, Polish culture was most often mixed with Russian or its Soviet variant. Cases of mixing of Polish and Buryat cultures were less common, but they can also be observed.

5) In traditional societies, where important aspects of life depend on weather conditions, weather forecasting has an important cultural function and is often ritualised. Vershinians also have their own ways of recognising signs of rain or sunshine in the coming days, but the predictions of the Buryat shaman residing in Vershina were most trusted.

[27] For a more detailed description of the funeral customs in Vershina, taking into account the elements preserved from the culture of Lesser Poland and the influences that appeared after the migration from the Russians, see selected works by Natalia G. Galetkina and Evelina Vizhentas (e.g. Галеткина 2015; Вижентас 2021).

6) There are also examples of combining elements from all of the cultures present in Vershina, including Polish, Russian and Soviet, as well as Buryat culture, which can be found in wedding ceremonies. Matchmaking is related to the buyout of the bride by the groom. Since similar rites are found both in Poland and Russia, it is difficult to state unequivocally whether the customs currently cultivated by the inhabitants of Vershina are a continuation of the traditions of their ancestors, they were adopted from their Russian neighbours, or they are a combination of both traditions. The bride is bought for a "quarter" of *samogon* 'homebrew vodka' (moonshine). Quarter as a measure was used in both Russia (cf. Rus. *chetvert'*) and Poland (cf. Pol. *ćwierć*), but Polish "quarter" was a unit of length, not volume, so this element is treated as Russian[28] (Głuszkowski 2010: 90), although the very custom of the "bride buyout" has been brought from Poland[29]. For many years, the wedding itself was purely secular and consisted of a visit to the ZAGS, i.e. the Registry Office, which was a Soviet element. Currently, the Polish component has been restored in the form of the inclusion of the sacral ceremony – a church wedding. Buryat rites have been incorporated as part of the journey from the office to the village, during which the bride and groom stop at Buryat holy places, as well as at the bridge and crossroads, to perform the rite of "bryzganye" (Rus. 'sprinkling the ground with alcohol') (Figura 2003: 105).

By analogy with similar phenomena occurring in the conditions of language contact, also in the context of culture, the above system can be referred to as not so much multicultural as hybrid. Stefan Grzybowski defines language hybridisation as the process of mixing two language systems in such a way that one of them is a structural base filled with elements from both L_1 and L_2 languages, including those that arose only as a result of contact and mutual influence (cf. Гжибовски 2010: 70). The mixtures

[28] "Quarter" as a measure of volume is also used in Vershina on other occasions, for example, as a customary non-cash payment for a favour: stavˈ'ošˈ m'ˈi ćv'ˈerć | na rˈanɔ grafˈ'inkė 'you owe me a quarter [of home-made vodka] for this, and a carafe (smaller bottle) in the morning'.

[29] Although the tradition of bride buyout is also known in Russia, it was known to Vershinians before the migration (and is still practiced in many regions of Poland today).

of multicultural elements presented in points 1–6 are most often treated as one whole, because the descendants of Polish settlers have largely lost the ability to distinguish what is Polish, Russian, Buryat and Soviet in their culture. This is best evidenced by how the home-made high-proof alcohol is referred to. There is a Buryat word, *tarasun*, and one of the informants stated that the Russian name for home-made vodka is *samogon* and the Polish one – *tarasun* (Głuszkowski 2012b: 127–129); while *samogon* is a term used both in Russia and in Poland, and *tarasun* is a kind of Buryat alcohol made of milk, the borrowing from the Buryat language has become so firmly established in the lexical resources of Vershinian Poles that they treat it as their own. The situation is similar with other names, both those referring to objects or products and those describing rituals and their phases. The inhabitants of the village identify themselves with this cultural conglomerate and do not divide their behaviour into Polish and Russian, which means that their identity can be defined as one hybridised whole.

2.3.1. The question of identity

The issue of identity, in relation to both individual and group levels, is often raised not only in studies of bilingualism but also in many other fields: anthropology, social geography, history, philosophy, political sciences, psychology and, last but not least, sociology (Edwards 2009: 18). The division into group and individual identity is one of the basic dichotomies within this very broad concept (Joseph 2004: 3). Although the two levels are closely related, they will be discussed separately because of the aspects of each that are relevant to the analysis of code-switching and code-mixing.

2.3.1.1. The group (collective, social, cultural) identity

The question of identity at the supra-individual level is central to one of the research questions: whether code-switching or the emerging mixed code is related to the corresponding particular (mixed) group identity. This problem

is all the more important because, in the previous section, the progressive hybridisation of the cultural system in the Vershinian community and the special nature of multiculturism occurring there were shown. In its simplest sense,

> the term 'collective identity' means something that somehow binds certain people together or, in other words, makes them a collective whose members can be at least partly characterized in a consistent way because they describe themselves as such. (Straub 2006: 1134)

For analytical purposes, however, it is necessary to break down "what binds people together" into prime factors. On the basis of methodological studies and reviews, it can be seen that individual theories of group (or collective, social, cultural) identity differ in the set of listed components and the emphasis placed on each of them. However, these differences are relatively small and include the operationalisation of concepts, e.g. Krzysztof Olechnicki and Paweł Załęcki have written about "awareness of group integrity" and "separateness in relation to the outside world", and Henry Brady and Cynthia Kaplan have named the same elements: "interaction with members of the group" and "positive evaluation of the in-group, negative evaluation of the out-group" (cf. Olechnicki, Załęcki 1998: 228; Brady, Kaplan 2009: 35), and their very high convergence is visible in the way of explicating these concepts by the abovementioned authors. On the basis of a range of studies from different disciplines (Tajfel 1974: 75; Kwaśniewski 1990; Szpociński 1991: 47; Olechnicki, Załęcki 1998: 228; Toren 2002: 220; Byron 2002; Kiesling 2006; Hillmann 2007: 431; Edwards 2009: 17–23; Brady, Kaplan 2009: 34–35), given the overwhelming predominance of points of commonality over differences, with relatively little weight given to the latter, a set of constituent features of identity has been developed. It has already been applied in my earlier studies of the insular minority communities (Глушковски 2013; Głuszkowski 2015e), including Vershina (Głuszkowski 2014b): 1) nationality (ethnicity); 2) language; 3) religion; 4) cultural heritage; 5) system of traditions and customs; 6) history shared by the group members (social memory, collective memory); 7) inner integrity of the group; 8) feeling of distinctiveness on the background of other groups.

The first analysed element is **the feeling of nationality/ethnicity**. Nowicka and Głowacka-Grajper (2003b: 49) consider the issue of Vershinian nationality on many levels, distinguishing between national-ethnic, regional and local identity. On the first – national – level, the "awareness of one's own Polishness among the inhabitants of Vershina is very strong: obvious and indisputable"; and it serves as an element of comparisons with other ethnic groups. Although in various social situations, especially in the second, communist, period of the history of the village, some people may have avoided openly declaring their nationality in official or administrative situations for fear of harassment, at least the awareness of identity and Polish origin was preserved:

> WII: jag nˈa‿mńe | jˈagbym zajexˈawa kaj | tak pˈatšoᵐ | ˈu‿mńe akcˈent | jˈa cˈysto pɔ rˈusku ńe mˈuv'e | z akcˈentem | zgadˈujow̃ | zgadˈujoᵐ | kɑkˈoj anˈa nˈacji, kɑkˈoj ɑnˈa nˈacji i pˈɔtem zgadˈujoᵐ | nˈu | jˈa że ńe skryvˈałam nˈacje svˈɔjoᵐ | a ˈot ˈuna skrˈyva [surname, name, patronymic] a ty kakˈoj nˈacji | mˈoi d'ˈedy bˈyl'i pal'ˈak'i || no jˈo mˈuv'e | jˈa śe pˈolkom sčˈytam | a ˈona śe już ńe sčˈyta (Głuszkowski 2012a: 438)
>
> WII: They are looking at me, when I arrive at any place, because I speak with an accent, I cannot speak Russian clearly, only with an accent. They are trying to guess: What nationality is she? What nationality is she? And then they pretend to guess. Well, I did not conceal my nationality, and she conceals [it]. [Surname, name, patronymic], what nationality are you? My grandparents were Poles. I tell it, I consider myself Polish, and she does not.

On the regional level, an inter-ethnic identity appears, in which the place of residence in Siberia connects Poles with living Russians, Ukrainians and Buryats as Siberians (cf. Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003b: 48–53; Wiżentas 2022a: 54). From the statement included in one of the school essays on the history and present day of Vershina, one can learn that its inhabitants primarily make a choice between the terms "Siberian Poles" and "Polish Siberians" (Głuszkowski 2014b: 338–339). The local level is the attachment to the home village, where the Polish identity is not so much national as peasant (cf. Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003b: 53–55; Галеткина 2015:

173). This, quite coherent arrangement: national Polishness – regional Siberianness – local peasantness, evolves and shifts the emphasis to the aspects of genealogy and awareness of Polish origin, which Nowicka has described as "petrified", "residual" and "sentimental" Polishness (Nowicka 2013: 26). This state of affairs is also confirmed by statements of the informants who use phrases indicating a sense of separateness in relation to Polishness associated with the Polish statehood, e.g. "I was in your Poland", whether as fellow-countrymen or repatriates:

> WII: fpˈˈerf pɔlˈɔkʼi nacˈyny tˈu jˈeźʒić | tɔ ˈɔj zabrˈalʼiśće vˈy nˈas tam dɔ pˈɔlskʼi | zabˈˈerće nˈas tam na rˈodʼine || kˈomu vˈyśće tam poţšˈebne | tam vˈas myślˈˈiće | zˈaro ˈ vˈom | ahˈa | ɔvˈɔce povˈˈišum na kšˈɔkax
>
> WII: First, when Poles started to come here, they said: oh, take us there to Poland, take us to our homeland. Who needs you there? Do you think that they are just waiting for you there and will warmly welcome you?

Nowicka and Głowacka-Grajper's (2003b) observations were confirmed in later research by Evelina Vizhentas, who comes from Vershina, and notes that "Polishness is something natural for Vershinians and they do not feel the obligation to prove it or convince anyone of it, especially since in the eyes of the people from the closest Siberian surroundings they are perceived as Poles" (Wiżentas 2022a: 54). Thus, it is the case of "obvious Polishness" – in the regional[30] Siberian variant, in which everyone has their own ethnocultural affiliation, yet not associated with attachment to a separate statehood, so it is not the understanding of Polishness that some compatriots from Poland try to impose on the descendants of Polish settlers (Głuszkowski 2009c: 78).

Since the langauge situation of Vershina has been discussed in sections 2.2.1–2.2.2, this part will focus mainly on the perception of **language as an**

[30] Multi-level identity was a normal phenomenon in the USSR, not limited to Siberia only, and the distinction between the "nationality to which someone feels [attached]" and the "nationality appearing on the identity card" was taken into account in research on identity throughout the former Soviet Union (see, e.g., Brady, Kaplan 2009: 54).

element of identity by members of the community. The Polish language is one of the first elements of Polishness that people visiting Vershina pay attention to. This initial impression generally leads to the conclusion that it is the main language of the community (Koperski 2003). In fact, however, the Polishness of the language has a dialectal character – the Lesser Poland one (Figura 2003: 118–120), and in the recent period of the history of the village, especially since the 2010s, it has been no longer common (Nowicka 2013: 23). In such a situation, can language still be an important determinant of the collective identity of the descendants of Polish settlers? First of all, Vershinians are aware of the differences between standard Polish and their heritage language:

> WI: nˈɔ wɔt mˈy muvʼˈimy pɔ pˈɔlsku a vˈy trˈɔxe inˈacy jˈuš muvʼˈiće a mˈy inˈacy | nˈɔ | nˈɔ nˈɔm | mˈy tak vyrˈɔśl'i | nɔ tak ucˈy | nˈɔ ńe ucˈy nˈɔ tag muvʼˈil'i | i my pšyvˈykl'i naucˈyl'i śe | i tak muvʼˈimy (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 207)
>
> WI: Well, we speak Polish. You speak a little differently than we do. Well, that's how we were brought up. Well, that's how we were taught, I mean, we weren't taught, that's just how we used to speak and we got used to it and learned it. And we speak like this.

In their own attempts to interpret the local dialect, the dwellers of Vershina use various expressions: "we don't speak pure Polish", "we speak Vershinian", "we speak 'simple speech'" (Wiżentas 2022a: 50). Regardless of the term used, the language learned at home is treated as an element of Polishness and associated with the local tradition and heritage:

> MII: jˈa žem śe urˈɔʒ́iw | pɔ pˈɔlsku rɔʒ́ˈićele rɔzmɔvʼˈalʼi | a f škˈɔle mˈy śe pɔ rɔsʼjˈansku fš'yskɔ bˈywɔ | a mˈy pɔ pˈɔlsku v dˈumu cˈɔwkʼe cˈasy | pɔ rɔsʼjˈanskʼi ńˈixt ńe rɔzmˈɔvʼɔw ˈu‿nɔs | ńˈix (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 178)
>
> MII: When I was born, my parents spoke Polish. And at school everything was in Russian. And at home we spoke Polish all the time. Nobody spoke Russian, nobody.

The following two statements show the changes taking place in terms of social functions and the level of knowledge of the Lesser Poland dialect among the inhabitants of Vershina:

> WI: ˈaj mńˈe pa rasʼˈijskʼi lˈepʼėj rəzmˈavʼać | tˈak mˈy‿že v dˈumu pa rasʼˈijskʼi razməvʼˈumy | ʒˈeći pšyjˈadum pa rasʼˈijskʼi (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 179)
>
> WI: Oh, it's easier for me to speak Russian. We even speak Russian at home. When children come – in Russian.
>
> WII: po pˈolsku juš rozmˈuvʼə mˈaʷo xtˈo | vrˈoʒė vʼˈeʒum žė ʒˈatkʼi polˈakʼi tam no jak juš zmʼeʲnšˈane | jak nɑrˈody to vʼˈincėj juš po rosʼˈijsku juš rozmɑvʼˈajəm | juš gubʼi śė | no dˈobžė žė jˈešᶜė jˈakoś ostˈawy śė jˈakʼeś ɑbˈyćiji da | jˈeʸnzyk śė ˈostəw | dˈobžė tˈutėj pˈolskʼi jˈeʸnzyk f skˈolė ˈucəm ʒˈeći | to dˈobžė bˈarʒo (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 139)
>
> WII: Hardly anyone speaks Polish anymore. They seem to know that their grandparents were Poles, but once the nations are mixed up, they speak more Russian. It's already dying. Well, there are still some customs, yes. The language remained. It's good that they teach children Polish at school here. That's very good.

As described in section 2.2.2, and illustrated in the above statements, the function of the Polish language as the main language in the domestic sphere has become a thing of the past. At the same time, one can note that neither the displacement of the Polish language from successive domains by Russian nor the declining common level of its knowledge has resulted in the exclusion of this element from among the most important components of the collective identity of the descendants of Polish settlers from the beginning of the 20th century.

The problem of **religion** has already been partly covered in the sections on social history (1.4) and multiculturalism (2.3). As already mentioned, at least in the early period of the history of the village, the settlers from Lesser Poland tried to recreate, as far as possible, the social conditions of life in the regions of their origin:

> WII: ˈal’ė śė srˈazu vźˈuńi zə kˈɔśćuw tyš | vα p’ˈervyx sp’ˈiršə tɔ v z’eml’ˈankax bˈywy | a pˈuźńėj cɔś cɔśˈtɔ pšėbudɔvˈawy i zə kˈośćuw śė vźˈuńi | tɔ prˈav’ilnə rɔb’ˈiwy | nɔ pšyjexˈawy tˈak’e z mol’ˈitvum s ks’unžeckˈam’i | bɔ te ks’unžˈeck’i tɔ ja viʒˈawə u bˈapći (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 212)
>
> WII: But they immediately started to build the church. At first, they lived in dugouts, and later they rebuilt them and started to build the church. They did right. They came here with prayers, with prayer books, because I saw these prayer books at my grandmother’s.

As in the case of other traditional minority rural communities (cf. Głuszkowski 2009d), living in areas with a small population and relative isolation from the outside world was conducive to preserving the rituals of the ancestors in Vershina, and the rhythm of socio-cultural life was determined by the Church Calendar with periods of Carnival, fasting and holidays. In the context of the historical events of the late 1930s, the question of how Vershinian religiosity adapted to the conditions of half a century of intense atheisation, and whether the Roman Catholic denomination retained its function as a determinant of collective identity, is particularly relevant. The influence of the communist era on the state of religious life is indisputable. On the one hand, religious life in the community did not die out but functioned in a reduced form in secret. The inhabitants tried to maintain rituals, to covertly pray and administer the sacrament of baptism, and to bury the dead with prayer. Baptisms were always performed in a given period by one of the residents – initially Mr. Lorek[31], then Magdalena Mycka and Klara Figura (Mitrenga-Ulitina 2015: 23).

> WII: nɔ kˈaj u‿nɔz bˈarʒo dʷˈugo bˈywy kośćˈowy zakrˈyte i ucˈyl’i žė bˈoga ńˈi‿ma | tˈɔ tɔ mˈy pɔpˈal’i na te cˈasy | na te cˈasy mˈy popˈadl’i | lˈuʒė te vzrˈoswe tɔ juš kˈaś pɔ kryjˈeʸmu śė zb’erˈal’i śf’intuvˈal’i pomodl’ˈil’i śė | bˈywo tak | kś:ˈil’i ʒˈeći poćixˈutku to ńė vˈolno bˈywo (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 211)

[31] First name unknown.

> WII: Well, when our churches were closed for a long time and we were told that there was no God – those were the times we found ourselves in. We lived in those [difficult] times. People, the adults, somehow secretly gathered and celebrated and prayed. So it was. Children were baptised secretly, because it was not allowed.

On the other hand, as Wiżentas (2022b: 35) points out, this period led to the loss of the sacral character of many holidays, and the freedoms regained in the new political reality after 1991 mean not so much revitalisation of the spiritual dimension of the ritual as its introduction (Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003b: 39), because it was unknown to the subsequent generations. The restoration of religious freedoms took place at a time when Easter functioned in the consciousness of the Vershinians as "Leyki" or "St. Leyek Day" – from the Polish folk custom of throwing water by boys over girls on Easter Monday, preserved by the successive generations of the descendants of Polish settlers (Figura 2003: 109–110). According to the informants' statements, as a result of the drastic restriction of religious life, they did not know how to use of the rosary, which is still kept in some homes today, and were surprised to find a copy of the Bible among a grandmother's mementos:

> WII: i kr'ˈest viʒˈawəm | a u bˈapćuf tɔ bˈywɔ f kufˈerkəx | sxɔvˈane te ks'ˈunšk'i | jo tə b'ˈibl'ė rɔs v'iʒˈawəm f's'evˈo | i mˈuv'ė cɔ tɔ tˈak'ė (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 212)

> WII: I also saw a cross. And grandmothers had it buried in trunks. These books were hidden. I saw a Bible once and wondered what it was.

The inhabitants of Vershina, although their confessional life was forcibly limited for several decades and they were unable to fully use the opportunities created in the new socio-political reality, quickly began to see the advantages of religious freedom:

> WII: no pˈuźńėj pˈuźńėj już dɔp'ˈerɔ jag nacˈeny kśˈonʒė pšyjˈižžəć | p'ˈirše tɔ pšyjižˈal'i i ujeżˈal'i | no tˈera to juš žˈyje tˈutəj kśˈonc no to już

> mˈožna v lˈube cˈasy kaś cˈoś jˈak’eś ʦ̣a cy ʒ́ˈecko ˈokś:ić cy vzroswˈego poxˈovəć otśp’ˈivəć to juš kśˈonc jesˈ (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 211)
>
> WII: Well, later, later, only when the priests began to arrive, [it was different]. First, they were commuting, but now a priest lives here, so you can go to him at any time and ask for a service – whether you need to baptise a child or bury an adult, say a prayer for the deceased, then the priest is [on site].

The already mentioned observation of Nowicka and Głowacka-Grajper (2003b: 39) on the subject of creating rituals from scratch has an interesting intergenerational dimension. Thanks to the activities of the clergy and some inhabitants, as well as the organisations from outside[32], it was possible to include representatives of the young generation in the religious life (Wiżentas 2022b: 38–39); in turn, they attracted their parents to the Church:

> WII: jak tė ʒ́ˈeći mˈojė nacˈuny xˈoʒ́ić tɔ mńė ʒ́ˈeći dɔ kɔśćˈɔwə zaprɔvaʒ́ˈiwy | tyš mˈy ńė mɔdl’ˈil’i śė i mˈama ńė xɔʒ́ˈil’i i my jˈakɔśix | a jak nacˈuńi tyn kˈośćuw vəstɑnˈavl’ivəć pˈɔšwy […] ˈob’e pˈɔšwy | mˈamɔ jag dˈobžė f kɔśćˈolė | jˈak tam dˈobžė f kɔśćˈolė | pɑšl’ˈi dɔ kɔśćˈowə | nɔ i f’s’o jak stˈawəm xˈɔʒ́ić tak dɔ s’ix pɔr xɔʒˈymy mɔdlˈymy śė (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 212)
>
> WII: When my children started going [to church], they took me to church. Before that, neither we prayed nor my mother, we didn’t go [there] somehow. And when they started to recreate the church, both my daughters went: mother, how good is the church, how good is the church, let’s go to the church. And so it turned out that when I started walking, we still go there and pray.

The role of religion as a determinant of identity need not be obvious. According to John Edwards (2009: 23), “in many contemporary contexts, for example, religious affiliation is not the pillar it once was”. It is worth

[32] Examples of activities carried out with the help of Polish community institutions from Irkutsk, as well as church organisations in Russia or Poland, were holiday trips combined with retreats or free all-day half-camps with meals organised on site in Vershinian Parish, with the participation of volunteers from Poland.

considering whether such a scenario can be realised in the community under study. In 2008, one of the associates of Irkutsk Diocese noticed that the participation of the residents of Vershina in masses was negligible and doubted the importance of the role of religion in the life of this community. And indeed, his observations were confirmed during the expedition in 2008 and later – no more than 25 people (out of approx. 400) attended Sunday services, and only a few people during the week. However, it should be taken into account that the expeditions were organised in the summer, coinciding with the period of intensive work in the field and forest, which naturally reduced the attendance rate, and also that the community did not have the opportunity to attend services for over 50 years. In addition, it is difficult to expect that the habits developed over several generations will change in half the time, especially since the phenomenon of "privatisation of religion" (Borowik 1996: 24) and the reduction in the number of practicing believers is universal and results from social and civilisational tendencies[33]. Participation in religious services and the degree of involvement in religious rituals, however, are not crucial for recognising religion as one of the elements of Vershinian identity. Active or passive membership in the Roman Catholic Church distinguishes the descendants of Polish settlers from Buddhist-Buryats or Orthodox Christians – Russians and Ukrainians, in the eyes of both themselves and the surrounding ethnic groups (Głuszkowski 2014b: 329; Галеткина 2015: 89; Wiżentas, Pawlaczyk 2022: 33).

Another component of identity, **cultural heritage**, is understood as forms of art and cultural works typical of a given community and passed on throughout history. Since the founders of Vershina came from uneducated social classes and were not familiar with high art in the form of Polish *belles-lettres*, painting, classical music, sculpture, etc., they could not pass this knowledge on to the next generations born in emigration. Therefore, in the case of the studied community, cultural heritage comes down to folklore, which is represented by musical folklore. This aspect of the culture

[33] The problem of determining the number of believers participating in Sunday mass is experienced, for example, by the Catholic Church in Poland, which maintained continuity during the communist period and did not lose its social position (ISKK 2016; Bożewicz 2020: 3).

of the Polish village in Siberia has been noticed by folklore researchers and described in detail in extensive studies, including monographs and doctoral theses (see Соколова 2020; Smoluch 2021). The basic musical repertoire was brought from Poland and it constitutes the core of the folk musical culture of present-day Vershina. Among the characteristic Polish features of Vershinian songs, Vizhentas enumerates the syllabotonic constant rhyme, where the unit of measure is a foot consisting of one stressed and one or two unstressed syllables (Вижентас 2020: 50), but it should also be noted that, most often, these songs are preserved in their entirety (see, e.g., Вижентас, Хомутинникова 2018). During the interviews, the informants willingly and proudly recalled the songs and chants they had learned at home:

> WI: ˈu: | navˈawėm | dˈužɔ dˈužɔ jˈɔ vʼˈėm pˈɔlskʼix || ˈańi mˈɔże f pˈolsce tˈyle ńė vʼeʒom | jˈɔ dˈužɔ vʼˈim śpʼˈivek | wˈot pɔd bˈɔrėm pɔd lˈasėm | mʼˈɔw tam kˈɔval kˈuźńe | pˈuźńi | ė: | jˈagžeš tˈɔtɔ | na bžˈegu mˈóża v ubˈɔgʼėj xˈac:e | ˈoj | vʼˈele jˈɔ tˈyx śpʼˈivek vʼˈim | dˈužɔ dˈužɔ | pˈɔʒ́elˈɔnym dˈėmbem | stˈɔi kˈɔń śɔdwˈany | vˈy możė ˈańi ńe vʼˈiće (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 200)
>
> WI: Oh yes, a lot of them. I know a lot of Polish songs. Maybe even in Poland they don't know so many. I know lots of songs. For example, "Pod borem, pod lasem, miał tam kowal kuźnię" ('Near the forest, near the forest, a blacksmith had a forge there'), and then, well, how it was, "Nad brzegiem morza w ubogiej chatce" ('On the seashore in a poor hut'). Oh, I know a lot of these songs. a lot of them. "Pod zielonym dębem stoi koń siodłany" (Under the green oak there stands a saddled horse). Maybe you don't even know them?

The local songs are transmitted primarily orally, and if they are written down, as in the form of quotations in Pietshik's chronicle (Петшик 2008: 23, 31) or in handwritten and printed songbooks, then it is in Cyrillic script (more details will be given in in section 4.1.4). Such a situation is conducive to there appearing various types of transformations resulting from misunderstanding of the text and mistakes in the notation, or finally creative transformations of the text, which is a completely normal phenomenon and does not affect the cultural perception of the musical repertoire of the

village. The cultivation of Vershina's musical traditions was to some extent institutionalised in 1985, when the folk ensemble Yazhumbek (Pol. *jarząbek*, 'hazel grouse') was founded (Wiżentas 2022b: 45–46). The group represents Vershina externally, including performances during regional folklore festivals and competitions. The performances given by the group are a tourist attraction for official delegations and tourists from Poland (see, e.g., Głuszkowski 2009c: 75).

> MII: bɔ my jeźʒˈil'i s fɔlklˈˈorem | jo na bajˈańe grˈum na garmˈɔšce | fɔlklˈɔrny ansˈambl ˈu‿nɔs | tu v v'eršˈyńe | pˈɔlsk'i […] jažˈumbek […] nˈu | mˈy vystumpɔvˈal'i tˈerɔ bɔ | ńek'ˈegɔ bɔ | dvunastˈegɔ jˈul'a | bˈyw f t'ixˈanɔfce | zb'irˈal'i nˈos rˈuskaʲa garmˈoń | xtˈɔ lˈep'ij vystˈump'i […] jˈa tˈam p'ˈirše m'ˈejsce z'ajun (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 202)
>
> MII: We travelled with folklore performances. I play the bayan, the accordion. We have a folklore group, here in Vershina, the Polish one, Yazhumbek. Well, we performed now, I think on July 12, it was in Tikhanovka, they were gathering us to play "Russkaya garmon'" (the Russian accordion), who would perform better. I took first place there.

Over time, due to the representative function of the folk group, Yazhumbek's repertoire began to evolve and was enriched with popular Russian songs and contemporary Polish songs taken from records and cassettes brought by visitors to the village (Głuszkowski 2009e: 24). Nevertheless, the Vershinian musical folklore, as well as the ensemble Yazhumbek as its main carrier, is still an important element of the cultural identity of the community.

The **system of traditions and customs** is largely tied to religion and cultural heritage, and has evolved over more than a century of exposure to Russian, Soviet and Buryat cultures (see section 2.3), so this subsection will only focus on its relevance to Vershinian identity. In view of the previously described merging of cultures and the partial loss of the sense of origin of individual components in the hybrid system that is still being created, one finds it problematic to determine whether the system of traditions and customs can still be the basis of identity for a minority community. On the example of a middle-aged informant's statement about celebrating

Christmas, the most important aspects of this issue will be shown. Although the statement is formulated in the Vershinian dialect, the name of the holiday borrowed from Russian is used in it.

> WIII: mˈy pšyježˀʲamy dˈɔ mˈamy | jˈa z mˈewžėm | z ʑećˈam'i mˈy pšyjež:ˈamy tˈutaj na‿vˈˈɔske dˈɔ mˈamy tˈutej inagdˈa […]
> WII: rɔžd'estvˈɔ vm'ˈeśće s nˈɔvym rˈɔk'em rˈazem spynʒˈamy tˈutaj v dˈɔmu | nˈɔ bəlšynstvˈɔ tˈak rɔžd'estvˈɔ s nˈɔvym rˈɔk'em | mˈy rɔžd'estvˈɔ tˈeš ɔtm'ecˈamy v nˈašėm dˈɔm'e […]
> WIII: rαžd'estvˈɔ ˈil'i […]
> WII: a: rαžd'estvˈɔ
> – *Boże Narodzenie.*
> WII: [laughs] bˈɔžė ražd'estvˈɔ dvuʑestˈego p'untˈegɔ jˈak cˈɔ pɔv'ˈeʑeć | rɔžd'estvˈɔ tˈɔ śˈudme janvar'ˈa pɔ‿kˈa… pɔ‿prαvαsłˈavnəmu | mˈy tˈɔ katɔl'ˈič'esk'i ɔtm'ečumy dvatcˈat' p'ˈatαvα dˈa (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 228–229)
>
> WIII: We are coming to mom. Me and my husband, with our children, we come here for holidays to my mother's.
> WII: We spend Christmas [Rozhdestvo] and New Year together here at home. Mostly Christmas [Rozhdestvo] and New Year. And we also celebrate Christmas [Rozhdestvo] in our house.
> WIII: Christmas [Rozhdestvo], or
> WII: ah Christmas [Rozhdestvo]?
> – *Christmas.*
> WII: [laughs] Christmas [Bozhe Rozhdestvo] on the twenty-fifth, how to say it? Christmas [Rozhdestvo] on January 7th, the Catholic one, not the Orthodox one. We celebrate it on the twenty-fifth [of December] in the Catholic way.

Although this statement is formulated in the Vershinian dialect, the name of the holiday borrowed from Russian is used in it (Rus. *Rozhdestvo*, the common name for *Rozhdestvo Khristovo* 'Christmas'). When the interlocutor notices a problem with terminology, she begins to wonder about the Polish name of the holiday, and finally one of the interviewers suggests it to her (Pol. *Boże Narodzenie* 'Christmas'). Then, half-jokingly, she contaminates the Polish and Russian names into *Bozhe Rozhdestvo*

and proceeds to consider the dates: December 25 in the Roman Catholic (and more general – Western tradition, according to the Gregorian calendar) and January 7 in the Orthodox tradition (Eastern, the Julian calendar), and concludes that they are celebrating it in December "in the Catholic manner". The celebration of the New Year is also mentioned, which in the Soviet atheistic tradition replaced Christmas, and it was for this holiday that the Christmas tree was decorated and gifts were given. In the further part of the conversation, the informant discusses the Christmas Eve supper and the traditional set of dishes served at that time. He remembers that they should be fasting, but has trouble remembering how many, giving the numbers: 25 (which was immediately identified as a mistake due to the date of December 25), followed by 9 and 12. The blurring of boundaries between Polish and Russian, Catholic and Orthodox traditions, as presented in the above example, does not mean rejection of tradition and customs as part of this specific group identity. In this hybridised system, more or less successful attempts are made to distinguish the origin of individual elements, and members of the Vershinian community perceive the resulting mixture as their own and transmit it to the subsequent generations just as all other constituents of identity:

> WII: mˈy ʷɔtm'ėč'ˈumy prˈazᵈńik'i fs'ˈe kɑtɑl'ˈič'esk'ije | jˈak pˈɔ pˈɔlsk'i | tˈak tˈak | tˈɔ cˈo nˈom mˈama pɔtpˈɔv'i | ˈuna tˈyš ˈɔt svˈɔjij mˈamy mˈɔže kˈaj cˈɔ swyšˈaʷa (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 229)
>
> WII: We celebrate all Catholic holidays as in Polish. Yes, in the way mom tells us, and she probably also heard it from her mom.

In addition to tradition and cultural heritage, a form of maintaining the group's continuity and ties with the past is the **common history shared by its members**. It has the character of social or collective memory (as defined by Maurice Halbwachs, 1939), which in small traditional communities often functions in the form of oral history (Thomson et al. 1994: 37–38). In the case of the identity-forming function of history, it is not so much the facts as their interpretation by a given community, i.e. events filtered through the 'humanistic coefficient' (Znaniecki 1934: 36), that are important. Thanks to

the biased version of facts both the individual and the group as the bearers of social memory structure (Feldman 2001: 131–132) "bind […] past and present identifications and values guiding the future into one story by putting them in a temporal succession with reasoned transitions" (Habermas 2012: 35). In this way, a processual reconstruction of one's experiences takes place (Kaźmierska, Waniek 2020: 15–16).

According to Marek Ziółkowski (1999: 56), collective memory is associated with the determination of belonging to a specific social group, and common beliefs about the past are the basis for specific actions or accompany them. Is the vision of memory in the Polish village in Siberia coherent enough to fulfil such a function? By referring to the oral accounts of Vershinians included in the monograph on the history of the village (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 101–112), regardless of minor differences, one can confirm that all the stories about the foundation of the village and the first years after settling in Siberia were kept in a very similar spirit. The same events, with a very similar interpretation, were described in the essays of young Vershinians on local history (Głuszkowski 2014b: 336–339), so there is a generational continuity in this area and a vision of history common to all members of the community. It was the fate of the first settlers and the hardships they endured in the fight against the harsh nature and adversities that became the true founding myth of the community. Thus, the social memory in the case of Vershina does not manifest "the diasporic longing for the homeland" with its "fixed notion of home, identity, and exile, where the homeland is perceived nostalgically as an 'authentic' space of belonging, and the place of settlement as somehow 'inauthentic' and undesirable" (Hua 2005: 195).

The cohesion and commonality of historical ideas concern mainly the first decades in the history of the village, and in later periods there is a greater variety of topics (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 119–126) and differences in the interpretation of the same facts (Głuszkowski 2016a: 42–43). Apart from the history of the beginnings of the village, the memory of repressions of 1937 is shared by all, but the narratives may show different aspects of the tragical events, e.g.:

WII: to v r’ɛ̀prʼʼesji to zabrʼal’i do irkʼuckə ʼalė dʼužo cʼasy cygańʼil’i kaj te lʼuʑė śė paʒʼowy | to u nos tʼatuf tʼatə tyš tė r’ɛ̀prʼʼesji tyš bʼyl’i zabrʼańė | a zab’erʼal’i im sʼamyx majstrʼovyx tam śʼem’yx lʼuʑi i vot to to śė pəwućʼiwə to kɑ́ńʼešnə ńė ʼinə po v’eršʼyńė | to ʼiʑė tak po cʼawėj rɑsʼiji to ʼilė natvožʼunė bʼywə | to to is vəjėnɑćʼalńikuf vʼyš:yx tyx nɑćʼalńik’i g’ɛ̀ńėrʼalnė | da | spec sʼamė | kʼaždy tšʼeći byw rəstšėlʼany | i to śė pəwućʼiwə | prʼostə tak vʼʼidəć | pərəšt̩šėlʼonė (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 214)

WII: During the repression, they were taken to Irkutsk, but we were deceived for a long time about what happened to these people. My father’s father was also arrested, and they took the most hardworking people. It happened not only in Vershina, it happened all over Russia, how bad things happened then. After all, the military commanders, the main ones, the highest ones [were shot], every third was shot. Such things also happened – they were simply shot.

MI: ˈu‿mńe bʼywɔ šʼeśćlʼat | tɔ pam’ʼintom | fkʼʼej | jʼus tʼak’e samɔʒʼelne wʼuška bʼywy | čtʼery nʼɔg’i i tʼam […] ʼil’i tʼam matrʼas | mʼʼintk’i i mʼy na tʼym spʼal’i | tɔ jʼɔ žem jak śe pševrʼucɔw | pačšʼewem cy tˈɔ | jʼak’eś xwʼɔpy ńeznakʼɔme xʼɔʒom | mńʼe bʼywɔ šʼeʒ́ lʼɔt jak wʼɔjca pšʼyšl’i zab’ʼirać | i jʼɔ tɔ ńe vʼʼeʑ́ɔw kudʼa štʼɔ […] | jag zabrʼal’i i prɔvaʒ́ʼil’i | pʼotym śe mʼamy pʼytom | a xtʼɔ tɔ bʼyw | a pɔ jak’ʼimu | kudʼa | kʼaj wʼɔćec pɔ… pɔjʼexɔw | tɔ že cʼɔwk’i cʼasy | […] uxʼɔʒ́iw na rəbʼɔte | a tu v nʼɔcy | mʼatka pwʼace | ńi mʼɔže swʼɔva rɔspɔvʼʼeʑ́eć | bɔ jʼuš pɔńʼatnɔ že | vɔzvrʼatu nʼazɔt ńʼi‿ma | čy tɔ tɔ jʼest | na fsʼʼu žyś | vʼɔt tʼutej na nʼa‿fśi | ɔkʼɔwɔ p’ińʒ́ʼeśunt kʼɔb’it śe ɔstʼawɔ vdʼɔvam’i | jˈak tu mʼɔžna tʼak | žʼeby tʼyle l’ʼuʑ́i vdɔfcʼam’i ɔstʼav’ić | vdʼɔ… vdɔvʼam’i | […] mʼʼɔwy jʼuž ʒ́ʼeći malʼutk’e fsʼʼɔ fsʼʼɔ (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 124)

MI: I was six then. I remember that we already had such separate beds, with four legs or just a soft mattress, and we slept on it. I was not fully asleep and looked to see why, why some strangers were walking around. I was six years old when they came to take my father. And I didn’t know where or what. When they took him, I asked my mother: who was it, and why, and where, and where did my father go? He was always leaving just for work, and suddenly he left at night, my mother was sobbing and was unable to say a word, because it was already known that there was no way back, that it was forever, for the entire life. Oh, here in our village, about

> fifty women became widows. How is it possible that so many people are widowed? They already had tiny children.

The experience of repression, not only in 1937 as part of the NKVD's Polish Operation but also in other periods of persecution and discrimination in USSR history, concerned Poles from both Siberia and other parts of the country, including the Byelorussian (Rogozin 2022), Ukrainian (Pawlaczyk 2021b), and Lithuanian (Srebrakowski 2000) Socialist Soviet Republics. The lack of contacts between the Poles from Vershina and the inhabitants of European republics means that these events were experienced in parallel, but not jointly, and it is difficult to talk about a common identity in this context, as is the case of, for example, the perspective of the former Polish Northeastern Borderlands (cf. Grek-Pabisowa 2022 and others).

Although with regard to Vershina the "common history of the group" means primarily a selected period of history, it is still contained in socially constructed stories and, in the form of collective beliefs, it shapes individual beliefs and attitudes towards the community's past (Corning, Howard 2014: 500–501). As such, it is an important component of identity.

When analysing the question of **inner integrity of the group**, it is important for one to consider the nature of nationality/ethnicity demonstrated by the inhabitants of Vershina, as this is the basis on which the reference group is formed. Concerning the multi-level national-regional-local identity, for the group in question it is primarily the latter, i.e. the Polish rural community. First of all, Vershina is treated as a local community with a Polish character:

> WII: nˈɔ bɔ tˈutej bˈya | bɔ tu bˈywy ˈinɔ jˈedne pɔlˈak'i | ˈinɔ bˈyʷɔ p'ˈinć | dˈomuf xtˈure rˈusk'e bˈywy | a tɔ bˈywy fs'ˈe pɔlˈak'i | i ˈuna śe p'isˈawa v'ˈɔska pˈɔlskɔ v'eršˈyna tɔ bˈywa | pˈɔlskɔ tˈegɔ v'ˈeś (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 184)
>
> WII: Well, because there were only Poles here, there were only five houses in which Russians lived, and all the others were Poles, that is why it was referred to as the Polish village of Vershina. It was a Polish village.

Kinship ties strengthen local integrity among the community members. Since in the first period of the village's history only endogamous marriages were concluded, and when exogamy later appeared in this community it was a slow process, the inhabitants of Vershina have been not only neighbours for generations but also closer and more distant relatives:

> MI: a tu v'erśˈyna ˈɔna pɔ… pɔrɔdńˈana jˈest m''ˈenʒy sˈɔbɔm | jeżˈel'i tak śe rɔzˈebrać tɔ vˈynzew jˈeden ańi gɔ ńe rɔzv''ˈunżeš | kˈupum nav'ɔnzˈany | a tˈerɔ śe pšem'ew̃šˈuje juš y: z rusk''ˈim'i aha | v''ˈew̃kšum cˈeńśćum | ˈu‿mńe ʒ́ˈeći tyž juš | ehe | a fšˈysk'e majˈum rˈusk'e | ucˈywy śe (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 183)
>
> MI: And here in Vershina, everyone is related to each other. If you look closely, it's like one knot that can't be untied, tied together. And now it's getting mixed up, mostly with Russians. My children are also all in relationships with Russians.

In the second part of the above statement, the informant notices changes taking place and marriages with Russians becoming more and more frequent, but even in spite of their spread, kinship ties between the descendants of the settlers from Lesser Poland are still preserved by family members of Vershinian origin. The loss of homogeneity is not the only threat to the internal integrity of the group experienced by the Vershinian community. Along with the growing educational aspirations of the inhabitants of the village, they began to leave their family homes for the period of studies in the city – the regional metropolis of Irkutsk, and most often, after graduation, they started their professional life in the new place. Yet despite leaving their home village, they are still treated as part of the community and see themselves as such, which is reflected in regular visits, celebrating family and church holidays together and choosing the Polish language in communication with the inhabitants of Vershina[34].

Migrations from Vershina to Irkutsk have a positive impact on the relations between the two Polish communities of different origins. The Poles

[34] The issue of language selection in specific communication situations will be discussed in section 4.1.1.

gathered around the metropolis are the descendants of exiles, i.e. people forcibly displaced after the 19th-century independence Uprisings and as part of the repressions in the 20th century, and they mostly come from landowning and intelligentsia communities, unlike the peasant descendants, volunteer settlers in Vershina. Initially, the relationship between the two groups was limited for several reasons: a) pragmatic – the settlers came to cultivate their land, and not to seek contacts with Poles living in the region; b) communication-related – due to the lack of a railway connection, travel over a distance of about 130 km was difficult due to lack of means of transport; c) cultural – in the first decades of the 20th century, class divisions occurred not only in Poland but also among Poles abroad, and sometimes they were stronger than the sense of separateness from other ethnic groups (cf. Dzięgiel 2003). The strength of these divisions and ties in the first two periods of the village's history can be inferred from the informants' accounts of only few marriages with Poles from outside Vershina and the language differences resulting from them (the deportees used a variety of Polish without dialectal features of Lesser Poland; Głuszkowski 2009b: 9–11). After the collapse of the USSR, the possibility of real minority organisations and their support by diplomatic missions arose, which benefited the following: the Polish Cultural Autonomy "Ogniwo" from Irkutsk and the Vershinian Polish Cultural Society "Wisła", which also cooperated with each other, e.g. during meetings with delegations from Poland or consulate employees, and the clergy from the cathedral parish in Irkutsk, including Bishop Cyryl Klimowicz, who periodically celebrated mass in the Vershinian church when there was no permanent priest there. Some people temporarily live in Irkutsk and Vershina, constituting a natural bridge connecting the two communities, and children from the village community regularly participate in summer schools organised by "Ogniwo" (cf. Głuszkowski 2009e: 17–18; Głuszkowski et al. 2022b: 89).

The following statement not only illustrates the discussed relations between Vershina and Irkutsk but also shows the attitude of the members of the studied group to other Polish communities in the region, whose members, due to the lack of mutual relations with Vershinians and the lack of knowledge of the Polish language, are not treated as part of the same group:

MII: ń'i‿ma | t'ylkɔ 'u‿nɔs t'utɔj | nɔ j'esʲ'lʲi vyjʲižʒ'ajum dɔ jėrk'ucka tɔ n'aše ž'yjum tɔ t'am pɔ p'ɔlsku | z n'amʲi tɔ pɔ p'ɔlsku fś'yskɔ | v‿d'umu pšyj'adum rɔzmavʲ'ajum jag y m'y | nɔ a t'u vʲ'ėncyj ń'i‿ma t'akʲix fś'uf | t'ylkɔ 'u‿nɔs | j'edna | tɔ cɔ tam m'uvʲum że tam k'aɨś | tam ńixtʲɔ ńe rɔzm'ɔvʲa i d'aže ńi pɔjm'ujɔm 'inɔ śe sšyt'ajɔm pɔl'acy | nɔ wɔt t'ak (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 177)

MII: No, just us here. Well, if they go to Irkutsk, our people live there, they speak Polish there, they still talk to us in Polish. At home, when they arrive, they talk like we do. But there are no more such villages [like ours], only one here. What they say is that there is one more village there, no one speaks [Polish] there and they don't even understand it, they just consider themselves Poles.

Despite the previously mentioned sense of remoteness of the inhabitants of Vershina from contemporary Poland, this feeling mainly concerns the state and political affiliation, and compatriots from the "old fatherland" or living in the areas of the former USSR are treated as partly belonging to the community, although to a lesser extent than the inhabitants of their village. Some differences found in other Poles are noticed; for example, Vershinians did not like the accent of the guests from the Vilnius region, because "this is how Russians speak Polish" (Figura 2003: 120). However, neither these differences nor the sense of "further closeness" expressed towards the inhabitants of Poland is an obstacle to good relations and, at least, is responsible for the partial sense of community noticed:

WII: tˈo jag bˈywə ˈu‿nɔs stɑlˈeće v'ėršˈyny ətm'ėćˈal'i i bˈyʷə grˈupə tyš s pˈolsk'i | ˈu‿nɔs šˈeśću bˈywə cėwɑvʲˈėk | i ˈuny coś trˈoxė f pˈolscė śė zatšymuvˈaʷy | pˈuźńėj tˈutėj | no po rosˈyjsku tyš dˈobr rəzmɑvʲˈaʷy | fšˈystkə tˈak'ė | no tˈak'ė | bˈarʒə my śė združˈyl'i (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 295)

WII: When we celebrated the centenary of Vershina, a group from Poland also took part in it. It was a group of six who spoke Russian quite well and we became very good friends.

In strengthening the collective identity, the sense of cohesion and integrity of one's own community is accompanied by positioning oneself in relation to the outside world and by a **feeling of distinctiveness against the background of other groups**. The first external group that Polish settlers encountered after arriving in Irkutsk Oblast were the Buryats. Struggling with the lack of homes and the need to adapt the land for farming, the newcomers were forced to quickly establish relations with the indigenous people of Siberia in order to survive (see section 1.4.1). The relations began to gradually improve, but despite the peaceful coexistence, there was a clear distance related to religious, cultural and anthropo-physical differences: bur'jˈaty srˈazu ɔtl'ičˈ'ajum ś'e ɔt pɔlˈakov ɔd rˈusk'ix | v'iʒ'el'iśće bur'jˈatuf 'Buryats are on the first glance different than Poles and Russians. Have you seen Buryats?' (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 185). The latter were the basis for children's banter, which was reported by one of the older informants, saying that, for example, disputes ended in criticising Buryat colleagues for their "flat noses" (Głuszkowski 2015a: 175). With the flow of time, relatively good relationships were established: z burˈatam'i tɔ my drˈużńe žˈyl'i | jak śe z ńˈim'i dˈɔbže tɔ i ˈɔńi dˈɔbže 'we maintained good neighbourly relations with the Buryats. If you lived well with them, they would live well with you' (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 186). However, as associated with Mongol heritage, alien to Polish culture, the Buryats have always been treated as "distant others", and the sense of separateness was strengthened by religious customs, exotic not only for the settlers from Lesser Poland, but also for the subsequent generations after over a century of the village's history:

> WI: nˈɔ šamˈańow̃ u‿ńˈix sfˈuj bˈuk […] ańˈi sfajėmˈu bˈogu v'ˈerujum | i šamˈańum […] barˈana b'ˈijum wˈot wˈo‿tyn | vˈutke p'ˈijum | fstˈuw̃šk'i tˈam ʒˈe u‿ńˈix asˈobe jˈes m'ˈejsce tˈak'e s'ˈak'e tˈe trˈapeč'k'i l'ˈentɔč'k'i | v'ešˈajum (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 185)
>
> WI: Well, they perform shamanic rituals, they have their own god. They believe in their god. They kill a ram, drink vodka, have a special place where they hang ribbons and all kinds of cloths.

The Russians, as Slavic people, were treated as closer to the Poles from the beginning, especially in comparison with the Buryats: rˈusk'e tɔ pɔćt'ˈi że jak | jak pəl'ˈak'i 'Russians are almost the same as Poles' (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 173). The Ukrainians were also included in the group of "close others", although much less information about them has been preserved. The Lesser Poland settlers were closer to the representatives of both of these nationalities not only because they belonged to the same ethnolinguistic group but also because they were Christian, albeit of a different rite, which is noticed by the informants, e.g. in an answer about the ethnic character of the village cemetery:

> WI: rusc'yzna tyž jˈez bɔ ńˈerɔs | tu wɔ kšˈyze jak tˈu wɔ a tˈu s tˈy strˈony kšˈys tɔ jˈez rˈusk'i pɔxɔvˈany tˈam | tˈam sˈum | tˈyx | rˈusk'iγ nɔ […] yxˈy u‿ńˈix v tˈyγ v nˈɔgax | a ˈu‿naz v gwˈɔvax (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 222)

> WI: Russians are also [buried], because sometimes, when there are crosses here, like here, and on the other side, there is a Russian buried there. There are the graves of those Russians, they have a cross at their feet, and we – at our headstones.

The actual confessional commitment and participation in the religious life of the community are of secondary meaning. Agata Wiśniewska (2002: 639) writes about the declarative dimension of religious affiliation, which still has a distinctive function in the neighbouring communities. In this case, the "feeling of distinctiveness from other groups" results from a different location of a cross and the burial rite. Common burial places of the Poles and other Christian-Slavs, and separate burial places of the Buddhist-Buryats, are not the only axis of division into the close and distant others. These differences are equally clear in the sphere of marriage. When in the second period of Vershina's history (from around 1940) endogamy was loosened, the first mixed families were formed by Russians or Ukrainians:

> WII: ʒˈadek xˈyba jˈej | nˈo to śė pšepˈytaš xˈyba ukrɑˈincė ˈunė bˈyʷy (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 138)

> WII: It's hard to say who was her grandfather, perhaps he was Ukrainian.
>
> WI: ˈon xˈaxɔw | ˈuna pˈɔlka | [Surname] tˈam žˈyje | ˈun pˈɔlak | ˈuna rɔsyjˈanka | dˈa ta jˈak [Surname] jˈedėn tyž žˈyje | ˈun rɔs'ijˈańin | cˈystɔ rɔs'ijˈańin | a ˈona pˈɔlka | nɔ ˈona tˈyš m'ić''iska | dˈa | m'it''iska | mˈawɔ śe jˈuš tˈyx cˈystɔ pˈɔlakuf ɔstˈal'i | mˈawɔ nˈas sɔfs''em | fšˈyskɔ gʑˈeś ućˈekʷɔ v m''astɔ (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 182)
>
> WI: He is Ukrainian and she is Polish. [Surname] lives there – he is Polish and she is Russian, just like [Surname]. He is Russian, pure Russian, and she is Polish, although she is also from a mixed family. There are few pure Poles left, few of us at all, everyone has fled to the city somewhere.

At the same time, a sense of distance from the Buryats was maintained:

> WI: a tɔ ńe bˈywɔ | ˈinɔ jag jˈa ˈu‿nas ńˈi‿ma žˈeby śe pˈɔlka i ta pˈɔlak na burˀ''aće | nɔ zmˀèšˈana bˈywa | tɔ ńˈi‿ma tˈegɔ | ńˈi‿ma tˈegɔ (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 189)
>
> WI: There was no possibility for a Polish man or woman to marry a Buryat, to mix with each other. It was impossible.

However, in the last, modern, period of the history of the Polish village in Siberia, the situation looks different. The role of factors of group integrity resulting from origin and tradition changes over time. As Tomasz Nawrocki (1986: 76) notes,

> the process of modernisation, of course, also affects the social sphere of the local community and this is manifested in the disappearance of the importance of social status criteria based on heredity and assignment to place and social class, the opening up of channels of mobility, the development of mass media networks and their increased importance, and secularisation.

These processes have been taking place in Vershina for several decades, and although they have not led to the "disappearance of the heritage-based factor", they have significantly weakened it, as exemplified by, among

others, further liberalisation of initially strict endogamy through marriages with the Buryats (Wiżentas, Pawlaczyk 2022: 33). Changes related to the outflow of people to the cities are experienced not only by the Poles, as it was mentioned in one of the statements quoted above, but also by the Buryats:

> WII: o tˈutəj‿ka mˈy žyjˈemy fxonzˈoju tˈutəj bˈywo | žˈylˈʼiˈino burˈaćʼi | ˈu‿ńix jak sfˈuj kˈowxos tˈutəj bˈyw nɔ tˈɔ jˈakoś s polakˈamʼi no ńė bˈarʒo družˈylʼi bo xoć i bˈywy rozrʼèšˈeńija | tam vrˈoʑė xoć te burʼʼaćʼi tˈakʼė žė jak i rəs:ʼijˈańė ˈalė do tyx pˈor fspomʼinˈajum žė vˈyśᶜe na nˈašum źˈemʼė pšyjexˈalʼi vˈy na nˈašėj źˈemʼi žyjˈeće | jesᵗ tˈakʼė | no a pˈuźńėj jˈakoś śė rozjexˈalʼi rozjexˈalʼi | xtˈo v ułˈan‿ude xtˈo jak i tu śė ńi jˈednyx ńė ɑstˈawə to ˈino pšėjexˈaʷy tam kˈolė kośᶜˈoʷa tak | bėz drˈogə ot kośᶜˈowa žˈyje jˈedna sʼėmʼjˈa | [Nazwisko] | ʷot ˈino tˈyle a tak śė rozjexˈaʷy burˈaći juš fšˈystkʼė (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 113)

> WII: Oh, here where we live in Honzoy, only the Buryats lived here. They had their kolkhoz here, and somehow they weren't very friendly with the Poles, because, despite permission from the authorities, to whom the Buryats are in the same relationship as the Russians, they still remember: "You came to our land and you live on our land. Yes it's true". And then they somehow moved, some to Ulan-Ude, some somewhere else, and practically none of them stayed here, only there, near the church, on the other side of the street there lives one family [surname]. And that's all, because the other Buryats have all left.

If there are no more Buryats in Vershina, there is no need to emphasise the distance towards them, and it is too late to isolate oneself from the Russians due to the very large number of mixed families.

> WI: zmʼʼėw̃šˈane jˈuš | a tˈam jˈeš:e ˈinɔ pˈɔre tˈakʼix sʼėmʼjˈuv cɔ pˈɔlak s pˈolackom žˈyje | pˈɔre | a tɔ fšˈyskɔ już mʼićˈisy i rɔsʼjˈańe | skˈɔrɔ xˈyba ńė bˈėʑe ńˈic | jˈeślʼi tˈe vˈymrum | nɔ tɔ tˈerɔs tˈutėj ńˈe‿bėʑe tˈylkɔ rɔ… rɔsyjˈańe bˈydum (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 182)

> WI: Now there are [only] mixed families. There are only a few such families left where a Polish man has married a Polish woman. Only a few.

> And the rest are all mixed or Russians. Soon there will probably be no one left, if those who are now die, there will be no one left, only the Russians.

In this way, as Nowicka (2013: 13) states, Vershina, "being Slavic in the non-Slavic (Buryat) sea, turned into a West Slavic island in the eastern (Russian) Slavic ocean", and the sense of distinctiveness from other groups diminishes, but is still felt in the fields discussed above. Although the factors of group identity described in point 2.3.1.1 apply, to a greater or lesser extent, to the general Vershinian community, smaller or larger differences are visible at the individual level.

2.3.1.2. Individual identity

Concerning the individual dimension, Abdelal et al. (2009: 23), following Michael Barnett, point that identities "are fundamentally social and relational, defined by the actor's interaction with and relationship to others" and conditioned by "the actor's interaction with others and place within an institutional context". The goal of an individual is to maintain the continuity of the 'Self' in changing situations in the history of life. It is self-interpretation in time, which is expressed in the biography of each person within a specific group identity (national, cultural, ethnic, etc.) (Bilińska-Suchanek 2005: 10). In the case of identity understood as a process, an individual constantly negotiates him-/herself with the environment, and one of the elements subject to choice is often language, adapted to a specific communication situation due to the expected social benefits (cf. Bolonyai 2001; Bilińska-Suchanek 2005: 14; see section 4.1.1).

Henri Tajfel points to exogamous marriages as one of the possible situations of the formation of mixed identities, even between distant or even hostile groups (Tajfel 1982: 29). This is a particularly important observation in the light of Erik H. Erikson's assumptions, according to which psychosocial identity develops through the gradual integration of all the previous identifications (Erikson 1950: 213). A person growing up in a mixed family, associated with two cultural systems and group identities, encounters difficulties in this integration, because the social situation

requires them to selectively exclude some features and assimilate others in connection with the process of adapting a given personality to society (Erikson 2000: 110). This requires the individual to make an effort to self-define and choose their individual status, i.e. "the sum total of all the statuses which he occupies. It represents his position with relation to the total society" (Linton 1936: 113). In this way, the processes taking place at the individual level of identity require from the community member the following: a) reference to self-awareness in the face of changing external circumstances; b) emotional awareness of participation in social groups; c) linking the subject's self-definition with the system of values in a given group, which, in turn, causes d) the importance of identity for the individual's biography (Bokszański 1987: 44–45).

In the use of the interactionist model of society described in, e.g. the theories of George Herbert Mead and Georg Simmel, as well as in the metaphor of theatre proposed by Erving Goffman, in which the participants of social life are compared to actors and, like them, must follow the director's orders, thus meeting the expectations of the environment regarding their role (cf. Głuszkowski 2011: 57–58; Van der Horst 2016), the point where the confused actor has to choose between scenarios has been reached. According to Anne Koenig and Alice Eagly (2014: 372),

> social role predictions distinguish between social groups and their specific roles. This distinction follows from the breadth of the settings within which roles and groups are influential. A role is a set of expectations associated with a particular social position in a specific type of setting.

If, within a cohesive, endogamous and culturally homogeneous community, the set of social expectations towards an individual is coherent and anchors its individual identity in the collective identity, then, in the system of mixing influences of different systems of values and norms, their interference may occur (similarly to the contact of languages; cf. Weinreich 1963: 1), which in turn can lead to the phenomena of anomie. This happens when two essential elements of the social structure are incompatible. The first are:

> goals, purposes, and interests. It comprises a frame of aspirational reference. These goals are more or less integrated and involve varying degrees of prestige and sentiment. They constitute a basic, but not the exclusive, component of what Linton aptly has called "designs for group living". (Merton 1938: 672)

Since "every social group invariably couples its scale of desired ends with moral or institutional regulation of permissible and required procedures for attaining these ends" (Merton 1938: 672), only a balance between the two quantities enables the unit to function stably. Therefore, distortions of any kind are a sign of social deviance, normlessness and cultural disintegration (Hall 2014: 402–403).

Language, as one of the elements of cultural identity, but also a communication tool, as well as a means of social advancement, plays an important role in these relations. On the one hand, in a coherent and integrated system, language can be one of the facilitations of the role, i.e. factors helping to fulfil the related orders and requirements. On the other hand, in an incoherent system, as in the case of a multicultural minority community, in the light of the vaguely formulated and ambiguous requirements, including those that are contrary to other role requirements, language will be a problematic issue (Szmatka 2007: 142–143; Głuszkowski 2013: 112–113). Thus, it is based on the processes within individual and group identity that a person makes decisions about the choice of language in a specific sociocultural situation (Fishman 2014: 227), which is crucial for the phenomenon of code-switching in the context of social markedness of the given code, as well as its change based on the rational choice theory (see section 4.1.1).

2.4. Description of the expeditions and the process of gathering the material

The specific socio-historical background (Chapter 1), the sociolinguistic situation (sections 2.1–2.3) and the nature of available secondary sources (section 1.3) have largely shaped the strategies for collecting material and

the adopted methodology of the field work. The research into the preservation of Lesser Poland dialectal features in the Vershinian dialect initiated in 2007 by Agnieszka Kozłowska was joined by members of the team led by Professor Stefan Grzybowski, Dorota Paśko and Michał Głuszkowski, who had been conducting similar research for several years on the material of other Slavic island communities – the Russian Old Believers in Poland and the Poles in Ukraine. The field research in Siberia, which began in 2008, therefore, drew on the previous experience from the outset. No less important than the experience of dialectological and sociolinguistic field research conducted by the Slavicists from Nicolaus Copernicus University were the observations made a few years earlier by researchers from the University of Warsaw – Ewa Nowicka and Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper (Nowicka, Głowacka-Grajper 2003a). Notwithstanding the former experience in collecting linguistic, sociolinguistic and cultural material in the minority communities functioning in the situation of Polish-East Slavic linguistic contact, as well as in conducting research on the territory of the former USSR, it was necessary to take into account the real-life issues unknown to the members of the team. In addition to the abovementioned sociological work, the article based on Ludmiła Figura's master's thesis was very helpful, not only because it was written by a native inhabitant of Vershina, but also because it contains remarks on language and language situation in the Polish village in Siberia (Figura 2003: 118–131). Until 2008, the existing studies on the state of the Lesser Poland dialect in Vershina and the interferences resulting from it under the influence of the Russian language had been few and of a preliminary nature only, as they had been based on limited material (Гольцекер 1989; 1991; Decyk 1995; Ananiewa 2007). Nevertheless, they were a valuable source of information during the preparations for intensive team work and made it possible to ascertain the need to collect further material, of a diverse nature: not only recordings of dialectal statements but also biographical materials, photocopies of written texts and documents, comprehensive photographic and film documentation. Even before the start of the expeditions, suspicions about the progressing changes in the use of Polish and its displacement by Russian in the life of the community, as well as the weakening of the knowledge of the heritage language in the youngest generations, had been growing among the members

of the Nicolaus Copernicus University field research team. Moreover, in languages without a stable norm, interference is often individual in nature, so even conversations on the same subject with different informants could be an important supplement to the spoken corpus being created. In addition, the organisation and costs of the expedition, requiring a lot of time and financing, on the part of both Nicolaus Copernicus University and the participants themselves, encouraged the recording of the material in various forms and "as much as possible". The fact that the researchers lived in the Polish House (a private house turned into the local cultural centre, as previously mentioned) facilitated establishing contacts with Yazhumbek folk group, whose members were meeting there for rehearsals and performed for tourist groups from Poland. In this way, it was possible to collect the following material:

– 43 hours of recordings of interviews with representatives of all the generations of inhabitants of Vershina.
– The photocopies of school essays on the history of the village, lyrics of songs by the ensemble Yazhumbek and the church songbook written in Polish in Cyrillic script.
– Photographic documentation of gravestones from the Vershinian cemetery.
– Several 5–10-minute-long video recordings (parts of interviews, rehearsals of the folk ensemble, various parts of the village scenery and its panoramic views).
– Over 1000 photos of the village, its inhabitants and the field work done by the expedition participants (Głuszkowski et al. 2022b: 87).

The materials collected during the initial expedition served as the basis for the first studies by the research team members (Kozłowska 2009; Paśko 2009; Głuszkowska 2009; Głuszkowski 2009b, 2009c, 2009e, 2010, 2011a), but it soon became obvious that many questions about Vershinian bilingualism could not be fully answered without supplementing the material. Therefore, further field work and studies were planned. The situation was complicated by the high costs of such distant trips, which is why other solutions that would help cover, at least partially, those costs were sought. For this purpose, cooperation with the Toruń branch of "Wspólnota Polska" ('Polish Community')

was established, and the research objective of the trip was combined with a teaching one – the organisation of a summer school of Polish language and culture, which was a proposal addressed to the Vershinian community. A similar solution had already been used in 2007 during my research conducted among Polish communities in Ukraine in the Lviv and Khmelnytsky districts, and it had made contact with the informants easier, as well as it had enabled collection of written texts in the course of teaching, ensuring the analysis of the phenomenon of interference in both speech and writing. Such a solution could also be beneficial for the informants themselves, because it could give them an unusual opportunity to learn Polish under the supervision of qualified staff – native speakers, teachers and philologists. Thanks to the financial support of "Wspólnota Polska", four teacher-researchers were given the opportunity to visit Vershina in July 2011. In addition to teaching practical Polish classes, as well as lessons on Polish history, culture, life and institutions, the participants of the expedition managed to record just over 20 hours of interviews and complete the sociolinguistic material (Głuszkowski et al. 2022b: 87–88). As in 2008, in 2011 the participants of the research trip also lived in the Polish House. The language and culture classes taught to young Vershinians were also organised in the same location. The Polish House itself and the buildings around it looked different than three years earlier, because, in connection with the celebration of the centenary of the village in 2010 and the participation of representatives of the Polish state authorities in the celebrations, they were renovated, and, in addition, a wooden stage was built. The new infrastructure was used during classes, and the location in the cultural centre of the village once again facilitated contacts with the informants.

Another facilitation was the possibility of using the database of contacts created three years earlier and referring to the acquaintances made in 2008 during the visits, which was greatly aided by the photographs of the researchers from Toruń together with the inhabitants of Vershina. Recollecting about people in the photos together was usually an introduction to a longer conversation and gave a lot of satisfaction, especially to older people (Głuszkowski et al. 2022b: 88). The material collected during the 2011 expedition was to be used in a similar way within a short time, but

the next trip took place only after a longer break, caused partly by lack of funds, and partly by family issues and other duties of the team members.

The next trip was inspired by a master's seminar conducted by Dorota Paśko-Koneczniak. Out of four of her students completing their MA projects on the language and culture of Vershina, only two went to Siberia due to limited financial resources. It was a valuable trip for several reasons: a) it provided the opportunity to update information of a sociolinguistic nature; b) it helped to renew contacts with the Vershinian community and made planning the next trip easier; c) it enriched the corpus of recordings by another 11 hours of interviews; d) it enabled the recordings of the oldest (born in the 1920s) informants' statements made during the first expedition to be supplemented with recordings of their new statements, and these were made for the last time then. Although the materials were more modest in terms of quantity than those collected during the previous research trips, they made it possible to finalise the theoretical assumptions regarding the progressing sociolinguistic changes in Vershina, which were the basis for the current research project implemented in the years 2017–2023 and financed by the National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland. One of its goals was to supplement the existing corpus with further recordings oriented to illustrate the phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing. The expedition organised as part of this project took place at the end of July and the beginning of August 2019.

It included not only field research in Vershina but also activities of the summer school on the island of Olkhon in Lake Baikal, carried out in cooperation with the Polish Cultural Autonomy "Ogniwo" (Pol. *link*, e.g. as in a chain) from Irkutsk. This cooperation was particularly important because the educational projects of the Irkutsk organisation have regularly been participated in by young people and children from Vershina for several years, which has given the opportunity to observe the forms of their communication with bilingual peers – members of the Polish community in Siberia, yet living in different social conditions: in the big city with easy access to culture and education, but in the environment where Polish is not spoken on a daily basis. In addition, young people from Irkutsk speak standard variety of Polish, different one, learned during classes at the cultural centre.

In order to carry out all research tasks, the team was divided into two subgroups. Thus, the research for the first week was conducted in parallel in Vershina and on the island of Olkhon during the summer school. As part of the Polish language and culture classes and accompanying excursions, as well as art and sports activities, the researchers had the opportunity to spend time with six young residents of Vershina and a group of twenty teenagers from Irkutsk. The summer school was organised by Helena Shatskikh, the head of "Ogniwo", with the help of Ksenia Popova, a Polish language teacher working in this organisation, who taught art and sport classes on Olkhon Island. In the second part of the two-week research trip in 2019, all participants worked together in Vershina.

The outcome of the trip, in addition to the completion of 25 hours of recordings from Vershina, was the significant expansion of the photographic documentation and, for the first time, the collection of texts written in the Latin script by the representatives of the young generation. In this way, almost 100 hours of recordings formed the basis for the analysis of code-switching and code-mixing phenomena, but as important as the measurable effects of the fieldwork – those in the form of recorded interviews, photographs, photocopies and films – were the participant observations. It was the latter that enabled the verification of the popular yet false image of Vershina and its language and cultural situation in the Polish media, according to which it is "a place where everyone speaks Polish" (cf. Koperski 2003) and where Polish culture has remained unchanged for a hundred years, and people live far from the big world and "do not know who a celebrity is"[35] (Bednarska 2009). In fact, as was observed during the first visit, the Polish language was increasingly being displaced from the next spheres of use and replaced by Russian. And now the inhabitants are perfectly aware of the lives of celebrities by watching Russian television.

Initially, the main purpose of the interviews was to record statements in the Lesser Poland dialect in order to examine the state of its preservation in the Russian environment and to analyse the interferences taking place

[35] The problem of the incompatibility of the media image of Vershina, which the guests from Poland are trying to impose on the inhabitants, has been discussed in more detail in earlier studies by the expedition team members (see Głuszkowski 2009c; Głuszkowski et al. 2022b: 89–90).

in it. Subsequently, the research team's interest was directed towards the processes running in the opposite direction, but in the 21st century it has been a one-sided influence, due to the fact that all inhabitants of Vershina mastered Russian at the level of that displayed by monolingual native speakers. In contrast, the knowledge of the Lesser Poland dialect (as well as the literary variety of Polish) was varied, but always weaker than Russian. Therefore, the study of interference, as well as of language changes during speech, was conducted from the perspective of the Polish language. Attempts to reverse the perspective led to unambiguous observations that switching from Russian to Polish was intentional and did not result from lack of competence in the Russian language. The conversations were initiated in Polish, but when the informants considered it appropriate to switch to Russian, they were not stopped from doing so. During the last trip, it was possible to record a larger number of group interviews, in which there were frequent code changes.

Although the best technical conditions and solutions were sought by the field work researchers to eliminate such problems as external interference in the process of recording, this was not always possible, e.g. due to the presence of other people not interested in participating in the study, or noise coming from the street during outdoor recordings. Made in such conditions, the interviews were nevertheless useful because they were characterised by an unforced atmosphere due to the lack of the necessity to invite the researchers to the informants' homes, which convinced many people to make contact with the members of the field work team. Difficulties were also caused by the desire to make the spoken corpus as heterogeneous as possible by taking into account the diversity of informants, topics and points of view. It was not always possible to reconcile these criteria, because the greatest competence in the field of the Lesser Poland dialect was manifested by representatives of the oldest generation and middle-aged individuals living in ethnically homogeneous Polish families, so the material gathered among the youngest dwellers of Vershina is represented more modestly. This does not mean, however, that their linguistic behaviour is not subject to analysis, because deficiencies in the recordings were supplemented in the course of participatory observation and through information obtained from other informants.

During the subsequent visits, the participants of the expeditions talked to over a hundred inhabitants of the Polish village in Irkutsk Oblast, but it was not always possible to arrange an interview that could be recorded, so the corpus of recordings includes the language material from the interviews with 52 people, the oldest of whom was born in 1924, and the youngest – in 2005. Four generational groups were distinguished: the first generation – born before 1940, the second generation – between 1941 and 1965, the third generation – between 1966 and 1990, the fourth generation – after 1991. This distinction coincides with the periods distinguished in the outline of the history of Vershina and the description of its sociolinguistic situation (see sections 2.1–2.2), with two generations falling into the longest, post-war, period (see also the description of the generational groups in Głuszkowski 2022d: 90–91).

The first generation includes people whose childhood, and sometimes also early youth, fell on the times when the tone in the community was set by the newcomers from Poland – they were the children of the first settlers. The end of this period covers the final years of the 1930s and just the beginning of the 1940s, associated with the accelerated loss of ethnic homogeneity of Vershina and the onset of the Great Patriotic War, when the community began to succumb more and more rapidly to Soviet and Russian influences.

Representatives of the second generation were brought up in the environment with a greater presence of Russians and the spread of mixed Polish-Russian marriages. These were children and grandchildren of the first settlers, so people born in Poland still played an important role in their socialisation. This was important both for the language they spoke in childhood and for their participation in traditions and customs from an early age.

The third generation consists of people whose parents and even grandparents were born in Siberia. For them, Russian was the language in which they demonstrated higher and more comprehensive competences than in the Lesser Poland dialect inherited from their parents. This was due to the dissemination of secondary education and the increasing availability of Russian-language media.

The fourth generation consists of the inhabitants of Vershina who, unlike their parents and grandparents, had the opportunity to learn Polish at

school because they attended it after the collapse of the USSR. There was also the possibility of making contacts with Polish cultural organisations and going on trips to the homeland of their ancestors, so in their linguistic behaviour there was the literary variety of the Polish language. The youngest informants have been experiencing multiculturalism and immersion in Russian-speaking environments to the greatest extent in connection with education, work and migrations to the city, but these processes began already in the 2nd and 3rd generations.

Of course, the boundaries between these generations are to some extent arbitrary, as representatives of different age groups live in the same times and experience the same social phenomena, but the period during which a given person is exposed to them is of great importance, as can be illustrated by the impact of the increasing number of mixed families. Thanks to them, the role of the Russian language in communication within the community is constantly growing, but it does not cause people who have been fluent in Polish since childhood to forget it at retirement age; instead, it significantly hinders the acquisition of the ancestors' language in the youngest generation (Głuszkowski 2022d: 90–91).

The recorded material was largely transcribed by means of the Slavic transcription used in Polish dialectology, with some modifications to reflect the phenomena occurring in the situation of Polish-Russian language contact (see Appendix 1). The resulting corpus is 275,000 words long, searchable for specific forms, and has given a general overview of the phenomena of borrowing and code-switching in Vershinian bilingualism. Fragments constituting thematically coherent texts, mainly in the form of monologues, but also dialogues and polylogues, served as extensive illustrative material in the monograph showing the language and social situation, as well as cultural and identity-related transformations in Vershina, both in their contemporary and in their diachronic dimensions, from the perspective of oral history, which was one of the outcomes of the entire research project (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a). Excerpts from the texts were used to illustrate the examples discussed in the analysis in the present monograph, and a selection of them are included in Appendix 3.

3. Interference, code-switching and code-mixing in Vershina

3.1. Where are the borders between code-switching and borrowing?

In accordance with the assumptions adopted from Haugen (1953: 6–7) and Grosejan (1992: 52), presented in section 2.2.1, bilingualism is not treated as a fully achieved state or as none but as a set of living processes occurring on the axis (or "fluency continuum"; Carol Myers-Scotton 2005: 43) between two theoretical poles of perfect bilingualism or monolingualism. The code-switching and code-mixing as used in the title of this monograph are one of the manifestations of these phenomena. However, since these processes are not suspended in isolated laboratory conditions, but fully embedded in social reality and related to other phenomena of language contact, they should be discussed and analysed in relation to them. The sum total of these phenomena occurring not only in the case of incomplete mastery of the second language but also in the well-mastered first language is Weinreichian interference – deviations from the norm in any of the languages being a result of language contact (cf. Weinreich 1963: 1).

However, the situation is not as simple as it might seem on the basis of essential definitions, because, already at the beginning of each analysis,

there are questions about the distinction between what violates the norm under the influence of language contact and what its change is as a result of the evolution of a living language as a means of social communication that responds to the changing needs of the speaking community that uses it (Mackey 1985: 23). Sarah Thomason (2001: 142) doubts if speakers are conscious of the character of changes occurring in their speech. Although the informants most often accurately indicated the origin of the lexis they used, there were also cases of hesitation, such as the already quoted treatment of the borrowing from the Buryat language *tarasun* as Polish, or qualifying *żubr* (Pol. 'European bison') as Russian and merging it into one word with similar-sounding Russian *izubr*' having the same meaning: i te izˈubry jak po rˈusku to jes źˈubr | a ńˈe‿v'em jak po pˈolsku 'and these $\text{bison}_{\text{RUS}}$, in Russian it is called $\text{bison}_{\text{POL}}$, and I don't know how it is in Polish'. Similar fluctuations are noticed by other researchers (cf., e.g., De Angelis 2005: 2–4) and can be treated as one of the characteristic features of a bilingual's language intuition, which, as Anna Verschik notes, "may substantially differ from that of a monolingual" and "lead to a greater acceptance of items, forms, and structures that are at odds with monolingual norms" (Verschik 2008: 9–12).

The second issue related to the problem of language consciousness is the very concept of the norm. Although William Mackey (1985: 23) questions its rigidity, because even in "highly literate communities there is a permissible range of variation in usage", in the case of standard languages one can assume that it is established, among others, in grammar and orthoepic dictionaries, and, thanks to education, there is awareness of it in society, even if it is not always respected. In the case of the research presented in this monograph, however, there is contact between the standard language – Russian (and since the 1990s also Polish) and the Lesser Poland dialect, which does not have a norm in the above-described sense, i.e. of a codified norm. One could argue with this assumption, because the features of a given dialect are described in dialectological studies, but these are only characteristics that, regardless of whether one is dealing with the Lesser Poland dialect in contemporary Poland or functioning in island conditions, are not an established standard. Why are these concepts different? Attempts to treat the characteristics of a dialect as its norm, e.g. in literature written

in the given dialect, is a kind of hypercorrectness and leads to the creation of artificial texts that would not exist in reality, which is shown by the comparison of stories written in, e.g. the Chełmża (Meller 2004) and Kujawy (Łukaszewicz 2012) dialects with texts recorded in those regions (Karaś 2020a). Unlike the authors of literary works, the actual dialect users in everyday communication only display its features, but inconsistently, which is the result of social consent to the more liberal treatment of a language without a fixed standard. In the case studied in the present monograph, it is important because it weakens the linguistic awareness of the users of a given code, and thus favours the intensification of foreign influences (Weinreich 1963: 85–86). As Robert Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller (1985: 5, 192–204 and others) note, in situations of contact between languages and cultures, in relation to non-standard contact varieties, what is important is not so much the codified but the "usable norm". Therefore, when talking about interference in the Lesser Polish dialect, one should treat it less restrictively, as not only "deviations from the norm" but also "perceivable manifestations of foreign influence". Given this, the notion of a "negotiation mechanism" will be applied, used "when speakers change their language (A) to approximate what they believe to be the patterns of another language or dialect (B)" (Thomason 2001: 142), to define interlingual disturbances in the Lesser Poland dialect. Importantly, Sarah Thomason emphasises that "this definition includes situations in which speakers of A are not fluent in B, as well as situations in which they are", which is fully consistent with the characteristics of bilingualism and diglossia in the Vershinian community, as discussed in section 2.2.

Regardless of how interference is treated, whether as a deviation from the norm or a form of foreign influence in the target language, there remains the question of its relation to code-switching, which is also a permanent part of the general landscape of language contact situations. According to one of the earlier attempts to define this phenomenon, code-switching is the transition from one language to another during a speech event, and it can be either complete, i.e. occurring at all levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical; or just partial, when the code change concerns only one or some of them, e.g. morphology (Хауген 1972: 69). However, such an approach cannot help to distinguish between code-switching and

interference, because it *de facto* leads to their identification in the case of partial switching (Głuszkowski 2011b: 101). Therefore, one should focus on what is different in the two definitions, which is the orientation to the processes that occur: a) between the two systems in code-switching and b) within the recipient system under the influence of the donor system.

These assumptions lead to the following distinction:

> by "code-switching" is meant a pattern of textual production in which a speaker alternates between continuous utterance segments in one language L_x and another language L_y with abrupt and clear-cut switching points, often at phrasal or clausal boundaries. By "borrowing" is meant the adaptation of a lexical item P_y from L_y into L_x, becoming P_x (that is, a regular lexical item in L_x satisfying phonological, canonical-shape and morphological rules for this language). (Heath 1989: 23)

This point of view is widely shared (see, e.g., Poplack 1988: 220; Thomason 2001: 134; Baker 2010: 55; Sayahi 2014: 81) and seems operationally useful. However, there are still questions about whether a given element has been incorporated into the language and adapted, or just carried over from the other code (cf. Poplack, Sankoff 1984: 102; Mackey 1985: 22), and some researchers suggest either that the differentiation in some cases may be very difficult (Lipski 2005; Poplack 2018: 141) or that the processes of borrowing and code-switching may be different emanations of the same phenomenon (Myers-Scotton 1997: 163–205; Bassiouney 2006: 54–55). Penelope Gardner-Chloros' (2009: 30–31) considerations on code-switching as the main source of borrowings seem to be an apt summary of this point of view.

Accepting the above considerations, and following Peter Auer and Aldo di Luzio (1984), Carol Myers-Scotton (1993), Reem Bassiouney (2006), Yaron Matras (2009) and Ad Backus (2009), that these phenomena are on a single continuum can only partially resolve the issue, as other criteria are still needed to determine their position in relation to both poles between the uncontroversial cases of code-switching and borrowing. For this purpose, the criteria proposed by Shana Poplack and David Sankoff (1984: 103–104) will be used: a) frequency of use; b) native-language synonym displacement;

c) morphophonemic and/or syntactic integration; d) acceptability. Application of these criteria will be shown in the paragraphs below.

a) **Frequency of use**. In the case of this criterion, the integration of an element is evidenced by quantitative indicators: the more people, more often and in more texts, use a new element, the more it is integrated with the structure of the recipient language. Thus, "if a foreign element appears just once in a bilingual speaker's discourse, then it is presumably safe to assume that it is a code-switch, not a borrowing" (Thomason 2001: 134). Frequency of use may be used separately from the criterion of morphological and/or syntactic adaptation. An item from the donor language can be adapted, for example, to the paradigm of the recipient language variety, but still be of a one-off or occasional nature. In such cases, the notion of nonce borrowing may be used, which relaxes the criteria applied to borrowing as such, namely recurrence and dispersion (Halmari 1997: 17).

In the corpus created as one of the research outcomes of the field work in Vershina, Russian words adapted to the Lesser Poland dialect that appear only once are noted, e.g. lek:ˈɔwa (mašˈyna) – Rus. legkovaja (mašina) '[passenger] car': v'eʒˈe'li žė ɔn skwˈodəw na mašˈynė sė lek:ˈɔwəm 'they knew that he collected money for a [passenger] car'. However, the problem with nonce borrowings is that in the case of the research based on field material, i.e. with a fragmentary corpus (based only on recorded interviews), it is not known whether the one-off nature of borrowing results from insufficient resources of the corpus, or perhaps it is a result of spontaneous and occasional adaptation of a foreign element to the language of expression for the needs of the moment.

An additional parameter that may strengthen the importance of frequency analysis is, as proposed by Ad Backus and Margreet Dorleijn (2009: 79), the use of a diachronic perspective, which helps to determine whether the studied element is rooted in the recipient's language system, while synchronic analysis only allows one to determine its presence at a given moment. It can be said that while insertions and nonce borrowings are typical of the speech (*parole*),

borrowings, due to their repetition, time extension and universality, have a systemic character and also refer to the *langue* sphere (Głuszkowski 2015d: 163–164).

The collected material shows the high repetition of some borrowings and their occurrence in different generations, which confirms their integration in the diachronic dimension, e.g. xɔwɔʒˈilńik – Rus. xołodil'nik 'refrigerator': čšˈa gˈɔ xˈɔvać | tˈɔ xəwɔʒˈilńik'i mˈumy 'it has to be stored and we have refrigerators for this purpose'; tɔ fšˈyskɔ do do xɔwɔdˈˈilńika pˈowuš 'put it all in the refrigerator'; xɔwɔʒˈilńik'i sˈum dvˈa i ˈoba ńe rˈɔb'um 'there are two refrigerators and both of them do not work'; mašˈyna – Rus. mašina 'car': pšyjižʒˈajum tˈu wˈune nˈa mašˈynax 'they are coming here with their cars'; ten kuš i pšejˈedum te mašˈyny pˈɔrė | tam tɔ juš ńė vˈˈidnɔ 'a few cars pass by and you can't see anything anymore, just the dust'.

b) **Native-language synonym displacement**. In this case, the replacement of the indigenous term by a borrowed element is crucial. According to Mackey (1985: 25–26), "if a foreign form is consistently used to the exclusion of any other, it may be assumed that the form has been completely integrated into the code". The operational usefulness of this criterion is hindered by the inefficiency in the case of one of the most important mechanisms stimulating borrowings – the need to name objects and processes acquired in the course of sociocultural contacts, and for which the recipient language had no names before, because they were not known to the community of its speakers. These are the so-called cultural borrowings (Sayahi 2014: 89; cf. Weinreich 1963: 53–54), especially frequent in the case of insular communities and the deficit of their lexical resources (cf. Дуличенко 1998: 26). They are very prominent in the Vershinian dialect, e.g. vˈˈeńik, cf. Rus. *v'en'ik* 'bath broom': jˈak tˈym vˈˈeńik'ėm śˈe pɔpˈaży 'when you strike your body with that bath broom'; paraš'ut Rus. *parašut* 'parachute': v d'esˈańće swˈużyw s paraš'utem 'I served in the airborne forces, parachuting'; kaśimsˈot Rus. *ka-s'emsot*, K-700 '(Kirovets) K-700 tractor' pˈɔtym na kaśimsˈɔće rˈɔb'iw 'then he worked on the K-700

tractor', zavˈod – Rus. *zavod* 'factory': nˈa tˈyx zavˈɔdax fšˈyńʒe cˈɔ ˈɔne tˈam kɔpˈˈijk'i zarɔbˈˈajum 'in all these factories they earn pennies'. There is also no possibility of adaptation to the Polish paradigm of inflection in the case of forms appearing only once in nominative case, e.g. ekɑnˈɔmnyj – cf. Russian *ekonomnyj* 'thrifty': xcˈe pɔvˈˈeʒeć że jˈɔ cˈɔv'ek ekɑnˈɔmnyj 'I want to say that I am a thrifty man'.

However, core borrowings, i.e. "words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its word store" (Myers-Scotton 2005: 215) also appear in the collected material, e.g. spoćˈeć, cf. Pol. *spocić się*$_{\text{VR.FUT.2ND}}$ and Rus. *spot'et'*$_{\text{V.FUT.2ND}}$ 'to sweat': spɔćˈeješ lˈatym | gˈɔrũc 'you sweat$_{\text{V.FUT.2ND}}$ when it's hot in the summer'.

The displacement of synonyms may be of partial nature, i.e. the core borrowings from Russian exist in parallel with the indigenous Polish lexis, cf., e.g. zarabˈɔtək – Rus. *zarabotok* 'earnings': bɔ f kɔwxˈɔźe zarabˈɔtka tɔ ńi ma 'the earnings in the kolkhoz are low', and zarˈɔbek – Pol. *zarobek* 'earnings': tˈatuś na kɔlˈeji tɔ ma zarˈɔbek dˈɔbry '[My] daddy has good earnings on the railways'.

c) **Morphophonemic and/or syntactic integration**. Poplack and Sankoff (1984: 104) consider established borrowings to be those items transferred from the donor language that take a phonological form and are equipped with affixes typical of the recipient language. A similar point of view is presented by Thomason and Kaufmann (1988: 37), who suggest that "typically, though not always, the borrowed words are treated as stems in the borrowing language – that is, they take the usual affixes for the appropriate stemclass". The degree of integration can vary, and the ways in which it is defined depend on the structural features of the languages in contact. As Heath (1989: 23) notes, when an element from German is used in English in the sentence *We need a little more Gemütlichkeit around here*, "a decision as to whether Gemütlichkeit is a case of code-switching or borrowing will have to be based on considerations of pronunciation, and perhaps frequency of usage", and, at the same time, he notices that these criteria are problematic because there is a whole continuum

of individually differentiated intermediate pronunciation between the original German pronunciation and the English adaptation. In the contact between Slavic languages, which are dealt with in this study, inflection endings are an important indicator of adaptation, which enables the use of the distinction between borrowings as fully adapted words proposed by Iryda Grek-Pabisowa (1999b: 224–227), wherein all sounds, affixes and inflections of the donor language are replaced by their counterparts in the recipient language, and partially adapted, in which one or more elements remain unchanged.

Loanwords phonetically and/or morphologically adapted to the Lesser Poland dialect are common in Vershina, e.g. stˈɔpka – Rus. ‘a small vodka glass; shot glass’: p’ˈijum jˈednum stˈɔpkum ‘they are drinking from the same shot glass’; maršrˈutkə – Rus. ‘private shuttle bus’: juš pɔjeʒˈećė na maršrˈutcė | bɔ u nos ta maršrˈutkə tyš xˈɔʒi ‘you will take the shuttle bus, because there is a shuttle bus’; rɔskazˈɔvać – Rus. rasskazyvat’ ‘to tell; to narrate’: tɔ sė se pɔrɔzmˈov’ać lˈub’i i tak fs̃ˈystkɔ rɔskazˈujė tyš ‘he likes talking a lot and he tells about everything’.

The lack of adaptation may result from its impossibility or deliberate avoidance, as in the already quoted German-English example. In the case of Vershinian bilingualism, it often occurs in words which are pronounced in a very similar way in Polish and Russian and which belong to invariable parts of speech, e.g. rˈańše – Rus. *ran’še* ‘earlier$_{\text{ADV.CMPR}}$’ kartˈɔfl’i tɔ saʒˈil’i tˈyš dˈužɔ rˈańše | tˈerɔ mńˈij sˈaɣum ‘they used to plant potatoes earlier, but now they plant them more rarely’; tudˈa – Rus. ‘there$_{\text{ADV.MOV}}$’ a s kˈim ruswˈan tudˈa pˈɔšet ‘and with whom Ruslan went there?’ Although adaptation was theoretically possible in the given examples, e.g. by shifting the place of stress, it did not take place.

A special type of integration of foreign elements encapsulates distorted words, i.e. words whose new form does not result from regular morphonological substitution, but from incorrect associations of language users (cf. Grek-Pabisowa 1999b: 226), e.g. šampjˈon – Rus. šampin’jon ‘champignon’: p’ecˈɔrka, jagˈona | šampjˈon pɔ rˈusku ‘champignon [p’ecˈɔrka$_{\text{Less.Pol.}}$], how it is in Russian – champignon

[šampjˈon$_{\text{Rus.dist.}}$]'. In the discussed corpus, however, these were only individual cases, so this type of assimilation of foreign vocabulary can be treated as marginal.

d) **Acceptability**. This is a socio- and psycholinguistic criterion, not a linguistic one (cf. Weinreich's [1963: 64–65] non-structural and structural factors). According to the definition formulated by Poplack and Sankoff (1984: 104), the integration of a borrowing takes place when the community of speakers of the recipient language consider the donor-language lexeme appropriate for naming elements of the surrounding reality and the processes taking place in it, "whether or not they are aware of its etymological origins". The crucial importance of the beliefs and attitudes of language communities towards their language has been noted since the beginning of modern bilingual research, not only in the context of interference and code-switching (see, e.g., Weinreich 1963: 77–79; Thomason 2001: 142). Examples of acceptance of lexemes of foreign origin in the absence or misinterpretation of their etymology are often accompanied by considerations[36] about the use of a "proper" word for the Polish dialect, as it occurs in the statement quoted below. The informant, a representative of the older generation, born in the early 1940s, when asked about the vegetables grown in Vershina now and in the past, used several terms: burˈɔk – Less. Pol. 'beetroot' (cf. Pol. *burak*), kɔrpˈʼel – Less. Pol. 'rutabaga' (cf. Pol. *brukiew*), turnˈep(s) – Rus. 'turnips', žˈepa Pol. 'turnips', kˈuz'ika – Rus. 'Cusick's camas', where žˈepa and turnˈep(s) were used interchangeably, as two equal Polish variants, and contrasted with the Russian name kˈuz'ika, which is a term used for naming a different plant – edible, but with decorative functions.

> WI: nˈɔ sˈaʑi śe | nˈɔ pšˈut śe v'ˈincy saʒˈiwɔ tˈyn bu… burˈɔk tɔ śe sˈaʑi | kɔrp'ˈele‿my saʒ'ˈil'i | turnˈep‿my sˈaʒˈil'i | žˈepe | nˈɔ tˈerɔ tˈerɔ je… cˈɔ śe swˈyšy že žˈepe sˈaʑi […]

[36] Such cases exemplify the widely understood "folk" or "perceptual etymology" (cf. Stachowski 2022) and demonstrate a community's unscientific reflection on the language used by its members.

– *Turneps?*
turnˈeps | nˈɔ / tɔ jak f kɔwxˈɔźe pˈɔtym nazyvˈal'i kˈuz'ika / kˈuz'ika / ˈɔna tˈeš tˈakɔ bˈywa | dugˈɔśkɔ bˈywa jak turnˈeps / a ˈu‿nɔz bˈyw | nˈɔ turnˈeps pɔ pˈɔlsku (Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 153)

WI: Well, we plant [them]. In the past, more of them were planted, beetroots [bˈurɔk] are [still] planted, we also planted rutabaga [kɔrp'ˈel], we planted turnips [turnˈep]. Turnips [žepa]. Now, it's rare to hear about anyone planting turnips [žepa] these days.
– *Turnips?*
Turnips [turnˈeps]. Well, it was later called Cusick's camas [kˈuz'ika] in the kolkhoz. Cusick's camas [kˈuz'ika]. It was like that, too. Long as turnips [turnˈeps]. And we had these turnips [turnˈeps], as we call them in Polish.

At the end of her statement, the informant concludes that the inhabitants of Vershina treat the name turnˈeps as Polish. Similar attitudes of accepting the borrowed lexis as one's "own" or blurring the boundaries between the Lesser Poland dialectal lexis and the borrowings testifies to the progressive integration of foreign elements.

The problem of distinguishing between cases of borrowing and code-switching can be largely reduced to two basic criteria in which all the issues discussed in points a)–d) meet the requirements of the systemic factor, i.e. integration into the recipient language, and the social factor, i.e. dissemination over time and to subsequent members of the community using this language.

Table 4. Code-switching and borrowing according to the frequency and integration criteria

	Adaptation (integration) processes +	Adaptation (integration) processes -
Frequency and dissemination in the community +	Borrowings	*Non-adapted borrowings*
Frequency and dissemination in the community -	Nonce borrowings	Code-switching

In addition to borrowing and code-switching, processes whose ideal types are on the opposite poles, the table above distinguishes "intermediate stages": adapted but impermanent units, created for the needs of the moment, and repeatable but not adapted units. In the case under study, borrowings, occasional borrowings, and code-switching are mainly analysed because the actual existence of non-adapted but permanent borrowings is very difficult to determine. Units in which no morphological adaptation is visible are most often monosyllabic words, e.g. *gr'ex* 'sin', because in longer words some form of at least partial adaptation was evident. In the case of *ran'še* 'earlier', it is impossible to demonstrate syntactic adaptation because the word in question is indeclinable in both Polish and Russian and has the same function in a sentence, so it is both "integrated" and "left in its original form". Similar units were treated by the informants as part of the lexical and structural resources of the Vershinian dialect, so they are definitely closer to loanwords than code-switching.

3.2. Various types of borrowings: loanwords and calques or matter and pattern borrowings?

The process of borrowing, according to the already quoted definitions, concerns the incorporation of elements transferred from another language. By default, this element is assumed to be a lexical item (cf. Heath 1989: 23), in the classical terminology of Weinreich (1963: 47) referred to as a loanword, i.e. the borrowing of single words under the "outright transfer of the phonemic sequence form one language to another". Transferring the simplest units usually enables direct recognition of their origin even without linguistic preparation, e.g. cv'ˈetny – cf. Rus. *cv'etnoj* vs. Pol. *kolorowy* 'colourful': pˈap'ir pšedˈavaw śe tˈak'i | cv'ˈetny 'the paper seemed to be so colourful'; sˈelsk'i sˈov'et – cf. Rus. *selskij sov'et* vs. Pol. *rada wiejska* 'village council': nap'isˈawam p'ˈismɔ dɔ selsk'ˈegɔ sɔv'ˈetu 'I wrote a[n official] letter to the village council'. Therefore, similar units are often the subject of reflection of the informants, as in the case of kłˈup – cf. Rus. *derevenskij klub* vs. Pol. *świetlica wiejska* 'village hall': nɔ kłˈup tɔ ˈun pɔ rˈusku kłˈup 'well, the village hall, i.e. in Russian it is a village hall'.

However, in the many definitions one will not find a clear limitation of the borrowing process to words only, but only a suggestion that single words are the most often borrowed elements, e.g. "an element taken over from a foreign language, which is most often a word, less often a prefix or suffix" (Polański 2003a: 668; cf. Thomason 2001: 134). A less visible foreign language influence comprises calques: "words or expressions formed using native language elements according to the semantic pattern of a foreign language" (Polański 2003b: 284). In the terminology of Weinreich (1963: 51), they were divided into: a) proper loan translations, "in which the model is reproduced exactly, element by element", e.g. Huguenot French *avoir droit* after German *recht haben*; b) loan renditions, "in which the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reproduction", e.g. German *Halbinsel* 'half + island' after Latin *paeninsula* 'almost island'; c) loan creations – newly created words stimulated "by the need to match designations available in the language in contact", e.g. Yiddish *Mitkind* 'fellow child' created on the stimulus of English *sibling*.

In this way, Weinreich treats calques as a form of lexical interference, which is also visible in the approaches of other researchers who limit the concept of calque to lexical calque (cf. Weinreich 1963: 51; Grek-Pabisowa 1999b: 227; Nepop 2002: 118–126). However, in addition to lexical calques, which are individual formations based on specific patterns in the donor language, there are also grammatical calques – repetitive categorical formations, created under the impulse from the donor language, stimulating the development of a model of a precisely defined construction in the recipient language (Obara 1989a: 193). They are included in Jerzy Obara's detailed classification based on the division into lexical calques, i.e. word formation, semantic and phraseological calques (copying phraseological units from the donor language), and grammatical calques, i.e. syntactic and morphological calques (cf. Obara 1989a: 193–194; 1989b: 60–66), and, with the use of this terminology, they were discussed in relation to the language of the inhabitants of Vershina (see Paśko 2009; Paśko-Koneczniak 2017).

Since the purpose of the present study is to explain not the terminological problems of the calque phenomenon but the issues related to code-switching, it is most important to take into account the impact of these

forms of lexical and grammatical interference on language change during speech, using a possible universal approach. Yaron Matras and Jeanette Sakel's (2007: 829–830) proposal to distinguish two kinds of borrowings – matter (MAT-) and pattern (PAT-) – seems to offer such a solution. The first kind encapsulates "direct replication of morphemes and phonological shapes from a source language", and the second comprises "re-shaping of language-internal structures, [in which] the formal substance or matter is not imported but is taken from the inherited stock of forms of the recipient or replica language (i.e. the language that is undergoing change)". This is by no means a new solution, because its traces can already be seen in the approaches discussed earlier, and Sakel (2007: 15–16) even points to direct links, e.g. with the classic works by Weinreich, Haugen or Zbigniew Gołąb, as well as with more recent theoretical approaches, such as Nicole Nau's. The division into MAT- and PAT-borrowings is therefore a synthetic summary of them.

In accordance with this approach, the word prədafšč'yca 'shop assistant' (cf. Rus. *prodavščica*): b'arʒɔ m'i… prədafšč'yca muv''iwa že m''iŋ'k'e 'the shop assistant was convincing me that they are soft [about sweets]', will be a MAT-borrowing, as it transfers both form and content from the donor language to the recipient language, and, in traditional terminology, it would be an adapted loanword. An example of a PAT-borrowing (a semantic loan translation in traditional terminology, cf. Obara 1989b: 60–61) would be r'ynce rɔbɔtń'iče 'hardworking hands' (l'ub'e r'ynce rɔbɔtń'iče 'I like hardworking hands'), which replicates the Russian construction *rabočije ruki* 'hardworking hands' by translating it and adapting to the Polish word order. Another PAT-borrowing, translated morpheme-by-morpheme, is pšedw'ozyć 'to offer': ṭša b'ywɔ v'om cɔ v'yp'ić pšedw'ozyć 'I should have offered you something to drink', replicating Rus. pr'edložyt' 'to offer' by replacing Russian morphemes with their Lesser Poland dialectal equivalents pšed:pr'ed + w'ozyć:ložyt', which in Obara's (1989a: 194) classification would be treated as a word-formation calque, or loan creation according to Weinreich (1963: 51). An example of a syntax calque (a PAT-borrowing) is a construction r'ɔb'ić$_{INF}$ el'ektr'ik'ėm$_{INS}$ 'to work as an electrician$_{INS}$': jɔ sum tɔ f šk'ɔle r'ɔb'e | el'ektr'ik'ėm 'I work at school as an electrician'. It replicates Rus. *robit'*$_{INF}$ + *elektrikom*$_{INS}$ in the Vershinian dialect

(cf. literary Polish *pracować jako elektryk* and colloquial Polish *robić jako elektryk*, i.e. both constructions use *jako* + Nom).

3.3. Do we always understand code-switching in the same way?

Code-switching is one of the first phenomena related to language contact, apart from phonetic and lexical interference, which is noticed by a participant in, or an observer of, the communication involving bilinguals. This problem has also been widely discussed in the sociolinguistic literature, on the material drawn from the contact of different languages, and has been operationalised many times. Due to the multitude of such studies, the focus will be placed on those approaches that formed the basis for the development of the theoretical framework used in this study to the greatest extent and will be applied in the analysis of examples. Haugen's definition from 1957, already mentioned in section 3, is too broad, but important because of its comprehensive treatment of the phenomenon under study (cf. Хауген 1972: 69). Despite the simplifications inherent in Haugen's approach, the concept of John Gumperz, who drew attention to the differences between situational and metaphorical code-switching, is also vital. Situational switches most often occur between sentences "when a speaker uses a second language either to reiterate his message or to reply to someone else's statement" (Gumperz 1977: 1). These types of changes are characteristic of diglossic situations in which specific spheres and topics are assigned corresponding languages and members of a bilingual community, recognising social expectations, change the language depending on the topic, but also other conditions: place, time, participants of communication (cf. Gumperz 1977: 1; Hymes 1980: 61–65; Myers-Scotton 1986: 404). This is a convenient way of interpreting many cases of language change during conversation; for example, in the following conversation in Polish about a wedding, there is a change of language caused by a change of addressee – two informants are addressing not the researcher but a cow passing nearby.

– *Jak wyglądało państwa wesele*?
M1[37]: tˈak pˈɔ rˈusku ńˈe pˈɔ pˈɔlsku tˈera pˈɔ rˈusku$_{POL}$
W: [to the cow] tˈy kudˈa pɑb'ėžˈałɑ tˈy | kudˈa$_{RUS}$
M1: ńˈė xɑʒ'ˈi ńˈė xɑʒ'ˈi$_{RUS}$
M2: fšˈyskɔ | fšˈysk'e stˈɔwy fšˈyskɔ bˈarʒɔ | nˈa stˈɔwax wˈadńė i śp'ivˈumy ji kulˈumy ji wˈɔ:j$_{POL}$

– *So, what was your wedding like?*
M1: It was Russian, not Polish, it is Russian these days$_{POL}$
W: [to the cow] Where did you go? Where?$_{RUS}$
M1: Do not go there, do not go.$_{RUS}$
M2: Everything, all the tables, everything is very nice, and we are singing, dancing, and o-oh.$_{POL}$

The switch between the languages is complete, and the individual sentences, depending on the addressee, are either Polish or Russian with clearly marked borders. In accordance with Gumperz's theory, the reason for the switch should be related to the conversation participants' habit of giving commands to animals in Russian, which forced them to abandon the basic language of conversation – Polish. An equally clear situation is quoting or reporting the words of a person speaking in another language, e.g.:

WII: tˈɔ jˈag y: žem pracovˈa: tˈam | dv'ˈe naʷučyćˈelk'i śˈe kʷućˈiwy | kućˈiwy śˈe i jˈedna rɔs:'ijˈanka mˈuv'i burˈatce$_{POL}$ | a: vˈy s'ėjćˈas fs'jˈe ˈumnyjėstˈal'i|kɑgdˈarˈus:k'ijėjˈak'iɨėnˈojėvrap'ˈejcypr'ijˈexal'iixl'ˈep vˈas naućˈil'i str'apɑt' | a tˈo vˈy i xl'ˈep ńe um'ˈel'i str'ˈapɑt' a s'ėjćˈas vˈy ˈumnyje$_{RUS}$ [laughter]

WII: When I was working there, two teachers were quarrelling. They were quarrelling and the Russian teacher says to the Buryat one$_{POL}$: you became so clever now, because the Russians, Europeans taught you how to bake bread, because you did not know how to bake bread, and now you are so clever$_{RUS}$ [laughter].

[37] Recording without the age of the informants, most likely generation I–II.

The informant narrates in Polish, but when she goes on to report on the quarrel between two female teachers – Russian and Buryat – who spoke Russian, she does not translate their statements but quotes them in the original language. Such language behaviour allows the members of bilingual community to maintain the authenticity of the reported story.

When a change of language "is not accompanied by a shift in topic, and in the other extralinguistic context markers that characterize the situation" and yet it occurs, Gumperz (1977: 32) treats it as a sovereign decision of the speaker and defines as metaphorical switching. Such situations may be observed when "the participants' awareness of alternative communicative conventions becomes a resource, which can be built on to lend subtlety to what is said" (Gumperz 1977: 6). In other words, metaphorical code-switching serves to emphasise or contrast a fragment of an utterance in L_1 with the help of L_2 code elements (cf. Fishman 1972b: 6–7), because the L_2 term is, in the speaker's opinion, more adequate in terms of meaning, as illustrated by Gumperz's examples of the fragments belonging to the French code and used in the English utterances: "she is a *grande dame*" and "he has great *savoir faire*". Do such instances occur in Vershinian speech? Certainly, in terms of structure, metaphorical code-switching would correspond to many examples in the studied corpus, e.g. z'jeżʒˈawɔ śe fs̃ˈystkɔ jak$_{POL}$ internac'ɔnˈaw$_{RUS}$ | nazyvˈal'i tɔ tˈak$_{POL}$ 'everyone was going to$_{POL}$ the International$_{RUS}$, that's what they called it$_{POL}$', where the use of the Rus. *internacjonal* 'any of several international socialist organizations' (*Collins Dictionary* 2024) is a form of a more adequate reference to the association of socialist political parties from various countries than the Polish lexical resources would allow, which the speaker seems to suggest with the words "that's what they called it"[38]. However, the question then arises whether the reason for switching to Russian stemmed from the desire to contrast the statement, in accordance with the definition of metaphorical code-switching, or, maybe, from the actual lexical lack, which is the primary motive for borrowing. Despite the large size of the corpus, the collected

[38] Similar cases have been described by Joseph Gafaranga (2012: 506–507) in the context of code fixing, when a second language is needed to properly express a given thought and it is necessary to supplement the L_1 utterance with L_2 elements.

material is not comprehensive, which makes it impossible to verify whether the speaker made a conscious choice between L_1 and L_2 lexical resources or was forced to resort to L_2 due to their to insufficient L_1 competence.

Other examples show that potential cases of metaphorical switching have most in common with borrowings, and that these are the borrowings resulting from the need to complete the code where the continuation of the utterance in L_1 would be impossible, e.g. ˈɔn tˈyš pšėpwˈynyw cˈawy śfˈatˈ | a [first name] pšėpwˈynyw$_{POL}$ dvˈaždy ekfˈatɔr$_{RUS}$ 'he also sailed the whole world, and [first name] crossed$_{POL}$ the equator twice$_{RUS}$'.

On the basis of these few examples, it can be seen that the adoption of the approach proposed by Gumperz would not account for a full description of the phenomenon of language change observed in the speech of the inhabitants of Vershina. The problems with this theory have also been pointed out by Peter Auer (1984: 89), in whose opinion the concepts of "distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching", "meaning potentials associated with the two languages", as well as the "necessity of tapping informants' knowledge of 'what went on' by means of interviewing/testing" are not entirely clear and leave a wide field for further interpretation. In the case studied here, however, the key problem is not the interpretation of the communicative situation, which for Gumperz (1977: 3) is predefined, and for Auer (1984: 90) continuously defined in the course of interaction, but the imbalance of the potential of languages in contact, typical of a language island. This problem will be repeated in the case of attempts to adapt other theories as well, which does not mean that they are not useful in the present analysis. Gumperz's concept works well for clear cases, but this would require a fragmentary treatment of the corpus and examination of selected fragments, because even within one conversation involving the same people, examples of code-switching are interweaved with various forms of borrowing. For instance, in the dialogue between two informants, the language is switched both depending on the interlocutor (the greeting of a neighbour walking down the street) and without changing the external circumstances and topic:

M[39]: a: tˈu kˈaj pˈan žˈyje tˈam mˈy tˈam sˈe zrɔbˈˈilʼi f kšˈɔkax tˈakʼi stˈuw tˈam mˈumy i tˈam mˈy bˈarʒɔ dˈužɔ gulˈalʼi$_{POL}$ || [to a passerby] zdrˈastfujtė$_{RUS}$
W: […] ńˈet i fsʼɔ ńˈet$_{RUS}$
M: ńˈė xˈɔčʼėt$_{RUS}$
W: ńˈe:$_{POL/RUS}$
M: ˈɔ vʼˈidʼiš$_{POL/RUS}$
W: […] s mˈalʼčikəmʼi pɑigrˈajėt | a nˈaš mˈalʼčʼik$_{RUS}$ […]
M: tˈy užˈe zarˈańeje$_{RUS}$ xcˈeš svˈataćPOL
W: ɑńˈi žˈe rˈotstfʼėńikʼi$_{RUS}$
M: a: rˈotstfʼėńikʼi tˈɔčnɔ$_{RUS}$ | a tˈerɔ čšˈeće pɔkɔlˈeńe$_{POL}$

M: And there, where you are living, we set a table there, in the bushes, and we used to spend a lot of nice time there$_{POL}$. [to a passerby] Good afternoon!$_{RUS}$
W: […] no, always no$_{RUS}$.
M: She does not want to$_{RUS}$.
W: No$_{POL/RUS}$.
M: You see$_{POL/RUS}$.
W: […] she spends some time with our boy, and our boy$_{RUS}$ […].
M: And you want to match [them]$_{POL}$ right away$_{RUS}$.
W: They are relatives$_{RUS}$.
M: Ah, relatives, you are right$_{RUS}$. But now its only in the third generation$_{POL}$.

A closer look at this and other similar examples leads to further questions about the correct definition of statements in which elements of L_1 and L_2 codes are accompanied by borrowings. It is useful here to distinguish between code-switching, i.e. inter-sentence language changes, as well as those cases of intra-sentence changes that occur at the junction of phrases and clauses (Auer 1999: 310–311), and other cases, defined as code-mixing, which "cannot be labelled language A or language B […] mainly due to the frequency of turn-internal language juxtaposition"[40] (Auer 1999: 314–315). The concept of code-mixing can describe situations

[39] Recording without the age of the informants, most likely generation I–II.

[40] Similar distinctions have been made also by other researchers; for example, Margaret Deuchar (2020: 1–2) distinguishes inter- and intraclausal switching in this context.

such as the ones presented in the examples below, where single words or phrases are inserted within one phrase:

> MII: stˈanuw s pšˈɔdu mašˈyny$_{POL}$ na bˈufˈeru$_{RUS}$ | nˈɔga vˈiśˈawa$_{POL}$ | kalˈėjˈa$_{RUS}$ bˈywa$_{POL-RUS}$ | v kalˈėjˈe$_{RUS}$ nˈɔga pɔpˈadwa$_{POL}$ | zavlˈɔkwɔ pɔd mašˈyne$_{POL}$
>
> MII: He stood in front of the car on the bumper. His leg was hanging. There was a rut. His leg got caught in the rut. He was dragged under the car.
>
> NP$_{POL}$ [He] + VP$_{POL-RUS}$ stood in front of the car$_{POL}$ + on the bumper$_{RUS}$. NP$_{POL}$ His leg$_{POL}$ + VP$_{POL}$ was hanging$_{POL}$. NP$_{RUS}$ the rut + VP$_{POL-RUS}$ was there. NP$_{POL}$ His leg + VP$_{POL-RUS}$ got caught in$_{POL}$ the rut$_{RUS}$. NP$_{POL}$ He$_{POL}$ + VP$_{POL}$ was dragged under the car$_{POL}$.

The conversation was in Polish, but Russian elements appeared in it. In this context, the question of awareness of their presence on the part of the speaker seems to be important. However, this is not an easy criterion to apply and should be treated with caution. According to Auer (1999: 310), in a code-switching situation, the sender and the recipient become conscious of both the phenomenon and the very moment of changing the language of the conversation, which means that "the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants", and in the case of mixing, one can only talk about the awareness of the simultaneous use of two languages, but without assigning individual fragments of speech to L_1 or L_2: the use of two languages is meaningful (to participants) not in a local but only in a more global sense" (Auer 1999: 310). While it is highly probable that this happens in the case under discussion, counterexamples can also be found, e.g. in the utterance: nazyvˈajom pɔ rˈusku$_{POL}$ dɔžžėvˈˈik$_{RUS}$ 'they call it in Russian$_{POL}$ lycoperdon [puffball mushroom]$_{RUS}$', the Russian name of the mushroom was included in the Polish phrase, but since it appears in a metalinguistic context and concerns a terminological explanation, it can be assumed that it is conscious. On the one hand, the assertion of conscious or unconscious language switching is always the matter of assumptions. On the other one,

unawareness of the juxtaposition of codes and increased tolerance for interference and code-mixing can lead to amalgamation and the emergence of a fused lect (Auer 1999: 309–310). The issue of the emergence of a variety based on Vershinian bilingualism, which could be described as a fused lect (or a mixed code), will be considered in section 4.1.2.

In the situation of asymmetric (unbalanced) linguistic contact and the code-switching and mixing taking place within it, it is important to determine the basic code of the utterance, the need which has been pointed out by, e.g., Auer (2000) and Myers-Scotton (2004). Since in Vershina, as can be seen in section 2.2, the Lesser Poland dialect is the weaker language[41], it is the system in which Russian influences are exerted and it was the primary subject treated as a starting point for the analysis. Therefore, in most examples, it was the Matrix-Language Frame (MLF) model which thus served as the main theoretical framework:

> Classic codeswitching includes elements from two (or more) language varieties in the same clause, but only *one of these varieties is the source for the morphosyntactic frame for the clause*, [i.e.] all the abstract grammatical requirements that would make the frame well-formed in the language in question (concerning word order, morpheme order, and the necessary inflectional morphemes). (Myers-Scotton 2005: 241; italics in the original)

Russian, as the source of the elements placed in a given frame, was therefore the embedded language (Myers-Scotton 2004: 106–107). As in the case of the other theories discussed in this study, also the MLF concept works best in clear-cut cases, and its imperfections occurring in nebulous situations were described, among others, by Myers-Scotton (2005: 241–242) herself. Pieter Muysken (2000: 28–29) pointed primarily to the difficulties with defining the basic determinants of the matrix language. Determining the matrix language would be particularly difficult in the case of contact between related languages having a similar morphosyntactic structure (Głuszkowski 2011b: 102; cf. also Flier 2008: 52–54; Hentschel 2008:

[41] It is also worth mentioning that all of the Polish speakers are bilingual, but not all of the Russian speakers are so.

99–104; Sira et al. 2020: 99). Therefore, for explaining the situation in which two Slavic varieties come into contact, which is the subject of the present monograph, the typology of code-mixing proposed by Muysken is crucial. He comprehensively describes this phenomenon on the basis of a number of earlier theories and distinguishes three basic types of this phenomenon. The first of them is insertion, which refers to the matrix-language theory. It occurs when a single element, consisting of one or more words, is placed within the framework created by the underlying language of the utterance: "a single constituent B (with words *b* from the same language) is inserted into a structure defined by language A, with words *a* from that language" (Muysken 2000: 7), as in the following example:

MII:	nɔ	s	pˈɔlsk'i	a tɔ	kɔnkr'ˈetnɔ$_{RUS}$	j'a ńe v'ˈem
	well	from	Poland	but	precisely$_{RUS.ADV}$	I $_{NEG}$ know

'Well, from Poland, but I do not know precisely'

The sentence is in Polish with only one Russian element inserted. However, the number of foreign constituents may be larger and they may be intertwined with those of the base language, but the difference consists in "the size and type of element inserted, e.g. noun versus noun phrase" (Muysken 2000: 3), e.g.

MII: ž'eby	ńe uć'ekɔw	| ž'eby	gɔ gɔ	m'ɔžna x'yćić	nɔ
in order to	[he] $_{NEG}$ run away	in order to	him$_{DAT}$ him$_{DAT}$	may catch$_{INF}$	well
v l'ubym	pazdb'ˈiśće$_{RUS}$	| t'yš 'ɔt | kar'ɔće$_{RUS}$		| u k'ɔgɔ jes(t) k'uń	
in any$_{LOC}$	pasture$_{RUS.LOC.}$	too	in short$_{RUS}$	whoever has a horse	

| t'am d'užɔ k'uńi

there [are] many horses

'so that he doesn't run away, so that he can be caught in any pasture, too, in short, whoever has a horse, there are a lot of horses out there'

There are two Russian insertions in the Polish structure: the noun *pastbišče* 'pasture', being part of the noun phrase v l'ubym pazdb'ˈiśće, and an introductory word expressed by the adverb *koroče*$_{CMP}$ 'in short'. It is not difficult to see that analogous cases have been discussed in section 3.1 in point c) – concerning the morphonological integration of foreign elements.

Similarities between inserts as a form of code-mixing and the borrowing process were also pointed out by Muysken (2000: 3). Thus, the question still remains if pazdb’ˈiśće and karˈɔće are loanwords, i.e. the instances of the borrowing process, or insertions, i.e. a form of code-mixing/switching? Of course, when making this distinction, it is important to refer to the already discussed criteria of morphological adaptation, social acceptance, prevalence, frequency of use, the presence of given elements in the speech of various informants in different periods of time, and others. However, this verification is not possible on the basis of a single fragment and requires further reference to the entire corpus, while the status of the insertion may change in the future or in other informants’ speech, i.e. it may become an established foreign element in the recipient language. As Thomason (2001: 134) notices,

> if an element is nativized, it is probably an established interference feature; but if it is not nativized, it could be either a code-switch or an established interference feature. The reason is that structure can also be transferred from one language to another, so an unassimilated structure could be either a code-switch or a permanent interference feature.

Another type of code-mixing distinguished by Muysken (2000: 7–8) – alternation, consists in the actual transition between two systems, entailing a change in lexis and grammar: “a constituent from language A (with words from the same language) is followed by a constituent from language B (with words from that language)”. This phenomenon occurs several times in the example below, and the analysis of the context of the utterance will make it possible to determine the motives that prompted the speaker to change the language during the utterance, as well as to relate the alternation to the previously discussed types of code-switching in other theoretical approaches:

> MII: nɔ mˈy śe tˈag z ńˈim tyn pɔznakɔmˈˈil’i tak | dˈɔbry xɔpˈˈina tyš | pšyʲʲižžɔw | pšyjˈexɔw | [first name$_{1.NOM}$] gˈɔda | [first name$_{2.NOM}$] pšˈyjʒ́ dɔ kɔśćˈɔwu | kˈɔnsuw će vˈɔwɔ | jˈo se fspˈumńɔw | kˈɔnsuw xˈeba pšˈyv’us cɔ | pšˈyv’uz bajˈan | tˈak’i dˈɔbry bajˈan pšˈyv’us | a mˈy pɔjexˈal’i | dɔ

bˈoxńi | dˈejće p’ińˈinʒy | dˈajće d’ˈeńek$_{RUS}$ | bajˈan kˈup’ić | v’ez’d’ˈe prˈos’at vˈystupat’ | bajˈan dˈajt’e d’ˈeńeg | sjˈezd’it’e v f’ilarmˈońu v gˈorɔt | tam vˈyb’er’it’e | i vαzm’ˈit’e$_{RUS}$ | my pɔjexˈal’i | mašˈyne naˈińi | s [first name$_{1.INS}$] | pɔjexˈal’i‿my f te f’ilarmˈɔńe zˈašet | f’ilarmˈońa | zˈašet | bajˈan prɔžev’ˈeżyw | fs’ˈo | čexˈow užˈe$_{RUS}$ | fs’o vˈybrɔw | pɔšˈedem a ʷˈun kudˈa | ćo kudˈa | platˈ’it’e | a ščˈod vam ćˈo | ńˈe‿bywɔ ńikakˈovɔ ščˈota$_{RUS}$ | fs’ˈo | pɔ bajˈańe | pɔjexˈal’i‿my šˈukać v drˈug’e m’ˈejsce | jˈešče mˈɔże tam dˈaʒum | v dˈuwg a pˈɔtym ʷoddˈumy | tˈyž žem vˈybrɔw | nɔ tam mˈuv’um | nɔ vy s’eb’jˈa αtłažˈyt’e nα d’ˈeńg’i tαgdˈa pˈust’ p’eregˈońat$_{RUS}$ | pšyjexˈal’i dɔ bˈoxńi | ńˈetu d’ˈeńeg$_{RUS}$ | p’ińˈinʒy bˈoxńa ńˈi‿mɔ | rajˈon$_{RUS}$ | a jag vystumpˈovać tɔ | falklˈ’orny jažˈumbeg dˈɔwžen vystupˈat’ s’evˈodńa$_{RUS}$ | a gźe bajˈan$_{POL\text{-}RUS}$ | na ćˈom igrˈat’ | u l’udˈ’ej prˈɔśit’ štˈɔ l’i tam v bˈoxeń$_{RUS}$ | nɔ tam mˈy jeźˈźil’i | nɔ a tyn kˈɔnsuw tɔ pšˈyv’us | tɔ dˈɔbre

MII: Well, that’s how we got to know him. He is a good man. He used to come to us too. He arrived, and [first name$_{1.NOM}$] tells me [first name$_{2.NOM}$], come to the church, the consul is calling you. I thought the consul must have brought something. He brought a bayan, he brought such a good bayan. [Before that happened,] we went to Bokhan: give us money, give us money$_{RUS}$ to buy a bayan. Everywhere we are invited to concerts, give us money for a bayan. Go to the city to the philharmonic house, there choose one and take$_{RUS}$ [it]. We went, rented a car with [first name$_{1.INS}$]. We went to this concert hall. I went inside, I checked the bayan, everything, the case too$_{RUS}$, I chose everything, I wanted to leave, and he [said to me]: where [are you going]? What: where? You have to pay. And the bill? There was no bill$_{RUS}$. And that’s all – there was no bayan. We went to another place, maybe they would give us a loan there, and then we would give it back, I also chose it, but there they say: put it aside and let the money be transferred to us$_{RUS}$. We came to Bokhan: no money$_{RUS}$, Bokhan has no money, [our] district$_{RUS}$. How are we supposed to perform? The Yazhumbek folk group should perform today$_{RUS}$, and where is the bayan$_{POL\text{-}RUS}$? What [instrument] to play? Ask people in Bokhan for help or what$_{RUS}$? We used to go there, and this consul brought it. It’s good.

Firstly, it can be noticed that in the reported situation of problems with obtaining an instrument for Yazhumbek band and the solution offered by the consul, there are quotes from conversations held in institutions that were

supposed to support the local folk artists. They are preceded by introductory phrases: a wˈun ‘and he [said to me]’ and nɔ tam mˈuv’um ‘but there they say’, but also quoted directly, without extra comments. Secondly, there are also repetitions of the same (dˈejće p’ińˈinʒy$_{RUS}$ | dˈajće d’ˈeńek$_{RUS}$ ‘give us money$_{POL}$; give us money$_{RUS}$’) or very similar content (ńˈetu d’ˈeńeg$_{RUS}$ | p’ińˈinʒy bˈoxńa ńˈi‿mɔ$_{POL}$ ‘no money$_{RUS}$; Bokhan has no money$_{POL}$’) in both languages, aimed at strengthening or contrasting the message. Thirdly, in parallel with the alternation, there is also an example that should be treated as an insertion because it occurs in the frames of the same phrase (compound direct object) and does not entail the latter full switch to the other language: ‘I checked the bayan, everything, the case too$_{RUS}$’. Both forms of alternation fit perfectly into Gumperz’s dichotomy: situational vs. metaphorical code-switching, but it would be easy to describe them from the perspective of other theories as well. The characteristic properties of alternation were noticed by Muysken (2000: 4), who noted that it is the only form of language change during speech that can be defined not as mixing but as code-switching.

Use of insertions assumes the possibility of specifying the L_1 base in which L_2 elements appear, and alternations – the existence of two bases with corresponding elements, between which switching is made, but the contact of related languages may make such distinctions difficult. An example of such a controversy was found in the fragment discussed in terms of alternation and marked as Polish-Russian: a gʒe bajˈan$_{POL-RUS}$ ‘and where is the bayan$_{POL-RUS}$?’. Gerd Hentschel and Sviatlana Tesch, in their study of Trasianka, a code based on Belarusian and Russian, i.e. the languages that are much more closely related than Polish and Russian, have pointed to the problem of situations in which it is not possible to unambiguously determine whether a given element belongs to one of the two codes. Following André Martinet, they distinguish between two levels of articulation. The first relates to the content plane (*signifié*) – the lexis and syntactic structures and those elements of the expression plane that determine their morphological form in the mind. The second level relates to the plane of expression (*signifiant*) and can be described as the phonetic-phonological surface. Thus, the interaction of structurally close languages

enables three convergence relations to be formed: a) at both the deep-morphonological and the phonetic-phonological level; b) only at the deep level, with the phonetic-phonological level remaining different; c) with the units remaining different on both levels (Теш, Хенчель 2009: 210). As regards the example of *bajan* (Rus., Pol. 'bayan'), it is pronounced as in the Russian language [baj'an], with the last syllable stressed (in Polish the penultimate syllable would be stressed [b'ajan]). The pronunciation of the voiced plosive soft consonant in the word *gde*/*gdzie* 'where' was alveolo-palatal and affricative [ʒ́], i.e. Polish, because the Russian variant is a dental stop with only a slight affrication [d'] (cf. IPA [dʑ]: [dʲ]). Thus, since there are no differences at the deep level, and there are only minor differences at the surface level, the sentence cannot be determined unambiguously either as Polish or Russian.

The third type of code-switching is related to the existence of a largely common element of utterance, shared by languages that are in contact, and can be used to describe similar situations as mentioned above, but is not limited to them. Muysken (2000: 8) defines this phenomenon as congruent lexicalisation, i.e. a situation in which "the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages a and b are inserted more or less randomly".

WIII:	no tɔ |	tɔ	jˈeščė bˈywo	žePOL	zaprˈafka	| fˈtʼˈumʼeńi zaprˈafka
	well	it	still was	that	refuelling	in Tyumen refuelling
	| tam		počtʼˈiRUS	goʒ́ˈine mˈy	goʒ́ˈine	xˈyba
	there		almost	an hour we	an hour	perhaps
	mˈy		fˈtʼˈumʼeńi	śėʒ́ˈelʼiPOL		
	we		in Tyumen	sitPST.CONT.PL.POL		

'Well, it was still that there was refuelling, refuelling in Tyumen. Almost an hour there, we probably spent an hour there in Tyumen'

In the above excerpt, fragments of a "more Polish" or "more Russian" character have been distinguished, and it is also possible to indicate words that belong to Polish (gɔʒ́ina 'an hour') or Russian (*počti* 'almost', *zapravka* 'refuelling', *Tiumen'* 'Tyumen') resources. However, the reference to the

wider context (the whole corpus) shows that the root[42] *zaprav-*, used in the context of refuelling, is also found in other informants' speech, which would be understandable due to the thematic sphere related to technique, typical of cultural borrowings: fcˈɔraj bˈywa cˈɔś ˈuna pracˈuje tˈutaj jak pˈal'iwɔ cɔ zaprˈav'iwa | te pal'ˈiva 'she was [here] yesterday, she works there, where cars are refuelled, these fuels'. Since počt'ˈi is an adverb, i.e. an indeclinable part of speech, which also does not leave much potential for phonological adaptation due to the phonological convergence of both systems in this case, and t'um'ˈeń is a proper name, which is not prone to adaptation processes either, it can be assumed that, regardless of the speaker's perception of the sentence as Polish or Russian, they would occur in the same form. Therefore, without excessive simplifications, the most adequate solution is to interpret the entire utterance as congruently lexicalised.

The dissemination of congruent lexicalisation in the speech of Vershinians is therefore favoured not only by the structural similarity of both languages but also by the dissemination of MAT- and PAT-borrowings, which, due to the folk character of bilingualism of this community and the lack of a valid standard for the Lesser Polish dialect, have no special limitations. As Muysken (2000: 5–10) points out, the shared structure of two systems makes congruent lexicalisation more likely. The language used by Polish settlers and their descendants for over a hundred years has undergone significant transformations, primarily in terms of lexis, but also grammar (Mitrenga-Ulitina 2015: 147), which means that the convergence of the current form of the Lesser Poland dialect in Vershina with Russian is greater than in the case of its initial form in the 1910s. In the excerpt below, Russian elements (insertions) are underlined, and MAT- and PAT-borrowings are italicised. The speaker tried to keep the narrative in Polish, because he was aware that his interlocutors, as people from Poland, may have had difficulty understanding Russian. Therefore, it can be assumed

[42] According to Thomason and Kaufmann (1988: 37), "typically, though not always, the borrowed words are treated as stems in the borrowing language – that is, they take the usual affixes for the appropriate stemclass".

that he used constructions that he considered Polish (see the criterion of social acceptance of a borrowed element as incorporated in section 3.1).

> MI: nɔ wˈot | vˈɔt ze zdjˈenća tɔ tˈyš vˈaše stud’ˈenty$_{RUS}$ s uwˈanude pšyjexˈal’i čy skˈont | wˈot | tɔ ʷˈun | ˈuna | ˈun ˈu‿mńe ˈiźe tˈak’i tˈyš | dokˈument | trad’ˈicyji brakɔsɔč’ètˈańa$_{RUS}$ jˈi tèmˈu pɔdˈɔbne | [first name] mˈɔja | jɔ | vˈot sˈyn | pˈɔs’l’e$_{RUS}$ *ɔkˈuncańja mar’exˈɔdnèj škˈɔwy*$_{MAT}$ | tɔ jˈes… mˈody jˈeše a pˈuźńi gˈɔ | wˈot brˈad mˈuj | ktˈury śe ˈun u ńˈegɔ ˈucyw | ˈun ž'yje gˈɔrɔt [proper name]$_{RUS}$ | juš tˈyž mˈa za śedymźˈeśunt | ahˈa | vˈot ˈun inžèńˈer kɔrabl’ètrajˈićèl$_{RUS}$ | vˈot sˈyn śe u ńˈegɔ ˈucyw | jˈɔ gɔ ɔtprˈav’iw stˈunt | vˈot | vˈot | jˈegɔ *pɔxvˈalne grˈamɔty*$_{MAT}$ z vˈɔjska jˈak sˈužyw | vˈod ˈun *na č’ėrnɔmˈɔrsk’im fwˈɔće*$_{MAT}$ | tˈam *na kɔrˈablu*$_{MAT}$ pˈuźńi juš | vˈod ˈun jˈegɔ fšˈysk’e ahˈa | to jˈuš | vˈˈi:će jˈak’e ˈu‿mńe | tɔ pšyjižźˈajɔ jˈešče kar’ėspɔnd’ˈenty | k’inɔɔp’erˈatɔry$_{RUS}$ pˈɔlsk’e | pˈˈiršy fˈˈilm *zazdèmɔvˈal’i*$_{PAT}$ ɔ vˈˈeršyńe | tèn fˈˈilm pˈuźńi jˈɔ *ˈuznɔw*$_{MAT}$ že *tˈyš spwˈynyw*$_{PAT}$ ahˈa | jˈegɔ ńe | ˈun ńè pɔkazˈany | *kˈajź ˈušet*$_{PAT}$ | v jˈakum strˈune ńˈe‿vˈadomɔ
>
> MI: Well, here, in the picture, your students$_{RUS}$ from Ulan Ude also came, or maybe from somewhere else. Yeah. It’s him, it’s her. I have a document here about the tradition of getting married$_{RUS}$ and things like that. My [first name], me, and this is my son after$_{RUS}$ *graduating from a navy school*$_{MAT}$, that is, still young, and later him… And this is my brother, who was teaching him. He lives in the city of [proper name]$_{RUS}$, he is also over seventy years old, he is a shipbuilding engineer$_{RUS}$. He was teaching my son, I sent him there from here. Yes, yes, and these are his *certificates of recognition*$_{MAT}$ from the army when he served *in the Black Sea Fleet*$_{MAT}$. There on the ship later. That’s him and all his… And here you can see how Polish journalists and cinematographers$_{RUS}$ came to me, who *made*$_{PAT}$ the first film about Vershina. That movie, as I later *found out*$_{MAT}$, *was lost too*$_{PAT}$, yes. It was not… It wasn’t shown, *it disappeared somewhere*$_{PAT}$. And where – no one knows.

Single words and complex lexical units appear in the utterance of the bilingual informant in connection with the need to describe such a fragment of reality that requires the use of vocabulary present only in one of the systems mastered by him. So this process can be defined as occasional borrowing (or non-adopted nonce borrowing; cf. Halmari 1997: 17) for the

moment or code completion (code repair; cf. Gafaranga 2012: 509–510). The italicised MAT- and PAT-borrowings have a similar purpose. Although there is no way of verifying the involvement of the speaker's cognitive processes and consciousness at the moment of speaking, one can assume that he made ad hoc adaptations in the case of constructions not present in the corpus in other informants' statements, using his bilingual competence. Therefore, in the case of distinguished MAT-borrowings, the Russian phrases have been morphonologically adopted:

– Rus. *ɔkˈuncańja morexodnoj školy* 'graduating from the navy school': mazuration[43] (c : č) in ɔkˈuncańja and Polish inflection (oj : ej) in mar'e-xˈɔdnėj.
– Rus. poxvalˈnye gramoty 'certificates of recognition': Polish inflection (ye : e) in pɔxvˈalne.
– Rus. na černomorskom flote 'in the Black Sea Fleet': Polish inflection (om : im) in č'ėrnɔmˈɔrsk'im.
– Rus. na korable 'on the ship': Polish inflection (e : u) in kɔrˈablu.
– Rus. uznat' 'to find out': Less. Pol. raised articulation of the narrowed *a* (*ɔ* < *a*): ˈuznɔw.

Constructs based on PAT-borrowings are made of native elements and reproduced in the recipient language models from the donor language; therefore, it is a foreign influence that is more subtle and harder to detect than MAT-borrowings, based on both foreign content and form.

– In the sentence p'ˈiršy f'ˈilm zazdėmɔvˈal'i ɔ v'ˈeršyńe 'they made the first film about Vershina' the speaker uses the word zazdėmɔvˈal'i$_{PST.3rd.PL}$, which was an attempt to re-create Rus. snali$_{PST.3rd.PL}$ (film) '[they] made [a film]'. The equivalents Russian snat'$_{FIN}$ and snimat'$_{INF}$ 'to make a film, to take a picture; to take off' are Less. Pol. zdjˈunć$_{FIN}$ and zdėjmˈovać$_{INF}$, and the informant built the finite form on the basis of the infinite, by adding the prefix za-. The final result is a sentence copying the Russian model, cf. Rus. pervyj film snali o Veršine vs. p'ˈiršy f'ˈilm ɔ v'ˈeršyńe.

[43] Mazuration (Mazurism) is the pronunciation of the alveolar consonants š, č, ž, ǯ as dental s, c, z, ʒ, a phenomenon typical for Lesser Poland, Northern Silesia and the Mazovian dialectal zones of Polish dialects (see Sawicka 2020).

– Another example of the replication of a foreign model is the construction tyn f'ilm […] tˈyš spwˈynyw 'this film […] was lost too'. Rus. splyt' 'colloquially: go downstream' was here adapted in its metaphorical meaning 'to get lost, to disappear'. Thus, the Russian content was borrowed and inserted into the Polish form (there is a convergence of PAT-borrowing with synonymous semantic calques; cf. Obara 1989b: 60–61).
– In relation to the same event, concerning the irretrievable disappearance of the film shot in Vershina, there is another PAT-borrowing: kˈajź ˈušet 'it disappeared somewhere (or somehow)'. Rus. kuda-to propast'/kuda-to ujt'i 'to disappear or to go away in an unspecified, unknown way' was translated word-by-word – $kˈajź_{IND.ADV.MOT}$: $kuda\text{-}to_{IND.ADV.MOT}$ and $ˈušet_{PST.SG}$: $ušol/propal_{PST.SG}$. One has to note that $ˈušet_{PST.SG}$ [$ˈujść_{INF}$] is a MAT-borrowing itself (Rus. ujti adopted to the Less. Pol. conjugation).

In addition to the cases of insertions, MAT- and PAT-borrowings discussed above, as well as of constructions linking the above, in the quoted statement there was also a convergent lexis at the deep-morphological level, such as personal pronouns (cf. Less. Pol. ˈun, ˈuna and Rus. on, ona) or at both the morphological and phonetic-phonological levels (*syn*, *brat*), which additionally affects the commonality of the shared syntax structure. Based on Muysken's typology, it is possible to distinguish three types of code-mixing, provided that an appropriate text fragment is selected to illustrate insertions, alternations or congruent lexicalisation. However, in this study, in accordance with Grosjean's (1992: 54–55) postulate for a wholistic view on bilingualism, isolated examples of phenomena related to juxtaposition of codes within the same utterance are not dealt with. Instead, the assumption is that, similarly to "the bilingual is an integrated whole which cannot easily be decomposed into two separate parts", also the texts he or she produces are a "unique and specific linguistic configuration".

A similar approach, though phrased in a different way, has been expressed by Muysken (2000: 9), who does not treat insertions, alternations and congruent lexicalisation as isolated states but as processes occurring on continuums between the three vertices of the triangle. First, he notices a transition zone between insertion and alternation "since insertion of longer fragments leads to increasingly more complete activation of the second grammar". Then, he notices another "gradual transition" between

alternation and congruent lexicalisation, with "alternation [occurring] when only the top node (the sentence node) is shared, and congruent lexicalisation [happening] when all or most nodes are shared between the two languages". Finally, shown with the examples drawn from immigrant communities demonstrating the need of broadening their lexical resources (cf. Дуличенко 1998: 26 and the problem of lexical deficit of the language islands), "there can be a gradual shift from one base language to shared structure and on to the other base language, possibly varying with individual bilingual proficiency and over time" (Muysken 2000: 9–10). Similar processes occur in the analysed excerpt and also in many other situations in Vershinian bilingualism (cf. Głuszkowski 2023), because "insertion of new items and expressions into the home language can evolve into congruent lexicalisation and then possibly into alternation (with set phrases and expressions from the ethnic language interspersed in the new language)" (Muysken 2000: 10).

The intensification of congruent lexicalisation and code-mixing is favoured by variantisation of the language, especially strong in non-standard languages, particularly in those without their written form (cf. Баранникова 1969: 331–333). According to Zbigniew Bokszański, Andrzej Piotrowski and Marek Ziółkowski, who based their approach on the assumptions of Michael Halliday and Boris Golovin, the variability of a language and the degree of standardisation can be represented by a pyramid, with a standard, literary language placed at the top and with very diverse local varieties – at the bottom (cf. Bokszański et al. 1977). Variability is a phenomenon that manifests itself at the individual level, in the language behaviour of single individuals (Нефедова 2002: 254–255), as happens in the case of using the verbs with Less. Pol. stem -luŋk$_{FIN}$-/-lyŋk$_{NFIN}$- and Rus. -pug-, e.g.

> cɔ́ś śe vˈyluŋk$_{POL}$ | cɔ́ś śe vˈyluŋk$_{POL}$ 'Why are you scared, why are you scared?'
> pśˈeluŋk$_{POL}$ śe i pɔvʾˈeśiw śe 'He got scared and hanged himself.'
> swˈyše stˈeᵑko xtoś | stˈeᵑko | śė pšˈeluŋk$_{POL}$ 'I hear someone gasping, gasping. He was frightened.'
> rėnkˈamʾi i tšˈepʾe pšepugˈany$_{RUS}$ žė pɔžˈaru ńė vʾˈiʒow 'waving [his] hands, frightened that he could not see the fire.'

vnˈuckə tɔ jˈeščė jak v’ˈėncėj / ʒˈatkə vypugˈawə$_{RUS}$ ‘and the granddaughter, she scared the grandfather even more.’
nˈɔ vˈɔt napugˈawa$_{RUS}$ tˈegɔ vnˈucka ‘well, she scared this grandson.’

At the same time, even in the speech of one informant, there may be found different variants of the same word in the same utterance, e.g. tˈamten śe vˈyluŋk cɔ tˈɔ tɔ tɔ i pɔwˈɔžyw mˈu śe tˈutaj | wˈɔn mˈuv’i tak | wˈɔ jˈa mˈuv’e tˈy vˈy ras ispugˈawsa žˈeby mˈuv’i muv’ˈil’i mńe gryz bˈyʒe ˈil’i carˈapaw ‘he got scared$_{POL}$: what is it? it [the cat] laid down here. He says so. Oh, I say, are you scared$_{RUS}$? that, he says, will it bite me or scratch me’. The last case, however, was conditioned by quoting a phrase addressed to a Buryat who was scared of a cat, so the narration was conducted in Polish, and the question announced with the introduction of jˈa mˈuv’e ‘I say’ was reported in the original language, i.e. Russian (cf. Less. Pol. vˈyluŋk and ispugˈawsa ‘got frightened’), but all of the previous examples occurred in monologues without changing the external circumstances and indirect speech. All of these cases fall within the shades of congruent lexicalisation and broadly understood transition zones with insertions and alternations already noticed by Muysken (2000: 9–10).

Although there are some constraints that may limit the freedom of code-mixing, e.g. “the Free Morpheme Constraint, which predicts that code-switches will not occur within a word, i.e. between a stem and an affix or between two affixes” (Thomason 2001: 135), they do not apply to the “wholistic” congruent lexicalisation (Muysken 2000: 77, 134), which is an approach that allows for the most complete description of the phenomenon of code-switching and mixing, and, in a broader perspective, also for noticing important aspects of bilingualism as such.

The already discussed examples have demonstrated that the reason for changing the code often stems from lexical or structural deficiencies because one of the languages in contact is dominant. Graphically, the problem of switching between systems with the same or different potential can be visualised in the form of two models:

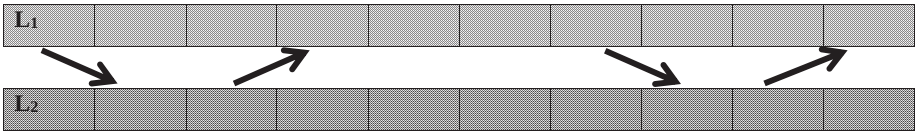


Chart 2. Contact of two complete codes – bi-directional switching between L1 and L2

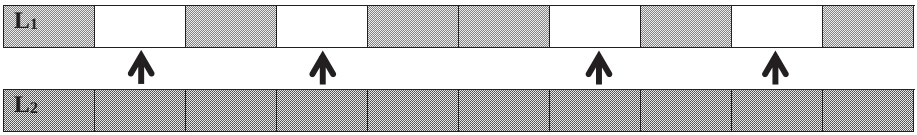


Chart 3. Asymmetric contact of a complete and an incomplete code

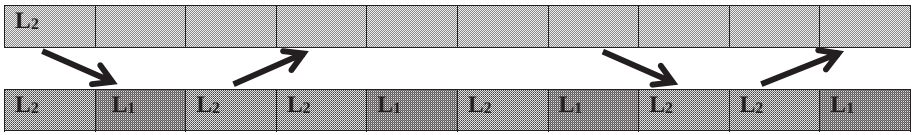


Chart 4. Contact of L_2 and a mixed L_1 / L_2 code

In contrast to the situation known from many studies on code-switching (cf., e.g., Gardner-Chloros 1991; de Fina 2007; Cantone 2009), in which members of bilingual communities are fluent in both languages and possible switching is made between two full codes (chart 2), in the case of the Vershinian dialect it is a complementation (repair) of the weaker code (chart 3)[44]. Thomason and Kaufmann (1988: 38–39) call this kind of language contact a substratum interference, which "is a subtype of interference that results from imperfect group learning during a process of language shift". Ultimately, this leads to a situation where contact is made between an L_2 code and an L_1/L_2 code which is at least partially mixed (chart 4). They rather characterise the situation when a community is trying to achieve the target language, i.e. the official language of the country they live in or the language of the colonisers, but is not able to learn it perfectly, and one is

[44] Of course, there are also other cases of Russian influence in the Vershinian dialect, caused by MAT- and PAT-borrowings, and code-complementation occurs parallel to these processes.

dealing here with the phenomenon of the progressing displacement of the minority language by the majority language and the decreasing competence of the younger generations in the heritage language. Nevertheless, in both cases the system where one of the languages is not sufficiently mastered is common, which makes it necessary to draw on the stronger language.

In view of the above observations, some additions to the theories discussed so far are necessary, and they can be found in John Lipski's (2009) approach, drawing attention to situations of unequal mastery of two languages, as well as semi-fluent alternation or dysfluent[45] code-mixing as part of congruent lexicalisation. He has introduced a significant modification to Muysken's typology, distinguishing the fourth type of code-mixing – the congruent lexicalisation in dysfluent speech, which occurs under the following conditions:

> (1) incomplete fluency in the L_2 coupled with the intention to speak only in L_2; (2) native L_2-speaking interlocutor's competence in the speakers' L_1; (3) lack of social consequences for involuntary mixing; (4) the fact that the speakers' L_1 has no established status in the bilingual environment, although its presence may be acknowledged, and the same language may be dominant in nearby communities or in other situations within the same community. (Lipski 2009: 33)

These criteria correspond not only to the situation of the Polish dialectal island in Siberia surrounded by the Russian-speaking majority, but also to the language behaviour of the informants. Many examples gathered in the corpus represent the additional type of code-mixing in fluent dysfluency. Their usefulness has already been partially verified in the research conducted so far by the Nicolaus Copernicus University expedition team on the basis of the material collected from the informants in another language island: the Old Believers' community in Northeast Poland. Its members

[45] Disfluencies characteristic of the spoken variety as such, present in monolingual utterances of native speakers, should be distinguished from disfluencies, errors and slips caused by incomplete mastery of a given language by a foreigner or a representative of a minority group in the situation of imbalanced bilingualism (cf. Majewska-Tworek 2014; Poulisse 2009).

function in the conditions of Polish-Russian bilingualism and speaking their heritage language (incomplete fluency) often involves switching to the fully mastered majority language (Polish), and involuntary mixing is socially accepted (Głuszkowski 2015d).

4. Code-switching and code-mixing in Vershina in macro- and microsociolinguistic perspectives

In this study, the method developed for the analysis of the bilingualism of the Old Believers' community in Poland has been used, distinguishing two levels of the occurring phenomena: micro- and macrosociolinguistic ones (Głuszkowski 2011b). The first category most often includes local and individual-level phenomena, while the second category includes group-level phenomena (Fishman 1972a: 437–444; McClure, McClure 1988: 25; Mesthrie 2006: 474). Yet, such differentiation, though without the use of the terms micro- and macrosociolinguistics, has already been proposed by Weinreich (1963: 71–89). The analysis at the macro level in the present case includes the concept of diglossia, already discussed in section 2.2.2., as well as, to be addressed in section 4.1, patterns of language choice and code-switching, the possibilities of the emergence of a mixed-code or language death, and the problem of the existence of two codes and two scripts in the vestigial written form of the minority language. The micro-sociolinguistic aspects of this research are related to idiolectal diversity, primarily linked to heritage language competences and the existence of factors conducive to code-mixing by certain individuals.

4.1. Macrosociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching and code-mixing

4.1.1. Strategies for language choice in communication situations

The language choice in each turn of a conversation entails an expectation that the newly introduced language will be taken up by the interlocutor (Alfonzetti 1998; Jørgensen 1998; Meeuwis, Blommaeart 1998). Myers-Scotton (1986: 403–404), following Hymes, broadly treats 'code' as a cover term for both standard and non-standard varieties, i.e. "languages, dialects of the same language, or styles within a dialect". Thus,

> any code choice points to a particular interpersonal balance. Speakers have tacit knowledge of this connection as part of their communicative competence (Hymes 1972). They have a natural theory of markedness, which is the basis for associating each linguistic variety as the unmarked index of some particular rights and obligations balance between participants in some conventionalized exchange.

If a group is no less than partially bilingual, then, despite the imbalance between social potential and the level of proficiency in both languages, characteristic for many communities, there is a choice of language of expression in specific communication situations. The basic determinant of social expectations regarding this choice is diglossia, e.g. if the sphere of contacts in the neighbourhood domain is supported by the L_1 language, then the community expects its use from a given user. If the speaker behaves as expected, their behaviour is unmarked, i.e. neutral, while non-compliance with the rules will be marked, and, as such, will probably at least be noticed by the environment and, perhaps, cause some reaction.

Markedness and unmarkedness are not the only criteria leading to the choice of language in a communication situation. Anna Żurek (2018: 67–68), following Claus Færch and Gabriele Kasper, has divided the process of speech production into the phase of planning an utterance and the phase of implementing the intended plan, with the former being the

most important in the case of strategy analysis. However, the process of planning an utterance may be more or less conscious, depending on the user's linguistic knowledge: for proficient speakers, it will most often be automated, while for people who have not fully mastered one of the languages, it is necessary to "use native language resources (which explains the appearance of a transfer from the mother tongue in their speech)". The emergence of a problem resulting from insufficient competence in one of the languages leads to the use of compensatory (or repair) and retrieval strategies, which may result in code-switching or interference in the language of speech (cf. Gafaranga 2012; Żurek 2018: 69–70).

Allen Bell (2006: 648) names the speakers' efforts to adapt to a communicative situation "speech accommodation", which is a subtype of communication adaptation. The participants of the conversation tend "to converge with each other on a number of levels such as speech rate, accent, content, and pausing", and, in terms of bilingualism, considerable effort is expended in the process of language choice. To explain how these choices are made, one can refer to attempts to break down the communication situation into prime factors. A detailed analysis of language choice depending on external circumstances was presented by Robert Cooper, who created a model of interrelated sociolinguistic factors leading to specific utterances (Fishman 2014: 227). Cooper's scheme consists of seven basic elements: a) a system of social values (value cluster), culturally determining certain types of behaviour; b) domain, related to a specific type of behaviour; c) social situation defined by a specific time, environment and system of social roles; d) role relationship, understood as a set of culturally defined mutual rights and obligations of participants of the interaction; e) network type, binding the system of roles with the system of social values; f) personal or transactional type of interaction, determined by the degree to which participants of the interaction oblige each other to respect their roles. These elements (a–f) shape the last element of the scheme: g) speech events and acts (Fishman 2014: 226–227).

Importantly, the choice of language in a communication situation does not have to be made once and for all, which is confirmed by the phenomenon of code-switching itself: it is a change of language within a communication situation. Assuming that the assumption that CS can be a conscious activity

and, as such, has its social significance, Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001: 7–8) refer to the rational choice theory to explain the motivation of this process. Like the initial choice of language, the latter switches can be both marked and unmarked. If the rules of behaviour generally accepted in a given community show that code-switching is advisable in a given situation, then such an activity is considered unmarked, and the absence of such a reaction can be marked (Myers-Scotton, Bolonyai 2001: 9). Typically, unmarked switches are associated with a change in the circumstances of the communication situation, e.g. if a conversation between bilinguals ($L_1 + L_2$) conducted in the L_1 language is joined by a monolingual person who knows only the L_2 code, the neutral (unmarked) behaviour is then to change the language of the conversation to L_2 to allow everyone present to participate in it. However, if bilingual people continue the conversation in L_1, their reaction should be treated as marked – the purpose of such a behaviour may be, e.g., showing disapproval of the newcomer or willingness to conceal the content of the statement from him (cf., e.g., Pułaczewska 2017: 146). In a similar way, situations in which switches will be marked can be considered, e.g. when the reaction of bilingual conversation participants to the appearance of a monolingual person (L_1) in their group is to change the code to an inaccessible one (L_2). Conscious code-switching can be thought of as a test of strength – an attempt to dominate the interlocutor or group members (cf. Jørgensen 1998: 239–240).

In addition to the solutions discussed in the description of diglossia (section 2.2.2), where the choice of language is determined by the domain and possible switching by its alteration (diglossic switching), the most frequently observed reason for using another language within the same communication situation was the change of an addressee, e.g.

> WII: nɔ zˈarɔ / pˈɔprubujćė gžˈyba / grˈuźʒ gɔtuvˈany / cɔ ʒeći trˈɔxe pšyńˈeswy | pˈɔprubujćė
> WI: tɔ gɔtuvˈany
> WII: nˈɔ gɔtuvˈany pɔsolˈˈywam
> – *Bardzo dobry*.
> WII: [addressing her child] idˈˈi pomˈojsʼα || idˈˈi pomˈojsʼα || v:an:ɔj f tˈazʼik vˈody nalˈˈej$_{RUS}$ || [addressing the researchers] ćˈi | jˈak$_{POL}$

WI: nɔ tˈyš tˈegɔ ˈale ńe tɔ kˈɔże jˈuš
WII: nɔ kɑńˈešnɔ$_{RUS}$
WI: ńe tɔ kˈɔże
WII: a žarˈunyx gžˈybuf vˈum jˈak powˈožyć | cy na wˈyšce dˈać | žarˈunė maślˈɔk’i

WII: Come and try mushrooms. Boiled *gruzd’* [lactarius, milkcap], my children brought it.
WI: Is it boiled?
WII: Yes, boiled, I salted it.
– *Very good.*
WII: [addressing her child] Go and wash yourself. In the bathroom, pour water into the bowl. [addressing the researchers] And how?$_{POL}$
WI: Well [he will go himself,] too, if not, you must tell him.
WII: Of course$_{RUS}$.
WI: [If] he doesn’t go, she tells him to obey [her].
WII: How about fried mushrooms? How do you want them: on a spoon? These are fried butter mushrooms [suillus].

Noteworthy observations at the macro-sociolinguistic level were made with regard to the representatives of the youngest generation – a group of teenagers from Vershina participating in the summer school organised by the Irkutsk-based Polish institution “Ogniwo” in 2019 (see section 2.4). They participated in language, sports and art classes, and spent their free time with their peers from Polish families living in the big *oblast* city. The youth from Vershina and Irkutsk alike spoke much better Russian than Polish, but all of the Vershinians and some of their peers from Irkutsk were also able to talk in Polish, at least on simple everyday topics. It turns out that the only circumstances in which these young people spoke to each other in Polish were language exercises during lessons, and all forms of spontaneous communication took place in Russian. According to the observations, conversations between young people from Vershina, even those between siblings, were also in Russian, because it is increasingly often the language in which the youngsters address each other within the Polish community, especially in mixed families. The young Vershinians were able to do language exercises and speak in the class, but it was not without problems. The variant of the Polish language they use in

their hometown differs from that taught in the class, so their statements, correct as the Lesser Poland dialect, deviated from the standard literary Polish. Examples of "deviations from the norm" comprised mazuration in pronunciation or the use of the dialectal interrogative pronoun *kaj* 'where' instead of Pol.lit. *gdzie*. When the young people from Vershina realised the nature of these errors, it caused them some consternation and discouraged them from speaking spontaneously, despite the lecturers explaining that their utterances were correct in the Lesser Poland dialect and, in this respect, did not differ from regional Polish in Poland. Another factor stimulating the strategy of choosing the Russian language in contacts during the summer school was the circumstances of the place – located outside the family village, as well as a certain sense of strangeness in relation to the newly met people from Irkutsk, who, despite the time spent together, were not as close to them as the inhabitants of Vershina.

If the sender wants to convey specific information, but realises that their competences in the L_1 language will not allow it, they can resign from the message (topic change or avoidance) or try to convey it by referring to the resources of their stronger language, i.e. L_2. This reference may consist of additions, i.e. various forms of the borrowing process (see section 3.2), or may make a language change to L_2 (code-switching) (cf. Żurek 2018: 71–73). The latter case will be dealt with in the following example:

> WII: nˈu u tʼˈixanofkʼi tˈam usʼèrdˈa jˈest | ᵘˈot ʒˈeśik vˈele usʼèrdˈy znalˈeźlʼi | nˈɔ jˈak | jˈo po rɔsʼ:ijsku pˈovʼèm$_{POL}$ nˈašlʼi zαxərαńeńje / vˈojina prˈostα f pˈolʼe | f pˈolʼe nˈo ńi znˈaju kˈakʼim ˈᵘobrazαm ˈon nˈɔ vˈykαpαlʼi zαxαrαńˈilʼi vˈojinα nˈo ćełαvʼˈek bˈyw ˈon mαngˈoł nˈo mangalaˈidnaj rˈasy | nˈo:
> – *Da*.
> tˈutaj azʼjˈat | ji f: daspʼˈexʼi u ńèvˈo arˈužje bˈywa: vrʼèmʼˈon čingʼis xˈanα ʷˈot y mˈe mˈeždu sʼèrdˈoj i ajˈokαm
> – *I davno oni našli eto zaxoronenie?*
> ńʲˈe ńˈè ńˈè ńˈè | gˈodα / gˈodα dvˈa trʼi | tαmˈu nαzˈat || ᵘˈot tˈak słućˈajnα prˈostα nαtknˈulʼis' || štˈo dˈełαlʼi mˈožèt štˈo dʼełαlʼi nˈo vˈot natknˈulʼis' nˈa | zαxαrαńˈeńʲe ˈetαvα vˈojinα
> – *No to nawet ciekawe, bo…*

nˈu i fs’jˈe wˈot dɑsp’ˈex’i fs’jˈe vˈot ˈetɑ fs’jˈo ad’ˈjèžda / štˈo sɑxrɑńˈiłɑs’ / vˈot ˈetɑ apr’ėdėl’ˈil’i štˈo ˈetɑ at vr’ėm’on čingˈis xˈanɑ$_{RUS}$ | ᵘˈox nˈo tˈo ᵘˈot y k’ˈej ˈońi tˈutaj pˈevńe žˈyl’i$_{POL}$

– No tak, to już pewnie jakiś czas. A czy Buriaci jakoś czują się z Mongołami związani?

nˈɔ bur’jˈaći nˈo jˈak jˈa […] nˈu jˈėžžum jˈėžžum | tˈɔ xam dˈɔ s mangowˈam’i śˈe znˈajum | nˈɔ ˈale jˈĭzyk

WII: Well, there’s Userda near Tikhonovka, and they found him somewhere near there. How was it? I will speak in Russian$_{POL}$. They found a burial place. The warrior’s grave just in the field, but I don’t know how they exhumed him. Well, the warrior was buried. He was a man of the Mongoloid race. Yeah.

– *Yes.*

He was Asian. Armoured and armed, from the time of Genghis Khan. And it [the grave] was found between Userda and Ayok.

– *And how long ago did they find that burial place?*

No, no, no [not long ago]. Maybe two or three years ago. They just stumbled upon it by chance. Maybe they were doing some work there and suddenly found the grave of this warrior.

– *Well, that’s interesting because…*

And all the armour, clothes – all of it has been preserved. Based on this, they concluded that it was from the time of Genghis Khan$_{RUS}$. Well, perhaps since then they’ve been living here.

– *Well, it’s probably been a while. And do the Buryats somehow feel any bonds with the Mongols?*

Well, the Buryats, how to say. Well, they travel, they travel, and they know the Mongols, but the language is [different].

This is not an entirely typical case and, therefore, deserves closer attention. The initial development of the conversation is consistent with the conditions of unbalanced bilingualism with diglossia: the sender tries to convey information from the sphere in which she not only has a much better command of the Russian language, but she is even unable to continue speaking in the Lesser Poland dialect due to a lexical deficit. For that reason, with prior information about the change, the speaker consciously switches the code (jˈo po rɔs’:ijsku pˈov’ėm ‘I will tell it in Russian’). This is a case of full alternation, and the researcher adjusted the language to that

of the informant, nodding and asking the next question in Russian, too. Then, the researcher tried to return to the original conversational language by asking a question in Polish. The informant finished her thought about the content of the found grave of the warrior and, adapting to the expectations of the interlocutor, she switched to Polish. It should be emphasised that the informant knew that the researcher could speak Russian, and because of that, in this case the switches promoted the efficient communication (see Myers-Scotton 2005: 155). Yet, when the inhabitants of Vershina realised that the researchers did not know the Russian language[46], they tried to convey information through PAT- and MAT- borrowings[47], i.e. the procedures aimed at adapting (or "tuning") the weaker code to the requirements of the conversation.

> MI: jo mˈyśla te dva swˈɔva ktˈure jo napʼˈisow ˈone ɔpreʑelˈajom || ćˈimnɔ mũm v ˈizbʼe | a vy pɔ rɔsʼˈijsku dˈɔbže rɔzumʼˈiće | xˈyba ńe
> – *Tak średnio*.
> tɔ vum lˈepʼi pˈovʼim pɔ pɔˈlsku | jo napʼˈisow v zakl'ućˈeńi sfˈɔjem na ɔstˈatńi strɔńˈicy że kʼėm tˈylkɔ ńe pšyxɔʑˈiwɔ śe być v žˈyću | za sfˈuj vʼek | pšyxɔʑˈiwo śe fstrˈečać z rɔzmajitˈymʼi lˈuʑmʼi | mˈawɔ ilʼi dˈužɔ pšekunˈyvać ˈix | na jakˈũmśik ɔtrʼˈesku cˈasu | na dˈužym ˈilʼi na mˈawym
>
> MI: I intend these two words that I wrote… They define… It's dark here in my apartment. Do you understand Russian well?
> – *No, not really*.
> Then I'll tell you this better in Polish. I wrote in the conclusion, on the last page, that whoever we are in life, we meet all the time with different people whom we have to convince to a greater or lesser extent, in some period of time, longer or shorter.

[46] In the first expedition, apart from bilingual researchers – Slavists, there were also students of Polish philology, whose knowledge of Russian was limited or who did not speak it at all (see also section 2.4).

[47] In this context, some researchers write about intra- and extra-linguistic transfer and the formation of new words (calquing and neologisation processes) (cf. Żurek 2018: 70–74), but it is the mechanism of these processes, not the terminology, that is most essential.

The informant wants to provide information in Polish, but since the statement concerns the sphere served by the Russian language, he repairs the weaker code through PAT- and MAT-borrowings to avoid switching to Russian. In this way, the following constructions from the Russian language appear in his speech: a) v zakl'uć'eńi 'in the conclusion' (cf. Rus. zaključenie); b) k'ėm t'ylkɔ ńe pšyxɔʒ'iwɔ śe być v ž'yću 'whoever you may be in life' (cf. Rus. kem tolko ne prixodilos' byt' v žizni) – PAT-borrowing combined with MAT-borrowing and code-mixing; c) pšyxɔʒ'iwo śe fstr'ečać 'we had to meet' (cf. Rus. prixodilos' vstrečat'sa) – MAT-borrowing. Since instance b) is a combination of several types of foreign influence and contains both Polish and Russian elements (the interrogative pronoun k'em), the passage may be considered congruently lexicalised. More or less successful attempts to repair, compensate, or tune the deficient code, made, e.g. in order to avoid full switching, can lead to the appearance of various forms of mixed code.

4.1.2. Emergence of the mixed code

Considering the possibility of mixed-code formation in a bilingual community that tends towards juxtaposition of the languages within communication situation, Peter Auer (1998: 16) has noted that

> in the prototypical case of code-alternation as portrayed in *Bilingual Conversation*, speakers orient to a preference for one language-of-interaction which is accepted until language negotiation sets in, or until discourse-related switching changes the 'footing' of the conversation, and with it the language-of-interaction. A first step on the continuum towards a mixed code, still representing code-alternation, though of a less prototypical kind, consists in dissolving this state of affairs; instead, discourse-related code-switching occurs which does not change the language-of-interaction; the preference for one language-of-interaction is thereby relinquished.

The examples discussed so far clearly show that "a first step on the continuum towards a mixed code" has already been taken. However, can one talk about further movement in this direction? According to Muysken (2000: 10), "there are different modules potentially involved in the insertion: phonetic shapes, lexical meaning, morphosyntax, which involve activation of the second grammar to different degrees". This statement also applies to alternation and congruent lexicalisation. The mixing of L_1 and L_2 at these levels is evident in the following passage:

> MI: pɔ tak'ˈimu | że jˈa izˈuciłRUS rɔsˈyjsk'i jˈinzyk || jˈɔ tu vˈyrus | f tej śr'ˈeźeMAT | f tym | i jˈa ńe mˈɔge inˈacyj nap'ˈisać || no a pɔ drug'ˈimu | jˈa vˈam dˈołżenMAT pɔv'ėźėć | aˈ || pśˈevėśćPAT na pˈɔlsk'i jˈėnzyk | ţša bˈyć grˈamotnymRUS || pɔ pˈɔlsku jˈa ńˈe‿xce ɔtćˈińaćPAT svˈɔjom indyv'iduˈalnɔść | że jˈɔ tu tˈaki v''ˈel'ik'i pˈɔlɔk | jak šeksp''ˈirRUS ten ˈil'i że mɑr''ˈi k'irɔ-skwɑdˈɔfskɔRUS, ˈil'iRUS kɔpˈerńik, ˈil'iRUS tu | nˈɔ || tˈɔ jˈest fś'ystkɔ zaswˈug'i | nɔ t'ėm ńė m''ˈeńėjėRUS | jˈɔ jˈest pə praf''ˈes'jiRUS | nˈo | jˈak vˈom pɔv''ˈe‿ʒėć || pə kal''ˈibruRUS || jˈɔ jˈezdėm agrənˈɔm | jˈɔ mˈom d'ipɬˈom ɑgrɑnˈomɑRUS

> MI: Because **I learned**RUS Russian. I grew up here, in this **environment**RUS and I can't write otherwise. And secondly, **I have to**MAT tell you that in order **to translate**PAT a text into Polish, you need to **know this language in its literary variant**RUS. I do not want to **stand out**PAT by writing in Polish that I am such a great Pole, like **Shakespeare**[48]**RUS or Maria Curie-Skłodowska**RUS, **or**RUS Copernicus **or**RUS someone else, well. These are all merits, **but, nevertheless**, **I am by profession**RUS, well, how to tell you. **Truthfully**. I am an **agronomist**, **I have an agronomist diploma**RUS.

The basic language of the utterance, according to the speaker's intention, is the Lesser Poland dialect, but various forms of borrowings, as well as code-switches, are noticeable in it. By dividing the text into fragments, one can distinguish an example of an insertion, t'ėm ńė m''ˈeńėjė 'nevertheless' (cf. Rus. *tem ne menee*) or a PAT-borrowing, pśˈevėść na pˈɔlsk'i jˈėnzyk 'to translate into Polish' (cf. Rus. *perevesti na polskij jazyk*), in which the Rus. verb *perevesti*INF has been copied morpheme-by-morpheme:

[48] The informant mistakenly treated Shakespeare as a Pole, along with Nicolaus Copernicus and Maria Skłodowska-Curie.

pere- : pše, -vesti- : -v'eść-. However, a living language does not consist of fragments only, but texts, and at the text level, according to the principle of the wholistic approach to bilingualism (cf. Grosjean 1992: 54–55), the phenomena of borrowing, mixing and code-switching should be considered. The analysis of the text as such allows, first of all, observation of the phenomenon of congruent lexicalisation, in which Polish and Russian items, as well as integrated borrowings, are placed on the basis of a largely shared syntactic structure. Although there are many examples of similar statements in the corpus, not all of the informants behave in this way. Therefore, the scenario of code-mixing leading to a mixed language is only one out of more alternative scenarios, and the possibility of potential language shift and the threat of language death should also be considered (see section 4.1.5).

4.1.3. The questions of language shift and language death

In a study on Gaelic in the context of the death of the language, Nancy Dorian (1981: 98–102) has discussed, e.g. interference and code-switching phenomena. In the case of Vershinians' use of language, the most important problem in this regard seems to be finding the answer to the question whether the processes studied here belong to the permanent circumstances of the disappearance of the language or its signs, and whether the Vershinian dialect is threatened with its death, i.e. with the situation that "no one will speak it" (cf. Crystal 2000: 1). Questions about the death of languages arise in the context of small communities that use non-written variants (Janse 2003: ix–xi). Although this most often concerns communities in the South-East Asia Region or the Greater Pacific Area using "exotic" languages (cf. Newman 2003: 3–4; de Silva Jayasuriya 2011), some symptoms of the disappearance of the minority language also affect the community of Vershina, all the more that there are visible signs of language shift in the evolution of diglossia in the subsequent periods (cf. section 2.2.2): "a new language is gradually replacing the original language of the community, without the extinction of a people" (Dorian 1981: 114). Language changes

reflected in diglossia are often observed in various conditions in the context of the death or survival of a minority language (Boyd 1985: 21–25). However, as long as "it is common to find speakers of quite different ability among the residual population who still speaks the older tongue" (Dorian 1981: 114), i.e. there is a differentiation in the level of proficiency in a minority language, one can still talk about language shift *in statu nascendi*. Moreover, language endangerment is a gradable phenomenon:

> If a proportion of the children starts giving preference to another language and gradually forgets their own, their own language is *potentially endangered*; if the youngest speakers are young adults, the language is *endangered*, if they are middle-aged, the language is seriously *endangered*, and if there are only a few old speakers left, the language is *moribund* (or *terminally endangered*). (Wurm 2003: 16)

The last stage is the language's death, "when there are no speakers left at all" (Janse 2003: x); however, this is not yet the case of the Vershinian dialect. According to this typology, the variety under study should be treated as an endangered language, because its youngest users (with a few exceptions) are young adults. In order to operationalise the phenomena and processes of language change, behaviour, threat and death, the solution to be used is that proposed by Jeffrey Holdeman (2002: 14–15), who, on the basis of an extensive literature review, developed a list of signs of language shift and the forthcoming language death in one of the American language islands – the case of the community of Russian Old Believers in Pennsylvania. This list comprises the following:

> a) reduction and adaptation of linguistic structures; b) reduction in the complexity and diversity of structural features; c) "rule loss"; d) functional restrictions (domain changes); e) stylistic shrinkage; f) reduction of registers; g) imbalance in borrowing; h) "us" versus "them" mentality among speakers; i) perception of inferiority of language by speakers; j) shift of language of religion to majority language; k) shift to majority language in the home domain; l) bilingual parents passing on only one language to children. (Holdeman 2002: 14–15)

Most of the symptoms listed above have also been already observed in Vershina, as described in sections 2.2 and 3.2. Thus, point g), i.e. "imbalance in borrowing", which is characteristic for asymmetrical bilingualism, seems to be the key factor in the other processes developing as part of borrowing, as regards both pattern and matter: a) and b) – original linguistic structures are being reduced and replaced with those adapted from the majority language. The "rule loss", point c), is both a result and a stimulus that triggers processes related to broadly understood interference as well as code-switching. The loss of norms or, in the case of a non-standard language that has no norm as such, a greater acceptance of foreign influences, significantly accelerates the death of the language. It should be noted, however, that these are only "signs of language death", with no clear indication as to when a given criterion can be considered met. In the case of Vershinian people and their use of language, a), b), c) and g) are the most visible, but only with reference to point g) one can actually observe the absolute dominance of the Russian language, and as regards a)–c), Russian shows clear advantage over a still-significant share of the Lesser Poland dialect.

Point d), concerning functional restrictions, is, in turn, crucial for the phenomena associated with diglossia: a shift to majority language in the "most traditional" domains: religion (j) and home (k). In the religious sphere, Polish is still the dominant language, although Russian is present in the form of Gospel summaries and homilies for the growing number of believers who do not speak their heritage language well enough to understand its religious style and register. Thus, one can talk about partial fulfilment of this criterion, but with an indication of the preservation of the minority language in this sphere. This is certainly important for the issue of identity, but it should be remembered that religious Polish is the literary standard, not a dialect of Lesser Poland, so it is difficult to consider religion as the last bastion of survival for the variant used by the inhabitants of Vershina. Changes in the home domain are also partial, with the direction of the changes taking place in favour of the Russian language (see the extent of language use in Tables 1–3), suggesting that this condition is heading towards full fulfilment. The line between the occurrence of k)-criterion and its absence can be indicated quite clearly and runs along the line of division into ethnically homogeneous and heterogeneous families:

WII: wun ńe ńe mˈuv'i pɔ pˈɔlsku pɔ rˈusku ˈinɔ mˈuv'i | nˈɔ ž'ˈɔna ž'ˈɔna pˈɔlka pɔ pɔl pɔ pˈɔlsku mˈuv'i | a tˈamte fs''ˈe dˈumy fs''ˈe tɔ pɔlˈak'i ž'yjom | i tˈutaj pɔlˈak'i tˈylkɔ tˈutaj | xaxˈɔw ž'yje tɔ ɔn tˈyš pɔ ru tˈegɔ ž'ˈɔna pˈɔlka a ˈun xaxˈɔw | tɔ ɔn tˈyš pɔ pˈɔlsku ńe mˈuv'i | nˈɔ rɔzˈum'i ˈale ńe rɔzmˈav'a pɔ pˈɔlsku | a te fs''ˈe tɔ fs''ˈe pɔlˈak'i | fs''ˈe pɔ pˈɔlsku mˈuv'um m''ˈenʒy sˈɔbom | tak tɔ štɔ | i tam tˈyš | ˈidɔm se pɔlˈak'i tam i tˈatɔr | mˈɔja tˈegɔ kɔležˈanka ž'yje s tatˈarym | nˈɔ tɔ ɔn tˈyš ńe rɔzmˈɔv'a pɔ tˈegɔ pɔ pˈɔlsku

– *A między sobą wtedy po rosyjsku?*

pɔ rɔsˈyjsku

– *A mają dzieci?*

mˈajɔm

– *Dzieci po rosyjsku?*

ʒ'ˈeći ʒ'ˈeći rɔzmav''ajɔm pɔ ras''ijsku i pɔ pˈɔlsku rɔzmav''ajɔm | ˈale jˈuš vyjexˈawy i tˈutaj jˈuš ix ńˈi ma tˈegɔ jak pšyjˈadom tɔ i rɔzmɔv''ajom pɔ pˈɔlsku | xˈɔća ˈɔjćec s wˈɔjcym s tatˈarym rɔzmav''ajɔm tˈegɔ pɔ rus pɔ ras''ijsku | štɔ tam internac'iɔnˈal'nos't'

WII: He doesn't speak Polish, he only speaks Russian. Well, his wife is Polish, she speaks Polish. And in all those houses Poles live, and Poles live here. Only a Ukrainian lives here, he also speaks Russian. His wife is Polish and he is Ukrainian. He doesn't speak Polish either. He understands but does not speak Polish. And they are all Poles and they all speak Polish among each other. And there are Poles and Tatars, too. My friend lives with a Tatar man, so he doesn't speak Polish either.

– *And they talk to each other in Russian then?*

In Russian.

– *Do they have children?*

Yes, they do.

– *Do* [their] *children speak Russian?*

[Their] children speak Russian and Polish. But they left and they do not live here anymore. When they come here, they speak Polish, although they speak Russian with their father Tatar. Such internationality.

In points e) and f), there again appear the problems already discussed in section 2.1 and concerning the bilingual system consisting of dialectal variant L_1 + literary variant L_2, where the latter serves as a roofing variety (cf. Hentschel 2000: 85; Mattheier 2005: 1438) for the former. Such

relationships prevent the development of the diversity of style and register in L_1. In this case, Magdalena Grupa-Dolińska's study on the functioning of Vershinian dialectal phraseology will be helpful in verifying these signs of language death. More attention was paid to this layer of the language due to its special nature: its acquisition requires the user to be able to use symbols in the abstract and a lot of pragmatic competence in the field of a given code (Głuszkowski et al. 2022c: 23). The NCU expedition team's previous research in another insular community – the Old Believers in Poland – showed that phraseological deficiencies are potential code-switching points and an important source of interference (Głuszkowski 2011: 221–222; Grupa-Dolińska 2020). In the collected material, Grupa-Dolińska did not find typical dialectal phrases that differed in form from the Polish ones (including colloquial ones), but there were noticeable constructions containing certain elements typical of the dialects of the Lesser Poland-Silesian borderland, e.g. pwˈynońć kaj vyńˈesom vˈoswa 'to row where the oars will take you' with the dialectal interrogative pronoun kaj 'where'; (ńe) vyndˈymy na svoje 'to make [or not] a profitable business' with the dialectal variant of the verb vyndˈymy$_{\text{FUT.1PL}}$ (Grupa-Dolińska 2022: 4–5). In the same body of linguistic material, there were about 30 Polish phraseologisms with Lesser Poland dialectal features, mainly of anthropocentric character, describing the characteristics and behaviour of a person, which is typical of dialectal phraseology in general (Grupa-Dolińska 2022: 5–9). At the same time, Russian influences in the form of PAT-borrowings are visible in Vershinian phraseology, e.g. pšˈeżyć na [sfˈojix] plˈecax 'to experience something', cf. Rus. *vynesti na svoix plečax*: a jˈo mˈuvˈe a na co wˈuna mˈˈi potšˈebno kˈˈedy jˈo na plˈecax pšeżˈywam to to | to jˈo vˈˈim 'and I say, and why I need it, when I experienced it myself, I know', as well as instances of original Russian phraseology in the form of entire lexical chunks – phraseological units inserted into Polish utterances, e.g. do gwubˈˈiny dˈušy 'deeply / to the core / from the bottom of one's heart', cf. Rus. *do glubiny duši*: s tyx lˈuʒ i fšˈysk'ix dˈužo lˈuʒ i čšˈymam serdˈecnom serdˈecnoś | uvˈožum ˈix do gwubˈˈiny dˈušy | s tˈyxže lˈuʒ i dˈužo s tˈyxže lˈuʒ i sum lˈuʑe ktˈuryx jo osˈunʒum 'among all these people there are many that I treat with heartfelt cordiality [warmth], I respect them to the core, many of these people are the ones that I value' (Grupa-Dolińska 2022: 11–14). With the

consideration of the phraseology as an indicator of the stylistic diversity of the Vershinian dialect[49], one can conclude that it is partially preserved, and the issue of its individual variation will be discussed in section 4.2.

The h) criterion, i.e. "us" versus "them" mentality among speakers has been already discussed in the section 2.3.1. There is certainly a blurring of differences between ethnic groups that so strongly marked the borders between the settlers from Lesser Poland and their surroundings in the first period of the history of the village, which leads to the following statements, expressing closer ties between Poles and Russians: nˈɔ i nˈaše tˈyš śe jˈuš pɔm'inšˈawy kˈaj z ruscˈyznɔm 'and our people mixed up with the Russians' or rˈusk'e tɔ pɔćt'ˈi że jak jak pɔl'ˈak'i 'Russians are almost as Poles'. The informants also feel a certain affinity for the Buryats, which would have been unthinkable a few decades ago:

> MI: tˈeras jak tɔ | pˈɔlak | rˈusk'i | bˈurat | fšˈystkɔ jednˈak'e | jˈedyn zˈakɔn u ńix | kˈaždy rˈɔb'ić | zarˈɔb'ać | prɔdˈukty sˈɔm kupˈujum | žˈyjum tˈak | jak pɔprɔstˈymu | a fpšˈɔʒi bˈywɔ tˈak i tˈak
>
> MI: Now whether it's a Pole, a Russian or a Buryat, they're all the same. Everyone lives according to the same rules: everyone works and wants to earn money, buys available products and lives simply, and before that, it was different.

The last statement should be treated with some reservation because it refers primarily to the economic situation, and even in relation to the Russians, the Poles still feel some differences, stemming from, at least, the awareness of a separate origin and religious affiliation, but the general trend of weakening the "us" vs. "them" mentality persists. Therefore, it is another instance of partial occurrence of a sign of language death.

In point i), Holdeman (2000: 15) draws attention to an important problem related to a sense of inferiority displayed by the users of an endangered language. If it is present in a minority community, the most common way

[49] The stylistic diversity of the dialect used by the inhabitants of Vershina is smaller than in the case of literary languages – Polish and Russian; therefore, for certain communicative functions, it is necessary to use the roofing variety.

to reduce it is through social and linguistic assimilation, i.e. the language (and culture) death. This criterion is not met, because the Poles in Vershina do not feel worse than their Russian neighbours:

> MI: tu rɔsjˈańe sˈom tˈyš | f sunśˈadax tˈutaj pɔlˈakʼi | tˈam dˈalʼi | rˈuskʼi žˈyje | wɔstˈatńi pˈɔlak | pɔ tˈamty strˈuńe | rɔsʼijˈańe | tˈam xwˈɔp s bˈabɔm rˈuskʼe žˈyjom
> – *Czy spotykacie się czasem? Odwiedzacie się nawzajem?*
> rˈazńicy jˈedyn ɔt drugʼˈego ńˈi ma | pɔ cɔ tɔ ja dɔ ńˈix ˈide | tɔ dɔ mńˈe
>
> MI: We also have Russian neighbours here, but also Polish ones. There lives a Russian, the last one here is a Pole, and on the other side – Russians. And there live Russians, a man and a woman.
> – *Do you meet sometimes? Do you visit each other?*
> It's no difference. I go to them, they come to me.

Natalia Galetkina writes even about a certain pride in her own ethnic identity, which can be seen as a local specificity of this community, something that can make her stand out (cf. Галеткина 2015: 173). The language is under threat, and many signs of its impending death are present, but not because of feelings of inferiority.

Point j) is probably the most important from the perspective of the further fate of the minority language because it refers to the future generations and the transmission of the linguistic heritage to them. Hanna Pułaczewska (2017: 77) characterises the intergenerational transmission of the heritage language as

> a process stretched between communication, which aims to satisfy a situational need for understanding and the transfer of information, and upbringing, which is future-oriented and characterised in part by the abandonment of immediate benefits in favour of anticipated ones, in this particular case the anticipated benefits of the child's mastery of the parents' native language.

However, in the case of the community that is still insular, and with limited contact with the homeland of the ancestors, the anticipated benefits of displaying fluency in Polish are eclipsed by the immediate benefits

of efficient communication in Russian. Moreover, the potential benefits of using Polish refer to its literary variant, and not to the Lesser Poland dialect spoken by the inhabitants of the village. The informants noticed differentiation in the choice of the language of contact with children in the community, but even in homogeneous Polish families, there are cases of lack of intergenerational transmission of the Lesser Poland dialect:

– *A w domu jak mówią? Po polsku czy po rosyjsku?*
WII: nˈɔ ńe pɔ rɔ… pɔ pˈɔlsku | nˈɔ sum s'emˈˈi że mˈuvˈɔm pɔ rˈusku jˈakɔś tak | vrˈɔʑe pɔlˈak'i a pɔ rˈusku s ʑećˈam'i | nˈɔ | mˈawɔ tˈak'ix nˈɔ ˈale sˈum | a tˈak tɔ pɔ pˈɔlsku fsˈˈe

– *And at home, which language do they speak? Polish or Russian?*
WII: Well, not Russian. Polish. But there are also families that for some reason speak Russian. They are supposedly Polish, but they speak Russian with the children. There are few of them, but there are [such families]. And the others speak Polish.

The reason for communicating with children in the majority language is often to make it easier for them to start school. In the minority context, with regard to the language used in the home domain and the language socialisation of children, there may be pressure from the environment or the school to promote the language of the majority (cf. Pułaczewska 2017: 143–145), but in Vershina, due to the insular nature of the community, similar antagonisms are not currently observed and parents make their own decisions concerning upbringing:

WII: ˈale dɔ škˈɔwy my pˈɔšl'i tɔ rɔsyjskˈˈegɔ ńe v'eʑˈel'i / muśˈel'i śe ˈucyć dɔpˈˈirɔ / tɔ jˈuš tˈera ʑˈećiˈɔny jˈuš z ńˈim'i pɔ rˈusku rɔzmavˈˈajɔm

WII: When we went to school, we didn't know Russian. We just had to learn it. And now the children know, because they already speak Russian with them.

For people born in the first and at the beginning of the second period of the history of the village, Polish was the home language, and it was

the only primary language, i.e. used "for the basic range of subjects […] i.e. available to all members of a given group (community) at a given period and place" (Zawadowski 1961: 14). Later, there were two primary languages because Vershinians started to use Russian for everyday communication, and, nowadays, the Lesser Poland dialect is losing its former functions. Therefore, despite the fulfilment or partial fulfilment of some criteria, one can observe a serious threat of the disappearance of the minority language in Vershina in the coming decades. According to Holdeman's (2000: 12) assumptions, this will most likely be the situation of language death caused by language shift – if the descendants of the Polish settlers replace the language of their ancestors with Russian in all social functions, it will cease to have speakers at the same time and will eventually disappear.

4.1.4. Code-switching and code-mixing in written texts. Biscriptality

nɔ pɔ rˈusku tɔ ˈɔ | mˈɔge pšecˈytać
Well, if it is in Russian, I can read it

In this study, what has repeatedly been emphasised is the importance of the fact that the Lesser Poland dialect used in Vershina is a spoken variety, and its oral form is one of many factors associated with the lack of a stabilised standard (which is both its effect and cause). Meanwhile, this subchapter discusses the problems of code-switching and code-mixing in writing, as, to some extent, the Polish language exists in this form, too. The simplest explanation can be found in the use of the Polish writing system at school since the 1990s, and although now, after the incorporation of Ust-Orda Buryat Autonomous Okrug into Irkutsk Oblast, and thus the loss of some minority rights (Nowicka 2013: 14–15), the young generations are still exposed to it during additional lessons. People who obtained secondary and higher education in Poland had (or still have, due to the activities of the Polish diaspora) contact with written Polish in its literary variety (cf. Петшик 2008: 107). This is only one of the possibilities thanks to which the Polish language functions in Vershina also in its written form. However, it has

a relatively unimportant function from the point of view of communication within the language island – and the reason is quite simple: standard written Polish is not used by the majority of the rural residents; thus, like standard spoken Polish, it is used to communicate with the outside world, i.e. tourists and Polish organisations. The second, but first in terms of chronology, way in which the written form of the Polish language reached Vershina was through the first settlers' ability to write, the skill mastered by them at a better or worse level, preserved and sometimes passed on to their children.

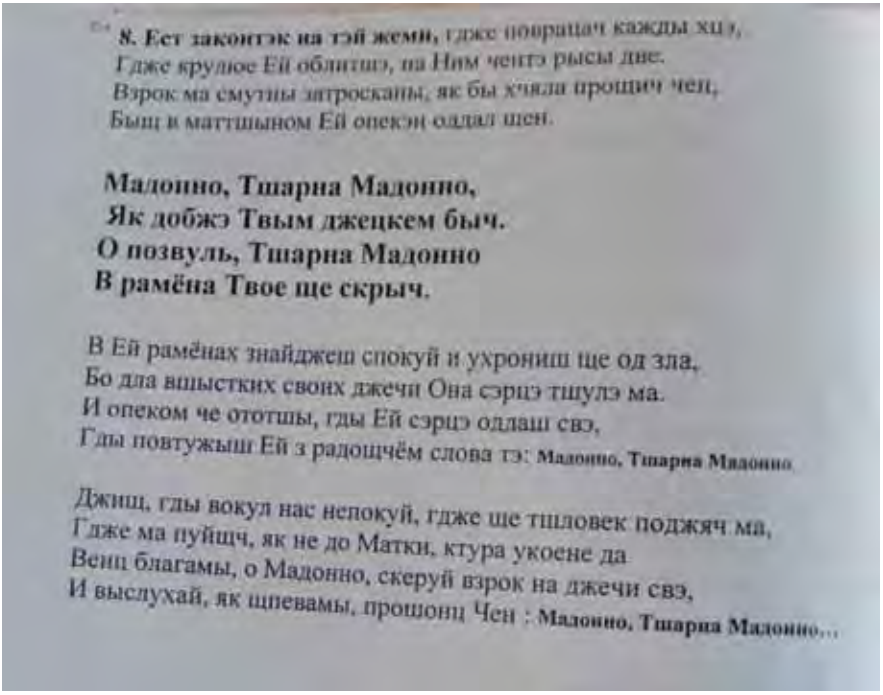
The first two forms of writing are focused on the literary variant of the Polish language and its orthography based on the Latin alphabet. However, the basic written form in which the Polish language functions in Vershina is the Cyrillic script. For most of its history, the Polish community in Siberia used mainly Polish in communication situations occurring among its members, but, in the course of school education, they acquired the ability to write in the Russian alphabet according to the rules of Russian orthography. For purposes where the necessity of writing was socially determined, i.e. mainly in administration, education, access to literature and the press, the roofing variety, i.e. standard Russian, was used, but sometimes it was required to write down texts in the everyday variety – the Lesser Poland dialect. At that time, the Cyrillic script was used, and the notation was oriented towards the orthography of the Russian language. Thus, the Vershinian bilingualism has given rise to a phenomenon that can be described, following Daniel Bunčić (2016: 20–25), as biscriptality, which, in the simplest sense, will mean the use of two writing systems or, in other words, the parallel functioning of two "glyphic variants". Similar to the situations discussed by other researchers using this term (Bunčić et al. 2016), in the Vershinian community two writing systems are used to refer to one language.

Among the texts collected by the members of the NCU expedition team, the following can be distinguished: a) school competition essays on the history of Vershina – only in Russian (written in the Cyrillic script); b) texts from the church songbook and prayer book – only in Polish (written in the Cyrillic and Latin scripts); c) lyrics of the songs sung by Yazhumbek ensemble – in Polish (written in the Cyrillic script); d) individual notes and greetings – in Polish (written in the Latin script); e) fragments of Polish

texts in Valenty Pietshik's chronicle (Петшик 2008; written in the Cyrillic script); f) texts inscribed on the gravestones in the cemetery in Vershina – in Polish and Russian (written in the Cyrillic and Latin scripts). Out of the above, only the school essays, due to their pure literary form, are not the source of the material analysed in this research. In all the other sources, there are cases of interference and of mixing languages and their writing systems, which will be called "orthographic" or, more broadly, "glyphic" interference. Since source d) is a short text of a private character and contains a large amount of personal data (names and surnames), it will not be possible to analyse it in detail; yet, the preserved fragments are written in correct Polish without Russian lexical, grammatical and graphical influences. Sources b), c), e) and f) have already been analysed in the previous studies contributed by the NCU fieldwork team members (see Глушковски 2012), and b) and c) have also been examined, e.g. in Natalia Ananiewa's (2013) article, so in the current analysis the focus will be placed on presenting their examples and indicating the most important linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomena that occur in them.

The church songbooks and prayer books were prepared at home – with the use of a printer and a stapler, in A5 paper size format and portrait page orientation. Most likely, they were prepared by people working in Irkutsk Parish, who knew both Polish and Russian in their literary varieties. The manner of reflecting the Polish phonetics and the use of the spelling of some characters in the subscript (weakened articulation) testifies to a certain philological preparation of the editors of the church texts. Since the Cyrillic script is used in various Slavic languages, and the phonetic repertoires of Polish and Russian display many similarities, in the case of most sounds, the selection of appropriate characters does not pose any special difficulties, e.g. ш – sz [š], ж – ż, rz [ž]. Problems arise in those places where there are differences, for example, in hardness-softness, but even then, simple solutions were found and used consistently, e.g. nasal vowels (not present in the contemporary Russian Cyryllic script) are written by adding a nasalisation element in the form of the letter *n* to the pure vowels (Глушковски 2012: 222), e.g. бо$_{н}$ьдь же поздровёна 'be blessed', cf. Pol. *bądźże pozdrowiona*. Hard Polish *cz* [č] is written with the digraph *ѫш* (pronounced as [ţš]), and the softness of *ś* is reflected as *ѫ* [š:']. As Ananiewa

(2013: 288) notes, the printed prayer texts are written in the literary variant, and the only feature similar to the dialectal one is the distinction of *m* (м) in the final nasal vowel, e.g. Бронь нас пшед дотшесно$_{м}$ и ветшно$_{м}$ каро$_{м}$! 'Protect us from temporal and eternal punishment!' cf. Pol. *Broń nas przed doczesną i wieczną karą*.



8. Ест законтэк на тэй жеми, гдже повращач кажды хц э,
Гдже крудное Ей облитшэ, на Ним чентэ рысы две.
Взрок ма смутны затросканы, як бы хчяла прощич чен,
Быщ в маттшыном Ей опекэн одлал шен.

Мадонно, Тшарна Мадонно,
Як добжэ Твым джецкем быч.
О позвуль, Тшарна Мадонно
В рамёна Твое ще скрыч.

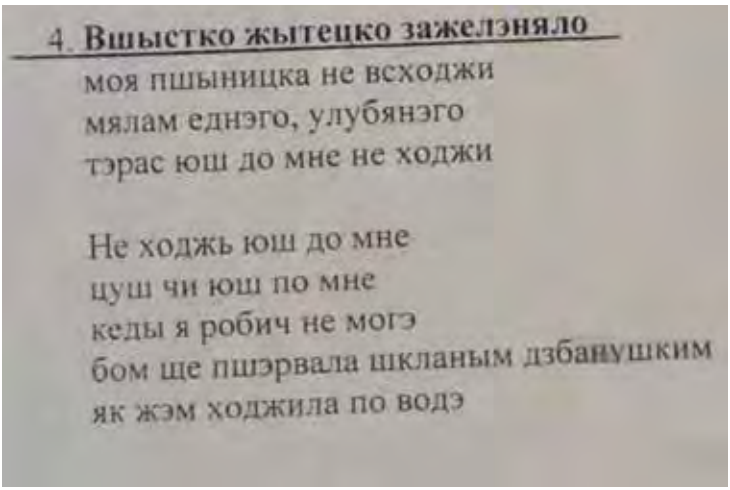
В Ей рамёнах знайджеш спокуй и ухрониш ще од зла,
Бо дла вшыстких своих джечи Она сэрцэ тшулэ ма.
И опеком че ототшы, гды Ей сэрцэ одлаш свэ,
Гды повтужыш Ей з радощчём слова тэ: **Мадонно, Тшарна Мадонно**

Джищ, гды вокул нас непокуй, гдже ще тшловек поджяч ма,
Гдже ма пуйщч, як не до Матки, ктура укоене да
Вещ благамы, о Мадонно, скеруй взрок на джечи свэ,
И выслухай, як щпевамы, прошонц Чен : **Мадонно, Тшарна Мадонно...**

Photo 1. Lyrics of the church song "Czarna Madonna" ('The Black Madonna') in the Cyryllic script

The authors of the recorded folk songs are the members of Yazhumbek folk band, who have written down the song lyrics, formerly known in their oral versions, in the script that is most useful for the members of the community and allows them to read the text, as the motto of this section, nɔ pɔ rˈusku tɔ ˈɔ | mˈɔge pšecˈytać 'Well, if it is in Russian, I can read it', signals. Due to the (originally) oral and folk nature of these texts, they reflect the characteristic features of the local dialect, e.g. the articulation

of the narrow *ė* after palatal consonants such as *i* (*e* > *i*): дзбанушким [ʒbanˈušk'im], cf. Pol. dzbanuszkiem 'jug$_{INS.SG}$', loss of nasality in final vowels: водэ [vˈode], cf. Pol. wodę 'water$_{ACC.SG}$', mazuration in пшыницка [pšyńˈicka], cf. Pol. pszeniczka 'wheat$_{DIMIN}$' (*č* > *c*) and semi-mazuration[50] in жытецко [žytˈeckɔ], cf. Pol. żyteczko 'rye$_{DIMIN}$', as in the song *Všystko žytecko zaželenialo*, cf. Pol. "Wszystko żyteczko zazieleniało" ('All the rye has turned green'):


4. Вшыстко жытецко зажелэняло
моя пшыницка не всходжи
мялам еднэго, улубянэго
тэрас юш до мне не ходжи

Не ходжь юш до мне
цуш чи юш по мне
кеды я робич не могэ
бом ще пшэрвала шкланым дзбанушким
як жэм ходжила по водэ

Photo 2. Lyrics of the folk song "Wszystko się żytko zazieleniło" ('All the rye has turned green') in the Cyryllic script

The original oral form of the works that have later been written down favours variantisation, in terms of both content and form of notation, which is illustrated by the following juxtaposition of the lyrics of the song "Pognała wołki na Bukowinę" ('She drove the oxen to the beech forest') included in Ananiewa's study and the 2008 photocopy made by the members of the NCU fieldwork team and archived as part of the research materials. The main spelling difference is the reflection of consonant dropping, in this case

[50] Only one of the two consonants constituting a potential field for this process – *š* and *ž* – is subject to mazuration.

the glide u̯ (non-syllabic u), in the text edited by Ananiewa (2013: 294), and the spelling with *л* in the second version.

Погнала воы (Ananiewa 2013: 294)
1. Погнала воы на буковине
Взина зэ собом сшыпцэ едынэ
Там грала щпивала
И тэ свое живэ воы пасала

2. Пасла их пасла аж погубила
Цуж я несшынсна бэндэ робила
И ходжи и плацэ
Ци я свое щивэ воы зобацэ

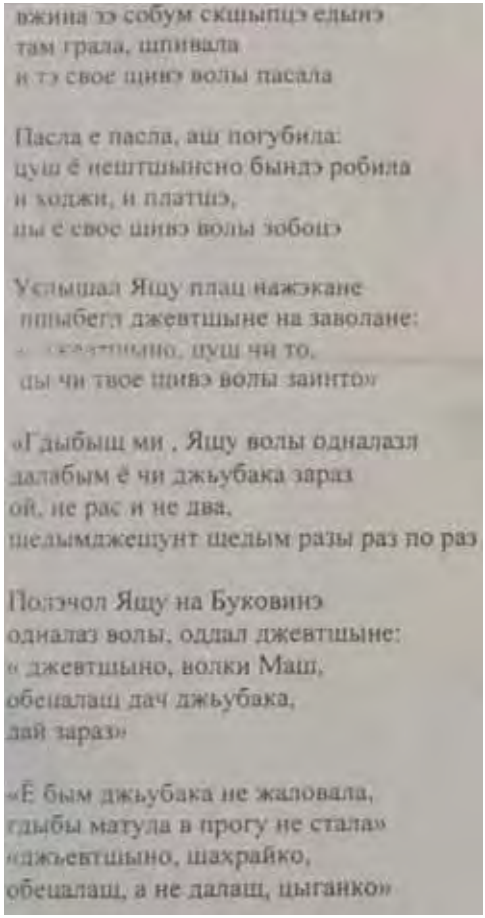
3. Услышал Янэк плац нажиканья
Пшибег к девтшыне на завоане
Девтшыно цуж чи то
Цы тэ твое щивэ воы заинто

4. Ты быщ ми Янку воы отналас
Дала бым я чи дзюбака зарас
И не раз и не два
Седымджьещуюнт седы разы раз по раз

5. Полэчал Янэк на буковинэ
Одналас воы отдал девтшыне
Девтшыно воы маш
Обецааш дач дзюбака
Дай зарас

6. Я бым дзюбака не жаловала
Гды бы мамущя в прогу не стаэа
Девтшыно шахрайко
Обецалащ а не далащ цыганко.

Пошла джевтшына на Буковинэ


вжина зэ собум сшыпцэ едынэ
там грала, щпивала
и тэ свое щивэ волы пасала

Пасла е пасла, аш погубила:
цуш ё нештшынсно бындэ робила
и ходжи, и платщэ,
цы е свое щивэ волы зобощэ

Услышал Ящу плащ нажэкане
пшыбегл джевтшыне на заволане:
... девтшыно, цуш чи то,
цы чи твое щивэ волы заинто»

«Гдыбыщ ми , Ящу волы одналазл
далабым ё чи джьубака зараз
ой, не рас и не два,
шедымджешунт шедым разы раз по раз

Полэчол Ящу на Буковинэ
одналаз волы, оддал джевтшыне:
« джевтшыно, волки Маш,
обещалащ дач джьубака,
дай зараз»

«Ё бым джьубака не жаловала,
гдыбы матула в прогу не стала»
«джьевтшыно, шахрайко,
обещалащ, а не далащ, цыганко»

Photo 3. Lyrics of the folk song “Pognała wołki na Bukowinę” (‘She drove the oxen to the beech forest’) in the Cyryllic script

Source e), i.e. Pietshik's chronicle, includes three fragments of rhyming works. Two of them are songs about horses: "Rypaj, koniu, rypaj" ('Go, horse, go') (Петшик 2008: 23), "Polka: Siwy koń" ('Grey horse – polka')[51] (Петшик 2008: 31–32) and the third one is a fragment of "Pieśń o chlebie" ('A song about bread') (Петшик 2008: 12) by Maria Konopnicka (1896). The example of the latter shows that the methods used by the author correspond to the strategies of transcribing both the religious texts and the folk songs of Yazhumbek folk ensemble:

Valenty Petshik (Петшик 2008: 12)	Maria Konopnicka (1896: 7) *Pieśń o chlebie*
Жучил кожух Шимун стары	Zrzucił kożuch Szymon stary,
Хочь од мрозу идум пары	Choć od mrozu idą pary,
На боиску цепым бие	Na boisku cepem bije,
Вычунгнувшы длугим шие	Wyciągnąwszy długą szyję.
Цо замахне, то з боиска	Co zamachnie, to z boiska
Злотым граем зярно прыска!	Złotym gradem ziarno tryska,

The juxtaposition of Petshik's version with the original allows one to track the distortions that some words have undergone, cf. жучил : rzucił 'he threw off' in the first verse (graphic form reflecting the pronunciation of one consonant articulated without lengthening [ž] instead of the consonant cluster [zž], or one lengthened consonant [ž:] in the original) and граем: gradem – the word $\text{grad}_{\text{NOM.SG}}$/$\text{gradem}_{\text{INS.SG}}$ 'hail' has been replaced with the wrongly remembered form *grajem*$_{\text{INS.SG}}$, which does not exist but may resemble some words known by the author and, to some extent, semantically connected with the text, cf. Pol. $\text{rój}_{\text{NOM.SG}}$/$\text{rojem}_{\text{INS.SG}}$ 'swarm' contaminated with $\text{graj}_{\text{IMP.2SG}}$ or $\text{grają}_{\text{PRS.3PL}}$,(they) $\text{play}_{\text{PRS.3PL}}$.

The Vershinian cemetery is an example of a place where mixing of cultures occurs in a symbolic space, where gravestones with inscriptions in the Cyrillic and Latin scripts, epitaphs in Polish and Russian (Глушковски 2012: 225), as well as Catholic gravestones (with crosses) and the secular ones or decorated with the Communist Party symbols (the red star), are placed side by side (Głuszkowski 2010: 91). The vast

[51] It is in a slightly different variant than the text preserved by Jan Piwowarczyk (2023).

majority of gravestones bear inscriptions in Russian (epitaphs), and the names of the deceased are written in Cyrillic, according to the documents used by the inhabitants of Vershina as citizens of the Russian Federation. During the period spent outside the country of origin, there were changes in the wording and spelling of anthroponyms, an example of which is the reflection of mazuration and raised articulation of the narrowed *a* (*o* > *a*) in the spelling of the surname Кустос [k'ustos], the original form of which was Kustasz [k'ustaš] (or, less likely, Kustosz [k'ustɔš], cf. Ziółkowska-Mówka 2022: 77).

Photo 4. Gravestone inscription – an example of reflection of the Lesser Poland phonetic features in the Cyryllic script

An example of glyphic (spelling) interference is the writing of the surname Olszak in the Latin alphabet with the letter *s* inverted. Most likely, the error was caused by poor knowledge of this alphabet by the person preparing the inscription, because it was not used on a daily basis.

Photo 5. Gravestone inscription – an example of mirror writing in the Latin script

Similar cases of mistakes related to the coexistence of two alphabets in the Polish-East Slavic linguistic and cultural contact in the cemetery space have also been observed in other communities (cf. Szokaluk-Gorczyca 2022: 357–359). Although the phenomena occurring in writing, with a particular emphasis on glyphic interference, are noteworthy from the point of view of the contact of languages and cultures, in the collected material they do not have the features of code-switching or code-mixing. Their socio-functional range is small and limited to the space of the cemetery, the songbooks of Yazhumbek band and the religious texts. In the last-mentioned case, the authors of the texts do not belong to the local community. Therefore, in attempts to synthesise the knowledge of Vershinian bilingualism, the focus will be on spoken language, in section 4.1.5.

4.1.5. Macrosociolinguistic aspects of code-switching and code-mixing – possible paths of development

In the discussion of particular bilingual and code-switching phenomena, the problem of differentiation has recurred. It can be illustrated in the form of the table below, referring to possible scenarios of the development of the langauge situation.

Each of the paths is represented by a certain group of informants. The first one – bilingual – refers to a small number of people who work in a local cultural organisation, cooperate closely with the consulate in Irkutsk, Polish organisations in Russia and Poland, and regularly visit Poland. They are most often people with higher education, frequently obtained in Poland. Members of this group display their orientation towards the norm of the literary variant of Polish and Russian, and are able to use the dialect of Lesser Poland efficiently and to separate it from literary Polish. The ability to avoid PAT- and MAT-borrowings may be determined not only by the formal nature of education, but also socially, and people who learned Polish at home but often contact Polish diplomatic institutions or

are involved in serving tourists may develop the ability to maintain their statements in a chosen language (without creating a mixed code).

Table 5. Possible paths of the development of bilingualism in Vershina

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Fluency in both languages</th><th colspan="2">Dysfluency in the minority (heritage) language – Lesser Polish dialect</th></tr>
<tr><td>1. The bilingual path: native-like proficiency in Lesser Poland dialect, standard Polish and standard Russian</td><td>2. The mixed-speech-path A: congruent lexicalisation in fluent speech</td><td>3. The mixed-speech-path B: congruent lexicalisation in dysfluent speech</td><td>4. The language--death-path: alternation (lexical deficits and low common language skills lead to switching to Russian)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ability to avoid MAT- and PAT-borrowings as well as switching and mixing
Lesser Poland dialect acquired at home, standard Polish acquired either in formal education or in Poland</td><td colspan="2">MAT- and PAT-borrowings
lack of social consequences for involuntary mixing and interference
Lesser Poland dialect acquired at home</td><td>Insertions
tendency to avoid interference and mixing
orientation to the linguistic norm (standard Polish language)</td></tr>
</table>

Similar situations, in which people representing the elite, and thus characterised by their school or educated bilingualism, are able to make a more complete distinction between the linguistic varieties they use, are also observed in other bilingual and multilingual communities (cf., e.g., Riionheimo 2011: 26). In the community under study, this is not a large group and, among the informants, it consists of fewer than 10 people. Taking into account the socio-economic and sociolinguistic conditions described in sections 2.1–2.2, it is difficult to assume that there will be an increase in the number of people using both languages at a native-like level, regardless of whether in the field of the heritage language it will be the dialectal or literary variety.

In groups 2 and 3, the most likely scenario is the transformation of the minority language into a mixed variety and, sometimes, as will be shown in the section on individual differences, this process has already been accomplished. Such idiolects abound in interference and code-mixing with no social constraints occurring in these phenomena. The main difference between the two paths concerns the form of code-mixing – whether it results from a relatively high level of competence in the Lesser Poland dialect and "fluent dysfluency" in the case of path 2 or from a low level of competence in the heritage language and switches resulting from repairing the code (path 3). In Vershina, these two groups are represented primarily by informants belonging to the middle and older generations, both in ethnically homogeneous and heterogeneous families, but also by selected people from the youngest generation. In the latter case, these are also people from mixed families, not only Polish, but also those who use the heritage language on a daily basis. Other important determinants of belonging to this path of bilingualism development are the significant presence of Polish in the home sphere during childhood, and the lack of formal education in the Polish language or its limitation to lessons of the heritage language at the local school. The demarcation between paths 2 and 3 is quantitative (number of cases of interference) and qualitative (reliance on fluent or dysfluent speech in terms of minority language), meaning that in addition to the ideal types being at the two poles, there is a whole continuum between them and in many areas the boundaries are blurred.

Path 4 is characterised by a large number of insertions, motivated, similarly to path 3, by the need to repair the code, but they are frequent and intense enough to lead to permanent switches (alternations) and, as a result, to complete abandoning of the weaker language. The more situations and domains this process takes place in, the closer the Lesser Poland dialect used by this group is heading towards potential death. The main difference between paths 3 and 4 relates to the response to heritage language deficiencies. If the speaker tries to repair the code, to overbuild its incomplete structures with elements borrowed from the stronger language, Russian, and then adapted, it leads to a hybridisation of the minority language. This is fostered by a high tolerance for manifestations of interference, typical of "folk" bilingualism (cf. Weinreich 1963: 86; Auer

1999: 309–310; Bullock, Toribio 2009b: 9). However, if the speaker wants to avoid interference and their resources in one of the languages are modest, there is a permanent switch to the stronger language, which, if this tendency spreads, may ultimately lead to language death.

So far, all of these paths are observed in Vershina, and the likelihood of any of them prevailing will be discussed in the next section.

4.2. Microsociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching and code-mixing

Attempts to distinguish factors shaping linguistic behaviour in bilingualism into individual and group (social) have been made by, among others, Uriel Weinreich (1963: 71–99), but many other researchers have also pointed to individual differences in bilingual communities (cf. Singh 1998; Kuhl 2003; Bialystok 2009: 8; Northeast 2023). In research on the languages of large communities, often conducted today using the corpus method, there is a belief, pioneered by Ferdinand de Saussure and shared by Roman Jakobson and Roland Barthes, that the linguistic behaviour of the community, not of an individual, should be the object of any description of a language (Barlow 2013a: 1–2). This is due to the assumption that individual differences balance each other, and the researcher has access to linguistic material in the corpus that is "an amalgamation of the speech or writing of multiple individuals" (Barlow 2013b: 444), so he or she analyses the "amalgamation" and not a set of diverse linguistic behaviours. The individual-idiolectal perspective becomes important when the object of analysis is the language of a small community, each individual feature has a greater impact, especially if this group uses more than one code, at least one of which does not have an established norm. In other words, it happens in all kinds of "abnormal conditions", which include, among others, situations of language contact between two different systems with varying degrees of relatedness and subsystems of one language in the literary language-dialect system (Głuszkowski 2016b: 19–21).

The possible paths of development of Vershinian bilingualism discussed in the previous section show that there is no single pattern of linguistic behaviour, including code-switching and code-mixing, common to all members of the studied community. Possible sources of differences at the macrosociolinguistic level can be sought at the microsociolinguistic level, in the language behaviour of individuals, their usage patterns and "differences in spoken language production" (Barlow 2013b: 444), thanks to which one may notice "language viewed from the internal perspective of the individual, language seen separately from the external perspective of the society" (Otheguy et al. 2015: 289).

4.2.1. Differentiation of individual language competences

One can risk a statement that the generational and individual differentiation in the level of knowledge of the heritage language is one of the characteristic features of minority communities (cf., e.g., Pawlaczyk 2019: 253–258; Asztalos 2021: 171–173). Assimilation, progressing over time and accelerating along with the phenomena of globalisation, overlaps with the processes that cause differences also in monolingual communities. It is no different in the bilingualism observed in Vershina. Based on the analysis of the corpus of recordings, observations during the expedition, as well as the informants' self-assessment, the level of their language competence was determined on a scale of 1–5, where 5 meant a very good knowledge of the Lesser Poland dialect, and 1 – a minimal knowledge of this dialect. Although people who do not speak Polish also live in Vershina, the graph below (chart 5) includes only those who gave at least half an hour of interviews, allowing the analysis of phenomena differentiating individual idiolects. This graph also takes into account the language used in the informant's family during their childhood, where 1 means only Polish, 2 – Polish and Russian with a predominance of Polish, and 3 – Polish and Russian with a predominance of Russian.

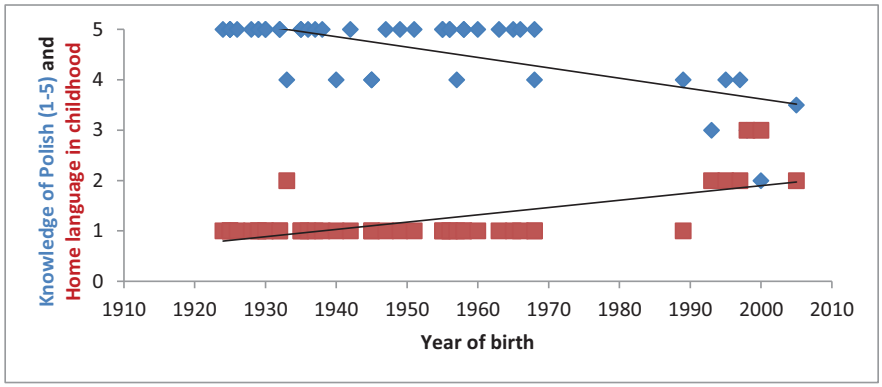


Chart 5. General proficiency in the minority language and the home language spoken in childhood

Due to the qualitative nature of the study and the ensuing methods of collecting the material, a statistical analysis is not suitable; however, some relationships are so clear that, with appropriate reservation, they can be treated as illustrations. Thus, the level of communicative competence in the use of the Polish dialect is declining in the successive generations (r = -0,702). The year of birth is also strongly correlated (r = 0,68) with the language of the home domain in the period of childhood (while the oldest dwellers of the village were raised in Polish-speaking families, their children and grandchildren use both languages, and the usage of Russian in the childhood period results in the diminishing knowledge of the Polish dialect (r = -0,839).

The statistical data above refers to the entire community and shows certain trends and average dimensions of the phenomena and processes worth examining in the context of the present study, but, at the individual level, some diversity is visible, which is also a crucial aspect of the analysis. As already demonstrated in the previous sections, code-switching and code-mixing in the Vershinian community often manifests itself in the form of congruent lexicalisation. Since the languages in contact are relatively closely related, and it is not always possible to indicate the switching points in the most visible positions, i.e. between sentences and phrases, a closer look at potential switching points, also at the morphonological level, was

required. Idiolectal differences in the linguistic repertoire may concern not only the set of styles and registers and vocabulary at an individual's disposal but also simpler units. As Ricardo Otheguy et al. (2015: 489–490) notice, individual members of a bilingual community may have more phonemes than others, which in turn may lead to different behaviour in the field of code-switching and code-mixing. For this purpose, what was sought were morphonological phenomena that differentiate the languages in contact and, as a result, two selected characteristics distinguishing the Lesser Poland dialect and the Russian language were verified: mazuration and voicing inter-word phonetics.

Polish and Russian represent the languages without syllable-controlled devoicing and combine assimilation inside obstruent clusters (i.e. cluster [de]voicing) with word-final devoicing (but with a lack of word-internal devoicing) (Wetzels, Mascaró 2001: 209–211). In both of the languages a word-final obstruent (or an obstruent cluster) assimilates to the obstruent beginning the next word (Gussmann 1992: 33–34; Пауфошима, Агаронов 1971; Касаткин 1999).

Russian (standard variety)	Polish (standard variety)
brat Borisa [d b]	*brat Barbary* [d b]
priezd papy [st p]	*przyjazd taty* [st t]

If the next word starts with a sonorant or a vowel, the word-final obstruent (or the obstruent cluster) is voiceless (ibidem).

Russian (standard variety)	Polish (standard variety)
vrag Anny [k a]	*wróg Anny* [k a]
priezd Romana [st r]	*przyjazd Romana* [st r]

However, the Lesser Poland dialect belongs to the voicing zone of Polish regional varieties (Dejna 1993; Karaś 2020b), in which the obstruents in the word-final position are pronounced as voiced not only before voiced obstruents – *dziadek był Polak* 'grandfather was Polish' [g b], but also before the following types of sounds in the initial segment of the next word either a vowel – *powisz i już* 'you say it and' [ž i], or a sonorant – *mama*

dołżna jego nalodź mnie ‘mom should pour it for me’ [ʒ́ m] (cf. Gussmann 1992). In some Polish dialects, including the Lesser Poland dialect, word-internal voicing is also observed: *wielgi* [lg] ‘great’, *ślizgo* [zg] ’slippery’, cf. literary Polish *wielki* [lk], *ślisko* [sk] (cf. Karaś 2020c).

There is also regional differentiation in Russian, but the lack of final-word devoicing (as well as the lack of word-internal assimilation) is observed in the Nizhny Novgorod and Vladimir dialects in the basins of the Oka River and the Vetluga River: *nož* [ž] ‘knife’, *sneg* [g] ‘snow’, *babka* [b] ‘grandmother’, *dorožka* [ž] ‘path’ (Касаткин 2005: 72). Thus, since the Vershinian dialect is in contact with the standard Russian language, in which only an initial voiced obstruent in the next word can result in pronouncing voiced obstruents in the word-final position (cf. Аванесов 1984), and the local Russian dialects (spoken in the surrounding villages) represent the same pattern of voicing/devoicing assimilation (Касаткин 1999), it can be assumed that all the instances of voicing in this position in the Vershinian dialect are a manifestation of features preserved from the Lesser Poland dialect.

The same assumption may be made regarding mazuration, i.e. the merger of alveolar and dental fricatives and affricates. The Lesser Poland dialect belongs to the mazuration zone of the Polish dialects, in which postalveolar (or retroflex) č, ǯ, š, ž[52] affricates and fricatives are pronounced as dental c, ʒ, s, z: *czas* ‘time’ [čas] – [cas], *szary* ‘grey’ [šary] – [sary], *żaba* [žaba] ‘frog’ – [zaba] (Sawicka 2020). This phenomenon is not observed in the standard varieties of Polish and Russian. Although there is a similar phenomenon in the Russian dialects – tsokanye (merging of the voiceless alveolar affricate /c/ and the voiceless postalveolar affricate /č/), it occurs in the North Russian and northwest part of Central Russian dialects (Касаткин 2005), which are not in contact with the Vershinian dialect.

Based on the above differences between the languages and the observed successive decline in competence in the field of the heritage language, it can be assumed that the younger the informants are, the less phonetic dialectal features will be preserved in their speech, and the stronger Russian

[52] The *ž* (*š*) derived from the former soft *r’* (*ř*) is not subject to mazuration (cf. Sawicka 2020; Karaś 2020d).

influence will be there (one might also speak of the influence of standard Polish, resulting from learning it as a minority language in a local school or from maintaining contacts with tourists). The fundamental question is whether mazuration and voicing sandhi occur only in Polish utterances, or perhaps also in Russian, and whether their appearance may give rise to code-switches.

The sample does not allow a reliable qualitative study: due to the specificity of the studied phenomena, even in an interview lasting between 30 and 50 minutes, there might be only several examples of voicing and devoicing sandhi. Nevertheless, on this basis, one may observe the following:

– The instances of voicing (Lesser Poland) sandhi, e.g. tɔ jˈe**z n**ˈaž rəjˈon ‘this is our district’, xɔ**ʒ̣ r**ɔbˈɔtuf ńˈi‿ma ˈale ˈun ńe pˈuʲʒ̑e ‘although there is no job, he will not go’, or the lack of devoicing, e.g. vˈyšwam zˈamow̃**ž j**ˈuš ‘I have already got married’; vlˈɔ**z n**a p’ec ‘he climbed the stove’.
– The instances of devoicing (Russian) sandhi, e.g. vylèvˈawɔ śe bˈɔjskɔ | vˈɔdum ź’imum lˈu**t r**uvńˈuśkɔ ‘the pitch was flooded with water, the ice [was] flat’, tˈerɔ**s j**u**š ń**e jˈeʒom [tego] ‘they don’t eat [it] anymore’, or the lack of voicing e.g. vzrˈosłyj č’ełav’ˈe**k m**ˈɔże i ńe səgłašˈajècsə ‘the adults are allowed but do not want to’; fšˈysk’i**x n**azvˈańij ńe pˈɔmne ‘I do not remember all the names’.
– Word-internal voicing, e.g. bˈywa v v’ˈel**g**’èj pɔsˈuʑ̑e ‘it was on a big plate’.
– Mazuration, e.g. **c**ˈɔwk’e **c**ˈasy ‘the whole time’; ˈu**s**y pˈɔmyj ‘wash your ears’.
– Lack of mazuration, e.g. **č**ˈfarty ‘4th’; mˈɔże zarpwˈata v’ˈink**š**ɔ ‘maybe the salary is higher’.

The analysis has made it possible to confirm the lack of word-final voicing in the speech of the youngest generation. The children and teenagers pronounced the tested sounds only in the “Russian” manner (devoiced), e.g. ju**š j**ˈadum ‘they are already coming’; ju**š v**ydˈɔjiwy krˈɔvy ‘they have already milked the cows’. The middle-aged and older generations are less consistent: there are examples of both Polish and Russian sandhi in their speech. However, there are no regularities in the word-final voicing before sonorants and vowels because the same informants pronounce alternately

even the same words, cf. jˈa**k mˈ**y śˈe żèńˈil'i 'when we were getting married' vs jˈa**g mˈ**y mwˈɔde bˈyl'i 'when we were young'. There were only several instances of intra-word voicing and all of them occurred in the word v'elg'i 'great' (but in the utterances of various informants), so it is not possible to draw other conclusions apart from finding the occasional and inconsistent character of this phenomenon. Mazuration is not regular, too. However, the proportions of the situations in which a given phenomenon takes place in relation to the place in which it could potentially occur change in the successive generations, and the younger speakers tend not to merge č, ǯ, š, ž and c, ʒ, s, z in borrowings.

The hypotheses concerning the words in which the Lesser Poland dialectal phenomena occurred (both original lexis and borrowings) were not positively verified because no regularities regarding their treatment as switching points were found. The observations, however, made it possible to confirm the individual and generational differentiation of the degree of preservation of the ancestral language in Vershina and have inspired the analysis of other dialectal features, e.g. conversion of the consonant cluster *kt* into *xt*, e.g. *xturo* < *która* 'which$_{SG.F}$', *xto* < *kto* 'who', to be developed in further research in the future.

The initial goal of the analysis at the macro-sociolinguistic level was to verify the impact of social factors on the shape of bilingualism and code-switching processes in the speech of the individual informants. In addition to inclusion of the category of age and the language of the home domain in childhood, what was taken into account in the description includes education, occupation (work place), knowledge of Russian, language of the home domain in adult life, and ethnic character of the family. However, as can be seen in Appendix 2, they did not have a significant impact on the langauge behaviour of the informants, and most often did not serve to differentiate them at all because all of them had a very good knowledge of the Russian language (at the level of monolingual native speakers), and almost all of them had secondary education. Due to the lack of clear factors determining code-mixing at the morphological level and differentiating the studied community, the search was oriented in other directions, but also in the field of idiolectal differences. One of the research questions presented

in the introduction, concerning the existence of the types of idiolects susceptible to code-switching, was intended to serve this purpose.

4.2.2. Is there an ideal code-switcher in Vershina?

Rita Fraceschini (1998: 53) made an attempt to determine the prototype of a person susceptible to code-switching during speech (a prototypical code-switcher). The criteria she indicated were sociological in nature – individuals belonging to the aforementioned ideal type should be characterised by young age, belonging to a minority community, having low class status, displaying a strong sense of ethnic identity and functioning in a multilingual environment. People who do not meet the above-mentioned conditions, and nevertheless switch the code, were called "unexpected code-switchers". The criteria listed above are based on the following assumptions: code-switching can be done by a person who knows both languages and feels a certain emotional connection with each of them (Franceschini 1998: 52–53), or at least treats them as useful. If these conditions were not met, one would not be dealing with the juxtaposition of two codes, which potentially could lead to the emergence of a mixed variety (see section 4.1.2), but with language shift or death (see section 4.1.3).

Regardless of the extent of the sense of ethnic identity (see section 2.3.1), all of the people who agreed to be interviewed and recorded feel connected to the community and share an emotional bond with the Polish language, too. The community is too small and its contacts with the environment that could be a relevant point of reference are too limited for class status to play an important role. Thus, these are not the parameters differentiating the material collected in this respect. However, there are visible regularities regarding language competence and age. Representatives of the youngest generation, often brought up in mixed families, with the increasing use of Russian in the domestic domain, speak the Lesser Poland dialect less than their parents and grandparents (see section 4.2.1). This affects the nature of their conversations:

– *Co robicie w święta? W kościele, mówiłaś, że są święta?*
WIV: tančˈymy f kɔśćˈel'e śp'evˈamy p'ɔsˈenk'ė
– *A jakie?*
y: tˈak
– *Wesołe? Smutne?*
i vesˈɔwe i smˈutne | rˈużńe
– A o czym?
o o bˈożym narozʒˈeńu | jˈutrɔ mˈoge pšˈyńėść śp''evńik | mam śp''evńik tyx p'ɔsˈenėk | i jˈešče
– *To wieczorem śpiewacie, czy rano?*
v'ečˈɔrėm
– *Dwudziestego czwartego, tak?*
tˈak | v nˈɔč' | tam
– A jakieś przedstawienia robicie też? Chodzicie z kolędą od domu do domu?
jˈešče ńˈe | bɔ tˈak'i mˈɔże | **kam'endˈansk'ij č''as | i vzrˈosłyj č'ełav''ek mˈɔże i ńe səgłašˈajėcsə | ńiktˈɔ z nˈam'i xad''it'**$_{RUS}$ **…**
– *A ubieracie choinkę? Jest choinka na święta?*
tˈak
– *I czym ubieracie?*
g'iryl''anty | tˈak | igrušk''i kak bˈɔwk'i ˈil'i
– *Bombki, tak?*
bˈɔmpk'i […]
– *A w urodziny, jak masz urodziny, to co robicie wtedy?*[awaiting the answer] ***Den' rožd**enia*$_{RUS}$
ˈa: | zb''ėra śe fšˈyskɔ rɔʒˈenstfɔ i **prˈazdnujėm | prˈazᵈnujėm ˈeta fs'ˈo tˈak**$_{RUS}$
– *Świętujemy.*
śf'ėntujˈemy fšˈyskɔ
– *A jak świętujecie?*
ˈe: tˈak | **kak tˈɔrt**$_{RUS}$
– *Tort, po polsku też tak.*
tˈak | **s'v''eč'i**$_{RUS}$
– *Ale pieczesz tort, czy ktoś inny? Czy kupujesz?*
kagdˈa kak$_{RUS}$
– *Ale potrafisz upiec tort, tak?*
tˈak

– *What do you do on holidays? At church, you said, it is Christmas?*
WIV: We dance. We sing a song in church.
– *And what songs?*
Yyy, yes.
– *Happy? Sad?*
Both happy and sad. Various.
– *About what?*
Oh… about Christmas. Tomorrow I can bring the songbook, I have the songbook with those songs still.
– *Do you sing in the evening or in the morning?*
In the evening.
– *On the twenty-fourth, right?*
Yes. At night. Yes.
– *Do you do any shows? Do you go carolling from house to house?*
Not yet, **because it's late at night when you can't go out and adults might disagree, and no one's going out with us**.
– *Do you decorate the Christmas tree? Is there a Christmas tree for Christmas?*
Yes.
– *And what do you decorate it with?*
Garlands. Yes. Toys and, how to say it, Christmas baubles [distorted].
– *Christmas baubles, right?*
Christmas baubles.
– *And on your birthday, when it's your birthday, what do you do then?* [awaiting the answer] ***Birthday***$_{\text{RUS}}$.
Oh, all my siblings get together and **we celebrate. We celebrate it like this**$_{\text{RUS}}$.
– *You celebrate.*
We celebrate everything.
– *How do you celebrate?*
Oh yes. How to say birthday cake? [Rus. *tort*]
– *It is* tort *in Polish, too.*
Yes. **Candles**$_{\text{RUS}}$.
– *But do you bake this cake or someone else does? do you buy it?*
Both$_{\text{RUS}}$.
– *But you can bake a cake, right?*
Yes.

This informant, a teenage girl, has clear problems with formulating longer statements in Polish. Most of her answers are single words. She herself does not attempt to develop them and, when questioned by the researcher, she tries to reply as briefly as possible. She is not sure about the vocabulary used (kak tˈɔrt $_{RUS}$ 'how do you say birthday cake') and sometimes she does not understand Polish questions (she needed a hint in Russian in the question about birthday). In such a situation, it is difficult to develop code-switching: the interlocutor would rather phrase her utterances in Russian only, as, otherwise, they manifest themselves as interrupted and disfluent, as well as structurally and lexically poor. The low competence in the field of the heritage language makes it impossible to use the mechanisms of borrowing and integrating Russian elements into the Polish code.

The situation of the two oldest generations, i.e. people for whom only Polish was the primary language, is different, at least in the first period of life. For them, the Polish language is a natural code of communication, and the reaction to lexical or structural deficiencies is to repair the code in the course of MAT- and PAT-borrowing. Their level of competence in the field of the heritage language is so high that these processes run smoothly and one can talk about the state described by Lipski (2009) as fluent disfluency. An example may be a statement by one of the informants representing the oldest generation, who interweaves Polish and Russian elements:

> MI: ˈa | pˈˈerf | kˈˈedy v škˈole | nɔ tɔ f cfˈɔrtym kłˈaśė$_{MAT}$ bˈywɔ | i nam | pšėtpadavˈalˈi$_{PAT}$ | lˈeśnyj$_{MAT}$ kˈompas | vdrˈuk$_{MAT}$ śe zabwˈońʒis$_{PAT}$ v lˈeśė | šˈukaj lˈeśnyj$_{MAT}$ kˈompas | dɑpˈˈirə po ńˈim vˈyńʒės | nˈɔ i jˈak jˈa se spˈomńiw | ˈo tym | ilˈˈi$_{MAT}$ pɔ džˈevˈė ńi ^{w}oglˈondɔm | nɔ ńˈi | ńˈic ńė mˈoge jˈij dˈojžeć | žˈeby lˈek… znˈojść lˈeśnyj$_{MAT}$ kˈɔmpas | žˈeby zər'ènt'ˈirɑvɑć śė$_{MAT}$ f ktˈuro strˈone mńˈė ˈiść čšˈeba || nˈɔ | ˈeya | i to zˈym pš… pšˈešėt | tɔ ježˈelˈi tak pɔbwˈonʒɔ pɔ drˈɔʒė

> MI: First of all, when I was at school, they taught us$_{PAT}$ about the forest$_{MAT}$ compass[53] in my fourth year$_{MAT}$. If you suddenly$_{MAT}$ get lost$_{PAT}$ in the forest, look for the forest$_{MAT}$ compass. Only with its help you can find your way back. And I remembered that, so I looked at the trees to find the forest$_{MAT}$ compass. To get an idea$_{MAT}$ of which way I should go. Well, eh, and how far I had to go through it [the forest] because I lost my way like that.

As can be seen, the above statement lacks insertions and alternations, i.e. cases of classic code-switching into Russian, but there are numerous cases of borrowings in various forms. Can such a speaker be treated as an ideal code-switcher if one language is maintained in their monologues? In answering this question, it will be helpful to quote another example, which is also from an interview with another representative of the oldest Vershinians:

> MI: ˈale pˈɔlska śe okazˈuje bˈarʒo **śe ɔpˈaso** że **fs'o mńˈij i mńˈij stanˈɔv'i śe prɔgrˈamnyx lˈuʑi** i nˈavet te telefˈuny mˈuv'i | tam śe p'ˈiše | kturˈym'i **śe** ʑˈišoj **pɔlzujˈeće** | **pˈɔlzujim** jˈɔ **ńe** pˈ**ɔlzuje śe** jˈešče | yhˈym | ˈ**une że b**ˈ**ydom śe sɔv'eršˈenstfɔvać na pɔtkwˈaʑe matemˈatyk'i** | ahˈa | i pˈɔlska **śe ɔpˈosa że** tˈak'ix lˈuʑi juš f pˈɔlsce **śe stanˈov'i fs'ˈo mńˈij i mńˈij i mńˈij i mńˈij** | ahˈa
>
> MI: But, as it turns out, Poland is **very concerned that there are fewer and fewer programmers**, and even those phones that you use, because I don't use them, require software. **They will be educated on the basis of mathematics**, and Poland **fears** that **there are fewer and fewer** of such people in the country.

In the analysed fragment, the nature of the Russian influence (MAT- and PAT-borrowings, code-switching and code-mixing) was deliberately not marked, because the entire text is congruently lexicalised. It is intended to be kept in Polish, but the informant mixes both codes at the level of phonetics, morphology, lexis and syntax, in fact using a mixed code.

[53] The informant uses the metaphorical term 'forest compass' to describe the manner of finding one's way in a forest based on the observation of moss growing on tree trunks.

In the case of the oldest informants mentioned, the switches are made not between the "pure" L1 code and the "pure" L_2 code but within the mixed $L_{1\text{-}2}$ code, which coexists with the "pure" L_2 code. Contrary to the features defined by Franceschini (1998: 53), in the Vershinian community, these are the oldest inhabitants who are ideal code-switchers and can switch between fluent-dysfluent L_1 (the Lesser Poland dialect under the strong influence of Russian) and fluent L_2 (the standard Russian langauge).

Conclusion

The Vershinian community undoubtedly has many features of a typical language island, even in the conditions of some revival of contact with Polish organisations and tourist groups in the 21st century. A summary of the characteristics of code-switching and code-mixing in the conditions of Slavic-Slavic bilingualism requires reference to several threads that make up the overall picture of the sociolinguistic situation of the inhabitants of Vershina. This can be done by trying to answer the research questions posed in the introduction. The first ones concern: (a) the factors determining the language choice in specific communication situations, and (b) the role of social factors in code-switching and code-mixing. As in other bilingual communities, in Vershina there was a functional need to assign individual codes to the spheres of life they were supposed to serve. The diglossic system is the basic factor determining the choice of language in a specific communication situation, as discussed in section 2.2.2. The functional social differentiation of languages was guided by the members of the studied community when consciously choosing the language within a single speech act, as well as in more far-reaching communication strategies (see section 4.1.1). Unintentional changes, although not subject to conscious choice, were also a derivative of the diglossic system: if the statement began in a language not assigned to a given sphere, the examples discussed in chapters 3.3, 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the code-switches to the one that was more comfortable for the speaker in a given situation.

The identified reasons for changing the code also resulted from the reference to the interlocutor and the social sense of the marking and indefiniteness of the code in a specific communication situation, determined by diglossia, which was the subject of another (c) research question. Instances of switches noted in sections 3.3 and 4.1.1, both those treated as intentional and unintentional (according to available knowledge or assumptions), show that the sense of markedness changes with the evolution of diglossia, and in everyday communication the Russian language is increasingly perceived as unmarked, especially when addressing the recipient of non-Polish (Russian, Ukrainian or Buryat) or mixed ethnic origin.

An important factor that may cause deviations from socially accepted rules for language selection is the sense of identity and the role of language in it, which was the subject of the next question (d). The migrants' identity, the result of over a century of linguistic and cultural contact, is based on a number of elements derived not only from Polish, but also Russian, Soviet and Buryat culture. As discussed in section 2.3, the situation is further complicated by the functional differentiation of individual elements in different spheres of life (in the frames of di-ethnia), but despite the declining role of the Lesser Poland dialect as a means of communication, it is still an important determinant of the distinctiveness of the inhabitants of Vershina from their multicultural Siberian surroundings.

Although most of the social and individual factors shaping bilingualism and the code-switching and code-mixing patterns in Vershina overlap or intertwine, some phenomena are primarily related to the group (diglossia), and others accumulate at the individual level. The latter includes the subject of the research question (e) regarding the features of an ideal/prototypical code-switcher in the community studied, discussed in the section 4.2.2. Although at the very beginning of this concept there were some doubts about its universal nature and the possibility of occurrence of people who deviate from the model features, including young age and low class status (Franceschini 1998: 52–53), in the case of descendants of Polish immigrants, we observe not only cases of "unexpected code-switchers", but also a different model of the ideal code-switcher, which is an older or middle-aged person who holds a a relatively high position in the local hierarchy.

The last two questions, (f) and (g), concern the issue of the possible evolution of Vershinian bilingualism towards mixed code emerging from code-switching and code-mixing or the loss of a minority language. Bilingualism shaped primarily in a "folk" way favours the occurrence of interference, and the still-significant participation of bilinguals in the community facilitates code-switching. One of the main causes of variation comprise the differences in the exposure to each language, which can be defined as the "dosage of input" (cf. Zurer Pearson, Amaral 2014: 102–107). In Vershina, this dosage in the subsequent generations is increasingly to the disadvantage of the Lesser Poland dialect. Returning to the paths of the potential development of bilingualism in the community studied (section 4.1.5), in addition to the aspects already discussed, one can refer to demographic factors. Path 1 concerns the elite part of the community, and although it seems least likely that the entire community will follow it, selected individuals will. Paths 2 and 3, i.e. leading to the mixed language, are currently represented by the two oldest generations and the third generation in homogeneous families, but as the number of mixed marriages increases and the role of Polish in private spheres decreases, this will change.

The younger inhabitants of the Polish village in Siberia represent, less numerously, path 1 – bilingual, and, more numerously, path 4 – aiming at language shift. Path 4 may be gaining in popularity because it concerns the youngest people from mixed families, who are using the Polish language less and less in everyday life, and contact with the language is becoming official through limited learning of the heritage language at school or in contacts with Polish tourists and diplomats. At the same time, it can be assumed that, thanks to cooperation with the consulate, Polish organisations in Poland and Russia, and the possibility of traveling to Poland to obtain an education, individual people will also represent Path 1 in the future.

These considerations will hold if the direction of sociolinguistic change described in sections 2.1–2.2 continues, which seems to be very likely. In addition to the assumed probability of the disappearance of code-switching and code-mixing in favour of Russian monolingualism and educated Polish-Russian bilingualism, one should consider the issue of a system in which there is also a large group of community members

with passive knowledge of the heritage language, which can be summed up in the statement of one of the informants:

> WII: wˈuny jˈešče pɔ pˈɔlsku swˈyšum nˈašɔm mɔˈve a ˈu‿vɔz inˈakšɔ i ˈim jˈešče trˈudńij pšyxˈɔʒ́i tˈerɔs jak jak rusk’ˈimu pɔ pˈɔlsku | dˈa || nˈɔ | ˈɔny ńe mˈuv’ɔm ˈale rɔzˈum’ɔm ɔ tˈutej te [Surname] że pɔ rˈusku mˈuv’ɔm v dˈumu | a jˈɔ tɔ vˈynde dˈɔ‿ńix tɔ rɔzmˈɔv’ɔm dɔ ʒ́ˈeći | tɔ wˈuny rɔzˈum’ɔm ˈale juš mˈuv’ić ńe mˈuv’ɔm | nˈɔ ńe fšˈystkɔ rɔzˈum’um | pšepytˈujɔm śe
>
> WII: They still hear our language, how we speak Polish, and you speak differently. It is even more difficult for them now than for Russians to learn Polish [the literary variety]. Well. They don’t speak, but they understand. Here the [Surname] speak Russian at home, and I talk [in Polish] to my children – they understand, but they cannot speak. Well, they don’t understand everything, they have to ask.

As the review of the situation of the threat of language death (cf. Crystal 2000) shows, there are no unambiguous criteria that would allow its prediction. Therefore, despite the fulfilment of many conditions (see section 4.1.3), as long as the Lesser Poland dialect is used in Vershina in everyday communication, even in its limited form, the death of this unique contact variety will not occur.

The Vershinian community undoubtedly has many features of a language island, even in the conditions of some revival of contact with Polish organisations and tourist groups in the 21st century. The uniqueness of this community, already indicated in the title of the monograph, refers to its positioning compared to other Polish islands in the East. Unlike communities in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, i.e. today’s Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, which preserved Polish identity and language, Vershina was separated from the Polish linguistic continent throughout its existence, and the territorial distance makes contact difficult to this day (see, e.g., Golachowska 2012; Krasowska 2012, Pawlaczyk 2019). In many respects, Vershina is closer to the Polish rural communities in Siberia that still exist today, but there are also visible differences. Compared to Znamenka and Aleksandrovka in the Krasnoyarsk Oblast with a similar language situation, the inhabitants of Vershina differ in the components

of their preserved identity, based on the folklore of another native region (Mazurian lakeside) and religion (Lutheranism, and later Baptism) (see, e.g., Stupiński 2008; Skorwid 2016), and in the case of Białystok in the Tomsk Oblast, the differences are even more significant, because apart from the disappearance of the Polish language, cultural assimilation took place there (Haniewicz 2008).

The topics discussed in the book were focused on the issue of code switching and code mixing, the explanation of which requires discussing many other problems of language contact, but also socio-cultural phenomena. Side issues initiated as part of this project regarding anthroponymy, phraseology, specific issues of morphology, oral history or specific issues of identity are developed by the author and his collaborators in further research.

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Appendix 1.
Rules for the transcription of texts

This study has adopted the principles formulated by Stefan Grzybowski and Michał Głuszkowski for the purposes of the entire project, which had been applied in the analysis of the research material and transcriptions published in the selection of dialectal texts from Vershina (see Grzybowski, Głuszkowski 2022; Głuszkowski et al. 2022a: 101–299). Due to the functioning of the Polish community from the moment of settlement in Siberia in the conditions of language contact in the phonetics of the Lesser Poland dialect, despite its relative resistance to the Russian influence, there were some changes that required the use of a transcription system based on both the tradition of Polish dialectology and the international research on language contacts. The writing system used in studies devoted to Polish dialects (e.g. Dejna 1973; Urbańczyk 1976; Decyk 1995; Mitrenga-Ulitina 2015) would not adequately reflect the Russian reduced vowels, which also occur today in the Vershinian dialect. In addition, in this study, due to its subject matter, mainly utterances containing two or more codes in the situation of their switching have been analysed. Therefore, the basis of the system of transcription signs is the Slavic alphabet, which, using orthographic signs from Slavic languages, reflects their pronunciation in the simplest way, but, due to modifications of sounds in the situation of language contact, it has been enriched with signs from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). In this way, it was possible to illustrate phonological phenomena

and pronunciation in statements containing elements of several language variants: the Lesser Poland dialect, the literary Polish and Russian languages, and, to a slightly lesser extent, a mixture of Russian dialects used by the people in Irkutsk Oblast.

In the transcriptions, there has been distinguished the "Polish" palatal realisation of the soft variants of the dental consonants [t], [d], [s], [z], [n], in the notation [ć], [ʒ́], [ś], [ź], [ń], as well as palatalised dental variants consistent with Russian phonetics: [t'], [d'], [s'], [z'], [n']. The softness of other consonants is indicated by an apostrophe after the consonant sign, e.g. [f'], [k'], [b'], etc.

The symbol [ł] has been used to denote the lateral dental approximant and [w] for the pronunciation similar to the Polish labio-velar approximant the non-syllabic [u̯].

The stress is indicated by a short vertical bar before the stressed vowel, e.g. *usmˈygɔ* 'the eighth$_{\text{GENsg}}$'. The notation includes cases of voicing and devoicing assimilation in consonant groups and at word boundaries, as well as devoicing in the final position, e.g. *pšetfcˈuraj* 'the day before yesterday', *v'ˈiʒ́iž͡ j ˈak'e padrˈušk'i* 'You see, what friends [they are]', *mwˈynuf* 'mill$_{\text{GENpl}}$'. In fragments of utterances in Russian and partially adapted borrowings, there was a noticeable reduction of unstressed vowels, mainly in the form of *akanye*. This fact was included in the transcription, e.g. *pɑ‿pˈɔlsk'i rɑzgɑvˈar'ivajut* 'they are speaking Polish', *na vɑstˈɔku* 'in the East'.

In the case of nasal vowels, it was not possible to observe a monophthongic pronunciation, i.e. pure nasal vowels. Historical nasal vowels like [ę], [ǫ] (orthographic ę, ą) and sequences of other vowels with nasals are pronounced as diphthongs in which the second segment depends on the next sound, i.e. as sequences like [eṽ], [oṽ], [eŋ], [oŋ], [eĩ̯], [oĩ̯], etc. The vowel in these sequences may undergo nasalisation.

In the transcribed texts, in addition to the standard set of system characters, font 00 ZRCola was used, designed and developed at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Institute of the Slovenian Language – http://zrcola.zrc-sazu.si/).

The main set of characters used in the transcription of texts

Vowels		
Character	Description	Examples
[a]	*a* open, central	s[a]m – *sam*, b[a]bka – *babka*
[o]	*o* narrow, labialised	młod[o]ści – *młodości*, d[o]m – dom
[ɔ]	*o* lowered, weakly or non-labialised	n[ɔ]s – *nas*, m[ɔ]m – *mam*
[e]	*e* mid	l[e]n – *len*, ni[e] – *nie*
[ė]	*e* narrowed, between soft consonants	[ʒ́ ˈėć]i – *dzieci*, [ʒ́ ˈėń] – *dzień*, Rus. adapt. d'[ė]mɔkrˈac'ja – *demokratia*
[i]	*i* close, front	ro[b'i]li – *robili*, mło[ʒ́ i] – *młodzi*
[y]	*y* lowered, front	b[y]ł – *był*, ż[y]ć – *żyć*
[u]	*u* back, labialised	b[u]ty – *buty*, p[u]źniej – *później*
[ɑ]	open, non-labialised reduced vowel, close to *a* (an equivalent of stressed *a* and *o* at the first level of vowel reduction), appearing mainly in Russian parts of the statements and borrowings	št[ɑ]nof – *штанов (spodni)*, r[ɑ] vnˈo – *равно (równo, jednakowo)*
[ə]	mid reduced vowel (an equivalent of stressed *a* and *o* at the second level of vowel reduction), appearing mainly in Russian parts of the statements and borrowings	kɑtˈor[əjə] – *которая (która)*, vydˈumyv[ə]jut – *выдумывают (wymyślają)*
Glides, approximants		
[j]	non-syllabic *i* – voiced palatal approximant, or yod; glide	kra[j] – *kraj*, ba[j]ka – *bajka*, [d'j] alekt – *dialekt*
[ĩ]	nasal non-syllabic *i* – nasal voiced palatal approximant	g[yĩ]si – *gęsi*, m[ĩ̯]so – *mięso*
[w]	voiced labial-velar approximant, non-syllabic *u*, labial glide	[w]awka – *ławka*, by[w]a – *była*
[w̃]	nasal voiced labial-velar approximant, nasal non-syllabic *u*	mówi[ow̃]c – *mówiąc*, ksi[uw̃]żek – *książek*
Consonants		
[p]	*p* (bi)labial, plosive, voiceless	[p]sy – *psy*, [p]oszli – *poszli*

The main set of characters used in the transcription of texts continued

Consonants		
Character	Description	Examples
[p′]	*p* (bi)labial, plosive, voiceless, soft	[p′]iach – *piach*, szczy[p′]ące – *szczypiące*
[b]	*b* (bi)labial, plosive, voiced	[b]osy – *bosy*, chleb[a] – *chleba*
[b′]	*b* (bi)labial, plosive, voiced, soft	[b′]iła – *biła*, [b′ˈa]ła – *biała*
[f]	*f* labio-dental, fricative, voiceless	[f]akt – *fakt*, karto[f]el – *kartofel*
[f′]	*f* labio-dental, fricative, voiceless, soft	ut[f′]erdza – *utwierdza*, o[f′]icjalnie – *oficjalnie*
[v]	*v* labio-dental, fricative, voiced	[v]esoło – *wesoło*, d[v]a – *dwa*
[v′]	*v* labio-dental, fricative, voiced, soft	[v′]ięcej – *więcej*, [v′ˈo]ska – *wioska*
[m]	*m* (bi)labial, nasal	[m]a[m]a – *mama*, [m]oje – *moje*
[m′]	*m* (bi)labial, nasal, soft	[m′]edźwiedź – *niedźwiedź*, [m′ˈe]jsce – *miejsce*
[m̩]	*m* (bi)labial, nasal, voiceless	ryt[m̩] – *rytm*
[t]	*t* dental, plosive, voiceless	[t]am – *tam*, [t]o – *to*
[t′]	*t* dental, plosive, voiceless, soft	[t′]ichanowka – *Tichanowka*, ros. vyb′er′ˈi[t′]e – *выберите (wybierzcie)*
[t̪]	*t* alveolar, plosive, voiceless	[t̪]rzy – *trzy*, [t̪]rzeba – *trzeba*
[d]	*d* dental, plosive, voiced	[d]om – *dom*, ros. [d]a – *да (tak)*
[d′]	*d* dental, plosive, voiced, soft	[d′]iabeł – *diabeł*, ros. [d′]ˈeńg′i – *деньги (pieniądze)*
[d̪]	*d* alveolar, plosive, voiced	[d̪]rzewo – *drzewo*, [d̪]rzwi – *drzwi*
[s]	*s* dentalised alveolar, fricative, voiceless	[s]yn – *syn*, ko[s]a – *kosa*
[s′]	*s* dentalised alveolar, fricative, voiceless, soft	se[s′]ja – *sesja*, Rus. в[s′]ё – *всё (wszystko)*
[z]	*z* dentalised alveolar, fricative, voiced	[z]araz – *zaraz*, brzo[z]owe – *brzozowe*
[z′]	*z* dentalised alveolar, fricative, voiced, soft	[z′]jawa – *zjawa*, Rus. ре[z′]ина – *резина (guma)*

The main set of characters used in the transcription of texts continued

Consonants		
Character	Description	Examples
[n]	*n* dental-alveolar, nasal	[n]am – *nam*, b[en]dę – *będę*
[ń]	*n* alveolo-palatal, nasal	ko[ń] – *koń*, b[eń]dzie – *będzie*
[ŋ]	*n* velar, nasal	pr[yŋ]dzej – *prędzej*, t[yŋ]‿koń – *ten koń*
[ŋ]	*n* velar, palatal, nasal	t[eŋ]gi – *tęgi*, ʒ [eŋ]ki – *dzięki*
[š]	*sz* voiceless retroflex fricative	[š]yba – *szyba*, t[š]y – *trzy*
[ž]	*ż* voiced retroflex fricative	[ž]ycie – *życie*, [ž]eka – *rzeka*
[ś]	*ś* alveolo-palatal sibilant fricative, voiceless	[ś]iebie – *siebie*, [ś]piew – *śpiew*
[ź]	*ź* alveolo-palatal sibilant fricative, voiced	[ź]ima – *zima*, wie[ź]ie – *wiezie*
[c]	*c* voiceless alveolar affricate	[c]ena – *cena*, [c]ały
[c’]	*c* voiceless alveolar affricate palatalised (before [j])	mili[c’]ja – *milicja*, trady[c’]ja – *tradycja*
[ʒ]	*dz* voiced alveolar affricate	[ʒ]banek – *dzbanek*, da[ʒ]ą – *dadzą*
[ł]	*ł* velarised alveolar lateral approximant	Rus. b’ė[ł]ɑrˈus – *belarus (Białorusin)*
[l]	*l* alveolar lateral approximant, voiced	[l]as – *las*, po[l]e – *pole*
[l’]	*l* alveolar lateral approximant, voiced, soft	[l’]ist – *list*, ba[l’]ia – *balia*
[r]	*r* alveolar trill	te[r]az – *teraz*, [r]obił – *robił*
[r’]	*r* alveolar trill, soft	histo[r’]ia – *historia*, Rus. adapt. rɔz[r’]ėšˈeńje – *rozrešenie*
[č]	*cz* retroflex affricate, voiceless	[č]as – *czas*, jesz[č]e – *jeszcze*
[č’]	*cz* alveolo-palatal affricate, voiceless, soft	[č’i]sty – *czysty* (Russian influence)
[ǯ]	*dż* retroflex affricate, voiced	[ǯ]em – *dżem*, [ǯ]ewo – *drzewo*
[ć]	*ć* alveolo-palatal sibilant affricate, voiceless	[ć]icho – *cicho*, żyje[ć]e – *żyjecie*

The main set of characters used in the transcription of texts continued

Consonants		
Character	Description	Examples
[ʒ́]	*dź* alveolo-palatal sibilant affricate, voiced	[ʒ́]iś – *dziś*, sie[ʒ́]i – *siedzi*
[k]	*k* velar, plosive, voiceless	[k]asza – *kasza*, [k]to – *kto*
[k’]	*k* velar, plosive, voiceless, soft	[k’]ino – *kino*, ta[k’]i – *taki*
[g]	*g* velar, plosive, voiced	[g]roch – *groch*, [g]óra – *góra*
[g’]	*g* velar, plosive, voiced, soft	[g’]inąć – *ginąć*, [g’]eneralne – *generalne* (Russian influence)
[x]	*ch* voiceless, velar, fricative	[x]yba – *chyba*, gro[x]u – *grochu*
[x’]	*ch* velar, fricative, voiceless, soft	Rus. du[x’]i – *duxi*
[h]/[ɣ]	*h* velar, fricative, voiced	[h]erbata – *herbata*, swoi[ɣ‿ʒ́] eci – *swoich dzieci*, [ɣ]ospodʹi – Rus. *Gospodi*
[h’]	*h* velar, fricative, voiced, soft	[h’]istoria – *historia*

Diacritic marks

[’]	after the consonant symbol	softness of the consonants, e.g. *bes*[t’]*ia*
[ˈ]	before the consonant symbol	main stress, e.g. [k’ˈi]*no*
[ˌ]	before the consonant	secondary stress, e.g. [brˌakɔsɔ́ćėt’ańja]
[ː]	after the consonant	lengthening of the articulation, e.g. *pa*[nː]*a*
[̩]	under the consonant symbol	voiceless sonorants and/or glides, e.g. *upad*[w̩], *Piot*[r̩]*ka*
[̥]	under the consonant symbol	syllabic consonants, e.g. *Piot*[r̥]*ka* (auxiliary)
[ˀ]	between the symbols	glottal stop, e.g. *na* [ˀo]*knie*; vocal insert, e.g. *pa*[nˀn]*a*
[‿]	between autosemantic words	word dependencies, e.g. *ja*[g‿ˈo]n – *jak on*, *żyʒ*[ʒ́ ‿n]*a ulicy*, *brze*[k‿š]*osy*
‖ |	Pauses	[žˈylˈˈi ˈino burˈaćʻi | u ńix | jak sfuj kˈowxos tˈutəj bˈyw]

The auxiliary set of characters used in explanations and quotations from other sources

Character	Description and examples	Equivalent in the main set of characters
[ã]	nasal *a*, e.g. *aw*[ã]s 'promotion'	[aw̃]
[ä]	fronted *a*, between soft consonants, e.g. [ʒ̈ äʒ̈] *o* – dz*ia*dzio	-
[å]	*a* pochylone, np. *dåł*, *nås* – dał, nas	[ɔ]
[ö]	fronted *o*, between soft consonants, e.g. [ćöć] *a* – *cio*cia	-
[õ], [ọ]	nasal *o*, e.g. s[õ]*d* – sąd s[õ]*czyć* – sączyć *id*[o] – id*ą* *w*[õ]s – w*ą*s *b*[õ]*dź* – bądź s[õ]s*iad* – s*ą*siad *b*[õ]*k* – b*ą*k s[õ]*gi* – s*ą*gi	 [on] [oṇ] [ow̃] [ow̃] [oń] [oi̯] [oŋ] [oń]
[ɛ]	open *e*, e.g. s[ɛ]*r* – s*e*r	[e]
[ẽ], [ę]	nasal *e*, e.g. *b*[ę]*dę* – będę *m*[ę]*czył* – męczył *b*[ę]*dzie* – będzie *pi*[ę]*ść* – pięść, *k*[ę]s – kęs s[ę]*k* – sęk *kr*[ę]*gi* – kręgi	 [en] [eṇ] [eń] [ei̯] [ew̃] [eŋ] [eń]
[ĩ], [i̯]	nasal *i*, e.g. *w*[ĩ]s*zuję* – w*in*szuję *mi*[ĩ]s*ki* – m*ińs*ki	 [iw̃] [ĩi̯]
[i̯]	non-syllabic *i*, glide, e.g. [b'i̯]*ały* – *bi*ały	[j]
[u̯]	non-syllabic *u*, labial glide, e.g. *by*[u̯]*a* – by*ł*a	[w]
[ũ], [u̯]	nasal *u*, e.g. *k*[ũ]s*zt* – k*un*szt *d*[ũ]s*ki* – d*uń*ski	 [uw̃] [uĩ̯]
[ỹ], [y̯]	nasal *y*, e.g. *r*[ỹ]s*ztok* – r*yn*sztok *r*[ỹ]s*ki* – r*yń*ski	 [yw̃] [yĩ̯]

Appendix 2.
The informants

Gender, Year of birth	Education	Knowledge of Polish	Knowledge of Russian	Language of the home domain in childhood	Language of the home domain in adult life	Ethnic character of the family
1st generation						
M1924	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
M1925	Professional secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1925	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
M1925	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1926	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
W1928	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1929		Very good	Very good	Polish		
W1929	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Russian and Polish	Polish

Continued

Gender, Year of birth	Education	Knowledge of Polish	Knowledge of Russian	Language of the home domain in childhood	Language of the home domain in adult life	Ethnic character of the family
M1930	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Russian and Polish	Polish
M1930	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1932	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
M1932	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1933	Secondary school	Good	Very good	Polish and Russian	Polish and Russian	Mixed
W1935	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1935	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1936	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1938	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
M1940	Secondary school	Good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
2nd generation						
W1942	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
M1945		Good	Very good	Polish		
M1945		Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1947	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1949	Higher	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed

Continued

Gender, Year of birth	Education	Knowledge of Polish	Knowledge of Russian	Language of the home domain in childhood	Language of the home domain in adult life	Ethnic character of the family
W1951	Professional secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
M1952	Secondary school	Moderate	Very good	Russian and Polish		Mixed
M1955	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1955	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
W1956	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish
W1956	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish		Polish
W1957	Professional secondary school	Good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
W1958	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
M1958		Very good	Very good	Polish		
W1960		Very good	Very good	Polish		
W1963	Professional secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
M1965	Secondary school	Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
3rd generation						
M1966		Very good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	
W1966	Professional secondary school	Poor	Very good	Russian	Russian and Polish	Mixed
W1968	Professional secondary school	Good	Very good	Polish	Polish and Russian	Polish

Continued

Gender, Year of birth	Education	Knowledge of Polish	Know-ledge of Rus-sian	Language of the home domain in childhood	Language of the home domain in adult life	Ethnic character of the family
W1968	Higher	Very good	Very good		Polish and Russian	Mixed
W1989	Higher	Good	Very good	Polish	Russian and Polish	Polish
4th generation						
W1993	Secondary school	Moderate	Very good	Polish and Russian	Polish and Russian	Mixed
W1995	Secondary school	Good	Very good	Polish and Russian	Polish and Russian	Mixed
W1997	Secondary school	Good	Very good	Polish and Russian	Polish and Russian	Mixed
W1998	Secondary school	Moderate	Very good	Russian and Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
M2000	Secondary school		Very good	Russian and Polish	Polish and Russian	Mixed
M2005	Secondary school	Moderate	Very good	Polish and Russian	Polish and Russian	Mixed

Appendix 3.
Transcriptions of selected texts

First generation (transcribed by Angelika Pawlaczyk)

MI: nˈɔ tˈam sˈom | nˈɔ tˈeras vˈˈincy jˈak fpšɔʑi bˈywa | trˈɔške śe rɔśćˈungwa | tɔ tˈam tˈyš rɔstrˈɔjiwaś ńˈi ma ńˈi ma gʑˈe | tu s ty strˈuny žˈeka s tˈamty strˈuny apˈˈać kšˈɔkʼi | nˈɔ fšˈystkɔ ispˈɔlzujom žˈeby […] ńˈic ńe pšepɔdˈawɔ | žˈeby fšˈystkɔ šwˈɔ f pˈɔlze | nˈɔ fpšɔʑi tɔ jˈɔ tɔ jˈɔ pamˈˈintɔm | cɔ | te burˈaty | s pɔlakˈamʼi | [swatting away flies] nˈɔ naxˈalne te mˈuxy nˈɔ prˈɔstɔ | jˈɔ ńi mˈɔge ˈix pšˈeżyć te mˈuxy | te burˈaty tɔ ˈuny lˈuckʼe lˈuʑe | nˈɔ i | jak ˈučyć śe | ˈuny pševɔsxˈɔʒum pɔlˈakuf | ˈunyx śe vyxˈɔʑi ze škˈɔwy sućˈɔby kˈaś zˏynstytˈutu i na fsʼˈakʼe te te ustrajˈajum śe | i pˈɔlak ńe pšyvˈyknow […] | ˈuny jak pˈɔlży a pɔlˈak lˈubʼi lˈubʼi rˈɔbʼić | tu u nɔs tˈakʼi tˈakʼi nˈarut | ńˈe vʼim jak f pˈɔlsce nˈɔ tˈutej u nɔs te pɔlˈakʼi ˈuny prˈɔstɔ jˈagby pɔvʼˈincy zarˈɔbʼić | jˈagby pɔvʼˈincy | xˈɔć f kɔwxˈɔźe | xˈɔʒ gʑˈe | xˈɔʒ v dˈumu ˈuny bˈarʒɔ kwɔpɔtlʼˈive te | nˈɔ tɔ tɔ ńe lʼˈixɔ | bˈywy tˈutej lˈuʑe pɔlˈakʼi ńektˈury | pˈɔre lˈuʑi tˈakʼiɣ bˈywɔ | nˈɔ ńi mʼˈawy ńˈic | ńi ɔgrɔʒˈyńɔ | jak pʼervɔnačˈalnɔ pšyjexˈalʼi tˈutej tˈakʼe bˈudy pɔstrɔˈiwy | tˈak i te žˈywy ńektˈure | ńi rɔstrɔjˈalʼi śe ńi ńˈic | pšežˈylʼi | nˈɔ tɔ śmʼˈalʼi śe z ńˈix | cˈemu vy ńi pɔstrɔˈilʼi ńicˈegɔ […] tˈyš | te pɔlakʼi | i rˈusk’e dɔ burˈatuf | tˈam u ńix sfˈuj šˈaman sfˈuj bˈɔx | ˈuny śe tˈutaj ńe kasˈawy | tɔ ˈim nˈaše muvʼˈiwy | sxadʼˈiwby f tyn f kastʼˈɔw | tˈam pɔmalʼˈiwsa | tˈɔže tˈutže ʒˈeśińć bɔgˈɔf ńˈet tu | adʼˈin bˈɔg dˈɔwžen na fsʼˈex bˈyć | mˈy tak ščytˈajem | a kak pa vašˈemu jˈa ńˈe znaju | bˈɔg

że ad’ˈin | nˈaš satfarˈyw | dˈaw nˈam ž́ˈyś | fs’ˈɔ štˈɔ nˈada čewav’ˈeku | fs’ˈɔ bˈɔg satfar’ˈiw | a ˈetɔ […] kɔtˈɔryje ˈɔńi tˈak vydˈumyvajet | ˈetɔ prˈɔsta | kˈak nac’anˈalnyj | prastrˈɔjka | nac’ɔnˈalna | jˈa ńe uv’ˈer’en | paprˈɔbujem […] | sfˈɔj bˈɔg sfˈɔj bˈɔg ńˈe kasˈajet […] bɔ ˈetɔ ˈuže fs’ˈɔ ɔdž́ywɔ | sejćˈas ˈuže ty gʒ́ˈe | gʒ́ˈe vˈy bur’ˈaty ž́yl’i ˈɔńi ˈuže sm’ešˈal’is’ s rˈusk’im’i | s tatˈaram’i | s uzb’ˈekam’i | pr’ijˈexawɔ zapˈadńix rejˈɔnɔf | patamˈu šta | kakˈaja pr’ićˈina | tˈam naśel’ˈɔn:yx mnˈɔga jˈest a p’itˈańije | xlˈep druˈg’ije | tˈam u ńix zatrudń’ˈɔne | tut skˈɔlka xˈɔćeš a u ńix tˈam agrań’ićena patamˈu štɔ nas’el’ˈeńije xˈɔćet gˈusta | naśelˈeńije | […] fs’ˈɔ paćt’ˈi paćtˈi fs’ˈɔ ad’ˈin pˈɔsle drugˈɔvɔ ž́ˈyv’et | žyvut kˈaždy sfajˈɔvɔ […] kˈaždy sfajˈɔvɔ darˈɔžyt svajˈi dˈewa

MI: Well, there they are. Well, there are more now than there were before. [The village] has expanded a bit. It has also expanded a bit there, but there is no room [to expand]. There is a river on this side and bushes on the other one. And they try to use it all so that nothing gets wasted. To use everything. Well, in the old times, I remember Buryats and Poles. [swatting away flies] These flies are so annoying, I just can’t stand them. These Buryats are good people. And in terms of education, they are ahead of Poles. Many of them graduate from schools and universities and get good jobs. And Poles have different habits. Buryats want it to be easier, and Poles like [physical] work. This is what our nation is like. No, I do not know how it is in Poland, but here Poles want to earn as much as possible, just to earn more – even in a kolkhoz, even anywhere. Even at home, they are very hardworking. Well, that’s not a bad thing. There were people here, in the Polish community, very few of them, who had nothing, not even a fence. When they first came here, they built such shacks and lived in them. They didn’t care [about anything] and somehow survived. Well, people laughed at them, why didn’t you build anything? […] Poles and Russians are also different from Buryats. They have a shaman and their god, they did not belong to this community. Our people told them: would you go to this church and pray there, how can it be that there are ten gods? There should be one god for everyone, that’s what we think. As for you, I don’t know. God is one and he created us. He gave us life, everything that people need. And there are those who think differently. It’s just like national, perestroika,

national. I'm not convinced, you have to try it. Their own god, their own god, they do not belong to us. […] Because it has all come back to the previous order, now, where Buryats lived, they have already mixed with Russians, with Tatars, with Uzbeks. They came from the western regions [of the country], because there are many inhabited places there, there is food, grain and other things. And everything there is limited, difficult. Here, there is as much as you want, but there it is limited because the population density is very high. The population, almost everyone lives next to each other, and everyone wants to take care of their own business.

First generation (transcribed by Michał Głuszkowski)

MI: p'eršė | v mwodˈośći tyš śė tək pəłućˈiło że | e: | pəvl'ijˈałɔ nə rɔzmˈove | nˈu y tɑk że tˈera u mńˈe tak jˈešče xćaæm śe l''eć'ić […] no dokˈońcyć l'ėčˈeńe śe ńe pow… ńe dˈało

– A na co pan chorował?

jˈa | ńe xɔrˈɔvɔw | jˈak vˈɔm pɔv''eʒeć || dvɑnˈaśćė lat bˈyłɔ i nas xłˈopcuf vźėńi nɑ | na pˈokɔs | no tˈam juš i grˈab'ić i […] śˈanɔ zestˈav'ać | no mew̃ščyzna jˈeden tˈak'i oxˈotńik nu pˈošet postšelow tam ʒˈik'ė žyvˈotnė | a pˈuźń'e rˈano xćˈow śe no pˈoš… zˈebrow nas xwˈopcuf pošl'i tˈam šukać jom | nˈo | hˈe | no | ja mńe śe tam dˈowožyw | i | y | jo ńedˈugo vrˈacom śe nˈazot | no | jˈak m''e zakrążyw | ja pˈošet ze fšysk'im v drˈugo strˈonę | i puźńi ja z jim xˈoʒiw po tˈym lˈeśė | to ˈetɑ … ńe tak f'est v''er'ićė | na | p'ėtnˈastu v''orstax | bˈywo | y | nu co śe ono powˈućiwo || e | a | vy v''ežyće čy ńe | że lˈeśny dˈux jes | ńˈe v''ežyćė

– My nie wiemy, co za leśny duch.

nˈɔ | jˈes tˈak'i | pˈuźńėj ˈot ˈun ńė krˈyńćiw i | il''i ńė stˈarow śe | ɑp''ać | eee | eee | lˈeśnyj kˈompas | v''ićė ʷo tˈym | ńˈe˯v'ićė [laughter] | ˈa | p''erf | k''edy v škˈole | nɔ tɔ f cfˈɔrtym kłˈaśė bˈywɔ | i nam | pšėtpadavˈal'i | lˈeśnyj kˈompas | vdrˈuk śe zabwˈońʒis v lˈeśė | šˈukaj lˈeśnyj kˈompas | dɑp''irə po ńˈim vˈyńʒės | nˈɔ i jˈak jˈa se spˈomńiw | ˈo tym | il''i pɔ džˈev'ė ńi ʷoglˈondɔm | nɔ ńˈi | ńˈic ńė mˈoge jˈij dˈojżeć | žˈeby lˈek… znˈojść lˈeśnyj kˈɔmpas | žˈeby zər'ėnt''iravɑć śė f ktˈuro strˈone mńė ˈiść čšˈeba

|| nˈɔ / ˈeya | i to zˈym pš… pšˈešėt | tɔ jeˈel’i tak pɔbwˈonʒɔ pɔ drˈɔʒė | tɔ v’ˈincy stˈar v’ˈorst i jak pšelˈećaw || eee | yea | pˈuźńėj juš | začyno śė pšyćˈimńać | v ɔśikˈɔvy lˈas | zˈem zˈašet | mˈyśle | tɑk jˈɔ žė ńė pšexˈɔʒiw tak’ˈigɔ lˈasu | ˈile xˈɔʒe dńˈim || nɔ dˈal’i zˈem zˈašet | dɔwożˈywem stˈarõ ɔśˈikẽ | ˈa | pɔstarˈɔwem śe blˈ’ˈižəj pˈɔdejśᶜ́ | ˈa | sˈom pr’iznˈak’i | ˈee l’ėśnˈegɔ kˈɔmpəsɑ | nˈə və.. ə.. ɔbešˈedʷem dɔ:kˈɔwa aˈa | tˈožə prˈajilnɑ ˈe | jˈest tˈe l’ˈeśnyj kompas | ˈa | nɔ pˈuźńėj || ˈee | k’ˈedy zˈem dˈobže bˈyw uv’ˈežyw | žˈe tɔ | tɔ nˈajim’e jˈest lˈeśnyʲ kˈompas | ɔbjˈonėm te ˈośike | […] ˈee ˈa | tɔ jˈes tˈak’e | na džev’ˈińe sˈom | nəˈɔ obɔznacˈeńe ˈea | s’ˈejerna strˈona | dževˈ’iny | ć’ˈimnɔ | a powudńˈɔvɔ | v’ˈidnɔ | wˈotɔ kˈompas | ˈee | dɔ… | dop’ˈirɔ | ˈee | a pšˈet:em cˈewyj ʒ́ˈiń zˈem u.. ʷogl’ondɔw | nɔ ńi mˈɔgėm ˈujžeć | tˈak | na ˈocy cy ńe zėm dˈɔjžow | ˈye | k’ˈedy ze… žˈem | ˈee tɔ ć’ˈimne m’ėjsce | stˈanow plecˈam’i | k’ˈedy tˈerɔ | wˈod ʒ́e mńˈe tšˈa ˈiś | ˈaa pšˈet:ėm jɔ zˈem šˈet | jɔ zˈem fšˈetkɔ mˈyślɔw | žə jˈa na s’ˈev’ėr’ idˈu | mńˈe na s’ˈev’ėr’ tšˈa bˈywɔ ˈiść | tɔ jˈa s tˈamtėj strˈony | jɔ tˈutėj śe […] | na powˈudńɑ | nɑ ˈɔt i dɔp’ˈirə | ˈee | lˈeśnyj kˈompas zˈėm napˈɔtkɔw | i pˈuźńėj zər’ėnt’ˈirɔvawem śe ˈee | gʒ́ˈe | ʒ́ˈe mńˈe tšˈa ˈiść | nɔ i mˈyślė jeˈel’i | ˈye | pˈujde prˈɔstɔ | pɔ gˈuże | tˈam v’ˈorst p’ˈetnˈaśće | tˈɔ eˈa | tėn lˈeśnyj dˈux ɑp’ˈać mńˈė kˈaj s.. ˈy.. odv’ˈeʒe f strˈone | ˈe ˈe | i ftˈėncəs jˈɔ fcˈale ńe vˈyńde || nˈa | v’ˈiʒ́ət | tˈam | f tˈym | pšˈet:ėm jėźʒ́ˈil’i | na kˈońəx | kˈońė pˈɔjić | ˈe təm ˈee | dɔ k’ˈedruf | nɔ pˈow cɔ śe pawˈućiwa ˈe | i ɔpr’ėʒ́ˈel’iw žˈem | mńˈe tšˈa | na s’ˈev’erɔ | vɑstˈɔk | śe ʷˈu.. ʷˈudać | ˈy jeˈel’i śe na s’ˈev’erəvɔstˈɔk ˈudɔm tɔ | jˈa dˈowžėn | ˈe tˈožė | pəv’ińᵉn trˈafić | ˈye | dɔ | tˈyx k’ˈedruf | a tˈam już znajˈomɔ | znajˈomɔ drˈɔška | ˈe | nɔ tɔ jˈuš | ˈe | ˈide | jˈuš tak na skwˈon gˈury | nˈo | ˈe ˈi tu ˈee | vdrˈuk […] mńˈe žˈekw ˈye | że jˈɔ ńėprˈaj’ilnɑ ˈide | a cˈɔ śe tˈak’e powˈucyt | tɔ prˈɔstɔ | tˈɔ tɔ | tˈɔ cˈɔś | ˈy ˈee | jˈes tak’ˈegɔ f pr’irˈɔʒ́ė | ˈyy | nˈaj.. | mńˈė pˈuźńij strˈanɔ jˈe | žė jˈes | ˈee | ze pɔńˈirɔw | ˈyy nˈu prˈaj’ilnɑ | i juš na skwˈon ˈide | m’i a cˈo mńˈe tak tr’evˈɔży f strˈone ˈuu ˈiść | ˈyy | žė jˈa ńėprˈaj’ilnɑ | y jeˈel’i tˈera zb’ˈije s put’ˈi | tak mńˈe z lˈasu ńe vˈyjść | trˈop’im v lˈeśė nɔcˈovać čy pšˈyjʒ́ė | ˈa | pˈuźńˈij bˈarʒɔ pɔstanɔv’ˈiwėm | i cˈom zapwańˈirɔvaw | tɔ | i | i | bˈyl’ė šˈed dˈal’ij | a pˈuźńėj zem šˈet | i | pˈuźńėj mwˈode k’e… k’edrˈɔfk’i śe pɔjav’ˈil’i | k’edrˈɔfk’i | nˈu | rɔśl’ˈiny cɔ k’ˈedry | wožˈexy | ˈy | smˈačne | nˈɔ | pˈuźńi | nɔ cˈuš | mńeść | jˈuš ć’ˈimnɔ | ˈa | tɔ jˈešče žˈe | dˈužɔ v’ˈɔrst tšˈa ˈiśᶜ́ | dɔ | dɔ tˈego m’ˈejsca | ʒ́ˈe tam | ˈee mˈomy śˈanɔ zb’irać | nˈač’i | tˈam || nɔ ˈy | ˈyy | v mwodˈɔśći tɔ

jˈɔ bˈarʒɔ bˈystrɔ zˈem xˈɔʑow | ˈye | ˈe tˈutėj | ˈee | spʼˈešė śe ˈiś | tˈɔ | gʑˈe | ʑˈe | ˈye | pʼˈeškɔm trˈoxe gʑˈe bˈystrɔ | ˈe | žˈeby ˈuśpić ˈy tˈė dˈũś | nˈɔ | tɔ ˈuš pˈuźńij nˈɔc | ˈe | nˈɔ | ˈa tak | tˈėj drˈošk’i śe pšytšymˈuje ˈe | i pɔ kˈaždym pšˈyšėt | ˈyy dɔ | dɔ tˈyγ lˈuʑi | nˈo tam gʑˈe śˈano mˈomy zb’irać | m:ˈuʲəm | ʑˈeś ty bˈyw | jˈuš tˈera tɔ jˈez dvanˈaśćė gˈoʑin nˈɔcy | ˈaja | i mńˈė zacˈyńi śe pˈytać | tɔ ˈu mnė śe zamknˈywa | ˈe ˈye | i | ńi swˈova pšepɔvʼˈeʑėć ńė mˈogwėm | nˈɔ | jˈak zamknˈėwa śė gˈemba | ˈyy | ˈe | nɔ tˈylkɔ jak cˈɔ śe pytˈajom | nˈɔ tɔ | l’i rỹkom mˈaxnow žė ńe swˈyšow ńˈic | ˈy pˈuźńi nˈɔc pšenocɔvɔw | dɔpʼˈirɔ rˈanɔ | z l’ėdvˈɔśćom | tak ćˈî̯ško zacunėm mˈuv’ić | nɔ ˈi | i tak’ i pɔvreʑˈiwo tˈɔtɔ | bˈɔć tɔ jˈɔ śė ńˈe bow | ˈe | a cˈɔ śe powućˈiwo | k’ˈedy s tˈym pšyšˈet | jˈakėm śe ˈinɔ pɔwˈožyw | mə | na | pɔśćelˈane | ze śˈana bɔ | a pˈɔśćėl | jag v lˈeśe | v bawagˈańe

MI: First, it happened in my youth that it influenced my speech abilities, and I still have this problem. I wanted to get treated, well, to finish the treatment, but it didn’t… didn’t work.

– *What did you have?*

I? I didn’t have anything. How can I tell you this? I was twelve years old and they took us, boys, to mow hay, to rake and stack the hay. Well, one man, a hunter, he had been hunting wild animals, and then in the morning he gathered us, boys, to help him to find them [the hunted animals]. Well, I was taken there, too. And soon I was coming back, but somehow I got so lost that I went in a completely different direction. And later, when I was walking through this forest, it was like this. Do you believe me? All this happened within the distance of fifteen kilometres, and what came of it? Do you believe that there is a forest spirit or not?

– *We don’t know what a forest spirit is.*

Well, there is one. Afterwards, he tried to confuse me. And again. Eh. Forest compass – do you know it or not? [laughter] First of all, when I was at school, they taught us about the forest compass in my fourth year. If you suddenly get lost in the forest, look for the forest compass. Only with its help you can find your way back. And I remembered that, so I looked at the trees to find the forest compass. To get an idea of which way I should go. Well, eh, and how far I had to go through it because I lost my way like that. And when I got lost along the way, I covered more kilometres than I could

ran. Ahem. Later it started to get dark. I entered the aspen forest. I don't think I had ever passed such a forest, when I was walking like this all day. Well, I went further, noticed an old aspen tree and tried to get closer. And! there are signs of the forest compass. Well, I went around as I should. And there it is – the forest compass. Yes, and then, ah, when I really believed that it was actually the forest compass, I embraced that aspen tree. […] Eee. And it's something like this – there are certain marks on the bark, that is, the northern side of the bark is dark and the southern one is light. This is the forest compass. Eh. Only then [I realised it], and before that I had been watching all day long, but I couldn't see anything. Had there been something wrong with my eyesight or had I just not noticed it? Ahm. When I noticed this dark place, I stood with my back [against the tree], and knew which way I had to go. And before that, I had been walking around the whole time. I had thought I had been going north. Because I should have gone north, but I had been going south instead of it. Well, it was only when I found the forest compass that I realised where I should go. And I thought to myself that if I go straight, up the hill, for fifteen kilometres this forest spirit will somehow pull me back inside again and then I won't get out [where I need to go] at all. I remembered the place where we used to go to water our horses. Over there towards the cedars, that's where it was. And I thought that I should go north and east, that's where I should go. And if I went northeast, I should get to those cedars, and from there I knew the way. So I set off, I was walking along the hill, and suddenly something tells me that I'm going wrong. And what happens that there is something in nature that makes you wonder later whether you thought so? Well, I go up the hill as planned, but I was starting to be afraid of something to go up like this, I was starting to doubt whether I was going the right way. If now [because of this fear] I went off the route, I would not get out of the forest, I would have to spend the night in the forest. And then I made a strong decision. And this was what I planned: as long as I can – keep going. And then I was walking and, later, young cedars appeared, young cedars – trees on which nuts grow. Tasty. Well, what to do later, it was already getting dark. And there were still many kilometres ahead of me to reach the place where we were supposed to collect the hay. I mean, there, uh, in my youth I walked very fast. Eh. So I was in a hurry to get there, on foot quickly to

make it, and then it was already night. But I stuck to this path and when I finally reached these people, where we were supposed to collect the hay, they said to me 'where have you been?' It was already midnight. Oh my […]. And when they started asking me questions, my mouth closed and I couldn't say a word. When my mouth shut, whatever they asked me, I just signalled with my hand that I couldn't say anything. And it was only after I slept through the night, only in the morning, that I began to speak with great difficulty. This is what happened to me then. Because even though I wasn't afraid, something like that happened [to me]. When I came back, I lay down on the hay, in the forest, in a hut.

Second generation (transcribed by Łukasz Gemziak)

MII: da | da a kaj jim śe ʒ'ivać jag ʒ'eći d'užɔ m'ˈel'i | w'uny z ʒeć'am'i pšyjex'awy | z m'ɔi str'uny i ʒ'atk'i pšyjex'awy i b'apk'i pšyjex'awy | dɔ tyx b'apkuv ʒ'atkuv j'ešče ś'ɔstry b'ywy br'ać ɔ b'ywy tyš | pɔ ʒ'ev'ińć ʒ'eći m'ˈawy tag jag wu mń'e ʒ'ev'ińć tyš | tr'udnɔ im śe ž'ywɔ | tam f tyx źiml'ankax | nɔ a p'ɔtym kɔrcɔv'awy tɔ tɔ fš'yskɔ vykɔrcɔv'awy las

– *To wszędzie tajga.*

p'ola zrɔb'ˈiwy wot | tu śe nac'yny str'ɔić | tu śe nac'yny str'ɔić tr'ɔxe im lžy st'awɔ | sf'ɔje gaʒ'ine tšym'awy kr'ɔvy | k'uńa m'ˈawy | p'ɔtym tɔ tɔ fš'yskɔ f kɔwx'ozy pɔzab'er'al'i | pɔzab'er'al'i f kɔwx'ozy ɔb'ėd'ińil'i | l'uʒe b'ˈidne st'awy t'ak'e | d'ɔź że b'ˈidne b'ywy tɔ j'ešče b'idń'ejše st'awy | tak śe pɔ tr'ɔxe | t'yn | vyxɔʒ'iwy vyxɔʒ'iwy | jag m'ogwy | u każd'egɔ d'užɔ ʒ'eći b'ywɔ | tak i v'yšwɔ | t'akɔ v'ˈelgɔ v'erš'yna | nɔ bɔg'atše ujex'awy | pɔrɔz'ižʒ'awy śe pɔ derk'ulskax kt'ure ujex'awy | dɔ br'acka | tam s t'amty str'uny ang'ary | tam jes kutul'ˈik | zawar'ˈinsk'i raj'on | tam tyš jes v'erš'yna

MII: Yes, and where were they supposed to go if they had a lot of children? They came with [their] children. My grandparents and grandmothers came here. [Their] sisters and brothers were also with them. They had nine children each, and in our family there were nine children as well. It was difficult for them to live in those dugouts, and then they cleared it all up and had to clear the forest.

– *It's taiga everywhere*.

They prepared farmlands. They started building here and when they started building, they felt a little better. They had their farm animals, cows, they had a horse. Then all this was taken from them to the collective farms. They took them and collectivised them – turned into a collective farm. People became so poor. Not only had they been already poor, but they became even poorer. So they got out of it, little by little, as best as they could. Everyone had many children. This is how it turned out, the great Vershina. Well, the richer people left. They ended up in different places, those who left – to Bratsk and from there to Angara. There is Kutulik, in the Zalari region, there is also a Vershina there.

Second generation (transcribed by Katarzyna Dembska)

WII: ˈeta tˈɔ mˈurka zjˈi tˈɔ tˈɔ žˈyrne tˈɔ jˈɔ | wˈɔdèžne žˈèby tˈak || pšᶜˈɔwy gˈoʒum prˈavdª || ńèdˈɔvnɔ ftualˈˈeće tˈam mńˈe wˈɔsy tˈe wˈɔsy jˈakʷˈu‿vɔs nazyvˈajum prˈavˈilnɔ pɔvˈˈeʑèć ńˈe pšᶜˈɔwy a vˈɔt | nˈɔ wˈɔsy wˈɔsy

– *Osy*.

wˈɔsy tˈak i wˈɔsy zrɔbˈˈiwy sˈe tˈakˈe gńˈɔzdɔ tˈam nˈavˈèrxˈu nˈɔ jˈɔ vˈiʒˈaʷam gˈɔ a mˈyślˈe sˈe a: ˈuny mˈˈi ńˈė mˈèšˈajum tˈɔ ńˈexaj žˈyjum | ji: zˈašwam ustavˈˈa ʒvˈˈi wɔtkrˈyte wˈuny jˈak klˈapwy ʒvˈˈi wˈunė jak vyskocˈywy fsˈysk'e | stˈamtunᵗ | i wˈɔs tˈam | ńˈiʒ zˈem jˈix ńˈe mˈɔxwax vytfˈɔžyć pˈɔkam ńˈe kupˈˈiwa tˈe pšykˈawku i vˈɔdom jˈix ji ńˈicym | fšˈysk'e tˈam a tˈym pšˈyk tˈylkɔ rˈɔz žˈėm ji zˈapax u nˈi mˈawɔ tˈegɔ a: wˈunʸ srˈazu fšˈysk'e fsˈˈɔ tˈera cˈystɔ […]

wˈɔ wˈune nˈɔ tˈe ɔrˈešńˈikˈi tˈɔ wˈune nˈa stˈaryx a nˈa mʷˈɔdyx ɔrˈešńˈikax tˈɔ ńˈi mˈa wɔžˈexɔf | nˈa stˈaryx nˈɔ dalˈekɔ | tˈamtˈegɔ rˈɔku tˈutej ńˈe‿bywɔ | jˈedyn śˈe spˈɔlyw jˈak tˈajga śˈe pɔlˈywa a tˈɔ nˈum nˈɔ jˈag vˈum pɔvˈᵉʒˈᵉć brˈat pšyvˈɔźiw nˈɔ wˈɔn v nˈašėm rajˈońe v nˈašėʲ ˈɔbłas:śći tˈylkɔ zˈa usˈerdˈum tudˈa čšˈa jˈexać jˈeźʒiw wˈu jˈegɔ žˈɔnkˈi tˈam śˈɔstra žˈyje tudˈa jˈežžum wɔdːˈyxać v gˈɔśćax ji wˈun tˈam kupˈuje ji wˈun pšyvˈɔźi | tˈutej wˈuny zjeźʒˈiwy ńˈe bˈywɔ stˈamtun pšyvˈɔźi

– *Ciekawe, to są krzaki takie bardziej, czy to rośnie na samym szczycie?*

vʼʼelgʼe kšʼɔkʼi kʼʼedry nʼɔ wʼɔː wʼʱt tʼakʼe prymʼʼernɔ grubʼɔśći nʼɔ wʼuny pɔxʼɔže nʼa jʼɔwke tʼe tʼakʼe nʼɔ prʼimʼʼernɔ vʼʼiće jʼakʼe vʼɔt tʼakʼe kšʼɔkʼi nʼɔ wʼunė ńeɔbyknɔvʼʼen:e ji gałʼũnskuv mʼajum dʼužɔ dʼužɔ dʼužɔ gʼỹstɔ gʼỹstɔ gʼỹstɔ gʼỹstɔ i wʼunė ńʼe tʼakʼe fʼest šyrʼɔkʼe a nʼɔ krʼutkʼe mʼajum gałʼũnskʼi ji tʼe šʼyškʼi nʼa vʼʼirxu tʼɔ čšʼa pʼɔwum bʼʼić pʼɔ tʼym ʒ́ʼėvʼe žʼeby slatuvʼaʷy jʼešče sʼum tʼakʼe ptʼɔkʼi tʼɔ jʼes jʼak fcʼeśńe nacʸnʼajum bʼʼić tʼɔ tʼe ptʼɔkʼi rʼa i fšʼyskʼe wɔžʼėxy zjadʼajum […] mʼuxa kvʼʼɔtek rʼėšʼywa zjʼėśᶜ | mʼuxa kvʼʼɔtek rʼėšʼywa zjʼeśᶜ

– *Ten różowy ładnie kwitnie.*

wʼun kfʼʼitńe i ź́ʼimum tʼak | tʼɔ mʼʼi cʼurka čšʼy lʼata tʼėmu nʼa dʼʼėń rɔždʼʼeńja nʼɔ nʼa mʼɔje pšyvʼʼezwa nʼɔ malʼutkʼe tʼakʼe nʼɔ kfʼʼit tʼylkʼɔ f tʼakʼim grɔšʼɔčʼku tʼyn mʼʼi pšyvʼʼezwa bʼes rʼɔk a f tʼamte lʼatɔ nʼa nʼɔ tʼyž nʼa dʼʼėń rʼaždʼʼe nʼɔ wʼun v jʼizbʼe stʼɔji tʼam ʷʼɔn žʼyvy tʼyž tʼyn tʼɔ jʼuš pšesɔʒ́ʼaam wʼuna f tʼym gɔrnʼušku pšyvʼʼezwa malʼutkʼi a tʼamtyn jʼuš tʼen wʼɔt tʼegɔ pšesɔʒ́ʼaʷam i tʼamtyn jʼuž vʼyrus pšesʼɔʒ́ać čšʼa a tʼyn xćʼaam pšesʼaʑ́ić a tʼam tʼakɔ cæbʼula jʼedna a bʼyw gɔrnʼušėk mʼawy jʼɔ mʼyśle sʼe ńʼe‿vʼim jʼag gʼɔ pšesaʒ́ʼaće ᵍʒ́ʼe […] rɔzežnʼamy nʼa śtʼyry cʼỹśći | pɔsaʑ́ʼiwam sʼɔbʼe dʼužė gɔrnʼuškuv ji śʼɔšče dʼaam i jʼedyn tʼylkɔ vʼyžyw xtʼur sʼɔbʼe xtʼury pɔsaʑ́ʼiʷam rʼeśte tʼɔ tʼɔ | ji vʼɔt jʼedyn apʼʼać tʼak

WII: The cat will eat it, it's fatty. I'll cut it off like this. Bees sting, right. Recently, I [was attacked] by wasps in the toilet, what do you call them [in Polish], what's the correct name for them – not bees, but these, well: wasps, wasps.

– *Wasps*.

Wasps – yes. And the wasps made a nest up there and I noticed it, but I thought: they don't bother me, let them live there. I went out and I left the door open and when the door slammed [because of its own weight], suddenly they all flew out. And there was nothing I could do about them until I finally bought a sprayer and washed them out with water. It didn't have any smell and they all ran away right away and now it's clean. […] Now, these nut trees, only old trees bear nuts, not the young ones. On the old ones, that's a long way to reach them. They were not here last year.

One of them burned down when the taiga was burning, and, how to say, my brother brought it to us. He lives in our region, in our oblast, but he gets them in Userda, one has to go there, and he drove there. His wife has a sister there, and they go there on vacation, as guests. He buys [nuts] there and he brings them here. They went everywhere here, but there were no nuts, and they brought them from there.

– *I wonder, are these more like bushes? Or, does it grow from the very top?*

Big bushes, cedars. Well, about this thickness, they are similar to spruce. Well, they are, more or less, you know what they are? These are bushes, but they are so unusual and they have many, many, many and thick and dense, thick and dense branches. They are not very wide, and they have short branches and these cones are at the top, so you have to hit the tree with a stick to make [the nuts] fall down. And there are also such birds, and when one starts hitting [the tree with a stick] early, these birds come straight here and eat all the nuts.

[watching the fly] The fly decided to eat the flower, the fly decided to eat the flower.

– *The pink one is blooming nicely.*

It blooms also in winter, yes. My daughter gave it to me for my birthday three years ago. It was tiny, but it bloomed in such a small pot. She brought me this one a year later, and [the other one] last year, also for my birthday, but it is in the other room. It's live [one] too, and this one too, I've already replanted it. She brought a tiny one in this pot, and I've already replanted that one as well. And that one grew big – I had to repot it, and I wanted to replant this one because there was only one bulb there and the pot was small. I thought that I didn't know how to replant it, where, so I cut it into four parts and planted it in many pots, and I also gave it to my sister and only one survived. The one I planted for myself and the rest died. And only one did [survive].

Third generation (transcribed by Michał Głuszkowski)

WIII: pɔv’ˈuz mńˈe v te damad’ˈedɔvα na ėrαpˈɔrt | jˈo s tum tˈɔrbum xˈɔʒe no cɔ | tu pɔdˈende | ńˈi ma b’ilˈetu do jėrkˈucka na że cˈowk’i tˈyʒ́iń | no i pˈotėm juš xˈɔć pwˈac | ale jak pam’ˈintum jexˈaam to m’ˈawam uobrˈɔzek mˈatk’i bˈosk’ij l’ix’ˈeńsk’i | a u mńė u mńė tˈak’i v’ˈelk’i jes tˈyš s pˈɔlsk’i | pˈańi [Name] mˈuv’i | jak ći bˈyʒ́ė źle to tak mˈuv’i pomˈodl’ij śe | nɔ i juš tak jˈade f tym aftˈobuśė i tak’ inɔ mˈuv’e | mˈatka bˈoska l’ix’ˈeńska mˈuv’ė pˈomuš m’ˈi jˈa ńe xcˈe f ty mˈɔskv’e bˈyšə do jirkˈucka dˈo‿dum m’ˈi śė xcˈe | xˈyba ńėʒ́ˈel’i čšy tɔ f pˈolsce tam gośćiwam | nˈɔ i tak pšyjexˈaam f tyn aėrapˈort | pɔdėšwam do jˈedny kˈas:y | ńi ma b’ilˈetuf | pˈotėm juš pˈɔšwam mˈuv’e nu tə dɔ nαč’ˈalńikα | nɔ i mˈuv’e że jˈedė s kəmαnd’irˈofk’i s pˈolsk’i | nˈo | mˈuv’i | cėkˈajćė […] nɔ pˈɔtėm pɔdˈešwam f trαnz’ˈitnė kˈas:y | ɔnˈa ma… znalˈeźl’i bˈystro tam nαč’ˈalńik pozvuńˈiwa | jˈez b’ˈilet | ˈɔj jɔ tˈak ˈoj mˈuv’ė mˈatka bˈoska m’i cy cɔ pomˈɔgwa | nɔ i kup’ˈiwam tėn b’ilet | ˈalė tyž byw tˈak’i tˈuman bˈyw dˈyš: šˈet | nˈu samˈɔlot jˈešče v uˈomsku | zatšymuvaw śe v ˈomsku nɔ tɔ tɔ jˈešče xˈyba goʒ́ˈiny dv’ˈe cėkawam | nˈu a pˈotėm po tam… juš f samɔlˈɔt tɔ žˈem tak ˈo skˈɔrɔ już bˈede dˈumu tɔ […] mˈɔskve cˈoś tˈegɔ strˈašńe śe cˈoś kˈožy […] do mˈɔskvy

– *A tak dłużej, żeby była pani w Moskwie, to była pani?*

ńˈe | tak ˈinɔ prɔjˈazdėm bˈywam

– *My trzy dni teraz byliśmy w Moskwie. Pociągu nie było.*

f sˈankt p’ėtˈ’ėrbˈurgu to mˈy m’ėškˈal’i | tag ź ʒ́eć’am’i my jėxˈal’i tɔ f tˈamtõm strˈune i nˈazɔt | tɔ f sˈankt p’ėtˈ’ėrbˈurgu | f kal’ińingrˈaʒė

– *Ładny Sankt Petersburg?*

tˈak | tɔ | p’ińũnškuf my dˈość spˈirɔ m’ˈel’i | tɔ zakazuvˈal’i ėksˈkursji pə gˈɔrɔdu my bˈyl’i | pˈotėm nˈazɔt s povrˈɔtėm jėxˈal’i tyž […] p’ińũnšk’i śe zostavˈawy […] cˈawa pˈolska | tɔ tyš mˈy xoʒ́ˈiwy | cˈarsk’ij dvαrˈ’ec f sˈankt p’ėtˈ’ėrbˈurgu | tėš mˈy xˈyba nˈɔc m’ėškal’i | pɔt.. ˈuš dˈɔdum dɔ jėrkˈucka | samolˈɔtėm

– *A jak się leci samolotem?*

ńˈi | ʒ́ˈeći | tɔ ʒ́ˈeći | rɔʒ́i… tˈakžė by ktˈɔ ńė bˈywɔ žˈeby ktˈo žˈyga bɔ cˈɔ tak dˈobže fšˈysk’ė tam jak rˈoz v nˈocy | tudˈa i nˈazɔt xyba mˈy v nˈɔcy tɔ | ˈinɔ za samɔlˈɔtėm fšˈysk’ė ʒ́ˈeći spˈawy tɔ tak dˈobžė pšˈyńes

– *A jak długo, ile godzin?*

nɔ cɔ mˈy xˈyba | gˈoʒ́in pˈ'ińć | pˈ'ińć xˈyba | nˈɔ | gˈoʒ́in lėćˈel'i my s sˈankt pˈėtˈėrbˈurga dɔ irkˈutska […] no tɔ | tɔ jˈeščė bˈywo że zaprˈafka | f t'ˈum'eńi zaprˈafka | tam pˈočt'i goʒ́ine mˈy goʒ́ine xˈyba mˈy f t'ˈum'eńi śėʒ́el'i

WIII: He took me to Domodedovo Airport. I go there with my bag and it turns out that there are no tickets to Irkutsk available for the whole week. And then there's nothing you can do. But as I remember, when I was going there, I had a picture of Our Lady of Licheń. I also have a big one, also from Poland. Mrs. [Name] says: once you feel bad, pray. And when I'm on this bus, I say to myself: Our Lady of Licheń, I say, help me, I don't want to be in Moscow anymore, I want to [return to] Irkutsk, I want to go home. I think I had been in Poland for about a week, and so I arrived at the airport, went to one ticket counter – there were no tickets. Then I went to the airport manager and told him that I was coming from Poland, on a business trip. Well, he says, please wait. And then I went to the transit counters. She has it, they found it quickly, she called the airport manager there. There is a ticket. Oh my…, yes, oh, I say was it Our Lady who helped me. So I bought the ticket, but it was also foggy and raining. The plane was still stopping in Omsk, so I waited for another two hours. And then, on the plane, I'll be home quickly, that's why I have bad memories of Moscow. To Moscow….

– *And have you been to Moscow for a longer time?*

No, I was just in transit.

– *This time we had to stay in Moscow for three days. There was no train.*

We lived in Saint Petersburg. So we and our children were going that way and back. In Saint Petersburg, in Kaliningrad.

– *Is Saint Petersburg nice?*

Yes. We had quite a lot of money, so we booked trips around the city and then back, and when we went […] we still had the money left […] We were also sightseeing Poland. The Tsar's Palace in Saint Petersburg, I think we also stayed overnight, and then we went home to Irkutsk by plane.

– *How about flying by plane?*

All right. Children are children. It wasn't like anyone felt sick, because everyone was fine all the night, all the children there and back slept all the night and we arrived well.

– *And how long was it, how many hours?*

Well, it probably took us about five hours. Five, I think. That's how long we flew from Saint Petersburg to Irkutsk. […] Then there was refuelling. There was refuelling in Tyumen. We spent there almost an hour in Tyumen.

Third generation (transcribed by Katarzyna Dembska)

– *A wstążka to jakieś kolory musi mieć?*

WIII: ńˈe prˈosto fstˈunška cėrvˈona ˈilʼi nˈu jˈak ˈun tˈam nˈu cˈɔ

– *Obojętnie, tak?*

nˈo

– *No a już pewnie na samym weselu…*

nˈu bˈɔ tˈam ˈunėn ˈale korˈoći jˈak tˈo tˈo tˈam nˈa cˈośe | nalyvˈajum svˈat ze svˈatʼum s tˈy i s tˈy strˈuny | nˈu i snɑćˈała ʒˈuwxy mˈogum | i ze strˈuny ʒˈuwxy tˈam mˈogum krˈevny ʒˈowxuf podrˈuškuf | nˈo v jˈakʼim čudʼjˈańe nakryvˈajum ji ʷˈun dˈołžėn ʷuznˈać ji z tˈyx ʒˈowxuf cˈy jˈest tˈam jˈego ʒˈowxa

– *To się nazywa jakoś ten zwyczaj? Bo u nas oczepiny.*

jˈo tˈak (z)nˈačy tˈak podˈobńe

– *A jakie są zabawy na weselu, co tam się robi?*

nˈo sˈum | nˈu tˈužė ˈun | nalyvˈajum tˈam stˈupke | nˈap nˈa | ʒˈuwxa jˈuš nadzˈyvo jˈego rodʼˈitʼeluf mˈamum tˈatum | tˈakžė ʷˈun nazˈyvo mˈamum tˈatum | tˈakžė vʼˈecur mˈožno śˈe tˈak ˈupʼić [laughter] | s tˈy ćfʼˈerći | jˈesliʼi ktˈo xcˈe | mˈo xўć

– *A jakie alkohole się pije?*

nˈu snˈovu tarˈasun pʼˈijum | tarˈasun

– *Co to znaczy?*

cˈo znˈacy? zavˈoʒum | nˈu naprʼimˈer ve flˈaʒė cˈukʼėr drˈož:ė ji pˈotym tˈo tˈo pšegańˈajum | i pʼˈijum

– *I jak to smakuje?*

nˈo xtˈuś tˈɔ gžˈunke rˈɔb’iw […] gžˈunke | tˈo cˈuk’ėr śˈe opˈolo | nˈu: ʷˈobžarˈuje śˈe tˈak | mˈož z mˈas z mˈaswym i tˈutaj śˈė vl’ˈivo dˈo tarasˈunu tˈak’i cv’ˈet jˈak ćˈaj hėrbˈatka […] [laughter] žˈawko žˈe jˈo ńi mˈom jˈo by vˈos ugoś:ˈiwa bˈym tˈym tˈum […] žˈė tsˈa vˈom tˈam ot otpˈal’ić vˈos tˈam do tˈy do ćˈotk’i | bˈo ot koś:ˈowu tˈam z gurˈeck’i žˈyje ʷˈuna vˈum dˈuża dˈuża cˈo roskˈožė

– *A jak się nazywa?*

y͡y [Name, Surname] | ćˈotka [Name] | ˈuna vˈum dˈužo dˈuża cˈėgo roskˈožė tˈa | u ńˈi bˈa:pća s v’ˈid’imo stˈamtun s pˈulsk’i || bˈaba [Name] u ńˈėj mˈama | tˈak ˈot ˈuna dˈuża v’ˈincyj mˈožė roskˈozɔć

– *Does the ribbon have to have certain colours?*

WIII: No, just a red ribbon. Or, well, whatever it’s going to be like there.

– *It doesn’t matter, does it?*

No.

– *Well, probably at the wedding itself ...*

Well, it’s shorter there, like this, for something else. The matchmakers from the groom family and from the bride family pour [vodka for everyone]. Well, at first girls can start. And on the bride’s side, her relatives, they cover her [the bride] with a piece of cloth, and her female friends too, and he [the groom] should recognise, among these girls, who is his chosen one. […]

– *Is there a name for this custom? Because in our case these are “oczepiny”* [symbolic transition from maiden to wife – involving replacing a bride’s wedding veil with a wedding cap, a mobcap].

Yes, I mean, something like this.

– *What are the wedding games and activities, what is done there?*

Well, there are [many]. Well, they pour a shot there too, the girl is already calling his [the groom’s] parents mum and dad. And he’s also calling [her parents] mum and dad. On this evening one can get drunk [laughs] from that “quarter”, if one feels like it.

– *What kind of alcohol do you drink?*

Well, most often they drink tarasun. Tarasun.

– *What does it mean?*

What does it mean? You need to mix sugar and yeast, for example in a homemade still, then it is distilled and you can drink it.

– *And what does it taste like?*

Well, some people make “gzhunka” […] “Gzhunka”. The sugar has to be fried, you have to heat it, you can add butter and then add [this syrup] to the tarasun, which gives it a colour like tea [laughter]. It’s a pity I don’t have any, because I would treat you to this. […] You should go to that aunt who lives near the church under the hill, she could tell you a lot.

– *What is her name?*

Ahem. [Name, Surname]. Aunt [Name]. She will tell you a lot of everything. He lives with his grandmother, who comes from there, from Poland. Grandma [Name], she has a mom. Yes, she can tell a lot more.

Fourth generation (transcribed by Magdalena Grupa-Dolińska)

WIV: tˈak | ʒˈeći ˈil’i ɔtpɔv’adˈajɔm na rˈužne vaprˈɔsy
– *Pytania.*
tˈak
– *Dzieci odpowiadają na pytania. I jakie na przykład. te pytania?*
na pšˈykwat
– *O czym?*
istˈɔr’ija
– *Historia.*
x’istˈɔr’a | na pšˈykwat jˈaka bˈywa | ńe pˈɔmne tˈeraz | rˈužne
– *Ale to różne pytania, tak?*
tˈak
– *I chciałabyś tam pojechać i brać udział w tym konkursie?*
tˈak
– *A co można wygrać?*
y: | dˈɔstać y: dˈyplɔm i pastup’ˈić vˈyžej
– *Iść na kolejny etap, tak?*
tˈak
– *I później też są takie pytania, tak?*
rˈužne | już drˈug’e iz s… | ˈurav’eń vˈyše
– *Wyższy poziom, tak?*
tˈak

– *A jak jest już najwyższy poziom, to co wtedy jest?*
mˈɔžna ˈić v jˈakʼiś instʼitˈut
– *Można dostać się na jakiś uniwersytet, tak?*
tˈak | bʼez egzˈamʼenaf
– *I właśnie chciałabyś iść do jakiego instytutu?*
ńˈe vʼem
– *I co jeszcze byś chciała w Moskwie zrobić? Coś zwiedzić, coś zobaczyć?*
zɔbˈačyć krˈasnuju płˈɔšʼčʼatʼ
– *Plac Czerwony.*
plˈac
– *A co tam jest na Placu Czerwonym?*
ńˈe vʼem | ńe bˈywam
– *A widziałaś kiedyś w telewizji?*
tˈak
– *I co tam pokazują na tym Placu Czerwonym?*
źˈimɔm dˈuža xˈɔjinka stˈɔji

WIV: Yes, children are answering various <u>questions</u>$_{RUS}$.
– *Questions*$_{POL}$*?*
Yes.
– *Children are answering questions. And what kind of questions are there, for instance?*
For instance.
– *About what?*
History.
– *History.*
History, for instance, what it was like, I don't remember now, various ones.
– *But there are various questions, aren't there?*
Yes.
– *Would you like to go there and take part in this contest?*
Yes.
– *And what are the prizes?*
Eee. You can get a diploma and <u>move on</u>$_{RUS}$ to the next stage.

– *Move on*$_{POL}$ *to the next stage?*

Yes.

– *And then there are also such questions, aren't there?*

Various ones. But [then] there are different ones. On a higher level$_{RUS}$.

– *On a higher level*$_{POL}$*?*

Yes.

– *And when the highest level is reached, then what happens?*

You can be admitted to University$_{RUS}$.

– *You can be admitted to University*$_{POL}$*?*

Yes, without entrance exams.

– *And you would like to be admitted to some University, wouldn't you?*

I don't know.

–- *And what else would you like to do in Moscow? Visit something, see something?*

To see Red Square$_{RUS}$.

– *Red Square*$_{POL}$.

Square$_{POL}$

– *And what is there on Red Square?*

I don't know. I haven't been there.

– *Have you seen it on TV?*

Yes.

– *And what do they show on TV?*

In winter there is a large Christmas tree there.

Fourth generation (transcribed by Michał Głuszkowski)

MIV: v wˈaśė | rˈɔbʼim v wˈaśė

– *No i co w lesie robicie?*

kompʼˈemy śe | jag dˈɔbra pɔgˈɔda || co mˈy bˈolšė robʼˈimy | bˈolšė ńė ma co rˈobʼić tak […] za krovˈamʼi xɔʒimy

– *Języka polskiego w domu się też uczyłeś, czy tylko w szkole?*

no ˈu mńė | bˈaba rɔzmˈɔvʼa | pɔ pˈɔlsku | dʼˈatʼka | pˈapa tyš | rɔzmˈɔvʼa || mˈama tɔ ńe | ˈona rˈuskɔ

– *A w szkole długo się uczyłeś polskiego?*

wˈot | pɔslˈedńij got | zakˈońčyw | polskʼėgo | s pʼiršėgɔ kwˈasu | do usmėgɔ

– *To teraz do Dundaju do szkoły idziesz?*

jˈuš | tš̩y‿gˈɔda | v dundˈaju | ʒ́ėvʼʼunty tˈeras | pɑslˈedńij rˈɔk | v dundˈaju | pˈɔtėm do irkˈucka

– *Uprawiasz jakiś sport, w piłkę gracie?*

fudbˈow | grˈam || grˈamy ˈo | zˈa mną | tak pɔ trˈɔxu || [laughter] kʼʼedy vrʼʼemʼa jes

– *Dużo chłopaków gra?*

ńˈe tɔs | mˈawɔ stˈawɔ śe xwɔpˈɔkuf | fšˈystkʼė pɔvyjėxˈalʼi | do irkˈucka || co jˈešče vˈɔm povˈėʒ́ėć

– *Wszystko. Może tak ogólnie o wiosce, jak tu jest, czym się ludzie zajmują przede wszystkim?*

rabˈɔtajom […] rabˈota | u fšˈysk’ix || cɔ bˈolše rˈɔbʼom | jˈedna rɔbˈota v dʼėrʼʼėvńė | rabˈɔta

– *A jak wygląda dzień? Wcześnie trzeba wstać?*

kʼʼedy jˈak | mˈožᵊ f śˈedėm gˈoʒ́in | mˈož v ˈośim | mˈožə dɔ ɔbʼʼadu spˈać [laughter] | kaj kudˈy vyxˈoʒ́iš tɔ dɔ ɔbʼʼadu śpʼʼiš […]

– *W szkole uczycie się o Polsce?*

raskazˈuje pɔ trˈɔxu o pˈolsce | kńˈišk’i čytˈamy | ɔ pˈolsce tˈeš | f škˈɔlė || kˈarty rɔzgląˈdamy | ɔ pˈolsce | v nˈašėm kwˈaśė mˈawɔ‿ktɔ pˈɔlsk’i | pʼʼińć cwˈɔvʼek | štˈɔ lʼi | pɔlskˈėgɔ učˈywɔ śe

– *A ty chciałeś się uczyć polskiego?*

nˈɔ | snaćˈawa tɔ ńˈe xcɔ | bɔ ńe vʼʼeʒ́ow gɔ | uxˈoʒ́iw s urˈɔkuf | a tˈɔ rˈas tak | trˈɔxė

– *A w domu po rosyjsku tylko mówicie, czy po polsku też?*

v dˈumu tɔ jˈo pɔ rɔsˈyjsku mˈuvʼe | z bˈabćoᵐ pɔ pˈɔlsku mˈuvʼe

– *Czy babcia po rosyjsku nie mówi, czy rzadko?*

mˈuvʼi tak | pɔ rɔsˈyjsku i pɔ pˈɔlsku

MIV: In the forest. I work in the forest.

– *And what do you do in the forest?*

We go swimming [there] when the weather is good. What else do we do? There is nothing more to do. We look after the cows.

– *Did you also learn Polish at home or only at school?*

Well, my grandmother speaks Polish, my grandfather and my father speak Polish too. But my mother doesn't, she's Russian.

– *Have you been learning Polish at school for a long time?*

This is my last year, I finished learning Polish. From my first year to my eighth year at school.

– *So now you'll go to school in Dundai?*

[I've been studying] in Dundai for three years now, and now it's my ninth year – my last year, in Dundai. Then to Irkutsk.

– *Do you do any sports, do you play football?*

I play football, we play. Behind me [points to the pitch], just a little. [laughter] When we have time.

– *Do many boys play football?*

No, there aren't many boys left. Everyone has left, for Irkutsk. What else can I tell you?

– *About everything. Maybe about the village in general, what it is like here, what people mostly do?*

They work. Everyone has something to do. What do they do beside this? In the village there is only work. Work.

– *What does your* [typical] *day look like? Do you have to get up early?*

It depends. Sometimes at seven, sometimes at eight. Sometimes not until noon [laughter]. If you go out [the previous evening], you sleep until noon.

– *Do you learn about Poland at school?*

[The teacher] tells [us] a little about Poland. We also read books about Poland. We look at maps about Poland. Hardly anyone in our class learns Polish, maybe five people, more or less, learned Polish.

– *And you? Did you want to learn Polish?*

Yes. At first I didn't want to because I didn't know it. I skipped classes and then went [to classes] more, a little bit.

– *Do you only speak Russian at home, or do you also speak Polish?*

I speak Russian at home. I speak Polish with my grandmother.

– *Does* [your] *grandma not speak Russian, or rarely?*

She does. Both Russian and Polish.

Appendix 4.
Vershina in photographs

Photo 1. A panoramic view of Vershina from nearby “Miru-mir” hilltop

Photo 2. Buildings of the former kolkhoz against the background of “Miru-mir” hill

Photo 3. Photo display board in the “Polish House” in Vershina

Photo 4. One of the local shops in Vershina

Photo 5. The Ida River in Vershina

Photo 6. The cemetery in Vershina