

Gwary Dziś
Dialects Today

13.

POZNAŃSKIE TOWARZYSTWO PRZYJACIÓŁ NAUK
WYDZIAŁ FILOLOGICZNO-FILOZOFICZNY
KOMISJA JĘZYKOZNAWCZA
INSTYTUT FILOLOGII POLSKIEJ
UNIwersytetu IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU

GWARY DZIŚ

13.

Rocznik poświęcony dialektologii słowiańskiej



Poznań 2020

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DIALECTS TODAY

13.

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From the editors

In the history of Poznań dialectology, the year 2020 marks several anniversaries. The most important of them is related to the beginning of the Poznań university where 100 years ago, foundations were laid for dialectology as a discipline worthy of academic interest. The beginning was as humble as it was difficult. However, the firm foundations have transformed Poznań dialectology into one of the most significant centres of academic studies.

2020 also closes two decades of international meetings held as part of a „Gwary dziś” (“Dialects Today”) series. Together with young academics, we have managed to achieve a position appreciated outside the country. Dialectologists from other centres of Slavic studies are willing to visit our university while we are frequently invited to conferences organised by them.

In order to sum up the developments of the past period, we have decided to publish a special annual edition of „Gwary Dziś” (“Dialects Today”) with the intention of presenting the achievements of the Institute of Dialectology of the Poznań University.

Od Redakcji

W historii poznańskiej dialektologii rok 2020 kojarzy się z kilkoma swoistymi rocznicami. Najważniejsza związana jest z początkiem poznańskiego uniwersytetu, w którym 100 lat temu zaistniała dialektologia jako dyscyplina godna akademickiego zainteresowania. Początki – jak to zazwyczaj bywa – nie były łatwe. Położone jednak wówczas podwaliny pozwalają dziś widzieć w poznańskiej dialektologii jeden z bardziej znaczących ośrodków badań uniwersyteckich.

Jest to też rok zamykający dwa dziesięciolecia międzynarodowych spotkań w ramach cyklu „Gwary dziś”. Wraz z młodą kadrą naukową udało się osiągnąć pozycję zauważalną poza granicami kraju. Chętnie do nas przyjeżdżają dialektolodzy z różnych ośrodków slawistycznych, z kolei często też jesteśmy zapraszani na organizowane przez nich konferencje.

Podsumowując niejako osiągnięcia minionego okresu, postanowiliśmy przygotować specjalny rocznik „Gwar Dziś”, który w naszym zamierzeniu ma być ilustracją dorobku Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM.

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Sto lat dialektologii w Poznaniu

Abstrakt: W artykule przedstawione są najważniejsze informacje dotyczące historii badań dialektologicznych w Poznaniu. Podano też istotne dane, szkicując kontekst tych działań – działalność naukowa Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego ściśle powiązana jest z Poznańskim Towarzystwem Przyjaciół Nauk. Te dwie instytucje naukowe mają wielkie zasługi w rozwoju studiów polonistycznych, a w tym dialektologii. Przedstawione informacje dotyczą głównie mało znanych osiągnięć zespołu dialektologicznego – między innymi archiwum fonograficznego z rejestracjami wypowiedzi informatorów urodzonych w drugiej połowie XIX wieku (najstarszy rozmówca pochodzi z roku 1855), co z nagraniami współczesnymi daje w sumie zarejestrowanych około 3700 godzin mowy ludowej – całość tego archiwum dostępna jest w wersji cyfrowej.

Tekst uzupełnia garść informacji o historii dialektologii poznańskiej, zaś kończy szkic współczesnych działań zespołu Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM – głównie prac leksykograficznych.

Słowa kluczowe: historia dialektologii w Poznaniu, polonistyka na UAM, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, leksykografia gwar Wielkopolski

Abstract: **A centennial of dialectology in Poznań.** This article presents the most relevant information on the history of dialectological research in Poznań and its context, the academic achievements of the Poznań University enjoyed in cooperation with the Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences. The two institutions have greatly contributed to the development of Polish studies including dialectology.

The presented information pertains chiefly to the relatively unknown accomplishments of the dialectology team, for example a phonographic archive containing recordings of utterances of informants born in the second half of the 19th century (the oldest interlocutor was born in 1855). Together with contemporary recordings, the collection contains approximately 3,700 hours of rural speech. The entire archive is available in a digital version.

The text is supplemented with information about the history of Poznań dialectology and the contemporary activities of the team of the Dialectology Workshop at the Poznań University, mainly lexicographic works.

Keywords: history of dialectology in Poznań, Polish studies at the AMU, Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, lexicography of Wielkopolska dialects.

Uniwersytet w Poznaniu powstał – bo mógł – dopiero po uzyskaniu przez Polskę niepodległości. Historia uniwersytecka rozpoczyna się zatem formalnie w roku 1919,

kiedy to inicjuje działalność Wszechnica Piastowska zmieniająca w roku 1920 nazwę na Uniwersytet Poznański. Od roku 1955 funkcjonuje już jako Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu (UAM).

Zabiegi społeczności Poznania o erygowanie tu uniwersytetu mają długą i zawiłą historię. Pierwsze kroki podejmowane były jeszcze w okresie przedrozbiorowym.

w roku 1519 powołana została do życia Akademia Lubrańskiego, która zyskała dumne miano Academia Posnaniensis i uznawana jest dziś za początek poznańskiej tradycji akademickiej. Szkoła ta, jako jedna z pierwszych uczelni Rzeczypospolitej, proponowała nowoczesne, humanistyczne wykształcenie, odbiegające od scholastycznego, średniowiecznego modelu nauczania (Kaniewska 2018, 11).

u progu wieku XVII, w roku 1611 król Zygmunt Waza nadał poznańskiemu kolegium jezuitickiemu (powstałemu w roku 1573) przywilej, podnosząc je do rangi akademii. Niestety, edyktu założycielskiego nie podpisał papież, podobno ze względu na protesty Akademii Krakowskiej (Kaniewska 2018, 12).

Nie doczekał się Poznań uniwersytetu w okresie I Rzeczypospolitej. Po rozbiorach kierowane były monity do władz pruskich praktycznie od zakończenia Kongresu Wiedeńskiego. Działania te nie przyniosły jednak pozytywnych rezultatów. Starania o utworzenie uniwersytetu w Poznaniu

rozpoczęły się już u progu powstania Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego petycją złożoną w Berlinie 3 maja 1819 roku, a potem wypływały na posiedzeniach sejmów krajowych w latach 1827 i 1839, przy czym zawsze jedną z podstaw argumentacji wnioskodawców było prawo Polaków do stworzenia katedry języka i literatury polskiej. Władze pruskie natomiast utracąły ten argument, wskazując możliwość stworzenia takiej katedry na istniejących już uniwersytetach w innych miastach pruskich (Wrocławiu, Królewcu, Berlinie) (Maciejewski 2018, 26).

W okresie zaborów uniwersytet w Poznaniu zatem nie powstał. Wprawdzie na mapie miasta mamy wzniesione na początku XX wieku budowle z przeznaczeniem dla będącej namiastką wyższej szkoły pruskiej – Akademii Królewskiej – z aulą z racji wyjątkowej akustyki wykorzystywaną przez organizatorów koncertów filharmonicznych (z Międzynarodowym Konkursem Skrzypcowym im. Henryka Wieniawskiego włącznie) oraz pomieszczeniami Rektoratu UAM – ale były to działania władz pruskich zmierzających do przekształcenia Poznania w Residenzstadt cesarza. To wtedy – w latach 1902–1918 – po rozbiórce fortyfikacji miejskich powstała tzw. dzielnica zamkowa z budowlami wykorzystywanymi dzisiaj częściowo przez Uniwersytet. Na szczególne podkreślenie zasługuje gmach dawnej Komisji Kolonizacyjnej, będący współczesną siedzibą Wydziału Filologii Polskiej i Klasycznej UAM. Jest to przykład zawiłości historii, ponieważ w locum instytucji powołanej przez władze pruskich zaborców do zwalczania polskości mieszczą się współcześnie zakłady i pracownie polonistyki uznawanej często za najlepszą w kraju.

Jako młody ośrodek uniwersytecki Poznań borykał się z wypełnieniem składu kadry naukowej. Pośród polonistów największe problemy początkowo były z pozyskaniem językoznawców.

W momencie otwarcia zajęć dydaktycznych katedra języka polskiego na Uniwersytecie Poznańskim nie była (...) obsadzona, a wykłady z tego przedmiotu będą od III semestru prowadzili zastępczo Dobrzycki oraz Lehr i Rudnicki w swych specjalnościach. Dopiero od stycznia 1922 roku objął w tej katedrze wykłady jako „zastępca profesor” przybyły z Krakowa dr Edward Klich. W marcu 1922 roku nastąpiła też wymiana lwowsko-poznańska na katedrze filologii słowiańskiej. Odszedł z Poznania do Lwowa Tadeusz Lehr-Splawiński (po jego wyjeździe przez jeden trymestr wykładał w Poznaniu dialektologię polską Kazimierz Nitsch), a od sierpnia 1922 objął w Poznaniu katedrę filologii słowiańskiej prof. Henryk Ułaszyn ze Lwowa (Maciejewski 2018, 56-57).

Przegrywał też Poznań w pozyskiwaniu kadry z takimi ośrodkami jak Lwów, Warszawa czy Kraków. Przykładem tego jest chociażby Kazimierz Nitsch, który wstępnie przyjąwszy propozycję objęcia katedry języka polskiego Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego, ostatecznie wybrał katedrę filologii słowiańskiej w Krakowie (Maciejewski 2018, 57). Tak więc językoznawstwem od początku swego pobytu w Poznaniu zajmował się Edward Klich¹, którego „twórczość naukową (...) zainicjował obecny w niej do końca, a okresami dominujący nurt dialektologiczny” (Walczak 2018a, 252).

Z czasem Uniwersytet Poznański wzmacniał swoją pozycję jako ośrodek naukowy; rozwijane były też inne kierunki studiów. To właśnie absolwenci UP przyczynili się do złamania kodu niemieckiej maszyny szyfrującej Enigma. Wysoki poziom akademickiej matematyki oraz doskonała znajomość języka niemieckiego – tradycja ta jeszcze obecnie jest obserwowana wśród najstarszego pokolenia Wielkopolan – umożliwiły sukces stworzonego jeszcze ze studentów matematyki zespołu dekryptażu. Obecnie uniwersytet udostępnia Centrum Szyfrów Enigma – znane bardziej jako Muzeum Enigmy – dokumentujące olbrzymi sukces swoich absolwentów będący istotnym wkładem w szybsze zakończenie II wojny światowej.

Z biegiem lat wśród kadry naukowej zaczęli pojawiać się już absolwenci UP. Jednym z nich był doc. Adam Tomaszewski – Wielkopolanin, który położył podwaliny pod dynamicznie rozwijającą się na UP dialektologię (Kobus 2017; Lewaszkiewicz 2018). Niemniej nadal odczuwany był brak odpowiedniej kadry, toteż na porządku dziennym były „wykłady gościnne”. Pobyt – wprawdzie krótki – K. Nitscha miał niewątpliwą wpływ na przyjmowane w Poznaniu założenia metodologiczne badań gwaroznawczych; to właśnie tutaj został dostrzeżony – i doceniony – przez krakowskiego uczonego młody A. Tomaszewski. Tymi relacjami należy w przyszłości tłumaczyć wpływ metodologiczny „szkoły krakowskiej” w badaniach przedstawicieli poznańskiej dialektologii, którą w drugiej połowie XX wieku praktycznie sterował prof. Zenon

¹ Ciekawym przyczynkiem do historii poznańskiej polonistyki jest pochodząca z księgozbioru E. Klicha praca J.F. Karskiego, na której obok autografu właściciela jest ślad czasu okupacji – ten bibliofilski okaz od pewnego czasu jest w moim posiadaniu. Jewfimij (Jefim) Fiodorowicz Karski (1860–1931), białoruski językoznawca i etnograf. W latach 1893–1915 przebywał w Warszawie, gdzie dwa razy wybierany był (w latach 1905 i 1908) rektorem Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (*Императорский Варшавский Университет*).

Sobierajski – uczeń A. Tomaszewskiego. Zależność metodologiczna od K. Nitscha na płaszczyźnie dialektologicznej jest bezsporna; zresztą nie tylko jego.

Dopiero od czasów Rozwadowskiego, Nitscha i Łosia można mówić o w pełni zorganizowanej, systematycznej działalności naukowej i pedagogicznej w dziedzinie językoznawstwa polskiego, słowiańskiego i indoeuropejskiego w Polsce na poziomie światowym i jest to zarazem szczęśliwy zbieg okoliczności, że tych trzech uczonych mogło przez dłuższy czas współdziałać w jednym miejscu, tworząc językoznawczy ośrodek naukowy (tzw. krakowską szkołę językoznawczą). Na owoce ich pracy nie trzeba było długo czekać. **Większość językoznawców polskich następných pokoleń była przeważnie albo ich bezpośrednimi uczniami, albo w jakiś sposób od nich zależna, choć kształcona w innych ośrodkach** [podkr. – JS] (Piwowarczyk 2020, 135).

Dialektologię w okresie międzywojennym na Uniwersytecie Poznańskim rozwijał E. Klich, jednak to kto inny bardziej jest kojarzony z rozwojem tej dyscypliny w Poznaniu. To Wielkopolanin – urodzony w Łopienniu w pow. wągrowieckim – A. Tomaszewski. Obu jednak nie było dane kontynuować swoich badań po zakończeniu wojny; obaj jej nie przeżyli – E. Klich jako pierwszy z polskich profesorów był rozstrzelany niedługo po wkroczeniu Niemców do Poznania (Walczak 2018a); A. Tomaszewski zmarł w ostatnich dniach wojny w drodze do domu po wyzwoleniu z obozu koncentracyjnego (Lewaszkiwicz 2018).

Mimo represji okupanta poznańskie środowisko naukowe zaangażowane było w nauczanie na poziomie wyższym; działał – wprawdzie poza Poznaniem – Uniwersytet Ziemi Zachodnich (Wikarjak 1972) dowodzący troski Wielkopolan o swój uniwersytet niezależnie od zewnętrznych warunków.

Po wojnie Uniwersytet Poznański rozwijał się dynamicznie, tu także szczególnie miejsce zajmowała dialektologia. W naszym kontekście ważne będą następujące informacje: noszący od 1955 roku oficjalną nazwę Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu ostatnimi laty zaliczany jest do wielkiej trójki uniwersytetów polskich; poznańska polonistyka powszechnie uznawana jest za najlepszą w kraju; dialektologia poznańska jako jedna z nielicznych ma wyodrębnioną placówkę organizacyjną – od 1974 roku był to samodzielny Zakład Dialektologii Polskiej przekształcony z kolei w Pracownię Dialektologiczną (więcej o tym dalej).

Trudno mówić o poznańskim ośrodku naukowym bez przywołania chociaż pokrótce zasług poznańskiego towarzystwa naukowego. Wobec braku jakichkolwiek nadziei na erygowanie uniwersytetu społeczność Wielkopolski powołała Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskie, które swoją działalność rozpoczęło 13 lutego 1857 roku. Założyciele Towarzystwa stawiali sobie za cel ochronę i rozwój zagrożonej kultury narodowej. Korporacja ta niejako zastępowała więc uniwersytet, będąc animatorem życia naukowego w tej części zaboru pruskiego. Zorganizowane wydziały prowadziły regularne badania naukowe; biblioteka gromadziła wiele bezcennych dla kultury polskiej zabytków naszego piśmiennictwa (i nie tylko). Podstawowy trzon zasobów bibliotecznych stanowią bezcenne księgozbiory darowane Towarzystwu przez jego członków – zwłaszcza z początkowego okresu działalności. Współcześnie zasoby powiększane są przede wszystkim poprzez wymianę międzybiblioteczną (głównie międzynarodową)

oraz profilowane zakupy własne. Długoletnia tradycja przesądza, że mimo ubytków spowodowanych działaniami dwu wojen światowych biblioteka PTPN jest doskonałym miejscem pracy dla osób zainteresowanych szeroko pojmowaną humanistyką.

PTPN skupiało nie tylko osoby zaangażowane w ochronę polskości na terenie zaboru pruskiego. To po części Towarzystwu należy przypisać osiągnięcia przeciwdziałające germanizacji; wyraźnie świadczą o tym liczby:

Wg danych z 1846 roku w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim mieszkało 1342 tys. osób, z czego Polaków 841 tys. (63%), Niemców 420 tys. (31%) i Żydów 81 tys. (6%).

Natomiast w 1905 roku kształtowało się to następująco: 1990 tys. osób, z czego Polaków 1220 tys. (61%), Niemców 770 tys. (39%), do których zaliczono wszystkich Żydów.

Wynika z tego, iż prawie 100-letnia germanizacja nie przyniosła żadnych widocznych efektów (Jędraszewski, Szczepaniak 2010, 9).

Istotny obraz wyłania się też z materiałów niemieckich dotyczących relacji narodowościowych w niektórych rejonach Wielkopolski. Wedle badań Stanisława Malepszaka dokumenty niemieckie jednoznacznie dowodzą, że w roku 1918 Bukówiec Górny – i wiele wsi okolicznych w powiecie leszczyńskim – był miejscowością zamieszkaną wyłącznie przez Polaków, co nie znaczy, że w niektórych okolicach nie było inaczej (Malepszak 2007, 207). Nie dziwi zatem też specyficzny rozkład germanizmów w gwarach tego rejonu; obszary intensywnej kolonizacji pruskiej nie przynoszą znacznej ich koncentracji w lokalnych gwarach (Gliszczyńska 2007, 280).

Jest więc oczywiste, że w takiej sytuacji Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk zaangażowało się w tworzenie nowego uniwersytetu. Z jego grona wywodziło się gremium pierwszej kadry naukowej, to członkowie PTPN przewodzili nowej uczelni.

Duże zasługi ma Wydawnictwo PTPN w promowaniu problematyki dialektologicznej, dorobku dialektologów poznańskich. W 1960 roku zostało reaktywowane samodzielne wydawanie czasopisma poświęconego kwestiom języka i kultury zachodnich Słowian – „*Slavia Occidentalis*”, na którego łamach ukazało się wiele artykułów poświęconych analizie różnych aspektów gwar wielkopolskich – i nie tylko tych. To w tym też wydawnictwie udostępniono obszerny *Kwestionariusz do Atlasu języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski* (Sobierajski 1972). Z PTPN od początku związane są „Gwary Dziś” – wstępnie jako seria publikująca materiały ze współorganizowanego z Instytutem Filologii Polskiej UAM cyklu międzynarodowych konferencji pod tytułem „Gwary dziś”; od 2015 roku jest to już internetowy rocznik poświęcony dialektologii słowiańskiej (<http://gwary.ptpn.poznan.pl/pl/index-pl/>). Warto dodać, że to właśnie wzrost prestiżu międzynarodowego przejawiający się między innymi coraz większą liczbą zagranicznych uczestników konferencji pozwolił właśnie w środowisku poznańskim przygotować wniosek na XIV Międzynarodowy Kongres Słowistów w Ochrydzie (2008) o afiliowanie przy MKS Komisji Dialektologicznej.

Dialektologia na Uniwersytecie Poznańskim rozwijała się niejako dwukierunkowo – jej podstawowy nurt wywodzi się z działań podejmowanych przez ówczesnego docenta Ludwika Zabrockiego, który „Już w 1946 r. (w sierpniu) (...) przystąpił do organizowania stosownej placówki badawczej, nazywanej potocznie «Archiwum Fonograficzne». W rozwojowej fazie istniała ona w ramach Instytutu Zachodniosłowiańskiego”

(Nowak 2001, 201). Oficjalnie placówka ta pierwotnie nosiła nazwę Archiwum Fonograficzne Instytutu Zachodniosłowiańskiego Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego. Kolejne lata przyniosły zmiany organizacyjne, był to więc Instytut Fonograficzny Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego (od 1951), *Zakład Fonograficzny* przy Katedrze Języka Polskiego UP (od 1952), Pracownia Archiwizacji Gwar przy Katedrze Językoznawstwa Ogólnego UAM (w latach 1960–1969), Zakład Dialektologii Polskiej (Nowak 2001, 202–203) związany z Instytutem Filologii Polskiej UAM (w latach 1974–2009) i wreszcie Pracownia Dialektologiczna przy IFP UAM (od 2009). Taki jest „rodowód” współczesnych badań dialektologicznych na UAM w Poznaniu. Ta „pozapolonistyczna” tradycja dialektologii zachowana jest do dzisiaj w lokalizacji gabinetów – przed przeprowadzką do gmachu przy ul. Fredry 10 w starej siedzibie polonistyki w Collegium Novum dialektologia mieściła się na ostatnim piętrze razem z germanistami, podczas gdy pomieszczenia polonistyki zlokalizowane zostały niżej, na piętrach II i III. Dzisiaj też nasze gabinety ulokowane są na poddaszu (IV piętro), co ma też dobre strony, ponieważ niższe pomieszczenia i „połamane” przestrzenie nie zakłócają akustycznych warunków odsłuchów nagrań wcześniej poczynionych w czasie badań terenowych.

Dialektologia poznańska to też wyraźny wkład środowiska związanego strukturą z polonistyką. W latach powojennych istotny udział w rozwoju polonistycznego środowiska lingwistycznego – także dialektologii – wniósł między innymi (pełniąc nawet funkcję dziekańską) prof. Stanisław Urbańczyk (w Poznaniu w latach 1947–1956), największy zaś wkład w pomnażanie wiedzy o złożoności (głównie systemowej) gwar wielkopolskich wśród „polonistów” mieli: prof. Monika Gruchmanowa i prof. Zygmunt Zagórski. To spod ich piór wyszły na przykład monograficzne ujęcia gwar Wielkopolski zachodniej (Gruchmanowa 1970) i północnej (Zagórski 1967). Zauważalny też był ich wkład w powstanie *Atlasu języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski* (o czym dalej).

Więcej informacji o rozwoju polonistycznego językoznawstwa (w tym dialektologii) na UAM przedstawia Z. Zagórski (Zagórski 2011), wykaz profesorów mających szczególnie wpływ na rozwój poznańskiej kadry polonistycznej przybliży z kolei B. Walczak (Walczak 2018b, 303–306).

Badanie gwar wielkopolskich jest ważne nie tylko w kontekście ogólnej charakterystyki gwar polskich i słowiańskich. Może nawet ważniejsze jest ich dokumentowanie z racji roli tychże w kształtowaniu się języka (i kultury) narodowego. Ponadto peryferyjne położenie Wielkopolski na językowej mapie Polski (i Słowiańszczyzny) przesądza o tym, że mamy tu zachowanych wiele elementów archaicznych – tzw. archaizmów peryferycznych – dających wgląd w dawne struktury językowe. To tutaj znajdujemy dowody rodzimości niektórych wyrazów (np. *murzyn* ‘ten, kto jest umurzony, tj. ciemny’ < gwar. wlkp. *murzyć* ‘czernić’ (Sierociuk 2005)), *bystry* ‘jasny’ (*bystre słońce, bystra sukienka*), *kromka* ‘boczna lub końcowa część całości’ (nie tylko *kromka chleba* ‘pierwszy lub ostatni kawałek bochenka chleba’ – inaczej niż w języku ogólnym: ‘odkrojony kolejny kawałek chleba z jego środkowej (miękkiej) części’) *kromka kopca, kromka materiału* (krawieckie: ‘wąski – po bokach – pasek materiału przy rozwijaniu go z beli’) itp. Wiele poświadczeń pojawia się dopiero podczas intensywnych eksploracji terenowych. W większości wypadków są to wyrazy pozbawione swojej dokumentacji leksykograficznej, tym samym często nie są obecne w lingwistycznej świadomości badawczej.

Historia przesądziła, że gwary wielkopolskie we wczesnym okresie dokumentacji języka polskich mieszkańców wsi nie cieszyły się szczególnym zainteresowaniem (Sierociuk 2013), stąd też braki dokumentacyjne widoczne chociażby w najnowszym, ogólnopolskim *Słowniku gwar polskich* (SGP). Analiza zawartych tam materiałów jednoznacznie potwierdza stan doskonale znany w środowisku dialektologicznym, oczekującym rychłego wypełnienia tych luk (Karaś 2011, 58, 293). Wypiski z dzieła Oskara Kolberga (Kolberg 1875–1882) oraz z pochodzących z lat 1930–1932 notatek A. Tomaszewskiego (Sierociuk 2019b) nie dają podstaw do szkicowania charakterystyki – tym bardziej obserwowania dynamiki zmian – gwar wielkopolskich.

Okres powojenny w historii poznańskiej dialektologii to intensywne działania na polu dokumentowania zasobów gwar wielkopolskich. Od początku działalności zespołu archiwizującego mowę mieszkańców wsi powiększono dokumentację terenową, najpierw kilkuminutowe rejestracje na płytach decelitowych, potem na nośnikach magnetofonowych, wreszcie rejestracje cyfrowe. W roku 2001 ówczesny kierownik Zakładu Dialektologii Polskiej – prof. Henryk Nowak – przekazując mi niejako odpowiedzialność za dalszy rozwój poznańskiej dialektologii, pisał:

Zakład Dialektologii Polskiej dysponuje (...) fonograficznymi tekstami gwarowymi z 520 miejscowości z różnych regionów Polski. (...) Te foniczne archiwalia dialektologiczne, wyrażone w jednostkach czasu, dają łącznie około 520 godzin nagranej mowy ludowej (Nowak 2001, 205).

Wspomniane rejestracje są najcenniejsze z racji czasu ich pozyskiwania jak i charakterystyki samych respondentów. Przywołajmy kilka danych:

Najstarsze nagranie przeprowadzono już 8.08.1945 roku; rozmówcą Tadeusza Wronkowskiego był ur. w 1918 roku mieszkaniec Poznania. Całość dokumentacji obejmuje 44'37". Do roku 1947 przeprowadzono jeszcze kilka nagrań (od 19'56" do 40'00"). Później – już bardzo systematycznie – gwary różnych regionów (głównie Złotowskie, ale i repatriantów z Rumunii wraz z mieszkańcami miast czeskich – Brno – i albańskich – m.in. Tirana) utrwał twórca poznańskiego archiwum, profesor L. Zabrocki. Od roku 1949 pozyskiwaniem tekstów gwarowych kieruje ówczesny doktor Z. Sobierajski. Ze względu na ograniczoną pojemność płyt wypowiedzi niektórych rozmówców trwały początkowo nie dłużej niż 4–5 minut. Oczywiście, tych płyt w konkretnej miejscowości nagrywano kilka. W miarę wyposażania zespołu poznańskiego w stosowny sprzęt wzrasta długość dokonywanych rejestracji (ciągle jednak na płytach). Współcześnie wszystkie materiały – te najstarsze i najnowsze – są już zdigitalizowane; w nowym katalogu każda pozycja uwzględnia wiele parametrów, które zostały swego czasu zasygnalizowane w przyjmowanych przez zespół założeniach metodologicznych (Sierociuk 2003).

Najstarszy informator, którego wypowiedź przechowywana jest w archiwum Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM, urodził się w roku 1855 (sic!); był nim mieszkaniec Bukowskiej Woli koło Miechowa w Krakowskim. Z. Sobierajski utrwał w sumie 52'40" jego wypowiedzi. Dla uświadomienia wartości naszych materiałów podam jeszcze kilka kolejnych wypisów katalogowych (nagrań głównie z terenu Wielkopolski):

- inf. ur. w 1860 roku; Nowa Wieś Królewska k/Wrześni (71'10"),
- inf. ur. w 1862 roku; Dąbrowa k/Wielunia (35'46"),
- inf. ur. w 1864 roku; Mańkowice k/Nysy (04'38"),
- inf. ur. w 1866 roku; Kawęczyn k/Szczytna (09'08"),

Tabela 1. Najwcześniejsze nagrania z archiwum fonograficznego Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM

Numer nagrania	Miejscowość pochodzenia informatora	Miejscowość wykonania nagrania	Powiat, region	Numer kolejny płyty CD	Informator	Rok urodzenia informatora	Nagrywający	Data Nagrania
10	Poznań		Wielkopolskie	1403	Józef Ciszak	918	Tadeusz Wrotkowski	1945.08.08
1	Luzino	Wejherowo	Pomorskie	1401	Franciszek Rybkowski	881	Tadeusz Wrotkowski	1945.12.29
1	Wejherowo	Wejherowo	Pomorskie	1402	Helena Dziecioteska	925	Tadeusz Wrotkowski	1945.12.29
12	Poznań		Wielkopolskie	1405	Wojciech Gręda	879	Tadeusz Wrotkowski	1946.03.08
11	Poznań		Wielkopolskie	1404	Andrzej Kwiatkowski	880	Marian Sobieski	1947.03.09
1	Brno		Czechosłowacja	2005	Wacław Kristek	918	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.03.29
1	Szarcz Sorbona	Międzyrzec	Lubelskie	2007	Elżbieta Pacek	921	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.08.23
1	Stawnica	Złotów	Piłskie	743	Teodozja Dybowa	910	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.08.25
1	Stawnica	Złotów	Piłskie	2002	Teodozja Dybowa	910	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.08.25
1	Radawnica	Złotów	Piłskie	2003	Józef Gługła	875	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.08.25
1	Łąkie	Złotów	Piłskie	2004	Ambroży Belka	882	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.08.25
13	Ukraina, Litwa			2008	Nina Borowska	922	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.10.23
1	Poiana Miculi		Rumunia	2009	Józef Juraszek	920	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.12.05
1	Bukowina Rum.		Rumunia	2010	Józef Juraszek	920	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.12.06
1	Błękwit	Złotów	Piłskie	2011	Paweł Massel	899	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.12.07
1	Zakrzewo	Złotów	Piłskie	2012	Michalina Malinowska	878	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.12.07
1	Kiełpin	Złotów	Piłskie	2013	Leokadia Gapa	889	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.12.08
2	Radawnica	Złotów	Piłskie	2014	Maria Radawska	913	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.12.08
2	Stawnica	Złotów	Piłskie	2015	Michał Weisstock	869	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.12.09
1	Kwaczała	Chrzanów	Krakowskie	2006	Jan Urbanczyk	872	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948.12.27

2	Kawczala	Chrzanów	Krakowskie	2016	Stanisław Urbańczyk	909	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 27
1	Czersk	Chojnice	Bydgoskie	2017	Józef Zabrocki	881	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 13
1	Elbasan		Albania	2018	Monsi Olimbi	926	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 13
2	Tirana		Albania	2019	Ohri Edibe	924	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 14
1	Płotowa	Bytów	Pomorskie	2021	Kazimierz Styp	1923	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 15
1	Radwor	Budziszyn	Warszawskie	2020	Antoni Nawka	1913	Wacław Cimochowski	1949 01 18
7	Poznań		Poznańskie	2022	Krystyna Skuszanka	1924	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 19
1	Slepo Wudwor	Kamienice	Łużyce	2023	Jan Szolfa	1921	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 20
1	Nowe Kramsko	Babimost	Wielkopolskie	2024	Apolonia Krawiec	1878	Wacław Cimochowski	1949 02 14
1	Libawa		Łotwa	2025	Verpe Harlds	1922	Wacław Cimochowski	1949 05 05
	Grębów	Tarnobrzeg	Tarnobrzeskie	78	Stanisław Bąk		Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 02
1	Kościelec	Inowrocław	Bydgoskie	2026	Jan Krzeszewski	1888	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 05
1	Dąbrowa p M	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2027	Pelagia Pazderska	1890	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 05
1	Ludwimiec	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2028	Franciszek Lussa	1883	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 05
1	Bzówiec	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2029	Antonina Dębińska	1894	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 06
1	Biskupice	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2030	Wawrzyn Malicki	1871	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 06
1	Radłowo	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2031	Józef Graczyk	1879	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 07
2	Pasym	Szczytno	Kujawsko-Pomorskie	2076	Wiktor Dulisz	1896	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 07 07
1	Warcholy	Nidzica	Warmińsko-Mazurskie	2077	Joanna Szarkowska	1909	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 07 07
1	Targownica	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2032	Władysława Nurska	1887	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 08
1	Będzitówko	Inowrocław	Bydgoskie	2033	Franciszek Lussa	1883	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 08
1	Staboszewko	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2034	Katarzyna Budzińska	880	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 08
1	Duszno	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2035	Józef Wróblewski	890	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 10

- inf. ur. w 1866 roku; Drawsko k/Czarnkowa (58'36"),
- inf. ur. w 1866 roku; Wyszyń k/Chodzieży (53'25"),
- inf. ur. w 1866 roku; Morzewo k/Chodzieży (29'47"),
- inf. ur. w 1867 roku; Wijewo k/Leszna (63'26"),
- inf. ur. w 1868 roku; Królikowo k/Żnina (30'43").

Dla porządku przywołajmy też wyciągi z najwcześniejszych protokołów. Poszczególne kolumny zawierają następujące informacje z współcześnie opracowanego katalogu: kolejny numer nagrania–płyty (CD w aktualnym archiwum) z danej miejscowości; miejscowość nagrania; powiat (wedle dawnego podziału administracyjnego); region (praktycznie jest to województwo); numer kolejny płyty CD; informator²; rok urodzenia informatora; nagrywający; data nagrania.

Nie tylko dla badacza zainteresowanego dynamiką zmian językowych zachodzących w środowisku wsi istotne jest określenie wieku rozmówców. Wcześniej przywołałem charakterystyki kilku najstarszych respondentów wielkopolskich – warto jednak poświęcić nieco miejsca na przedstawienie pochodzących z różnych regionów Polski najbardziej wiekowych informatorów (w porównaniu z zestawieniem przywołanym wyżej pominięte zostały dwie ostatnie kolumny).

Tabela 2. Najstarsi informatorzy, których utrwalone wypowiedzi znajdują się w archiwum fonograficznym Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM

Numer nagrania	Miejscowość pochodzenia informatora	Miejscowość wykonania nagrania	Powiat, region	Numer kolejny płyty CD	Informator	Rok urodzenia informatora
	Bukowska Wola	Miechów	Krakowskie	307	Andrzej Michalski	1855
1	Nowa Wieś Królewska	Września	Wielkopolskie	2204	Wincenty Szuba	1860
1	Dąbrowa p W	Wieluń	Łódzkie	2255	Marianna Kuźniak	1862
1	Mańkowice	Nysa	Opolskie	2043	Franciszek Hauke	1864
1	Kałęczyn	Szczytno	Warmińsko-Maz.	2056	Ludorf Lota	1866
16	Drawsko	Czarnków	Wielkopolskie	2156	Małgorzata Smuga	1866
3	Wyszyń	Chodzież	Wielkopolskie	2168	Szczepan Wołyński	1866
1	Morzewo	Chodzież	Wielkopolskie	2229	Jan Wiorek	1866
1	Wijewo	Leszno	Wielkopolskie	2155	Elżbieta Jurowa	1867
1	Królikowo	Żnin	Kujawsko-Pom.	2162	Teodor Grabowski	1868
1	Ławki	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2038	Józef Ljankowski	1869
1	Stare Kramsko	Sulechów	Lubuskie	2134	Anna Majer	1869
1	Brzoza	Wieluń	Łódzkie	912	Marianna Stępień	1869

² Dane osobowe osób nagrywanych i nagrywających upowszechniane były w publikowanych katalogach nagrań (zob. Sobierajski 1957).

1	Liwa	Ostróda	Warmińsko-Maz.	2068	NN mężczyzna	1869
2	Liwa	Ostróda	Warmińsko-Maz.	2089	NN mężczyzna	1869
2	Stawnica	Złotów	Wielkopolskie	2015	Michał Weisstock	1869
1	Kiełpiny	Wolsztyn	Wielkopolskie	2135	Ludwik Rzanny	1869
5	Wilkowyja	Jarocin	Wielkopolskie	2175	Antoni Kubicki	1869
4	Piaski	Gostyń	Wielkopolskie	2181	Józefa Jemrychowa	1869
1	Ogonki	Węgorzewo	Warmińsko-Maz.	2061	Herman Migge	1870
2	Bańki	Bielsk Podlaski	Białostockie	313	Józef Pęski	1871
1	Biskupice	Mogilno	Bydgoskie	2030	Wawrzyn Malicki	1871
1	Łankowiczki	Szubin	Kujawsko-Pom.	2161	Jan Najdul	1871
1	Kwaczała	Chrzanów	Krakowskie	2006	Jan Urbańczyk	1872
6	Kłuki	Słupsk	Pomorskie	2122	Henryk Kaiteczik	1872
1	Radosty	Olsztyn	Warmińsko-Maz.	2064	Anna Greichenberg	1872
1	Wydawy	Rawicz	Wielkopolskie	358	Marianna Rajczak	1872
2	Wydawy	Rawicz	Wielkopolskie	359	Marianna Rajczak	1872
1	Dobieżyn	Nowy Tomyśl	Wielkopolskie	2174	Agn. Łamaszewska	1872
1	Kobylniki	Szamotuły	Wielkopolskie	2202	Matria Kaczmarkowa	1872
1	Topólno	Świecie	Kujawsko-Pom.	2234	Ignacy Raniszewski	1873
1	Ciemniki	Świecie	Kujawsko-Pom.	2238	Franciszek Kopkowski	1873
1	Rogojny	Olecko	Warmińsko-Maz.	2059	Gustaw Rogowski	1873
1	Obłok	Ostrów Wlkp	Wielkopolskie	1616	Antonina Zaręba	1873
1	Parkowo	Oborniki	Wielkopolskie	2171	Antoni Tabat	1873
1	Lutogniew	Krotoszyn	Wielkopolskie	2177	Franciszka Morgel	1873
1	Kicko-Chełmce	Inowrocław	Bydgoskie	1307	Wojciech Skowron	1874
2	Kicko-Chełmce	Inowrocław	Bydgoskie	1308	Wojciech Skowron	1874
2	Piaski	Sieradz	Kujawsko-Pom.	2112	Antonina Rychlik	1874
3	Piaski	Sieradz	Kujawsko-Pom.	2113	Antonina Rychlik	1874
1	Stołuń	Międzyrzecz	Lubuskie	2130	Leon Łuka	1874
1	Okalew	Wieluń	Łódzkie	1628	Stanisława Głuch	1874
1	Lisia Góra	Słupsk	Pomorskie	2126	Herman Szymanke	1874
1	Ośława Dąbrowa	Bytów	Pomorskie	2246	Ignacy Kowalewski	1874
1	Bzury	Pisz	Warmińsko-Maz.	2147	Jan Trynowała	1874
1	Grodzisko	Strzelce	Dolnośląskie	2241	Jan Gomuła	1875
1	Zboże	Sępólno	Kujawsko-Pom.	2235	Jan Mudzik	1875
	Wróblew	Wieluń	Łódzkie	914	Marcjanna Szymczewska	1875

1	Narok	Niemodlin	Opolskie	2110	Stanisław Zdziej	1875
1	Brzeźno Gdańskie	Gdańsk	Pomorskie	2072	Józef Rumczyk	1875
1	Biała Piska	Pisz	Warmińsko-Maz.	2148	August Wiśniewski	1875
1	Radawnica	Złotów	Wielkopolskie	2003	Józef Glugła	1875
1	Szkaradowo	Rawicz	Wielkopolskie	2142	Maria Wormuth	1875
1	Zielona Wieś	Rawicz	Wielkopolskie	2143	Karol Bartkowiak	1875
1	Lutomek	Międzychód	Wielkopolskie	2172	Andrzej Jenek	1875
1	Bachorzew	Jarocin	Wielkopolskie	2176	Antonina Wierchowicka	1875
4	Żychlewo	Gostyń	Wielkopolskie	2223	Marcin Nawrocki	1875

Oceniając przydatność fonoteki poznańskiej dla badacza polszczyzny mówionej, należy zwrócić szczególną uwagę na epizod towarzyszący istotnemu osiągnięciu w dorobku polskiego gwaroznawstwa. W zasobach fonograficznych Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM znajdują się nagrania, których dokonywano równolegle z poczynaniami zespołu kierowanego przez K. Nitscha; dodajmy: nagrania, które doskonale mogą poszerzyć podstawę charakterystyki dialektów polskich drugiej połowy lat 50. ubiegłego wieku. W roku 1953 bowiem „w miarę możliwości starano się w (...) nagraniach uwzględnić takich informatorów, których gwarę wykorzystano już do opracowania kwestionariusza w związku z przygotowywanym przez Polską Akademię Nauk «Małym atlasem gwar polskich» (Sobierajski 1957, 81). W tym czasie były to głównie miejscowości z Wielkopolski wraz z terenami przyległymi: Drawsko, pow. Czarnków³; Wijewo, pow. Leszno; Piaski, pow. Gostyń; Średzkie; Jancewo, pow. Żnin; Walentynowo, pow. Wyrzysk (Krajna i Bory). Później bądź wybierano innych informatorów zamieszkujących miejscowości będące punktami MAGP, bądź nawet udawało się nagrać wypowiedzi tych samych respondentów, od których pozyskiwano materiał do atlasu. Wykaz tych wsi obejmuje kilkanaście pozycji; z podziałem na dialekty są to⁴:

- ziemia chełmińsko-dobrzyńska: Szczuka, pow. Brodnica;
- Śląsk: **Istebna**, pow. Cieszyn; Olza, pow. Wodzisław;
- Małopolska: **Więciorka**, pow. Myślenice; Mokrzesz, pow. Częstochowa; Mrukowa, pow. Jasło; Chomęciska Duże, pow. Zamość; Niebieszczany, pow. Sanok; **Chodów**, pow. Miechów; Miedzna Murowana, pow. Opoczno; Ujanowice-Konary, pow. Sandomierz; Żelechlinek, pow. Rawa Mazowiecka;
- Mazowsze: **Białka**, pow. Radzyń Podlaski; **Kadzidło**, pow. Ostrołęka; **Osuchowo Nowe**, pow. Ostrów Mazowiecka; Uniszki Zawadzkie, pow. Mława;
- Podlasie: **Bańki**, pow. Bielsk Podlaski.

O ile mi wiadomo, materiały te nie były poddawane szczegółowym analizom, a przecież mogłyby dostarczyć wiele informacji ułatwiających opracowanie szerszej charakterystyki lokalnych gwar. Nie były wykorzystywane między innymi jako cenne

³ Podział na powiaty zgodny ze stanem ówczesnym.

⁴ W zestawieniu tym wyłuszczone zostały nazwy miejscowości, gdzie nagrywano respondenta będącego wcześniej informatorem przy wypełnianiu kwestionariusza dla MAGP.

źródło przy badaniach składniowych. Poza wszelką dyskusją pozostają wartością samą w sobie, także przy opisie zjawisk właściwych innym poziomom analizy lingwistycznej.

Aktualnie w zasobach fonograficznych Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM znajduje się ponad 3700 godzin rejestracji rozmów prowadzonych z informatorami zamieszkującymi różne rejony Polski; mamy także nagrania czynione wśród Polonii w Kazachstanie i na Ukrainie. Wykaz godzin nagrań (wszystkie rejestracje są już dostępne w wersji cyfrowej) jest pochodną założenia metodologicznego, że każda – nawet najkrótsza – rozmowa jest rejestrowana; z drugiej strony pojawia się nieraz pytanie – często formułowane przez studentów – „po co to robimy, skoro nie zdołamy tego samodzielnie opracować?”. Przyświeca nam jednak założenie, że w sytuacji dynamicznego rozwoju (i przekształcenia) polszczyzny musimy uzupełniać podstawę badawczą dla przyszłych pokoleń; mówiąc ogólnie: żeby za około 50 lat, ktoś, kto będzie chciał poddać analizie przebieg procesów rozwojowych polszczyzny, miał materiał do niezbędnych analiz.

Koncentracja uwagi badawczej na gwarze jednego środowiska wiejskiego pozwala już dzisiaj z pewną dozą prawdopodobieństwa szkicować charakterystykę języka tej społeczności w określonych przedziałach czasowych. Wieloletnia obserwacja mowy mieszkańców Bukówca Górnego (pow. Leszno) zaowocowała nie tylko powiększeniem archiwum o ponad 200 godzin rozmów, w których w różnym stopniu udział wzięło około 70 osób. Jest to rzadko spotykana sytuacja, kiedy daną gwarę dokumentują tak obszerne wypowiedzi tylu jej użytkowników. Uwzględnianie w tych eksploracjach czynnika pokoleniowego pozwoliło przykładowo stwierdzić wypadnięcie z systemu miejscowej gwary między innymi specyficznych form – z reduplikacją *-n-* w przymiotnikach odmateriałowych (głównie) typu *glinianny*, *drewnianny*, *welnianny*. Zjawisko to było możliwe do stwierdzenia dzięki przyjęciu odpowiedniej reprezentacji pokoleniowej w doborze rozmówców.

Zarówno dla potrzeb prowadzonych eksploracji terenowych, jak i konkretnych analiz, bowiem przyjmujemy przynależność pokoleniową wskazywaną rokiem urodzenia informatora. Wynika to z przekonania, że na złożoność zachowań językowych konkretnego osobnika decydujący wpływ ma czas kształtowania się jego kompetencji językowej, czas opanowywania systemu językowego wraz z odniesieniami kulturowymi. Z tego też względu – a także dla celów porządkujących – na pierwszym miejscu stawiamy przynależność pokoleniową wyznaczaną rokiem urodzenia. Założenie to bardzo często mogliśmy weryfikować (pozytywnie) w czasie wielokrotnych rozmów z tymi samymi interlokutorami.

Dla potrzeb porządkowych (archiwum) i badawczych przyjęliśmy następujący podział pokoleniowy:

I. Urodzeni **przed** rokiem **1920**. Ta grupa pokoleniowa praktycznie nie jest już reprezentowana wśród współczesnych obiektów badawczych. Jest to pokolenie, które swoje nawyki językowe wyniosło ze środowiska domowego; jest to też pokolenie, na którego język (polski) nie wywierała wpływu szkoła. W praktyce język tego pokolenia jest najlepiej udokumentowany; to język tego pokolenia przedstawiany jest na mapach dostępnych opracowań atlasowych.

II. Urodzeni w latach **1921–1945**. Obecnie, mówiąc o pokoleniu najstarszym, praktycznie mamy do czynienia z przedstawicielami tych właśnie roczników. W środowisku

wiejskim jest to grupa ludzi wychowana w jednolitych warunkach społeczno-ekonomicznych. Informatorzy w tym czasie urodzeni są głównym źródłem pozyskiwania leksyki związanej z tradycyjnie zorganizowanym życiem wiejskim.

III. Urodzeni w latach **1946–1970**. Przynależący do tego pokolenia interlokutorzy wzrastali w odmiennych warunkach społeczno-ekonomicznych charakteryzujących się stopniowym zanikaniem tradycyjnych struktur wiejskich i warunków tradycyjnego wiejskiego życia. Na ich język znaczący wpływ wywiera szkoła i ruchy migracyjne ludności. Nie bez znaczenia są też oddziaływania czynnika zewnętrznego – niespotykany do tej pory wpływ środowiska miejskiego.

IV. Urodzeni w latach **1971–1995**. Jest to pokolenie najbardziej zróżnicowane pod względem warunków kształtowania się jego sprawności językowej. Przeobrażenia społeczne i ekonomiczne odciskają tu najwyraźniej swoje piętno. Zachodzące na wsi zmiany pod wpływem czynników zewnętrznych (m.in. upowszechniona elektryfikacja, sieć wodociągowa, inne środki produkcji rolnej itp.) powodują, że głównie na poziomie leksykalnym mamy do czynienia z nową rzeczywistością.

V. Urodzeni w roku **1996 i później**. Jest to pokolenie wzrastające w warunkach pogłębiających się przeobrażeń wzrostu pokolenia poprzedniego. Obserwacja procesu kształtowania się języka przedstawicieli tego pokolenia daje podstawy do wnioskowania o tempie przemian językowych zachodzących w przyszłości w tym środowisku (Sierociuk 2003, 134).

Zdecydowanie się na wyżej zarysowany podział pokoleniowy umożliwia między innymi wieloletnie prowadzenie badań z tymi samymi informatorami. Jednocześnie pozwala wykorzystywać w badaniach nad procesami ewolucyjnymi istotne dwa parametry: rok zapisu konkretnej formy oraz rok urodzenia informatora, przez którego została ona podana. W wielu wypadkach umożliwia to właściwą interpretację danych pozyskiwanych wiele lat później w punktach swego czasu eksplorowanych dla potrzeb konkretnych badań. Przykładem tego mogą być konfrontacje współczesnych notowań z materiałami do AJKLW, które to pozyskiwane były w pierwszej dekadzie lat 70. ubiegłego wieku (Sobierajski 1972).

Atlas języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski (AJKLW) jest wspólnym dziełem dwu zespołów badawczych UAM – dialektologów i etnografów. Kwestionariusz do tego dzieła powstał wspólnym wysiłkiem całego środowiska poznańskich dialektologów i etnografów. Poza głównym redaktorem – Z. Sobierajskim – należy odnotować wyraźny wkład dialektologiczny M. Gruchmanowej, H. Nowaka i Z. Zagórskiego (Sobierajski 1972).

AJKLW to 889 map pogrupowanych tematycznie w 11 tomach. Mamy więc tu bardzo dokładny obraz językowo-kulturowego zróżnicowania mowy mieszkańców wielkopolskich wsi. Ujęcia kartograficzne dokumentują stan gwary, który współcześnie należy już zasadniczo do przeszłości. Odnotujmy, że większość map lingwistycznych jest autorstwa H. Nowaka, którego praktycznie należy uznać za głównego wykonawcę tej partii *Atlasu...* (Sierociuk 2018).

Mimo że mapy dialektalne przynoszą wiele informacji pozwalających określać specyfikę badanych gwar, to jednak nie do końca objaśniają na przykład znaczenie mapowanych wyrazów. Prezentacji semantyki (znaczenia i kontekstowego użycia) wyrazów gwarowych służy jednak słownik.

Pierwsze dziesięciolecie XXI wieku to praktycznie całkowita wymiana kadrowa a także nakreślenie nowych planów badawczych. W roku 2002 na emeryturę przeszedł kierownik Zakładu Dialektologii Polskiej UAM prof. Henryk Nowak, który ostatnie lata życia (zmarł w roku 2010) poświęcił głównie kontynuacji pracy nad *Słownikiem gwary chazackiej*. W zamierzeniach autora miał to być słownik obszerny z bogatą dokumentacją leksykograficzną podawaną bardzo dokładnej transkrypcji fonetycznej; praca nad nim nie wyszła jednak poza wstępną fazę (Sierociuk 2018). Do roku 2007 – roku śmierci – działalnością głównie organizacyjną (związaną z wydawaniem AJKLW) zajmował się prof. Z. Sobierajski (Walczak 2018c, Sierociuk 2020).

Po odejściu Profesorów należało skupić się na odbudowaniu zasobów kadrowych oraz naszkicować perspektywy badawcze nowego, młodego zespołu. O ile pod względem osobowym zespół badawczy pozostał w niezmiennym stanie – trzy osoby (prof. dr hab. Jerzy Sierociuk – kierownik, oraz dwoje studentów zatrudnionych tylko na połowie etatu technicznego), to jednak osiągnięto wzmocnienie naukowe. Awansem naukowym – właśnie od studenta do samodzielnego pracownika nauki – mogą pochwalić się: dr hab. Justyna Kobus i dr hab. Błażej Osowski. To Oni – rodowici Wielkopolanie – w najbliższych latach będą dbać o pozycję dialektologii poznańskiej. Szansą na przyszłość są też realizowane w Pracowni Dialektologicznej kolejne doktoryaty.

W środowisku dialektologicznym – nie tylko wielkopolskim – szczególnie dotkliwie od wielu lat odczuwany jest brak odpowiedniej dokumentacji leksykograficznej wielkopolskich gwar. Analiza materiału zawartego w SGP jednoznacznie dowodzi, że dialekt ten ma tu najsłabszą reprezentację. Na potrzebę wypełnienia tej luki coraz wyraźniej zwracana jest uwaga nie tylko środowiska leksykograficznego, a przecież to gwary wielkopolskie mają znaczący wkład w ostateczne kształtowanie się polskiego języka literackiego. Ponadto na tym terenie rodziła się polska państwowość.

Wyraźny obraz bogactwa leksykalnego gwar przynosi wspomniany już krakowski SGP. W ocenach dorobku leksykografii gwarowej znajdujemy wiele niezbyt przychylnych dla poznańskiej dialektologii uwag; dialekt wielkopolski w kartotece SGP bowiem ma bardzo skromną dokumentację („Wielkopolska jest słabo reprezentowana nie tylko w KarlSPG, ale nawet i we współcześnie opracowywanym SGPPAN” – Karaś 2011, 58). Zważywszy na to, że kartoteka krakowska gromadzi poświadczenia użyte wyrazów gwarowych także tych z XIX wieku, braki dokumentacji wielkopolskiej – głównie powojennej – są szczególnie istotne. Fakt ten bowiem w wielu wypadkach zniekształca całościowy opis zjawisk gwarowych przygotowywany na podstawie tejże kartoteki – istnieje w tej sytuacji niebezpieczeństwo interpretacji niektórych zjawisk jako rozwijających się niezależnie (przy braku dokumentacji z pasa wielkopolskiego wobec bogactwa tej z północy i południa Polski).

W kartotece SGP nie ma zbyt wiele wypisków z tekstów (lub opracowań) gwarowych dotyczących Wielkopolski, po prostu takowych Wielkopolska praktycznie jest pozbawiona. W tej sytuacji należy opierać się na przekazywanych materiałach rękopiśmiennych. Tu też nie jest najciekawiej. W wykazie źródeł (SGP 1977) podawane są informacje pozwalające nakreślić reprezentację leksykograficzną poszczególnych rejonów; obejmują one nazwę miejscowości wraz z lokalizacją (uwzględniającą numer w obrębie powiatu), nazwisko eksploratora i rok dokonanego przezeń zapisu oraz

liczbę dostarczonych kartek. Podobnie postępował zespół redakcyjny, podając na początku informacje o napływających materiałach uzupełniających; od zeszytu 16. (reorganizacja prac redakcyjnych) takich danych jesteśmy pozbawieni. Zestawiając odpowiednio te materiały, uzyskujemy obraz wielce zaskakujący. Tu przytoczę tylko dane dotyczące jednego powiatu – gnieźnieńskiego, jest to istotne w kontekście podejmowanych w Pracowni Dialektologicznej przedsięwzięć leksykograficznych (o tym dalej):

GNIEZNO

Gniezno (brak numeru w z. 16) – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 5 k.

1. Czerniejewo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
2. Dąbrówka Kościelna – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
3. Dębłowo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
4. Dębica – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
5. Dziekanowice – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
6. Imiołki – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
7. Kamieniec – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
8. Kiszkowo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
9. Mielżyn – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
10. Niechanowo – Kazimierz Nitsch, 1904–1939, 50 k.
Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
11. Ostrowite Prymasowskie – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
12. Powidz – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
13. Skorzęcin – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
14. Strzyżewo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
15. Ujazd – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
16. Węgorzewo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
17. Wierzyce – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.
18. Witkowo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 k.

Zestawienie powyższego typu (a nie dotyczy to tylko tego powiatu) poza brakiem możliwości śledzenia zmian historycznych uświadamia także brak podstaw do szkicowania charakterystyki bogactwa słownikowego. Rodzi się zatem konieczność intensyfikowania badań terenowych pozwalających pozyskać materiały umożliwiające podjęcie prac kończących się edycją gwarowego słownika – słownika nawet niewielkiego kompleksu gwar. W odniesieniu do Wielkopolski jest to o tyle istotne, że o podjęcie takich działań upominają się także dialektolodzy z różnych ośrodków Polski:

Ostatnio obserwuje się także natężenie badań nad leksyką polszczyzny dawnych Kresów Wschodnich (14 słowników). Jest szereg regionów, dla których pilnie należałoby sporządzić takie słowniki. Należy do nich Wielkopolska właściwa, Mazowsze właściwe, w tym Kurpie, Podlasie (Karaś 2011, 293)⁵.

⁵ Podobnie też: (Reichan, Woźniak 2001).

Wybitny językoznawca polski – prof. Witold Doroszewski – mawiał, że największym problemem dialektologii jest „brak rąk do pracy”. Zazwyczaj zespoły dialektologów są niewielkie, samodzielne – i pełne – zebranie materiału w terenie często przekracza ich możliwości. Zatem wskazane jest w tej sytuacji odwoływanie się do pomocy środowisk lokalnych. Takie działania od kilku lat podejmowane są w Pracowni Dialektologicznej Instytutu Filologii Polskiej UAM. Najczęściej partnerem lokalnym jest szkoła, z której grupa uczniów angażuje się w akcję pozyskiwania materiałów językowych. W ten sposób można dotrzeć do rozmówców (informatorów) używających (często już tylko pamiętających) poszczególne nazwy lub też praktykujących konkretne zwyczaje. Zaangażowani eksploratorzy (w tym wypadku uczniowie wybranej szkoły) postępują wedle otrzymanych od nas wskazówek. Staramy się zawsze zespół młodych badaczy przygotować merytorycznie – na wstępnych spotkaniach omawiamy sposób i zakres prowadzonych działań. Dostępność aparatów rejestrujących dźwięk pozwala nagrywać całe rozmowy; uczniowie najczęściej wykorzystują do tego telefony komórkowe. Nagrania te są z kolei przekazywane do Pracowni, gdzie podlegają dalszym opracowaniom – transkrypcji (spisywaniu z nagrania) oraz późniejszemu opracowaniu merytorycznemu.

Podjmujący współpracę przedstawiciele środowisk lokalnych poza wskazówkami merytorycznymi otrzymują od nas zestaw pytań (tzw. kwestionariusz) w założeniu mający być podstawą do rozmowy. Ponieważ uczniowie zazwyczaj są już w pewnym stopniu zorientowani w specyfice lokalnego nazewnictwa (a zazwyczaj są to pytania o nazwy konkretnych czynności lub przedmiotów), dostarczony kwestionariusz zawiera pytania o różnej „skali dokładności”. Przykładowo: w celu pozyskania nazewnictwa związanego z wyrobem masła pytamy najpierw *jak się robi masło?* W zależności od „otwartości” rozmówcy już na tym etapie możemy uzyskać rejestrację wypowiedzi zawierającej wyrazy, o które w konkretnym kwestionariuszu nie pytaliśmy, daje to też możliwość dokumentacji użycia określeń bardzo rzadkich, często nieznanymi dialektologom. Dopiero w dalszej kolejności (kwestionariuszem) staramy się dociec np.: co to jest *kierzynka*, z jakich części składa się *kierzynka*, ciecz pozostająca w *kierzynce* po wyjęciu masła itp. W tej części kwestionariusza wprowadzane są też pytania „o znaczenie” konkretnych wyrazów, np. co to jest *podchlebiajek* (‘wierzchnia część konstrukcyjna *kierzynki* ...’). Zdajemy sobie sprawę, że w wielu miejscowościach wyraz ten nie będzie znany – bo tam takiej nazwy nigdy nie używano, lub też po prostu został już „zapomniany”. Odpowiedzi negatywne („nie znam”, „u nas tak nie mówili”) dla ogólnej charakterystyki lokalnej gwary mają wartość szczególną, w konfrontacji z dotychczasową wiedzą (np. porównanie z mapami AJKLW) bowiem mogą także świadczyć o tempie zmian zachodzących w lokalnej gwarze.

Przy okazji staramy się pozyskiwać dokumentację fotograficzną; przy desygnatach szybko wychodzących ze „zbiorowej pamięci” dla wielu późniejszych czytelników (nawet słownika) jest to jedyna możliwość konfrontacji swoich wyobrażeń z „dokumentacją historyczną”. W tym miejscu zaznaczę, że z racji zmian językowych zachodzących w środowisku wiejskim zamiast używania terminu *gwara* preferujemy określenie *język mieszkańców wsi* (Sierociuk 2007).

Jak wcześniej zaznaczyłem, Wielkopolska – w zestawieniu z innymi dialektami – ma najuboższą dokumentację leksykograficzną. Przedstawione wyżej działania mają na

celu chociaż częściowe zniwelowanie tej luki. Podjęte zatem w Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM przedsięwzięcia zaowocowały już ukazaniem się kilku słowników z serii „Wielkopolskie Słowniki Regionalne”, której główna przesłanka odpowiada na kilka założeń. Są to:

– dokumentacja i upowszechnienie gwary niewielkiej okolicy mająca na celu podniesienie na danym terenie świadomości regionalnej; przy takim założeniu słowniki adresowane są do społeczności lokalnej, często takie działania odbierającej wedle zasady „o nas – dla nas”. Słownictwo określonego zakresu tematycznego poprzedzają informacje o terenie (np. szkic o historii) i współpracującej szkole. Niewątpliwie jest to swoisty rodzaj promocji regionu i jego kultury, zważywszy że każde hasło ilustrowane jest obfitą dokumentacją zawierającą fragmenty autentycznych wypowiedzi informatorów (w miarę możliwości także uzupełnione fotografią desygnatu);

– zróżnicowanie tematyczne słowników wedle ogólnej zasady, że przedkładany zbiór (słownik tematyczny) reprezentuje konkretny zespół dialektalny (np. Wielkopolska wschodnia, Wielkopolska środkowa itp.); daje to możliwość podjęcia próby wyjaśniania złożoności struktury leksykalnej całego kompleksu gwar wielkopolskich. Tematyczne „urozmaicenie” słowników reprezentujących tę samą okolicę realizowane jest z myślą o chociaż częściowej prezentacji bogactwa leksykalnego całości gwar wielkopolskich – w perspektywie mają one być podstawą słownika ogólnowielkopolskiego. Sposób prezentacji materiału wyrazowego uwzględnia jednocześnie możliwość przygotowania dwu wersji słownika – papierowej (aktualnie) i elektronicznej (internetowej) w przyszłości;

– wartość naukowa sprowadza się nie tylko do bogatej dokumentacji; względem nas aspekt przesądza o umieszczeniu w słowniku także kilku wyrazów luźno powiązanych tematycznie z resztą zbioru. Chodzi o to, żeby były udostępnione informacje istotne z punktu widzenia analiz naukowych – np. historii języka polskiego, lub nawet ważne przy interpretacji niektórych zjawisk (ogólno)slawistycznych. Tym sposobem słownik regionalny znajduje odbiorców daleko poza lokalną społecznością.

W słownikach materiał gwarowy podawany jest – ze względu na odbiorcę lokalnego – w transkrypcji uproszczonej. Przyjmujemy zasadę, że podstawową płaszczyznę stanowi zapis odwołujący się do zasad pisowni ogólnej; na te zjawiska dopiero „nakładamy” osobliwości gwarowe. Nie wprowadzamy też delimitacji tekstu sprowadzającego się do wyodrębniania odcinków syntaktycznych za pomocą przecinków i kropek jako sygnał końca zdania. Staramy się oddać tempo mowy, oznaczając pauzy znakiem ... (wielokropki). W nawiasie umieszczany jest skrót miejscowości, z której pochodzi przywołany cytat lub w której wyraz ten został zarejestrowany. Artykuł hasłowy uzupełniają odesłania do form synonimicznych. Wszystkie formy będące w danym słowniku hasłami podawane są **boldem** – nawet jeżeli zostały użyte w definicji jakiegoś hasła. Zasadę tę uzupełnia stosowanie kursywy dla zapisu materiału pozyskiwanego w terenie od informatorów, czcionka normalna zaś stosowana jest w partiach odautorskich – objaśnienie znaczenia lub wtrącenie ułatwiające zrozumienie konkretnego fragmentu wypowiedzi.

Jako przykład przytoczę tu trzy hasła ze słownika ziemi łukowskiej (Sierociuk 2019a):

harfa – ‘tu: pochylnia zrobiona z ułożonych podłużnie szczelbeków, zazwyczaj do wrzucania kartofli do piwnicy’: *do piwnicy kartofle zrzucano ... były otwory ... takie okna ... i robiło się takie ... żeby to było doste^mp do kartofly ... taki z drewna ... takie szczelbelki ... i po tych szczelbelkach kartofle leciały przez te (!) okienko do piwnicy ... taki stojak ... jak coś takiego ... przez to leciało ... do kartofly przerzucania to jes harfa ...* (Grz); zob. **rafka**.

kogutek – ‘ustawione w polu snopki’: *zebrać go ... zwioⁿzić ... zestawić ... w kogutki ...* (Żył); *kogutki to u nas się nazywały ...* (Żył); zob. **dziesioⁿtek, kopa, kopica, kopka 2, kupka 3, mandel, mendelek, myndel**.

młynkować – ‘oczyszczać zboże młynkiem’: *najpierw to były co nie wiała ... tylko tyle co wymłóciła ... i z plewami wszystko szło do wialni ... późni trzeba było młynkować ... a były ... późni już były ... co oddzielały ... wiały ...* (Grz); *młynkować ...* (Chr); *jak się młóciło wiejko maszyno ... to nie trza było wiać ... a targanko ... i prostomłotno to była wialnia ... trzeba jo było wialnio ... i późnij młynkować ... na przykład ... trzeba było ...* (Żył).

Według powyższych zasad – w ramach serii „Wielkopolskie Słowniki Regionalne” – aktualnie ukończonych zostało już siedem tomów, przy czym jeden został niedawno złożony w wydawnictwie (zob. niżej wykaz), inne są w fazie opracowania. Przystępność zaproponowanej formy prezentacji materiału gwarowego powoduje, że z wielu środowisk lokalnych mamy sygnały chęci współpracy; wyrażane jest to stwierdzeniem: „my też taki słownik chcemy”.

Mówiąc o dialektologii w Poznaniu, nie sposób pominąć rozwijającej się współpracy z licznymi ośrodkami zagranicznymi. Sprowadza się to przede wszystkim do wymiany założeń teoretycznych i konkretnych osiągnięć w badaniach terenowych; są one prezentowane na konferencjach międzynarodowych. Specyfika dotychczasowych dociekań dialektologii slawistycznej przesądza, że współpraca na tym polu rozwija się głównie między ośrodkami skupionymi w obrębie narodowych akademii nauk. Środowisko poznańskich dialektologów wysoko ceni możliwość bezpośrednich kontaktów – wymianę literatury naukowej oraz udział w konferencjach (często współorganizowanych) – z Kolegami z akademickich instytutów Rosji (Petersburg i Moskwa), Ukrainy (Kijów i Lwów), Bułgarii (Sofia), Czech (Brno). Coraz częściej nawiązywane są kontakty naukowe z przedstawicielami ośrodków dialektologicznych w innych państwach. Na podkreślenie zasługuje też rozwijająca się wymiana naukowa z zagranicznymi placówkami uniwersyteckimi.

Pracownia Dialektologiczna UAM jest organizatorem – lub też czyni to we współpracy z PTPN oraz innymi zakładami językoznawczymi UAM – dwu cyklicznych konferencji o coraz większym udziale prelegentów zagranicznych. „Gwary dziś” to wcześniej seria wydawnicza PTPN przynosząca od 2001 roku referaty uprzednio wygłaszane na konferencjach z cyklu o takiej samej nazwie; integracja slawistycznego środowiska dialektologicznego pozwoliła przekształcić ją w internetowy rocznik poświęcony dialektologii słowiańskiej, który od 2015 roku – będąc nieformalnym organem Komisji Dialektologicznej przy Międzynarodowym Komitecie Slawistów – jest

dostępny jako „Gwary Dziś” pod adresem <http://gwary.ptpn.poznan.pl/pl/index-pl/> lub <https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/gd>. W cyklu dwuletnim natomiast jest (współ)organizowana od 2014 roku konferencja „Język w regionie – region w języku”, której materiały publikowane są pod tym samym tytułem (pierwszy tom ukazał się w Poznaniu w roku 2016).

I na koniec ważne adresy:

<http://dialektologia.amu.edu.pl/index.htm>

dialektologia@amu.edu.pl

* * *

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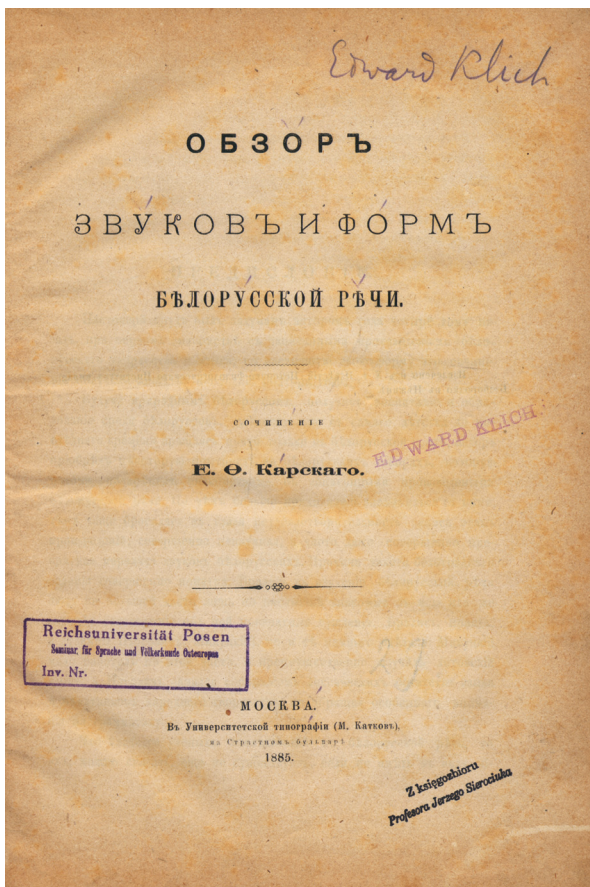


Fot. 1. Rektorat Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu (fot. J. Sierociuk)
 Photo 1. Office of the chancellor of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (photo by J. Sierociuk)



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Photo 2. “Participants of a course in Finnish in the Polish Language Seminar on 7 January 1938. Adam Tomaszewski, Ph.D. (from right), Prof. Edward Klich, Ph.D., Prof. Mikołaj Rudnicki, Ph.D. (...) assistant Leon Kaczmarek [third from right: Zenon Sobierajski under the cross]”. Photo (and inscription) from Prof. Zenon Sobierajski’s archive [as in: *Gwary dziś*. 4. *Konteksty dialektologii*, J. Sierociuk (ed.), Poznań 2007, p. 25]



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Photo 6. Yard of the Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences (photo by J. Sierociuk)

KRITICZNY POGLĄD
NA
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wraz z uzasadnieniem jilosci brzmień i glosów

POLSKIEGO JEZYKA.

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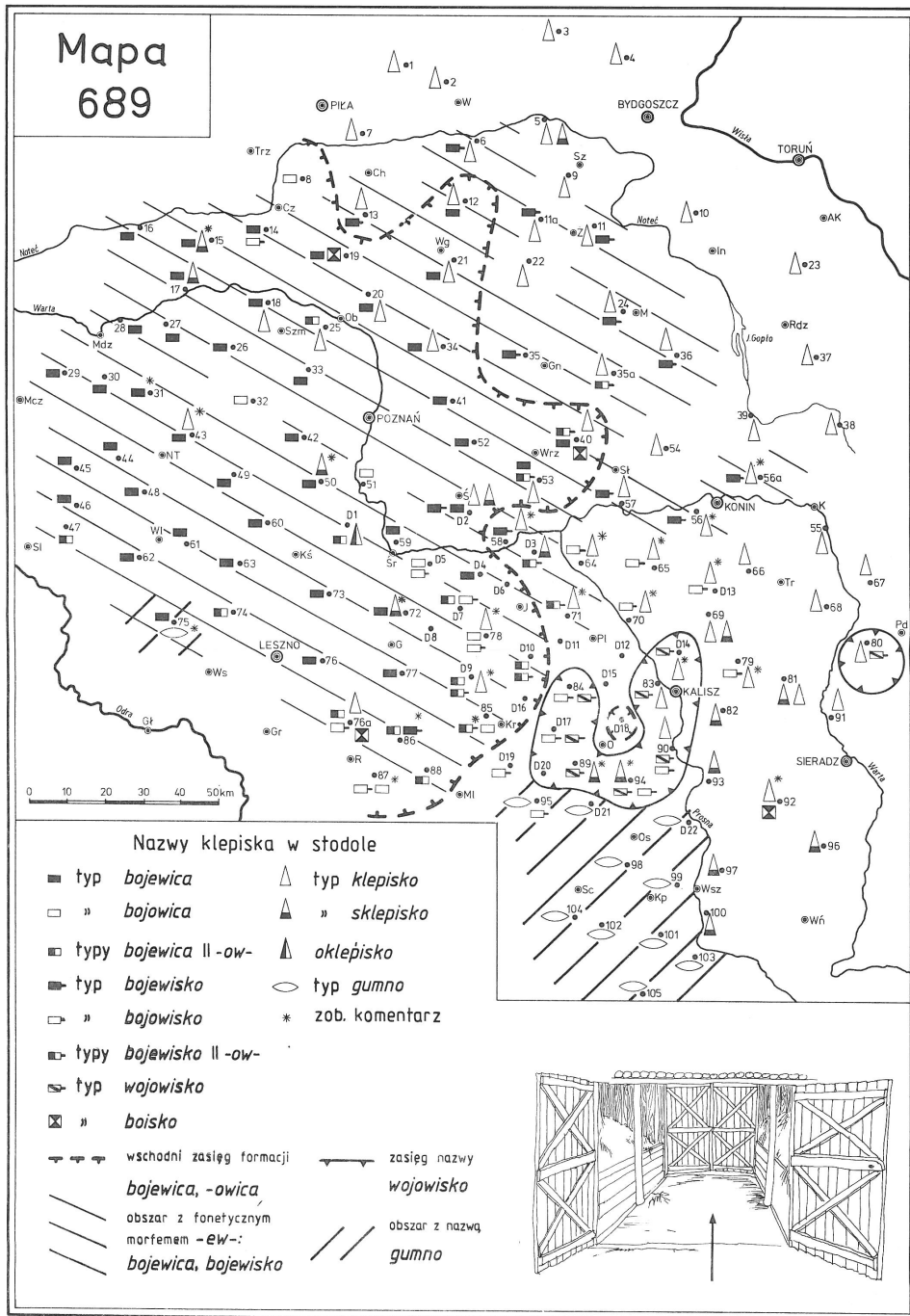
POZNAŃ.

NAKŁADEM TOWARZYSTWA PRZYJACIÓŁ NAUK POZNAŃSKIEGO.

1862.

Czcionkami N. Kamińskiego i Spółki w Poznaniu.

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A centennial of dialectology in Poznań

Abstract: This article presents the most relevant information on the history of dialectological research in Poznań and its context, the academic achievements of the Poznań University enjoyed in cooperation with the Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences. The two institutions have greatly contributed to the development of Polish studies including dialectology.

The presented information pertains chiefly to the relatively unknown accomplishments of the dialectology team, for example a phonographic archive containing recordings of utterances of informants born in the second half of the 19th century (the oldest interlocutor was born in 1855). Together with contemporary recordings, the collection contains approximately 3,700 hours of rural speech. The entire archive is available in a digital version.

The text is supplemented with information about the history of Poznań dialectology and the contemporary activities of the team of the Dialectology Workshop at the Poznań University, mainly lexicographic works.

Key words: history of dialectology in Poznań, Polish studies at the AMU, Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, lexicography of Wielkopolska dialects.

Abstrakt: Sto lat dialektologii w Poznaniu. W artykule przedstawione są najważniejsze informacje dotyczące historii badań dialektologicznych w Poznaniu. Podano też istotne dane, szkicując kontekst tych działań – działalność naukowa Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego ściśle powiązana jest z Poznańskim Towarzystwem Przyjaciół Nauk. Te dwie instytucje naukowe mają wielkie zasługi w rozwoju studiów polonistycznych, a w tym dialektologii.

Przedstawione informacje dotyczą głównie mało znanych osiągnięć zespołu dialektologicznego – między innymi archiwum fonograficznego z rejestracjami wypowiedzi informatorów urodzonych w drugiej połowie XIX wieku (najstarszy rozmówca pochodzi z roku 1855), co z nagraniami współczesnymi daje w sumie zarejestrowanych około 3700 godzin mowy ludowej – całość tego archiwum dostępna jest w wersji cyfrowej. Tekst uzupełnia garść informacji o historii dialektologii poznańskiej, kończy zaś szkic współczesnych działań zespołu Pracowni Dialektologicznej UAM – głównie prac leksykograficznych.

Słowa kluczowe: historia dialektologii w Poznaniu, polonistyka na UAM, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, leksykografia gwar Wielkopolski.

The Poznań University could not have been founded before Poland regained independence in 1918. Therefore, the history of the university started formally in 1919 when the Piast University was established and renamed in 1920 the Poznań University. Since 1955 it has operated as Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (AMU).

For years, the Poznań community strived to establish a university. The first efforts were made before the first Partition of Poland (1772).

In 1519, the Lubrański Academy was founded which boasted the title of *Academia Posnaniensis* and is now regarded the beginning of the Poznań academic tradition. The school was among the first in Poland to offer modern, humanistic education, diverging from the medieval scholastic model of teaching (Kaniewska 2018, 11).

In the early 17th century, in 1611 king Sigismund III Vasa granted the Poznań Jesuit college (established in 1573) with a privilege and thus upgraded it to the rank of an academy. Unfortunately, the founding edict was not signed by the pope, allegedly due to the protests of the Krakow Academy (Kaniewska 2018, 12).

Poznań did not enjoy a university at the time of the First Polish Republic. Following the Partitions of Poland, the Prussian authorities were approached in this matter shortly after the Congress of Vienna but it did not bring about the expected results. The efforts aimed at establishing a university in Poznań

started at the time when the Grand Duchy of Posen was to be created and a petition was filed in Berlin on 3 May 1819, repeated at meetings of the national assembly held in 1827 and 1839. The argument put forward repeatedly by the applicants was the right of Polish people to create a department of the Polish language and literature. The Prussian authorities kept dismissing the argument by replying that the department could be established in the already existing universities in the other Prussian cities (Wrocław, Kaliningrad, Berlin) (Maciejewski 2018, 26).

Consequently, the Poznań university was not established during the Partitions of Poland. The early 20th century marked construction of buildings erected with the Royal Academy in mind, a substitute of a Prussian university. The complex of buildings boasts a concert hall with very good acoustics used for philharmonic performances (including the International Henryk Wieniawski Violin Competition) and the Rector's offices. However, these efforts on the part of the Prussian authorities were aimed at transforming Poznań into the Kaiser's Residenzstadt (city of residence). Back then, in 1902–1918, after dismantling the city fortifications, the so-called castle district was built with buildings partly used by the University today. The building of the former Colonisation Committee calls for special attention as the contemporary seat of the Faculty of Polish and Classical Philology of the AMU. This is an example of the meanders of history: the building of an institution established by the Prussian authorities to fight anything Polish now host the rooms and laboratories dedicated to Polish studies, oftentimes considered the best in the country.

As a young university, Poznań faced problems with shortages of academic teachers. In the faculty of Polish philology, linguists were the hardest to find.

When the classes started, the faculty of the Polish language at the Poznań University was not (...) staffed and starting in the 3rd semester, the lectures were conducted by proxy by

Dobrzycki, Lehr and Rudnicki in their respective fields of study. It was not until January 1922 when Edward Klich, Ph.D., a “substitute professor” from Krakow took over lectures in the faculty. In March 1922, there was an exchange between Lvov and Poznań at the faculty of Slavic philology. Tadeusz Lehr-Splawiński left Poznań for Lvov; after his departure Kazimierz Nitsch taught Polish dialectology in Poznań for one trimester. After August 1922, Prof. Henryk Ułaszyn from Lvov headed the faculty of Slavic philology in Poznań (Maciejewski 2018, 56–57).

Poznań was also at a disadvantage when it came to attracting teachers, losing to the universities in Lvov, Warsaw and Krakow. A good example is Kazimierz Nitsch who initially accepted a proposal of heading the faculty of the Polish language at the Poznań University but ultimately chose the faculty of Slavic philology in Krakow (Maciejewski 2018, 57). In these circumstances, from the beginning of his stay in Poznań, Edward Klich managed linguistics¹; his “academic achievements (...) were inspired by dialectology, an always present and sometimes the prevailing current” (Walczak 2018a, 252).

Over time, the Poznań University reinforced its position as an academic centre; other faculties were also developed. The graduates of the PU contributed to deciphering the code of the Enigma machine, the German encryption device. The high level of academic mathematics and an excellent command of the German language (a phenomenon still observed in the oldest inhabitants of Wielkopolska) paved way for the success of the decryption team consisting of students of mathematics. Now the university has made available the Centre for the Enigma Machine, more frequently referred to as the Museum of the Enigma Machine, documenting the huge success of the university’s graduates in the form of their contribution to precipitating the end of WWII.

Over the years, the faculty of the Poznań University incorporated its graduates, among them Adam Tomaszewski, Ph.D. Born in Wielkopolska, he laid the foundations for dialectology and its dynamic development at the PU (Kobus 2017; Lewaszkievicz 2018). Nevertheless, as the faculty was still understaffed, “visiting lectures” were the order of the day. K. Nitsch’s stay, albeit short, definitely affected the methodological assumptions of dialect studies adopted in Poznań; the Krakow scholar discovered and appreciated here the young A. Tomaszewski. These relations must have contributed in the future to the methodological impact of the “Krakow school” on the research carried out by representatives of Poznań dialectology managed in the second half of the 20th century by Prof. Zenon Sobierajski, a disciple of A. Tomaszewski. While the methodological contribution of K. Nitsch to the dialectological level is undisputable; there were more contributors.

¹ Of interest to the history of the Polish studies in Poznań is a work by J.F. Karskiy from E. Klich’s book collection; beside the owner’s autograph the book bears traces of the German occupation. This specimen of bibliophilia has been in my possession for some time. Yefim Fyodorovich Karskiy (1860–1931) was a Belarusian linguist and ethnographer. In 1893–1915, he stayed in Warsaw where he was elected twice (in 1905 and 1908) rector of the Warsaw Imperial University (*Императорский Варшавский Университет*).

Fully organised, systematic, world-level academic and teaching activities in the realm of Polish, Slavic and Indo-European linguistics in Poland did not start until the time of Rozwadowski, Nitsch and Łoś. It was a stroke of good fortune that these three scholars could cooperate for some time in one location, creating a linguistic academic centre (the so-called “Krakow school of linguistics”). The results of this cooperation were soon tangible. **A majority of the next generation of Polish linguists were either their immediate students or related to them in some way or another even if educated at other universities** [bolded by JS] (Piwowarczyk 2020, 135).

In the Interwar period, dialectology was developed at the Poznań University by E. Klich but more frequently associated with the development of the discipline in Poznań is A. Tomaszewski, born in Łopienno, Wągrowiec county in Wielkopolska. However, neither of them had an opportunity to continue their research after WWII which they did not survive. E. Klich was the first Polish professor to be shot soon after Germans invaded Poznań (Walczak 2018a); A. Tomaszewski died in the last days of the war on his way home from a liberated concentration camp (Lewaszkiwicz 2018).

Despite the German repressions, the Poznań circles of academics were involved in the tertiary level of education. The University of the Western Territories was in operation, probably outside of Poznań (Wikarjak 1972) which is evidence of the local demand for a university irrespective of the circumstances.

After WWII, the Poznań University developed dynamically, and dialectology was not an exception from the rule. In this context, the following information will be of importance: the establishment of the institution, since 1955 referred to as Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań which has been lately considered among the big three Polish universities; the Poznań faculty of Polish studies is considered the best in the country; the Poznań dialectology is among few faculties enjoying a separate organisational unit. Since 1974 it has been an independent Institute of Polish Dialectology, transformed into the Dialectology Workshop (the subject is discussed in the subsequent part of the article).

It would be impossible to present the Poznań university without referring, even briefly, to the achievements of the Poznań academics. As there was absolutely no hope for establishing a university, the community in Wielkopolska founded the Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences (PTPN) which started operation on 13 February 1857. The founders of the Society intended to protect and develop the endangered national culture. To some extent, the Society replaced a university, by animating the scholarly life in this part of Prussia. Organised faculties were involved in regular academic research; a library collected many specimens of Polish literature, invaluable to Polish culture. The library boasts priceless collections of books donated to the Society by its members, especially at the beginning of the Society’s operations. At present, the collection grows mainly as a result of a (typically international) exchange of books between libraries and profiled purchases. As a result of a very good tradition, despite the harm inflicted by the two world wars, the Society’s library is an excellent place of work for people interested in broadly defined humanities.

The PTPN attracted not only people involved in protecting Polish culture in the Prussian territory. The Society was partly responsible for the success of preventing Germanisation; statistics provide compelling evidence of that:

“According to data from 1846, the Great Duchy of Posen was inhabited by 1,342,000 people including 841,000 Poles (63 %), 420,000 Germans (31 %) and 81,000 Jews (6 %).

In 1905, the numbers were as follows: 1,990,000 people, including 1,220,000 Poles (61%), 770,000 Germans (39 %); the latter number contains all the Jews.

This is an indication that nearly 100 years of Germanisation did not bring about much effect” (Jędraszewski, Szczepaniak 2010, 9).

German materials related to the nationality issues in some parts of Wielkopolska also provide a specific image. According to the research carried out by Stanisław Malepszak, German documents prove unambiguously that in 1918, Bukówiec Górny (and many neighbouring villages in Leszno county) was inhabited exclusively by Poles. However, this does not mean that it was a standard situation in the area (Malepszak 2007, 207). The specific distribution of Germanisms in the local dialects comes as no surprise; areas of intensive Prussian colonization do not show deep concentration thereof in the local dialects (Gliszczyńska 2007, 280).

In these circumstances, the Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences could not do anything but get involved in creating a new university. The Society provided the first teachers and rectors of the Poznań university.

The Society’s Publishers have greatly contributed to promoting issues of dialectology and the achievements of Poznań dialectologists. In 1960, the Society reactivated publishing “*Slavia Occidentalis*”, a journal dedicated to issues of the language and culture of western Slavs. It has presented many articles dedicated to analyses of various aspects of Wielkopolska and other dialects. The Publishers launched to the market a lengthy *Questionnaire to the Atlas of Wielkopolska’s folk language and culture* (Sobierajski 1972). “Gwary Dziś” [“Dialects Today”] have been connected with the PTPN since the very beginning – initially as a series of materials on international conferences co-organised with the Institute of Polish Philology of the Poznań University, entitled “Dialects Today”; since 2015 it has been an online annual dedicated to Slavic dialectology (<http://gwary.ptpn.poznan.pl/pl/index-pl/>). Notably, the boosted international prestige reflected in, among other things, a growing number of foreign participants of the conferences has opened up an opportunity for the Poznań scholars to submit an application to the 14th International Congress of Slavists in Ohrid (2008) for affiliation at the International Committee of Slavists of the Dialectology Committee.

Dialectology at the Poznań University developed in two ways: the basic current stems from activities instigated by Ludwik Zabrocki who “Back in (August) 1946 (...) started to organise a suitable research centre, informally referred to as the “Phonographic Archive”. At the development phase, the centre operated as part of the Western Slavic Institute” (Nowak 2001, 201). Officially, the centre was called the Phonographic Archive of the Western Slavic Institute of the Poznań University. In the subsequent years it was renamed the Phonographic Institute of the Poznań University (after 1951), the Phonographic Workshop at the Faculty of the Polish Language of the PU (after 1952), the Workshop for Archiving Dialects at the Faculty of General Linguistics of the AMU (1960–1969), the Institute of Polish Dialectology (Nowak 2001, 202–203) affiliated with the Institute of Polish Philology of the AMU (1974–2009) and, finally, the Dialectology Workshop at the IPP AMU (since 2009). This is the “lineage” of

contemporary dialectological research at the Poznań University. This tradition of dialectology, exceeding Polish studies, has been continued and reflected in the arrangement of the rooms. Before relocation to a building at ul. Fredry 10, dialectology was located in the old seat of the Polish studies in Collegium Novum, on the last floor together with German studies while the Polish studies were located below, on the second and third floor. Today, our rooms are also located in the loft (4th floor) which has its advantages because the lower floors and the “broken” space do not interfere with listening to the recordings taken during field studies.

The Poznań dialectology has made a significant contribution to the achievements of scholars related by structure to Polish studies. After WWII, Prof. Stanisław Urbańczyk played an important role in developing the linguists dealing with Polish studies, including dialectology. He stayed in Poznań in 1947-1956 and served even as a dean. Prof. Monika Gruchmanowa and Prof. Zygmunt Zagórski were other contributors, propagating knowledge of the (mostly systemic) complexity of Wielkopolska dialects among “Polish” scholars. They wrote monographs of the dialects spoken in western Wielkopolska (Gruchmanowa 1970) and northern Wielkopolska (Zagórski 1967). They also contributed to the publication of the *Atlases of the folk language and culture of Wielkopolska* (the subject is discussed in the subsequent part of the article).

More information on the development of Polish linguistics (including dialectology) at the AMU is presented Z. Zagórski (Zagórski 2011) while B. Walczak (Walczak 2018b, 303–306) has compiled a list of professors with a special impact on the development of the Poznań teachers of Polish studies.

Research into Wielkopolska dialects is of importance not only in the context of general characteristics of Polish and Slavic dialects. Perhaps even more important is documenting them because of their role in shaping the national language (and culture). What is more, the peripheral location of Wielkopolska on a linguistic map of Poland (and the Slavic world) has resulted in the existence of many archaic elements, the so-called peripheral archaisms which give insight into old language structures. They provide evidence of the native origin of some words (e.g. *murzyn* [a black person] ‘one who is darkened, dark’ < Wielkopolska dialect *murzyć* ‘to blacken’ (Sierociuk 2005)), *bystry* ‘bright’ (*bystre słońce*, *bystra sukienka*), *kromka* ‘a lateral part or end of a whole’ (not only *kromka chleba* ‘the first or last piece of a loaf of bread’ – unlike in the general language: ‘a subsequent sliced piece of bread from its central (soft) part’) *kromka kopca*, *kromka materiału* (sartorial: ‘a strip of fabric, narrow – on the sides – when unrolled from a bolt’) etc. Many confirmations do not appear until intense field explorations. In a majority of cases, these are words without lexicographic documentation, therefore often they are not present in linguistic research awareness.

As a result of historical developments, in the early stage of documenting the language spoken in Poland’s rural areas, Wielkopolska dialects did not enjoy special interest (Sierociuk 2013). Hence the documentation deficit, reflected also in the latest general Polish *Dictionary of Polish Dialects* (SGP). An analysis of the dictionary material confirms the status well recognised by circles of dialectologists, expecting that the gaps will be bridged soon (Karaś 2011, 58, 293). Excerpts from the work of Oskar Kolberg (Kolberg 1875–1882) and A. Tomaszewski’s notes from 1930-1932 (Sierociuk

2019b) do not provide a basis for characterising Wielkopolska dialects, let alone observing the change dynamics.

The post-war period in the history of Poznań dialectology was marked by intense activities in the area of documenting the collection of Wielkopolska dialects. From the beginning of the team archiving the language spoken by people in rural areas, the field documentation was extended by initially several-minute-long recordings on acetate discs, later on magnetic tape and, finally, registered in a digital format. In 2001, Prof. Henryk Nowak, the then manager of the Polish Dialectology Unit, wrote in an act of handing over the responsibility for the subsequent development of Poznań dialectology:

The Unit of Polish Dialectology has at its disposal (...) phonographic dialectal texts from 520 villages from various regions in Poland. (...) These phonic archived dialectological material, expressed in time units, offers in total approximately 520 hours of recordings of language of villagers (Nowak 2001, 205).

The mentioned materials are the most valuable because of the time when they were recorded and the characteristics of the respondents. Let me provide some data:

The oldest recording was made as early as on 8 August 1945; Tadeusz Wronkowski's interlocutor was a male inhabitant of Poznań, born in 1918. The entire documentation is 44'37" long. By 1947, more recordings were made (ranging from 19'56" to 40'00"). Later (and very systematically) the dialects from various regions (mainly the vicinity of Złotów but also individuals repatriated from Romania together with inhabitants of Czech cities: Brno, and Albanian – including Tirana) were recorded by Professor L. Zabrocki, the founding father of the Poznań archive. After 1949, Z. Sobierajski, Ph.D. was in charge of obtaining dialectal texts. Due to the limited capacity of the discs, initially some utterances did not exceed 4-5 minutes. Of course, in a specific village several discs were recorded. As more equipment was purchased for the Poznań team, the duration of the recording grew (still on discs). At present, all the materials (the oldest and the latest alike) have been digitalized. In the new catalogue, each item takes into account a number of parameters which were at some point included into the methodological assumptions adopted by the team (Sierociuk 2003).

The oldest informant whose uttering is stored in the archive of the Dialectology Workshop of the AMU, was born in 1855 (sic!); it was a male inhabitant of Bukowska Wola near Miechów in the Krakow region. In total, Z. Sobierajski recorded 52'40" of the informant's utterances. Let me provide more extracts from the catalogue (recordings mainly from Wielkopolska) to exemplify the value of the archived materials:

- informant born in 1860; Nowa Wieś Królewska near Września (71'10"),
- informant born in 1862; Dąbrowa near Wieluń (35'46"),
- informant born in 1864; Mańkowice near Nysa (04'38"),
- informant born in 1866; Kawęczyn near Szczytno (09'08"),
- informant born in 1866; Drawsko near Czarnków (58'36");
- informant born in 1866; Wyszyny near Chodzież (53'25"),
- informant born in 1866; Morzewo near Chodzież (29'47"),
- informant born in 1867; Wijewo near Leszno (63'26"),
- informant born in 1868; Królikowo near Żnin (30'43").

Table 1. The oldest recordings in the phonographic archive of the Dialectology Workshop of the AMU

0	Poznań			Wielkopolska	1403	Józef Ciszak	918	Tadeusz Wrotkowski	1945 08 08
1	Luzino	Węjherowo		Pomerania	1401	Franciszek Rybkowski	881	Tadeusz Wrotkowski	1945 12 29
1	Węjherowo	Węjherowo		Pomerania	1402	Helena Dzieścieleska	925	Tadeusz Wrotkowski	1945 12 29
12	Poznań			Wielkopolska	1405	Wojciech Gręda	879	Tadeusz Wrotkowski	1946 03 08
11	Poznań			Wielkopolska	1404	Andrzej Kwiatkowski	880	Marian Sobieski	1947 03 09
1	Brno			Czechoslovakia	2005	Wacław Kristek	918	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 03 29
1	Szarcz Sorbona	Międzyrzec		Lublin	2007	Elżbieta Pacek	921	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 08 23
	Stawnica	Złotów		Piła	743	Teodozja Dybowa	910	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 08 25
1	Stawnica	Złotów		Piła	2002	Teodozja Dybowa	910	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 08 25
1	Radawnica	Złotów		Piła	2003	Józef Gługła	875	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 08 25
1	Łąkie	Złotów		Piła	2004	Ambroży Belka	882	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 08 25
13	Ukraine Lithuania				2008	Nina Borowska	922	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 10 23
1	Poiana Miculi	Romania			2009	Józef Juraszek	920	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 05
1	Bukowina Rum.	Romania			2010	Józef Juraszek	920	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 06
1	Błękwit	Złotów		Piła	2011	Paweł Massel	899	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 07
1	Zakrzewo	Złotów		Piła	2012	Michalina Malinowska	878	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 07
1	Kielpin	Złotów		Piła	2013	Leokadia Gapa	889	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 08
2	Radawnica	Złotów		Piła	2014	Maria Radawska	913	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 08
2	Stawnica	Złotów		Piła	2015	Michał Weisstock	869	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 09
1	Kwaczała	Chrzanów		Krakow	2006	Jan Urbańczyk	872	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 27
2	Kawczała	Chrzanów		Krakow	2016	Stanisław Urbańczyk	909	Ludwik Zabrocki	1948 12 27
1	Czersk	Chojnice		Bydgoszcz	2017	Józef Zabrocki	881	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 13
1	Elbasan			Albania	2018	Moni Olimbi	926	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 13

2	Tirana		Albania	2019	Ohri Edibe	924	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 14
1	Płotowa	Bytów	Pomerania	2021	Kazimierz Styp	1923	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 15
1	Radwor	Budziszyn	Warsaw	2020	Antoni Nawka	1913	Wacław Cimochoński	1949 01 18
7	Poznań		Poznań	2022	Krystyna Skuszanka	1924	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 19
1	Slepo Wudwor	Kamienice	Łużyce	2023	Jan Szofła	1921	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 01 20
1	Nowe Kramsko	Babimost	Wielkopolska	2024	Apolonia Krawiec	1878	Wacław Cimochoński	1949 02 14
1	Libawa		Latvia	2025	Verpe Harlds	1922	Wacław Cimochoński	1949 05 05
	Grębów	Tarnobrzeg	Tarnobrzeg	78	Stanisław Bąk		Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 02
1	Kościelec	Inowrocław	Bydgoszcz	2026	Jan Krzeszewski	1888	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 05
1	Dąbrowa p M	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2027	Pelagia Pazderska	1890	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 05
1	Ludwiniec	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2028	Franciszek Lussa	1883	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 05
1	Bzówiec	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2029	Antonina Dębińska	1894	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 06
1	Biskupice	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2030	Wawrzyn Malicki	1871	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 06
1	Radłowo	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2031	Józef Graczyk	1879	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 07
2	Pasym	Szczytno	Kuyavian-Pomeranian	2076	Wiktor Dulisz	1896	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 07 07
1	Warcholy	Nidzica	Warmian-Masurian	2077	Joanna Szarkowska	1909	Ludwik Zabrocki	1949 07 07
1	Targownica	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2032	Władysława Nurska	1887	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 08
1	Będzitówko	Inowrocław	Bydgoszcz	2033	Franciszek Lussa	1883	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 08
1	Słaboszewko	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2034	Katarzyna Budzińska	1880	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 08
1	Duszno	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2035	Józef Wróblewski	1890	Zenon Sobierajski	1949 07 10

Let me also present excerpts from the earliest reports. The columns present the following information from a recently compiled catalogue: the subsequent number of recording–discs (CDs in the latest archive) from a specific village; place of recording; county (according to the old administrative division); region (overlapping with the administrative units – provinces); the subsequent number of the CD; the informant²; the informant's year of birth; date of recording.

Specifying the age of the interlocutors is of importance not only to researchers interested in the dynamics of linguistic changes taking place in rural areas. Earlier, I provided information about some of the oldest respondents from Wielkopolska but I would also like to devote some attention to the oldest informants representing various regions in Poland (the two last columns of the table above have been removed).

Table 2. The oldest informants whose utterances are recorded and stored in the phonographic archive of the Dialectological Workshop of the AMU

	Bukowska Wola	Miechów	Krakowskie	307	Andrzej Michalski	1855
1	Nowa Wieś Królewska	Września	Wielkopolska	2204	Wincenty Szuba	1860
1	Dąbrowa p W	Wieluń	Lodz	2255	Marianna Kuźniak	1862
1	Mańkowice	Nysa	Opole	2043	Franciszek Hauke	1864
1	Kałęczyn	Szczytno	Warmia-Masurian	2056	Ludorf Lota	1866
16	Drawsko	Czarnków	Wielkopolska	2156	Małgorzata Smuga	1866
3	Wyszyny	Chodzież	Wielkopolska	2168	Szczepan Wołyński	1866
1	Morzewo	Chodzież	Wielkopolska	2229	Jan Wiorek	1866
1	Wijewo	Leszno	Wielkopolska	2155	Elżbieta Jurowa	1867
1	Królikowo	Żnin	Kuyavian-Pomer.	2162	Teodor Grabowski	1868
1	Ławki	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2038	Józef Ljankowski	1869
1	Stare Kramsko	Sulechów	Lubusz	2134	Anna Majer	1869
1	Brzoza	Wieluń	Lodz	912	Marianna Stępień	1869
1	Liwa	Ostróda	Warmia-Masurian	2068	NN mężczyzna	1869
2	Liwa	Ostróda	Warmia-Masurian	2089	NN mężczyzna	1869
2	Stawnica	Złotów	Wielkopolska	2015	Michał Weisstock	1869
1	Kielpiny	Wolsztyn	Wielkopolska	2135	Ludwik Rżanny	1869
5	Wilkowyja	Jarocin	Wielkopolska	2175	Antoni Kubicki	1869
4	Piaski	Gostyń	Wielkopolska	2181	Józefa Jemrychowa	1869
1	Ogonki	Węgorzewo	Warmia-Masurian	2061	Herman Migge	1870
2	Bańki	Bielsk Podlaski	Białystok	313	Józef Pęski	1871
1	Biskupice	Mogilno	Bydgoszcz	2030	Wawrzyn Malicki	1871
1	Łankowiczki	Szubin	Kuyavian-Pomer.	2161	Jan Najdul	1871

² The personal data of the recorded and recording individuals have been published in catalogues of recordings (see Sobierajski 1957).

1	Kwaczała	Chrzanów	Krakow	2006	Jan Urbańczyk	1872
6	Kluki	Słupsk	Pomorskie	2122	Henryk Kaitczik	1872
1	Radosty	Olsztyn	Warmia-Masurian	2064	Anna Greichenberg	1872
1	Wydawy	Rawicz	Wielkopolska	358	Marianna Rajczak	1872
2	Wydawy	Rawicz	Wielkopolska	359	Marianna Rajczak	1872
1	Dobieżyn	Nowy Tomyśl	Wielkopolska	2174	Agn. Łamaszewska	1872
1	Kobylniki	Szamotoły	Wielkopolska	2202	Matria Kaczmarkowa	1872
1	Topólno	Świecie	Kuyavian-Pomer.	2234	Ignacy Raniszewski	1873
1	Ciemniki	Świecie	Kuyavian-Pomer.	2238	Franciszek Kopkowski	1873
1	Rogojny	Olecko	Warmia-Masurian	2059	Gustaw Rogowski	1873
1	Obłok	Ostrów Wlkp	Wielkopolska	1616	Antonina Zareba	1873
1	Parkowo	Oborniki	Wielkopolska	2171	Antoni Tabat	1873
1	Lutogniew	Krotoszyn	Wielkopolska	2177	Franciszka Morgel	1873
1	Kicko-Chelmce	Inowrocław	Bydgoszcz	1307	Wojciech Skowron	1874
2	Kicko-Chelmce	Inowrocław	Bydgoszcz	1308	Wojciech Skowron	1874
2	Piaski	Sieradz	Kuyavian-Pomer.	2112	Antonina Rychlik	1874
3	Piaski	Sieradz	Kuyavian-Pomer.	2113	Antonina Rychlik	1874
1	Stołuń	Międzyrzecz	Lubusz	2130	Leon Łuka	1874
1	Okalew	Wieluń	Lodz	1628	Stanisława Głuch	1874
1	Lisia Góra	Słupsk	Pomerania	2126	Herman Szymanke	1874
1	Oslawa Dąbrowa	Bytów	Pomerania	2246	Ignacy Kowalewski	1874
1	Bzury	Pisz	Warmia-Masurian	2147	Jan Trynowała	1874
1	Grodzisko	Strzelce	Lower Silesia	2241	Jan Gomuła	1875
1	Zboże	Sępólno	Kuyavian-Pomer.	2235	Jan Mudzik	1875
	Wróblew	Wieluń	Lodz	914	Marcjanna Szymczewska	1875
1	Narok	Niemodlin	Opole	2110	Stanisław Zdziej	1875
1	Brzeźno Gdańskie	Gdańsk	Pomerania	2072	Józef Rumczyk	1875
1	Biała Piska	Pisz	Warmia-Masurian	2148	August Wiśniewski	1875
1	Radawnica	Złotów	Wielkopolska	2003	Józef Glugla	1875
1	Szkaradowo	Rawicz	Wielkopolska	2142	Maria Wormuth	1875
1	Zielona Wieś	Rawicz	Wielkopolska	2143	Karol Bartkowiak	1875
1	Lutomek	Międzychód	Wielkopolska	2172	Andrzej Jenek	1875
1	Bachorzew	Jarocin	Wielkopolska	2176	Antonina Wierzchowicka	1875
4	Zychlewo	Gostyń	Wielkopolska	2223	Marcin Nawrocki	1875

In an evaluation of the suitability of the Poznań record library in research into the oral Polish language, special attention should be paid to an episode accompanying an important achievement in Polish studies of dialects. The library of the Dialectology Workshop of the AMU includes records made simultaneously with the activities of the team managed by K. Nitsch. The recordings are excellent material for extending the characteristics of Polish dialects spoken in the second half of the 1950s. Back in 1953, “efforts were made to (...) include in the recordings informants whose dialects had already been used in questionnaires developed for the purpose of the ‘Small atlas of Polish dialects’ published by the Polish Academy of Sciences” (Sobierajski 1957, 81). At that time, these were mainly villages in Wielkopolska and the adjacent areas: Drawsko, Czarnków county³; Wijewo, Leszno county; Piaski, Gostyń county; Środa area; Jancewo, Żnin county; Walentynowo, Wyrzysk county (Krajna and Bory). Later on, other informants were selected, residents of villages marked in the MAGP or sometimes an opportunity availed itself to record utterances of the respondents who provided material for the atlas. There are over a dozen of these villages, divided into dialects. These are⁴:

- Chełmno and Dobrzyń Land: Szczuka, Brodnica county;
- Silesia: **Istebna**, Cieszyn county; Olza, Wodzisław county;
- Małopolska: **Więciorka**, Myślenice county; Mokrzesz, Częstochowa county; Mrukowa, Jasło county; Chomęciska Duże, Zamość county; Niebieszczany, Sanok county; **Chodów**, Miechów county; Miedzna Murowana, Opoczno county; Ujanowice
- Konary, Sandomierz county; Żelechlinek, Rawa Mazowiecka county;
- Masovia: **Białka**, Radzyń Podlaski county; **Kadzidło**, Ostrołęka county; **Osuchowo Nowe**, Ostrów Mazowiecka county; Uniszki Zawadzkie, Mława county;
- Podlasie: **Bańki**, Bielsk Podlaski county.

As far as I know, these materials have not been subjected to detailed analyses while they could provide lots of information facilitating more extensive characteristics of the local dialects. They have not been used as a valuable source in syntax-related studies. They are undoubtedly very valuable on many levels including a description of phenomena typical of other levels of linguistic analyses.

The phonographic collection of the Dialectology Workshop of the AMU contains more than 3,700 hours of recorded conversations with informants from various regions in Poland; there are also recordings made in the Polish diasporas in Kazakhstan and the Ukraine. A list of the hours of recordings (all of them now available in a digital version) is a derivative of a methodological assumptions that any conversation, even a very short one, should be registered. On the other hand, students often ask a question: “why do we do that if we cannot process it single-handedly?”. We are of an opinion that in the face of a dynamic development (and transformation) of the Polish language, we need to supplement the research basis for the next generations. Generally speaking, we want to ensure that in 50 years’ time, whoever wants to analyse the

³ The division into counties as per the then administrative division.

⁴ In this specification, bolded are the names of the villages where a respondent was recorded who previously completed a questionnaire for the MAGP.

course of developmental processes in the Polish language, will have at his/her disposal material indispensable for the analyses.

When researchers focus on a dialect spoken by a single rural community, to a large extent they can define the characteristic features of the community's language as it was spoken in specific time intervals. Many years of observing the speech of inhabitants of Bukówiec Górny (Leszno county) has resulted not only in extending the archive by more than 200 hours of conversations with approximately 70 individuals. This is a rare situation when a specific dialect is documented in utterances from so many speakers. Considering the generation factor has resulted in identifying disappearance of specific forms from the local dialect system – with reduplication of *-n-* (mainly) in adjectives indicating materials like *glinianny*, *drewnianny*, *welnianny*. This phenomenon could have been identified by adopting generational representation in selecting the interlocutors.

For the purpose of field explorations as well as specific analyses, we assume generational affiliation as indicated by the informant's year of birth. This is because we are certain that the complexity of a person's language is mostly affected by the time when his/her linguistic competence was acquired, the time of developing the language system together with the cultural references. For this reason (and for the purpose of clarity), to us generational affiliation is predominantly marked by the year of birth. We had many opportunities to (positively) verify this assumption in the course of numerous conversations with the same interlocutors.

For the purpose of clarity (the archive) and research, we have adopted the following generational division:

I. born **before 1920**. This generational group is practically no longer represented. This is a generation which developed its linguistic habits at home; it is also a generation whose language (Polish) was not affected by the school. In fact, this generation's language is best documented, presented on the maps of language atlases.

II. born in **1921-1945**. When referring to the oldest generation, we deal with representatives of these years of birth. In rural areas, it is a group of people brought up in homogenous social and economic conditions. The informants from this interval are the main source of vocabulary related to the traditional organisation of rural life.

III. born in **1946-1970**. The interlocutors from this generation grew up in different social and economic conditions, marked by gradual disappearance of the traditional rural structures and the conditions of traditional rural life. Their language has been largely affected by the school and human migration. Of importance is also the impact of the external factor – the unprecedented influence of the urban environment.

IV. born in **1971-1995**. This generation is most diverse with respect to the conditions affecting their command of language. The social and economic transformations have left the deepest mark on them. The changes taking place in rural areas and brought about by external factors (including general electrification, water supply networks, different agricultural inputs etc.) which have contributed to a new reality, mainly on the vocabulary level.

V. born in **1996 and later**. This generation grew up in the progressing transformation of the growth initiated by the previous generation. Observations of the language spoken by representatives of this generation lead to conclusions about the rate

of linguistic changes that will take place in this group in the future. (Sierociuk 2003, 134).

The adopted generational division presented above makes it possible to carry out long-term research with the same informants. It also allows to make use of two parameters in research into evolutionary processes: the year in which a specific form was recorded and the informant's year of birth. In many cases, we can correctly interpret data obtained many years later in locations previously explored with specific tasks in mind. A case in point is confrontation of contemporary recordings and materials for the AJKLW, obtained in the first decade of the 1970s (Sobierajski 1972).

The *Atlas języka i kultur ludowej Wielkopolski* (AJKLW) [Atlas of Wielkopolska's folk language and culture] has been compiled by two research teams from the AMU, dialectologists and ethnographers. The related questionnaire was developed by the circles of the Poznań dialectologists and ethnographers. The main contributors included chief editor Z. Sobierajski and dialectologists M. Gruchmanowa, H. Nowak and Z. Zagórski (Sobierajski 1972).

The AJKLW contains 889 maps grouped into subjects in 11 volumes. Therefore it provides a very exact picture of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the dialects spoken by inhabitants of Wielkopolska villages. The maps document the status of the dialect which now belongs to the past. Notably, a majority of the maps was developed by H. Nowak who should be deemed the major contributor to this part of the *Atlas...* (Sierociuk 2018).

While dialectal maps provide lots of information that enable to identify the specificity of the dialects in question, they fail to explain completely e.g. the importance of the mapped words. However, it is the dictionary that is used to present the semantics (meaning and contextual use) of dialectal words.

The first decade of the 21st century was marked by a nearly complete exchange of the academic faculty and devising new research plans. In 2002, Prof. Henryk Nowak, manager of the Polish Dialectology Unit at the AMU, went into retirement. He devoted the last days of his life (he died in 2010) to continuing work on the *Dictionary of the dialect of the Hazakis*. His intention was to compile a comprehensive dictionary with an impressive lexicographic documentation presented in a very precise phonetic transcription. However, the work on the dictionary ended at the preliminary stage (Sierociuk 2018). By 2007 (the year of his death), Prof. Zenon Sobierajski was in charge of mainly organisational issues (related to publishing the AJKLW) (Walczak 2018c, Sierociuk 2020).

When the two professors passed away, attention had to be paid to recruiting personnel and outlining the research perspectives for the new young team. While the composition of the research team remained unchanged (three people: Prof. Jerzy Sierociuk, Ph.D., manager, and two students employed half-time), the academic side of the team was reinforced. Two people: Justyna Kobus, Ph.D. and Błażej Osowski, Ph.D., former students, have become independent scholars. Born in Wielkopolska, they will take care of the position of the Poznań dialectology in the years to come. Another opportunity will arise when more doctoral theses are defended in the Dialectology Workshop.

For many years, the circles of dialectologists (in Wielkopolska and elsewhere) have been plagued by lack of proper lexicographic documentation of the dialects spoken in

Wielkopolska. An analysis of the material included in the SGP proves unambiguously that the dialect is least represented here. The need for filling this gap has been increasingly postulated not only by circles of lexicographers. After all, Wielkopolska dialects have largely contributed to the ultimate shape of the Polish literary language. What is more, the Polish statehood was achieved in the area.

The aforementioned Dictionary of Polish Dialects (SPG) from Krakow provides a distinct picture of the lexical abundance of dialects. In evaluations of the achievements of dialectal lexicography, there are many unfavourable comments about the Poznań dialectology. This is because the Wielkopolska dialect is very modestly represented in the SGP files (“Wielkopolska is poorly represented not only in the SPG but even in the contemporary SGPPAN” – Karaś 2011,58). Bearing in mind the fact that the Krakow files contain confirmations of uses of dialectal words, including words from the 19th century, the shortages of Wielkopolska documentation (especially post-war) are of special importance. In many cases, the fact distorts the overall picture of the dialectal phenomena developed on the basis of the files. In this situation there is a danger of interpreting some phenomena as developing independently (bearing in mind the lack of documentation from the Wielkopolska zone in the light of abounding documents from the north and south of Poland).

The SGP files do not offer many excerpts from dialectal texts (or studies thereof) related to Wielkopolska; simply, they are not to be found in the region. In this situation, researchers need to resort to hand-written materials. These are not particularly abundant, either: a list of sources (SGP 1977) provides information that allows to outline the lexicographic representation of the specific regions: the name of the village and the location (including the number in the county), the explorer’s name and the year of his/her record plus a number of submitted sheets. A similar procedure was adopted by the editors who first provided information about the delivered supplementary materials. Starting with issue 16 (reorganisation of editorial work), this data is not provided. When these materials are compiled, the resulting picture is quite surprising. I will present only data related to a single county (Gniezno) which is of importance in the context of the lexicographic ventures launched in the Dialectology Workshop (to be elaborated on):

GNIEZNO

Gniezno (no number in issue 16) – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 5 sheets

1. Czerniejewo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
2. Dąbrówka Kościelna – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
3. Dębłowo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
4. Dębica – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
5. Dziekanowice – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
6. Imiolki – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
7. Kamieniec – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
8. Kiszkowo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
9. Mielżyn – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
10. Niechanowo – Kazimierz Nitsch, 1904–1939, 50 sheets
Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets

11. Ostrowite Prymasowskie – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
12. Powidz – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
13. Skorzęcin – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
14. Strzyżewo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
15. Ujazd – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
16. Węgorzewo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
17. Wierzyce – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets
18. Witkowo – Adam Tomaszewski, 1930–1932, 10 sheets

This type of list does not allow to follow historical changes and highlights a lack of bases for characterising the abundance of the vocabulary. There is a need for intensifying field research as a result of which a dictionary of dialects is compiled – even if a complex of dialects is small. It is of importance in the context of Wielkopolska because dialectologists from various centres in Poland have postulated such works:

Lately, we have seen intensified research into the vocabulary of the Polish language spoken in the former Eastern Borderlands (14 dictionaries). There is a number of regions which urgently need these dictionaries. They include Wielkopolska proper and Masovia proper including Kurpie and Podlasie (Karaś 2011, 293)⁵.

Prof. Witold Doroszewski, a prominent Polish linguist used to say that the biggest problem of dialectology is “shortage of labour”. Typically, teams of dialectologists are small, independent while complete collection of material in the field oftentimes is beyond their capabilities. In this situation, it is imperative to refer to the assistance of the local communities. For several years, the Dialectology Workshop of the Institute of Polish Philology of the Poznań University has been involved in this type of activity. Most typically, the local partner is a school where a group of pupils get involved in obtaining linguistic material. This is a way of reaching interlocutors (informants) who know (often only passively) the specific names or observe specific customs. The involved explorers (in this case, pupils from a specific school) follow our guidelines. Each time, we try to prepare the team of young explorers; at preliminary meetings, we discuss the way and range of activities. The available devices register entire conversations; the pupils tend to use their cellular phones. The recordings are sent to the Workshop where they are further treated: transcribed (writing down the recording) and further processed with respect to the content.

The cooperating representatives of the local communities receive content-related guidelines and a set of questions (a questionnaire) intended to serve as the basis for the conversation. Since pupils tend to be less interested in the idiosyncrasies of the local language (typically we ask about the names of specific activities or objects), the questionnaire contains questions of various “degrees of accuracy”. For example, in order to examine words related to butter production, we first ask *how butter is made*. Depending on the interlocutor’s “openness”, at this stage we can register an utterance containing words about which we did not ask in a specific questionnaire. This also

⁵ Similarly in (Reichan, Woźniak 2001).

poses an opportunity of documenting uses of very rare words, oftentimes unknown to dialectologists. Only later do we ask specific questions, e.g. what is a *kierzynka*, what parts does a *kierzynka* consist of, about the liquid remaining in a *kierzynka* when butter is extracted etc. In this part of the questionnaire, we also introduce questions about the “meaning” of specific words, e.g. what a “podchlebiajek” is (‘the top part of a *kierzynka* ...’). We do realise that this word is unfamiliar in many places because it was never used there or it has been “forgotten”. Negative replies (“I don’t know it”, “people don’t say it here”) are of special importance to the general characteristics of a local dialect. When confronted with the accumulated knowledge (e.g. a comparison with the AJKLW maps) they can also confirm the rate of changes taking place in a local dialect.

At the same time, we try to obtain photographic documentation; in the case of referents quickly “leaving collective memory”, for many future readers (even readers of the dictionary) this is the only opportunity to confront one’s image and the “historical documentation”. Let me emphasise that due to the linguistic changes taking place in rural areas, instead of referring to a *dialect* we prefer a phrase *the language spoken in rural areas* (Sierociuk 2007).

As I have indicated before, in comparison with other dialects, Wielkopolska’s lexicographic documentation is the most deficient. The above presented activities are aimed at bridging the gap, even partially. The ventures launched in the Dialectology Workshop at the AMU have resulted in publishing several dictionaries within a series “Wielkopolska Regional Dictionaries” in response to the major premise aligned with the following assumptions:

- documenting and propagating a dialect from a small area aimed at raising regional awareness; with this assumption, the dictionaries are addressed chiefly at the local communities which oftentimes think of this kind of activity as following the rule “about us – for us”. The vocabulary of a specific thematic range is preceded by information about the area (e.g. a study of the history) and the cooperating school. Undoubtedly, this is a specific way of promoting a region and its culture bearing in mind that each entry is illustrated by ample documentation including fragments of the informants’ authentic utterances (if possible, supplemented by the referent’s photograph);

- thematic diversity of the dictionaries according to a general rule which says that a specific set (a thematic dictionary) represents a concrete dialectal set (e.g. eastern Wielkopolska, central Wielkopolska etc.); this poses an opportunity to attempt to explain the complicated lexical structure of the entire complex of Wielkopolska dialects. The thematic “diversity” of dictionaries representing the same area is aimed at presenting, at least partly, the lexical abundance of Wielkopolska dialects. In long terms, they are to form the basis for a general Wielkopolska dictionary. The way in which the words are presented takes into account compilation of two versions of the dictionary: printed (now) and electronic (online) in the future;

- the scholarly value comes down not only to ample documentation; the dictionary also contains several words loosely related (with respect to the subject) to the rest of the collection. It is about making available information of importance to academic analyses, e.g. the history of the Polish language or even to the interpretations of some (general) Slavic phenomena. Consequently, a regional dictionary has readers far beyond the local community.

With the local readers in mind, dictionaries of dialects provide a simplified transcription. We assume that the plane of reference here is a record referring to the rules of general writing; onto these phenomena, dialectal peculiarities are “superimposed”. We have not introduced delimitation of text which comes down to separating syntactic sections by means of comas and dots as a signal of the end of a sentence. We try to reflect the speed of speech by marking pauses with ... (the ellipsis). In brackets, an abbreviation is placed of the village where a quotation comes from or where the word was registered. An entry is supplemented by references to synonymous forms. All the forms contained in a specific dictionary are printed in bold, even if they have been used in a definition of an entry. This rule is supplemented by italics used to indicate material obtained in the field from informants. A regular font is used in the parts written by the authors – explanation of the meaning or insertions which make it easier to understand a specific fragment of an utterance.

As an example, let me present three entries from the dictionary of the Łuków area (Sierociuk 2019a):

harfa – ‘tu: pochylnia zrobiona z ułożonych podłużnie szczebelków, zazwyczaj do wrzucania kartofli do piwnicy’: *do piwnicy kartofle zrzucano ... były otwory ... takie okna ... i robiło sie takie ... żeby to było doste^mp do kartofly ... taki z drewna ... takie szczebelki ... i po tych szczebelkach kartofle leciały przez te (!) okienko do piwnicy ... taki stojak ... jak coś takiego ... przez to leciało ... do kartofly przrzucania to jes harfa ... (Grz); zob. **rafka**.*

kogutek – ‘ustawione w polu snopki’: *zebrać go ... zwioⁿzić ... zestawić ... w kogutki ... (Żył); kogutki to u nas sie nazywały ... (Żył); zob. **dziesioⁿtek, kopa, kopica, kopka 2, kupka 3, mandel, mendelek, myndel**.*

młynkować – ‘oczyszczać zboże **młynkiem**’: *najpierw to były co nie wiała ... tylko tyle co wymłóciła ... i z plewami wszystko szło do wialni ... późni trzeba było młynkować ... a były ... późni już były ... co oddzielały ... wiały ... (Grz); młynkować ... (Chr); jak sie młóciło wiejko maszyno ... to nie trza było wiać ... a targanko ... i prostomłotno to była wialnia ... trzeba jo było wialnio ... i później młynkować ... na przykład ... trzeba było ... (Żył).*

According to the above rules, seven volumes of the *Wielkopolska Regional Dictionaries* have been completed to date, one of them recently submitted for publishing (see the list below), others being compiled. The accessibility of the suggested form of presenting dialect material leads to many local communities expressing their willingness to cooperate by stating “we want a dictionary like this, too”.

When speaking about dialectology in Poznań, we mustn’t disregard the developing cooperation with numerous foreign centres. This comes down mainly to exchanging the theoretical assumptions and specific achievements in field studies; they are presented at international conferences. As a result of the idiosyncrasies of the inquiries on the part of Slavic dialectology, the related cooperation develops mainly with centres accompanying national academies of sciences. The circle of Poznań dialectologists appreciates very much direct contacts – exchange of academic literature and participation in conferences (often co-organised) – with colleagues from academic institutes in

Russia (Sankt Petersburg and Moscow), Ukraine (Kiev and Lvov), Bulgaria (Sophia), the Czech Republic (Brno). More and more frequently, academic contacts are made with representatives of dialectological centres from other countries. The growing scholarly exchange with foreign universities is also worth mentioning.

The Dialectology Workshop at the AMU has organised (or co-organised with the Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences and other linguistic workshops at the AMU) two regular conferences attended by an increasing number of foreign speakers. “Gwary dziś” used to be an editorial series published by the Society, since 2001 resulting in papers previously delivered at conferences as part of the same series. The integration of the circles of Slavic dialectologists has resulted in transforming the series into an online annual dedicated to Slavic dialectology which since 2015 has been an informal body of the Dialectology Committee at the International Committee of Slavists. It is available as “Gwary Dziś” under <http://gwary.ptpn.poznan.pl/pl/index-pl/> or <https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/gd>. Since 2014, every two years, we also (co)organise a conference on “Language in a region – a region in language”. The materials are published under the same title (the first volume was published in Poznań in 2016.).

Important online addresses:

<http://dialektologia.amu.edu.pl/index.htm>

dialektologia@amu.edu.pl

* * *

Wielkopolska Regional Dictionaries:

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The dynamics of changes within grammatical gender of dialectal nouns – selected issues

Abstract: Due to problems with obtaining the materials and the description thereof, dialectal inflection is an element of language which does not attract lots of dialectologists' attention. On the other hand, the inflection of Wielkopolska dialects poses more problems in the description because there is no starting point in the form of previous characteristics of inflection that would create a need for a continuous description that shows the changes in the evolution of a dialect. The language spoken in rural areas in the late 20th and the early 21st centuries has entered a stage of dynamic changes on all its levels. This fact cannot be disregarded in selecting the appropriate research tools. Dialectal inflection cannot be unambiguously categorised, it is full of inconsistencies and deviations from (what seems to be) the adopted paradigm. As a result, it is much more interesting to show it as a flexible creation of oral language i.e. in a dynamic way, resulting from statistical analyses.

The dynamics of inflection forms within grammatical gender is a part of a larger monograph dedicated to the gender-related variability of nouns and the change of gender in the course of inflection and the well-recognised opposition of masculine gender and non-masculine gender. My intention was not only to describe phenomena of grammatical gender of the nouns recorded in contemporary Wielkopolska as well as to show the changes against the material from the 1950s–1980s.

The gender category defies attempts at restoring some normative order in it. Oral language is particularly susceptible to gender-related variations where the rules of correction are suspended. Oral language tends to be dynamic and this active nature determines the intensity of the specific features of the spoken variety of the Polish language – the right form is created when an act of speech appears (conformity with the general Polish norm does not count – communication prevails). Despite its specificity, the spoken variety stays within the more or less flexible language norm.

An analysis of the materials intended to illustrate the dynamics of changes within grammatical gender leads to drawing general conclusions. Dialects are a variety of the national language to which we would like to attribute many distinctive historical and even pre-historical features. However, this is a variety of language which evolves as do the other varieties of the national language. Speakers will always choose forms which suffice for an efficient act of communication. Dialects are at a stage of their development where researchers try to determine elements typical of a dialect and forget to examine their latest structure which results from the latest communication needs of speakers in rural areas.

Keywords: inflection, grammatical gender, dialect, language of villages.

Abstrakt: Dynamika zmian w obrębie rodzaju gramatycznego rzeczowników gwarowych – wybrane zagadnienia. Fleksja gwarowa należy do tych elementów systemu językowego, które ze względu na trudności z pozyskaniem materiałów i sposobem ich opisu, nie jest częstym obiektem zainteresowania dialektologów. Natomiast fleksja gwar wielkopolskich jest dodatkowo trudna w opisie,

gdyż brak tu punktu wyjścia w postaci wcześniejszej charakterystyki problemu odmiany, któryby generował potrzebę opisu kontynuującego, pokazującego zmiany na drodze ewolucji systemu gwarowego. Język mieszkańców wsi na przełomie XX i XXI w. znalazł się w fazie dynamicznych przemian na wszystkich poziomach systemu językowego. Fakt ten nie może zostać pominięty w doborze odpowiednich narzędzi badawczych. Fleksja gwarowa wymyka się jednoznaczному zaszerogowaniu, jest pełna niekonsekwencji i odchyła od (wydawałoby się) przyjętego paradygmatu. Wszystko to sprawia, że znacznie bardziej interesujące jest ukazanie jej jako plastycznego tworu języka mówionego, zatem w sposób dynamiczny, uzyskany na podstawie analiz statystycznych.

Dynamika form fleksyjnych w obrębie rodzaju gramatycznego to opracowanie będące częścią większej monografii, a poświęcone zagadnieniu wariantowości rodzajowej rzeczowników oraz zjawisku zmiany rodzaju podczas odmiany, a także znanej kwestii opozycji rodzaju męskoosobowego i niemęskoosobowego. Moim zamiarem było nie tylko opisanie ciekawszych zjawisk z zakresu rodzaju gramatycznego rzeczowników zaobserwowanych w języku współczesnych Wielkopolan, ale i wykazanie zmian w zestawieniu z materiałami lat 50.–80.

Kategoria rodzaju wymyka się próbom normatywnego jej uporządkowania. Szczególnie podatny na wariacje rodzajowe jest język mówiony, gdzie niejako zasady dotyczące poprawności ulegają zawieszeniu. Język mówiony ma naturę dynamiczną i ten właśnie jego aktywny charakter determinuje stopień natężenie poszczególnych cech mówionej odmiany polszczyzny – odpowiednia forma powstaje z chwilą kreowania aktu mowy (nie liczy się zgodność z normą ogólnopolską – ważna jest przede wszystkim komunikatywność). Mimo swej specyfiki odmiana mówiona mieści się w ramach mniej lub bardziej elastycznej normy języka.

Analiza materiałów, mających zilustrować dynamikę zmian w obrębie rodzaju gramatycznego, daje przesłanki do wyciągnięcia wniosków ogólnych. Gwary są tą odmianą języka narodowego, której chcielibyśmy przypisywać wiele cech dystynktywnych, historycznych, a nawet prahistorycznych. Jednakże jest to odmiana języka, która ulega ewolucji wraz z resztą odmian języka narodowego. Użytkownicy języka będą zawsze wybierać takie formy, które wystarczają dla sprawnego przeprowadzenia aktu komunikacji. Gwary znalazły się w takim momencie swojego rozwoju, w którym badacze starają się wyluskiwać elementy typowe dla dialektu, zapominając o badaniu aktualnej ich struktury – wynikającej z bieżących potrzeb komunikacyjnych użytkowników języka wsi.

Słowa kluczowe: fleksja, rodzaj gramatyczny, gwara, język mieszkańców wsi.

Introduction

Dialects spoken in Wielkopolska are the only dialects in Poland in which no section of the language system has been examined in a complex way. For years, the system of dialects has remained at a stage of irrevocable disintegration. It is impossible to discuss a system as an arrangement of some immutable grammatical features. It would be difficult to describe the systemic features in line with model paradigms. At this stage of evolution of dialects, we can resort to a description of what is left in the language spoken in rural areas from the old, traditionally defined dialects and how old features coexist with the contemporary grammar of the (local, dialectal) oral language. Therefore it is a good idea to examine contemporary dialectal materials and whatever is left from dialectological work from the previous era as links that bind the old quality (traditionally defined dialects (*gwary*)) and the specific contemporary *novum* (referred to by dialectologists as language of villages *język mieszkańców wsi*).

Before I proceed with the substance, let me present briefly the condition of research into dialectal inflection.

It has been common practice to view regional (or rather local) varieties against the general Polish language. Literature on inflection of the general language is quite impressive and the concepts very diverse, unlike works on dialectal inflection. Practically each monograph dedicated to the dialect of a specific area or village contains comments (more or less extensive) on the grammatical system. Information about inflection is also available in prefaces to dialectal dictionaries and dialectal atlases (the latter include mapped grammatical phenomena, e.g. *Atlas gwar polskich* (AGP) and *Atlas języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski* (AJKLW)). Many works on dialects can be viewed as archival as they document the condition of dialects from their “heyday”. Dialectal monographs which focus specifically on inflection include the works of the following authors: Adam Kleczkowski (Kleczkowski 1920), Janusz Siatkowski (Siatkowski 1962), Feliks Pluta (Pluta 1964), Jan Tokarski (Tokarski 1964), Hubert Górniewicz (Górniewicz 1967), Maria Grad-Mucowa (Grad-Mucowa 1970), Jan Mazur (Mazur 1978), Janina Gardzińska (Gardzińska 1989), Sergiusz Rudnicki (Rudnicki 2000), Kazimiera Pastusiak (Pastusiak 2004). More recent works are scarce, including H. Kurek’s (Kurek 2019) monograph partly dedicated to language of villagers and J. Kobus’ (Kobus 2019) publication entirely dedicated to the inflection of the noun in the dialects spoken in Wielkopolska.

Meanwhile, the language spoken in the late 20th and the early 21st centuries has been undergoing dynamic changes on all the levels of the language system. This fact cannot be ignored in selecting the research tools to analyse old and contemporary materials. It comes as no surprise that, to a large extent, phonetics are aligned with the general Polish language while the vocabulary is diverse. However, dialectal inflection cannot be classified in an unambiguous way as, just like the national Polish language, it is full of inconsistencies and deviations from (what seems to be) the adopted paradigm. As a result, it is much more interesting to show dialectal inflection in a dynamic way, drawing on statistical analyses. This issue is particularly distinct in an analysis of grammatical gender as presented in this work.

In my opinion, the language spoken in contemporary rural areas necessitates a new description that would consider the profound changes that have affected language of villagers in the past decades (cf. Kobus 2015, 123–140). As J. Sierociuk aptly noted, “The shift in the point of gravity from observations typical of traditional dialectology (*a dialect*) to a general view which results from idiolectal analyses, taking into account the generational differences, abstaining from the differentiation of a description in favour of a holistic approach to linguistic practices (*language of villages*) seems to be enforced by the latest situation in the academic circles” (Sierociuk 2007, 533).

The new methodological approach pertains to any dialectological research. An academic reflection on inflection in dialects (especially in Wielkopolska, not surveyed in this respect) should include a diagnosis of its condition in the past. This is a multi-stage task and its success largely depends on the multitude of material collected by dialectologists in the past. A question arises if there is such a thing as a separate inflection system (with reference to the general Polish system). There is no holistic work on the subject. We only have at our disposal monographs from the 1960s and 70s where the authors did not focus much on a broader description of declination of the nouns although some issues were discussed (mentioned) there: Monika Gruchmanowa

(Gruchmanowa 1970), two monographs by Henryk Nowak (Nowak 1970 and 1982) and two more by Zygmunt Zagórski (Zagórski 1967 and 1991). The already mentioned AJKLW is the major work on Wielkopolska, including analyses of specific phenomena and documenting dialects from Wielkopolska, mainly in the 1970s.

This work focuses on the dynamics of changes within the gender of the noun in the language of villages spoken in Wielkopolska¹.

In the Polish language, the gender category is of strategic importance; firstly, it determines the declination classes. Secondly, it has primarily syntactic functions of signalling relations between elements of a sentence.

A question arises about the number of genders in the Polish language. There are many gender-related classifications². I have decided to adopt the most traditional division into masculine, feminine and neuter gender coupled with forms of two genders for the plural: masculine and non-masculine³. This is topped with animate and inanimate nouns which division leads to two sub-genders in masculine genders, namely masculine animate and masculine inanimate⁴ (called also in Polish *męskorzeczowy*⁵). The animate/inanimate aspect is sometimes referred to as the category of cognitive relevance (see Ampel-Rudolf 2009, 209–221). A. Nagórko emphasised that “unlike in the masculine gender, the feminine category does not differentiate between the world of creatures and the world of objects. The classification of neuter nouns is even more arbitrary where this distinction is non-existent (cf. *imię, cielę, dziewczę, chłopię*). We should be aware of the fact that where the **animate : inanimate** opposition emerges, it is a linguistic rather than actual category” (Nagórko 1996, 128).

Formal determinants are also important, e.g. the end of a word stem or a specific ending. As for morphological determinants, there are hard-stem nouns and soft-stem nouns as well as vowel- and consonant-nouns. The gender-related classification

¹ Inflection-related phenomena in the contemporary language spoken in Wielkopolska villages (i.e. in materials obtained after 2000) with references to earlier materials (from the 1950s–80s) on the subject in question within nominal categories are included in a monograph by J. Kobus *Studia nad fleksją rzeczownika w gwarach wielkopolskich* (Poznań 2019). The work does not have the ambition to provide a total description but rather focuses on more interesting linguistic phenomena and mechanisms in the language spoken in Wielkopolska. My intention was to show the specific dynamics of the changes rather than a static description of typical systemic features. The monograph contains detailed analyses of selected phenomena with emphasis placed on the gender, case and number.

² See (Tokarski 1949, 8–16), (Mańczak 1956, 116–121), (Saloni 1976, 43–78), (Kucala 1978 i 1976, 79–87), (Karpluk 1974, 87–90), (Prezner 1986, 221–228), (Brzozowska 2005, 36–42), (Andrzejczuk 2011, 273–283), (Staszewska 1975, 101–116), (Woliński 2001, 303–305), (Wojdak 2013) et al.

³ Works on dialects provide various gender-related classifications, oftentimes based on the traditional classifications from literature on the general Polish language. However, Józef Kąś' classification is not embedded in the vast dialectal material. He has differentiated between I masculine declination, II masculine animate declination, III masculine inanimate declination, IV feminine declination, V neuter declination and VI non-masculine declination – see (Kąś 2015, 71–81).

⁴ I. Bobrowski (Bobrowaki 2005, 83–89) has presented detailed classifications where the gender of a noun depends on its number.

⁵ A. Nagórko, quoting from *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego. Morfologia*, R. Grzegorzyczkowa, R. Laskowski, H. Wróbel (eds.), differentiates five genders in the Polish language: masculine gender, masculine animate gender, masculine inanimate gender, feminine and neuter gender (Nagórko 1996, 95).

adopted here seems sufficient for my analyses. Creation of a declination model for the dialects in Wielkopolska requires very large source databases and a compact area. However, the dialect spoken in Wielkopolska consists of too many diverse dialects to adopt *a priori* a specific, systematic paradigm.

The remaining issue are the *plurale tantum* nouns which occur exclusively in the plural form; academics have adopted three approaches of determining their gender; the subject was covered in detail by Teresa Friedelówna (Friedelówna 1968): 1. These nouns are non-masculine nouns (in opposition to the statement that “they do not have masculine gender because they are never accompanied by the determining words that would have the formal meaning typical of the masculine category” (Friedelówna 1968, 8); 2. They are classified into three major genders (repartition of the endings M. and F. plural.)⁶; 3. a *plurale tantum* as a notion of a separate category of nouns which occur only in the plural (semantic reasons)⁷. In this work, I treat *plurale tantum* nouns as a separate category abbreviated as pl.tant.

It is primarily the syntax that determines a noun’s affinity with a specific gender. Helena Grochola-Szczepanek has presented the relations between gender and syntax in a concise way: “Every noun and pronoun has a specific, invariable and syntactically independent value of this category. In the remaining parts of speech, whose syntax depends on the noun (adjectives, numerals and verbs), gender is an inflection category. (...) In the most popular syntax approach, a noun’s gender is determined on the basis of its relations with the other words in a sentence” (Grochola-Szczepanek 2010, 157–158). Marta Nowosad-Bakalarczyk has noted that “In multi-faceted descriptions, gender is treated as a «language category ‘located and described on various’ levels of language: the inflection, syntax, word-forming, as well as the context and con-situation»” (Nowosad-Bakalarczyk 2009, 7). Many times, the syntax function has made it possible to decide a difference or to indicate the gender in dialectal materials where a specific form has the expected grammatical gender (which, for example, stems from the morphology of a lexical unit).

Obviously, the above mentioned issues are not isolated from determinants of extra-linguistic nature; natural gender, while close to naïve thinking about the structure of language, can dramatically distort a precise pattern of inflection or the classification of a specific grammatical gender (where the formal determinants are of no value). These situations are common for oral language and make linguists ponder what to do with a language fact while a speaker does not see the problem. What is more, the speaker’s utterance remains comprehensible.

I have limited the category of gender in dialects (in language of villagers) to a description of interesting phenomena. I am most interested in observing phenomena

⁶ T. Friedelówna indicated a stance adopted by G.S. Bandki, F.K. Malinowski, A.A. Kryński and the grammar of L. Stein and R. Zawiliński and T. Lehr-Splawiński and R. Kubiński (Friedelówna 1968, 6–7).

⁷ T. Friedelówna mentioned J. Łoś, S. Szober and H. Gaertner as researchers focused on the semantic issues of the pl.tant category (Friedelówna 1968, 8–9).

(frequent in the general Polish language) which have been examined by linguists⁸ and may be the starting point for materials from Wielkopolska.

The gender of nouns in dialects has not been properly examined. The few works on dialectal inflection only touch upon the gender category, e.g. H. Górniewicz only characterised the masculine, feminine and neuter declinations with respect to repartition of endings (Górniewicz 1967, 150–166). Similarly, J. Tokarski listed the endings characteristic of the specific declinations for the three genders (Tokarski 1973, 91–113). M. Grad-Mucowa adopted a similar approach to describing dialectal inflection (Grad-Mucowa 1970). Similarly, gender was not analysed in an in-depth way by H. Nowak who only presented the elements (endings) which deviated from the general Polish (Nowak 1970, 164–177) while Zygmunt Zagórski discussed the issue of masculine and non-masculine genders in the dialects spoken in the vicinity of Konin and commented on untypical endings in the specific declinations (Zagórski 1991, 29–38); J. Siatkowski focused on describing the three declinations (masculine, feminine and neuter), starting with a review of case-related endings by describing the differences of the form in the four basic types of the masculine declination and indicating the forms deviating from the norm (Siatkowski 1962). According to F. Pluta (Pluta 1964, 63–68) it was of importance “(...) to add some details to some isomorphs identified by K. Nitsch and to supplement inflection with new details. I discuss only the endings the use of which is different from the general Polish language” (Pluta 1964, 63). What is more, he identified the problem of changing gender as exemplified in sub-point a) together with examples in each described gender. S. Rudnicki (Rudnicki 2000) drew attention to nouns which occur in different genders; the subject has not been largely discussed and, further in the monograph, he characterised the declinations and described the alternations in the noun stem. K. Pastusiak (Pastusiak 2004) also just mentioned the gender-related fluctuations. Another noteworthy work is by Barbara Reczkowa (Reczkowa 1966, 257–261), an article entirely dedicated to gender in Polish dialects; I will return to the subject further in my work.

Due to the basically one-sided condition of descriptions of gender in dialects (including the Wielkopolska dialect), in my analyses of the language spoken in rural areas I will refer and draw conclusions on the basis of the collected dialectal material and observations of gender-related phenomena in the general Polish language (as a point of reference). I have decided to refer to works by Z. Kurzowa (Kurzowa 1970), M. Nowosad-Bakalarczyk (Nowosad-Bakalarczyk 2009), J. Reichan (Reichan 1975), Z. Saloni (Saloni 1976, 43–78), Z. Zaron (Zaron 2004a, 2004b), W. T. Stefańczyk (Stefańczyk 2007) and others. In order to understand some processes, I adopted a broader and deeper outlook on some phenomena. Here the following publications proved helpful: I. Bajerowa (Bajerowa 1977, 13–25), M. Bańko (Bańko 2012), J. Kuryłowicz (Kuryłowicz 1968), M. Kucała (Kucała 1978) and others. The bibliography at the end of the article is a full list of the reference literature.

⁸ *Encyklopedia wiedzy o języku polskim* contains an entry *grammatical gender in dialects* where attention is drawn to masculine gender and the syncretism of masculine animate gender (although limited to the dialects of Małopolska) and within the major genders (EWJ, entry: grammatical gender in dialects).

In order to describe gender in the contemporary language of villagers, I have selected continuous texts (TWsp.)⁹, materials from students' recordings (MatStu.)¹⁰ and materials obtained in educational projects¹¹ (including replies in a questionnaire distributed among pupils and their family members as part of an educational project in

⁹ TWsp. are contemporary texts from the archive of the Dialectology Workshop. I have selected transcribed conversations with the informants, predominantly after 2000. These are own recordings collected during field explorations to date and the results of Prof. J. Sierociuk's research. The materials come from the following major locations: Adamów (Golina commune, Konin county) – 130 pages of transcription, Baranówko and Sowinki (Mosina commune, Poznań county – treated as a single research point due to the fact that only an administrative barrier divides the villages) – 159 pages of transcription, Bukówiec Górny (Włoszakowice commune, Leszno county) – 629 pages of transcription (original version, no BazBG), Dąbrowka Wielkopolska (Zbąszynek commune, Świebodzin county) – 214 pages of transcription. Sometimes, I refer to data from additional locations: Siemno (Wągrowiec commune and county) – 13 pages of transcription, Łowęcin (Swarzędz commune, Poznań county) – 20 pages of transcription and Krzyszczewo (Gniezno commune and county) – 40 pages of transcription.

¹⁰ MatStu. are materials obtained by students as part of dialectology classes carried by Prof. J. Sierociuk. The questionnaires for the students were only partly dedicated to the inflection of the noun. In total, 57 different items in the questionnaire carried out in 2014–2017 were related to the subject: 2014 – 794 inflection confirmations, 2015 – 351 inflection confirmations, 2016 – 1269 inflection confirmations, 2017 – 650 inflection confirmations. In total, more than 3,400 replies related to the inflection of the noun (direct confirmations – provided as first replies, secondary confirmations – provided by an informant as the so-called second form or as a reply of another informant present during a recording, negative conformations [incl. no replies]). The research points as part of MatStu.: Biezdrowo, Wronki commune, Szamotuły county; Chocicza, Nowe Miasto n. Wartą commune, Środa Wlkp. county; Czartowo, Skulsk commune, Konin county; Dakowy Mokre, Opalenica commune, Nowy Tomyśl county; Dąbrowka Wielkopolska, Zbąszynek commune, Świebodzin county; Dębe, Żelazków commune, Kalisz county; Dobrogustowo, Obrzycko commune, Szamotuły county; Genowefa, Krzymów commune, Konin county; Gniezno, Gniezno commune, Gniezno county; Golina, Golina commune, Konin county; Gostyń, Gostyń commune, Gostyń county; Kawcze, Bojanowo commune, Rawicz county; Kępno, Kępno commune, Kępno county; Kielczewek, Grzegorzew commune, Koło county; Koło, Koło commune, Koło county; Konary, Koło commune, Piła county; Konin, Konin commune, Konin county; Konin / Pogoń Goślawska, Ślesin commune, Konin county; Kopanina, Damasławek commune, Wągrowiec county; Krajkowo commune, Mosina, Poznań county; Kruczyn, Środa Wlkp commune, Nowe Miasto county; Kunowo, Gostyń commune, Gostyń county; Kuny, Władysławów commune, Turek county; Kwiatków, Brudzew commune, Turek county; Leszno, Leszno commune, Leszno county; Lubasz, Lubasz commune, Czarnków county; Ludwinowo, Krobia commune, Gostyń county; Niepart, Krobia commune, Gostyń county; Niewierz, Duszniki commune, Szamotuły county; Odolanów, Odolanów commune, Ostrów Wlkp. county; Otorowo, Szamotuły commune, Szamotuły county; Pępowo, Pępowo commune, Gostyń county; Piła, Piła commune, Piła county; Pogorzela, Pogorzela commune, Gostyń county; Posadowo, Krobia commune, Gostyń county; Poznań, Poznań commune, Poznań county; Poznań – Kotowo, Poznań commune, Poznań county; Przybysław, Żerków commune, Jarocin county; Przybysławice, Raszków commune, Ostrów Wlkp. county; Pyszczynek, Gniezno commune, Gniezno county; Rawicz, Rawicz commune, Rawicz county; Rokietnica, Rokietnica commune, Poznań county; Rychwał, Rychwał commune, Konin county; Ryczywół, Oborniki commune, Oborniki county; Słomczyce, Strzałkowo commune, Słupca county; Szczołowice, Raszków commune, Ostrów Wlkp. county; Śrem, Śrem commune, Poznań county; Święciechowa, Święciechowa commune, Leszno county; Tarnówka Wiesiołowska, Dąbie commune, Koło county; Witaszyce, Jarocin commune, Jarocin county; Zduny, Zduny commune, Leszno county.

¹¹ The materials from the two educational projects come from research locations in Gniezno county: Modliszewo, Modliszewko, Strzyzewo Kościelne, Goślinowo, Łabiszynek, Szczytniki Duchowne, Lubochnia, Wola Skorzęcka, Mnichowo, Gniezno and in Czarniejewo county: Brzózki, Goraniec, Graby, Nidom, Pakszyn, Nidom, Graby, Goraniec, Czarniejewo.

Modliszewko (Gniezno county and commune)¹². Materials from questionnaires for the AJKLW serve as background material (and sometimes the starting point), further referred to as the KwAJKLW¹³ and for the TGPnW¹⁴.

In the 1950s and 70s, the informants were selected from the locals who had lived in their villages for generations. As long as it was possible, illiterate locals were selected or ones with only a few classes of the village school. Preferably, a potential informant did not leave his/her village during his/her lifetime¹⁵. For this reason the individuals from whom the material was obtained came from: the TGPnW in 1866–1901, the KwAJKLW – in 1879–1926.

The selection of informants in contemporary materials was slightly different. The quoted informants come from both rural and urban areas (influx from cities). Most of them come from Wielkopolska. There are also individuals from other regions although at the time of the exploration they had been settled in their respective villages.

They also represented different education levels. The group includes people with only primary education (including German schools), graduates of secondary and tertiary schools, people professionally involved in farming or commuting to work in the city; there are also individuals running businesses other than farming on site and people handling two professions (running farms and working in the city). The contemporary informants were born in the following time: the TWsp. – 1910–1972, MatStu. in 1921–1970 and educational projects – 1922–1982.

Clearly, the age differences of the informants are quite big and require ordering. By accepting J. Sierociuk's solution I have arranged the informants by the year of birth in the following generation groups: I. born before 1920, II. born in 1921–1945, III. born in 1946–1970, IV. born in 1971–1995, V. born in 1996 and later (Sierociuk 2003, 133). Therefore, the inflection materials represent generations I and partly II (archived materials) and the generational brackets I–IV (contemporary materials).

¹² A questionnaire distributed in Modliszewko (Gniezno commune and county) was a part of the educational project *Holidays, beliefs and superstitions – the language and traditions of villages in Gniezno commune*. The questionnaire revolved around 23 issues aimed at determining the level of linguistic awareness and the respondents' identification with the local language as declared) and at confronting the declarations with the actual command of dialects/knowledge of dialects (questions about specific names, the meaning thereof, variants etc.). The results have been presented in an article (Kobus, Gniadzowski 2017, 156–157).

¹³ KwAJKLW represents unpublished materials in questionnaires for the AJKLW (the 1970s). The issues related to the inflection of the noun include 646–802; two of them refer to pronoun (Q 682 *swójóm* and 683 *mojóm*). Therefore we need to refer to the materials obtained from the replies to 154 questions in the KwAJKLW in 111 questionnaire books (Sobierajski 1972a, 1972b, 1972c).

¹⁴ (TGPnW) – dialectal material obtained in 1953. The book has 224 pages; the presented dialectal texts come from 11 villages and are printed on 212 pages; the texts were fed into Microsoft Excel and Microsoft Access, they represent 59,169 records. In my descriptions of the remaining categories I also used the (TGŚrW) and (TGZchW) materials.

¹⁵ K. Nitsch (Małeki, Nitsch 1934, 18–19) expressed his opinion on the selection of informants for dialectological research; in 1979 Z. Sobierajski (AJKLW–I, parts 2, 14) characterised an informant in reference to the Poznań survey in the 1950s–80s.

1. The variations of the type of nouns in Wielkopolska dialectal materials

Gender variability, gender variation, gender alternatives, gender alternations, double gender, the syncretism of genders, shared gender nouns, gender doubles, multi-gender – these and many other phrases have been used to refer to the occurrence of the same words / names in more than one gender. Of importance here is the differentiation of the specific concepts (which cannot be treated as synonymous) and the perspective of chronology and geography.

Let me proceed with a review of the literature and an analysis of the material and with defining the scope of the issue at hand. Firstly, in my analyses I will use the concepts of a variant, variability and multi-gender interchangeably as the diversity of genders. I believe that for variability to take place, a noun must at least occur in two different genders in the speech of a single language user, the inhabitants of a single dialectal area or in the speech of language users from the area of a single dialect or even a dialect. The gender variability may pertain to the geography, declinations and time. Depending on which point of the analysis we adopt as the starting point (i.e. what we can prove), there is also variability in the dialects from the 1950s and now, there is also variability in a special time – all these issues relate to a compact language area. In a discussion on variability, references to the general variety of the Polish language can be of assistance; a word from language of villagers which occurs in a specific village other than in general Polish, against a specific dialect is not a trace of numerous genders. It is only when juxtaposed with a normative gender that the audience finds out that a dialectal form is a variant in relation to an invariant¹⁶ existing in the general Polish language. Since the theory of variability pertains to certain layers in the language system, going down the layer i.e. to varieties of the Polish language, we will define variants within dialects (i.e. outside the general language). In a broadly defined dialect, one can also define variants for an existing invariant (remembering not to refer to all the names in the various grammatical genders from all the dialects and dialects as variability – that would lead to an erroneous conclusion about unlimited variability in Polish dialects; rather, I mean local analyses, most broadly limited to a single dialect). By gradating the language structure, starting with the general Polish language, through regional, dialectal and family language, we reach the lowest idiolectal level; here also an invariant with its variants can be identified.

Speaking about variability, it is impossible to disregard double gender. Roman Laskowski has characterised this group of nouns in the following way: “(...) two-gender nouns enjoy a specific status as part of the gender category, like SIEROTA, KALEKA, NIEZDARA, DZIENNIKARZYNA, with a personal, oftentimes pejorative meaning, with an ending **-a** in the nominative singular. These nouns assume the feminine or masculine animate grammatical gender: N. singular **ta / ten sierota**, G. singular **tego / tej sieroty** etc. but Nominative = Accusative plural always **te sieroty**” (Laskowski

¹⁶ See Adam Heinz's theory (Heinz 1974a, 137–157). A. Heinz wrote: “The differentiation of invariants and variants in language is among the major achievements of structuralism in linguistics although in fact it is not something very new bearing in mind that this is nothing else but differentiating between important (fixed) features and occasional (variable) features which are inherent of any existence and any phenomenon in general” (Heinz 1974a, 138).

1998, 213). Zdzisława Staszewska refers to this group of nouns as nouns with shared gender (Staszewska 1975, 102–103)¹⁷. The issue was examined by Z. Zaron who highlighted not only the gender-related alternations in the plural but also syntactic and semantic issues in this specific class of nouns. Ultimately, the researcher concluded that “(...) the «two-gender» label has been used with respect to noun-related personal names (ending with an *-a* in Nominative singular) with alternative syntactic and semantic possibilities. However, with this approach to double gender, this class should be extended by two subclasses with similar syntactic characteristics although with a different ending in the nominative case singular. The first sub-class is represented by non-based names of individuals, derived by means of the modifying augmentative–depreciative formant *-ysko / -isko, -ajło, -dło*, the type *To / ten chłopaczysko...*, *To / ta dziewczynisko...* *Ten / ta / to strachajło*. (...) The other subclass of nouns is represented by names of people due to their functions and professions, the type *Przyszł doktor Kowalski. / Przyszła doktor Kowalska* or *Pan radca mówił / Pani radca mówiła, że zaraz skończy*” (Zaron 2004b, 167–168).

B. Reczkowa had an entirely different outlook on double gender. She described her research into double gender of nouns in Polish dialects in the aforementioned article (Reczkowa 1966, 257–261). She attributed the phenomenon of double gender in the category of arbitrary nouns to “(...) the intertwining influences of various arbitrary nouns on derivative nouns, on the level of shared semantic functions of arbitrary and derivative nouns” (Reczkowa 1966, 261). What is more, B. Reczkowa quoted J. Kuryłowicz who acknowledged a plethora of gender alternatives in dialects. She also adopted Kazimierz Nitsch’s view of the geographic diversity of gender (at least some words) which phenomenon divides Poland into northern and southern (Reczkowa 1966, 258). Therefore, in Wielkopolska it should be: *ta cień, ta dyszel, ta grzędziel, ta lemiesz*. The scholar checked the extent to which this state results from historical and linguistic processes. It would be interesting to see if and to what extent, in B. Reczkowa’s theory, double gender of nouns exists in Wielkopolska.

In my analyses, I do not use the term *double gender* but *variability* (or *multi-gender*). *Variability* is a concept broader than *double gender* as interpreted by B. Reczkowa and does not limit itself to a specific number of variants; neither does it limit a specific group of nouns solely to a group of individuals as Z. Zaron sees it. The very name *double gender* as interpreted by the two researchers is exclusive and relates to an entirely different group of nouns. In the case of specific material like language of villagers, gender variability is more adequate (or multi-gender). This concept takes into account double gender of the two mentioned concepts. Results of the analyses will show to what extent the phenomenon exists in Wielkopolska.

Another notion calls for comment, the mentioned *multi-gender*. Piotr Wojdak has described it in the following way: “Multi-gender occurs whenever there is a set of morphologically related noun forms (in a special case, unaltered forms alone) with identical lexical meaning which cannot be broken down to a single standard noun as a mono-gender lexeme while nouns with different genders cannot be separated without the shared part («knot») in the form of indistinguishable forms. (...) One could say

¹⁷ The scholar adopted the phrase from Danuta Buttler (Buttler, Kurkowska, Satkiewicz 1973, 134).

that multi-gender (double gender / triple gender) is a relation constituted by (two / three) various noun lexemes «of some sort», namely semantic doubles, grammatically «conjoined» despite the gender difference” (Wojdak 2013, 73). To me, this term is synonymous with *variability*.

Another important publication is a book by T. Skubalanka and W. Książek-Bryłowa (Skubalanka, Książek-Bryłowa 1992, 22) with references to research into dialectal inflection.

When explaining the inadequacy of the terms *double*, *alternative form*, *inflection synonym*, Teresa Skubalanka justified her choice of terms *variant* and *variability* (not *variance*¹⁸ which she rejected for euphonic reasons) (Skubalanka, Książek-Bryłowa 1992, 22). In her presentation of works dedicated to inflection variability, T. Skubalanka regarded A. Heinz’s theory as key to the examination and description of dialectal inflection. Heinz referred to the process of variability as “(...) multiplication of a specific system unit” (Heinz 1974a, 139). The scholar saw the crux of variability entangled in stylistics and/or text. The mechanism of variability boils down to several changes: “1. Forms against the same function (semantic or syntactic), e.g. the inflection forms of an adjective different with respect to the form but of an identical functions. 2. The function (semantic or syntactic) against the same form, e.g. the function of an object and an adverbial in the accusative case. 3. The form and function of secondary importance to the primary form and function, e.g. oblique cases of a noun and a noun as such” (Heinz 1974a, 140). Of importance is also his statement related to the variant and its invariant: “(...) in fact there are only variants while their classes are based on a group of identical features i.e. invariant and relevant at the same time, they create abstract system units” (Heinz 1974a, 140).

When analysing Heinz’s concept, Skubalanka made her point: “As for the details, i.e. inflection variants, according to Heinz inflection categories are formal and functional textual variants in the parts of speech category. On the other hand, each inflection form is subjected to textual variability (taking place on the line of text); as a result, the inflection categories are a part of the system and of the text. Inflection is nothing else but «a textual variant» adjusted to the specificity of system units i.e. parts of speech” (Skubalanka, Książek-Bryłowa 1992, 15).

By referring to A. Heinz’s theory and the vast literature on the subject, the scholar presented her own definition of a variant which I consider closest to my train of thoughts: “Inflection variants are:

1. Identical or close with respect to the function (in the same paradigmatic position, e.g. case, person) but different with respect to the morpheme composition (a case in point being the normative alternative forms in N. plural of masculine nouns with different semantic shades of sub-category nature, i.e. *panowie*, *chłopi*, the expressive *chłopy*, *snopy*, *konie*) or different with respect to another aspect of usus (cf. the normative neuter *chłopi*, expressive *chłopy* against the colloquial neuter and dialectal form *chłopy*; the colloquial neuter *chłopi* against the colloquial neuter *chłopy* etc. – there are many possible variant arrangements);

¹⁸ *Variance* was researched by M. Brzezina (Brzezina 1982); while she did not devote much attention to dialects, the method and way of describing *variance* seems interesting.

2. Identical in the composition but different in the function as part of a more general category excluding regular homeomorphism, e.g. the infantile *robilem* in feminine gender form against the normative *robilem* in masculine gender, the impersonal form *napisano*, *wydobyto* as impersonal forms in the official language use etc.” (Skubalanka, Książek-Bryłowa 1992, 32). Next, T. Skubalanka defined the area of observation of variants which she does not view against a system but a text and, consequently, she can characterise *usus* in a specific set.

In describing the gender-related variability in dialects, Mieczysław Karaś's stance is of interest. In his approach to the diversity of genders in dialects, he concluded: “[unlike in the plural masculine and non-masculine gender – JK] the main genders: masculine, feminine and neuter, are far less diverse. The differences like *klusek* – *kluska*, *skwarek* – *skwarka*, *klębek* – *klębko*, typical of various words, are not numerous. Fluctuations in nouns ending with (contemporarily or historically) soft consonants are more common: *biel*, *cień*, *darń*, *dyszel*, *gardziel*, *grzędziel*, *jedwab*, *jesień*, *krtień*, *lemiesz*, *obręcz*, *poręcz*, *rdzeń*, *sążeń*, *żołędź* and are either masculine or feminine. In the south, *ten cień*, *ten dyszel*, *ten grzędziel*, *ten lemiesz* prevails while in the north it is *ta cień*, *ta dyszel*, *ta grzędziel*, *ta lemiesz* (...)” (see the EWJ, entry: grammatical gender in dialects). The analyses below will show if the presented research results are confirmed in the language spoken in Wielkopolska in the past and now, at least with respect to some examples mentioned by M. Karaś.

The origin of variants was presented in detail by S. Urbańczyk (Urbańczyk 1977, 75–83). He selected types of variants according to opposite features: old – new, living – dead (obsolete), general – regional, regional A – regional B (e.g. spoken in Warsaw – Krakow), familiar – borrowed, written – oral, literary (standard) – dialectal (sub-standard) (Urbańczyk 1977, 76–79). With reference to the oppositions mentioned by S. Urbańczyk, my analyses will revolve around the relations between old – new (formerly – now), general – regional (dialectal), written – oral and literary (standard) – dialectal (sub-standard). I will only briefly mention the obsolete relation (living – dead) in a situation when old material is discussed and/or forms not occurring today plus the spoken component (from the written – oral opposition). This holds true for all of the material (the recorded dialectal texts, while expressed in writing, are only a graphic reflection of the spoken code). The remaining juxtapositions: regional A – regional B (e.g. Warsaw – Krakow), familiar – borrowed, will appear sporadically (in single examples).

Let me start with a review of the material from Wielkopolska included in older sources: the TGPnW and the KwAJKLW, and cotemporary ones.

Before I proceed with an analysis of specific examples, I will provide the statistical characteristics of the set of dialectal texts with respect to the content of gender forms.

Table 1.1. The statistical characteristics of the TGPnW

all records (= word forms)	all nouns	all nouns (%)	nouns in line with the general Polish norm	nouns not in line with the general Polish norm	
59 169	10 396	17.57%	99.57% of all the nouns	0.42% of all the nouns	
numeral representation of genders	masculine	feminine	neuter	<i>plurale tantum</i>	unspecified gender
	4801	3866	1421	189	119
10,396 nouns = 100%	46.18%	37.18%	13.67%	1.81%	1.14%

As the table shows, in the analysed volume of *Dialectal texts...*, nouns of the masculine gender prevail, followed by nouns of the feminine gender; neuter nouns are less frequent while nouns in the *plurale tantum* category are among the rarest. In more than 100 uses, it was impossible to determine the gender due to lack of the context – this pertained to nouns which, theoretically, can occur in different genders (and even numbers), e.g. *ten dyszel / ta dyszel, ten cep / ta cepa / te cepy, ten szufel / ta szufel*. This small percentage of words could represent interesting material for analysis but, due to not confirmed cases of multi-gender in these recordings, I must disregard them. Instead, I will focus on the examples which occur in the TGPnW in various genders.

In the analysed volume, I have found 120 nouns which differ from the general Polish norm with respect to the gender (the examples are repetitive) and 88 confirmations of gender variability. The number contains both nouns with a gender other than in the general Polish language and ones with different genders within a dialect (masculine, feminine or neuter); there are also examples that will serve to describe the issue of failing to recognise masculine and non-masculine in the plural form. I present this issue below; now let me choose from the excerpted examples only the ones representing multi-gender. An analysis of these examples will show if the speech of the informants examined by Z. Sobierajski in the 1950s represents gender-related variability.

The most frequent example in the TGPnW is *dyszla* ‘an element of a horse-drawn cart’ (26 recordings) in feminine gender. Normative sources provide *dyszel* – masculine gender¹⁹. This referent has been described in the AJKLW–V, m. 439. According to atlas data, in Wielkopolska two genders (masculine and feminine) co-exist for the word; feminine gender prevails in the northern and north-western outskirts of the region and the Kalisz area in the south. The comments say: “The map depicts the grammatical gender of the word *dyszel*: masculine or feminine. Unfortunately, this grammatical category was not represented in all the locations. The masculine grammatical gender, in accordance with the general Polish norm, prevails. The feminine gender differentiates the northern dialects (loc. 17 TomMaz, p. 123, *dyšel* feminine, now an

¹⁹ See for example the SJP PWN <<https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/dyszel.html> (accessed on 15.10.2018)>, SDor, SJPSzymczaka, the NSJP and others.

ethnographer recorded *ten dy^ššel*) and a large part of the dialects in southern Wielkopolska²⁰.

The German etymology of the word *dyszel* is of importance, too. The Polish word *dyszel* is a borrowing from the German *Deichsel* ‘dyszel/drawbar’ which is feminine in German. Maria Karpluk has stated unambiguously that “(...) the oscillation between *ten* and *ta dyszel* results from the Polish language taking over the original, feminine gender of the borrowing and the pressure exerted by the co-existing synonym *grządziel*. This synonym did not pertain to the main meaning of ‘a cart draw-bar’ which, to some extent, weakens the arguments here. On the other hand, in a ‘draw-bar of a plough’ the mutual influence of the words *dyszel* and *grządziel* resulted in a standardised gender for these words in Polish dialects” (Karpluk 1974, 90). The fact that the feminine forms were more frequent in Wielkopolska dialects in the western and northern outskirts of the region corroborated the theory about the German influence on the gender. There are few conformations of the form *ta dyszla* in contemporary language of villagers²¹; typically, these are examples in masculine gender as below:

Adamów:

KaP²²: *nie ... sie różnił tym że konie cioⁿgły ... no tam był dyszel ... był bark ... był te ... te ... te ... a do cioⁿgnika to przystosowany do cioⁿgnika to już ... to już zaczęp był do cioⁿgnienia (?) tego ...*

Baranówko:

MiZ: *bo jak by był tylko dyszel to on by sie zламаł wieⁿdz miały zmocnienia (!) od jednego do drugiego druty takie i to były tak na ... takie nawet śruby były że sie przykreⁿcało że one były na sztywno i na końcu ... na końcu tygo dyszla był ... był hak ... i tam sie zakładało konie ...*

Bukówiec G.:

WoS: *to jez dyszel tutaj ... nie ... tutaj dalej ... nie ... a tu dotoⁿd chyba ... tu chyba sie i nazywały śnice ... nie ...*

MaM: *dyszel ... to był dyszel a tutaj był taki uchwyt do tego dyszlu ... bo to nieraz zaś szło wycioⁿgnoⁿć tyn dyszel do innygo wozu sie przekłodało ... ale jak to sie nazywało ...*

Dąbrówka Wlkp.:

WiW: *jedyn pojeżdżół koniami a drugi z tyłu tyn dyszel trzymał najczyⁿści ... to dwie osoby ... co pamieⁿtóm ...*

SeZ: *to dwa konie cioⁿgły ... dwa koła były ... nie ... bo na dyszlu trzymały ...*

²⁰ (AJKLW–V, part 2, 34).

²¹ Sporadic conformations from Bukówiec G. for the form in feminine gender *ta dyszel*: SzJ: *tutaj przeszła dyszel do przodu ... tera na te dyszel przyszły jeszcze te ... te ... Czesio by dobrze wiedział jak to sie nazywo to ...*

²² The Dialectology Workshop of the UAM has adopted a rule of publishing exclusively abbreviations denoting specific informants (other data like the year of birth or sex, presented in situations when they may be of importance to the interpretation of the text).

Back to gender variability: the available materials suggest that the phenomenon can be viewed with reference not only to the dialectal layer (or dialectal in the synchronic aspect) but also against the general langue – dialect opposition. Of equal interest is the fact that this variability refers also to the relations between a dialect and language of villagers (two layers: formal and temporal²³). My informants use predominantly *ten dyszel* which is in line with the general Polish norm; more rarely *ta dyszla/ta dyszel*.

Another group of examples, quite large for this research sample, includes *plóz* (6 recordings). In the TGPnW, the word means ‘an element of a plough’ and is provided exclusively in masculine gender. In the AJKLW (m. 238 ‘A part of a wheeled plough: c. Plough hitch’) the analysed name is recorded in both forms: *plóz* and *ploza*. Notably, the feminine form was then confirmed very rarely, only in five dispersed research locations: “In locations 55, 97 and 99 [55. Dobrów, Kościelec commune, Konin county, 97. Galewice, Galewice commune, Kalisz county, 99. Świba, Kępno commune, Kalisz county – JK]²⁴ the word *přoza* was recorded in the meaning in question; in locations 29 and 43 [29. Szarcz-Stołuń, Pszczew commune, Gorzów county, 43. Wąsowo, Kuślin commune, Poznań county – JK] *poza (ploza)*” (AJKLW–III, parts 2, 18). The masculine form was definitely more frequent and it occurs in the entire dialectal area: “The type *plóz* is the most common name of the referent in question recorded all over Wielkopolska with an exception of the northern locations where Wielkopolska and Pomerania converge, locations in western and southern Wielkopolska” (AJKLW–III, parts 2, 17). General dictionaries of the Polish language provide predominantly the form *plóz* for this specific meaning but also *ploza* as ‘a part of a sleigh/a runner’²⁵. I mention it for a reason: the contemporary speakers of language of villagers use increasingly often the feminine form *ploza* when referring to ‘an element of a plough’. The change in the gender is not fixed but in the process as exemplified by informants from various parts of the region (see especially an example from Sowinki: informant RaA could not indicate the gender). I recorded variability with this specific informant (see Baranówko, MiZ). Some informants have retained the masculine form *plóz* for a plough, e.g. Łowęcín – KaB, Bukówiec G. – SaZ but these are single cases. Parallel to it is *ta ploza* ‘a part of a plough’; the informants tend to use the feminine form when referring to elements of tools and vehicles reminiscent of sleighs (in line with a trend in the general Polish language), e.g. Sowinki – RaA and Bukówiec G. – WoS, SzJ (although sometimes the gender changes here, too – see the example with *smyk* provided by informant MiZ – Baranówko):

²³ I covered the vast area of temporality in many articles and the mentioned monograph (Kobus 2015a). As for the articles, the examples include (Kobus 2007a, 73–82), (Kobus 2007b, 301–305), (Kobus 2007c, 307–314) and others.

²⁴ The administrative data of the research locations as in the AJKLW, according to the then administrative division.

²⁵ <https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/p%C5%82%C3%B3issuehtml> (accessed on 15.10.2018)>, SDor and Szymczak’s SJP. The NSJP disregards *plóz* and only accounts for *ploza* ‘one of long strips placed in the front and bent upwards along which a vehicle (e.g. a sleigh) moves on the snow or ice’.

Baranówko, MiZ – informant born in 1926

What are the parts of a plough?

MiZ: *plug ... odkładnia ... lemiesz to jest to co ... co co kroi to^m ziemie ... nie ... i później druga czyⁿś to jest ta odkładnia i trzecia to jest **plóza** tak zwana która prowadzi ... idzie do tyłu taka lasza która tó^m równowagę tako^m utrzymuje tak ...*

People say that a *smyk* needs to be built. What is that *smyk*?

MiZ: *smyk to jest ... szkoda ... bo bym zaraz pani pokazał ... bo niedawno zbiłem ... (...) to takie **dwa plózy** ... takie dwie beleczyki na tym deski i na tym było można jechać ... nie potrzeba było do woza tylko o ... do ... do tego i tam włożyło nieraz plug i ... i smykiem jechało się na pole ...*

Sowinki, RaA – informant born in 1931

What is a *smyk*?

RaA: *no smyk ... smyk to takie dwie ... **dwie plózy** so^m i w poprzyk so^m deski poprzybijane ... no coś ... czy obornik wywieź ... czy ... czy ... czy coś przywieź na tym ... nie ...*

It does not have wheels?

RaA: *bez kółek ... to **takie plózy** so^m tylko ... dwa ... **dwoje plózów** i na to deski poprzybija ... nie ... tam czy metrowe długi czy półtora metra długi ... jaki tam kto chce ... i przywiezie tam się na tym ...*

Łowęcín, KaB – informant born in 1926

What is a (plough) *grządziel*?

KaB: *grzoⁿdziel ... odkładnia ... łopata mówili dawni a to jest ... lemiesz ... **plóz** ... pieⁿta mówio^m chyba ... plóz co po ziemi z tyłu idzie ... to **plóz** ... no i jag reⁿczny ... reⁿczny ... no to roⁿczki jeszcze ... do trzymania ...*

Bukówiec G., WoS – informant born in 1959, **SaZ** – informant born in 1948 r., **SzJ** – informant born in 1925:

It is attached to the handle (of a plough)?

WoS: *no ... no ... no ... to jez (?) na dole ... to jes **taka plóza** niby ... to na tym się tam trzymo później ... nie ... ten ... te głę^mbokoś się utrzymywało ... nie ...*

What is a *smyk*?

WoS: *a smyk ... smyk ... a ... a gdzie ma pani ten drugi spód ... tu ... smyk to ... smyk to już jes coś innygo było ... nie ... to **były dwie plózy** tyż ... nie ... i tu się było do cioⁿgnieⁿcia ... tu były takie troche podwinieⁿte ... i to właśnie w kształcie takim było ... nie ... i to cioⁿgnął koń ...*

SaZ: *tu buł tyn wywrotek ... tu buła ... i tu buły sochy ... nie ... i ty jeszcze taki **plóz** ... ni mó^m już wywrotka bo zawiozem na złom ...*

The part of a sleigh which touches the snow.

SzJ: *to só^m ... no ... tag jak koła ma ...*

What do you call it?

SzJ: *to jes trudno odpowiedzieć ...*

What about *klęka*, *plozy* ...

SzJ: *o ... plozy ... to przy'dzy ... tak ...*

Do you use the word *ławina* here?

SzJ: *to nie syszałum ... plozy tak ...*

One of them is a *ploza*?

SzJ: *jedna to ploza ...*

Dąbrówka Wlkp., GoS – informant born in 1939:

GoS: *a ... a ... tu z tyłu jez regulacja a ... a te ... tu jes ploza ... nie ... ploza ... na dole ... a ... a tutaj jes ... no te ... to tak ... akurat teraz zapomnialem jak to sie nazywa ... to jes ta czy's ... no można powiedzieć czy'ż robocza ... można tyż tag nazwać ... nie ... no bo to ...*

The variability of the word *plóz/ploza* clearly indicates the dynamics of the language spoken now in rural areas. However, this is not a result solely of the processes related to grammar. By changing the gender in the indicated scope, the informants attribute the same gender to two completely different elements of completely different objects; gender ceases to differentiate these referents. Therefore, this is an example of the mutual relations between grammar and semantics.

Another example in the TGPnW which indicates a variant of the gender is *murlat* m. (5) ‘a wooden beam placed on top of a building’s wall on which the rafter framing is based’²⁶. The word was mentioned in the analysed volume only in the masculine gender. Meanwhile, the normative sources of the general Polish language the variant of the gender is in this case marked by references to the alternative form, e.g. *murlata* vs. *murlat*. In the latest dialectal materials, there is no confirmation of the example *murlat/murlata*.

An interesting example is the word for ‘a part of a wooden wheel consisting of a piece of the perimeter and two spokes’ which in the TGPnW is mentioned in three genders: masculine *ten złón/zwón* (4), feminine *ta zwóna* (4), neuter *to złono^e* (2). Clearly, the frequency of recording of the masculine and feminine forms is comparable; only the neuter form was recorded once. As for references to the general language, there is both *to dzwono* and *ten dzwon* in the specific meaning²⁷. The word is not described in the KWAJKLW; contemporary materials mention it in two research locations (Baranówko and Bukówiec G.), in total 24 times in three different ways. The confirmations come from informants from two generational brackets: Baranówko: gen. II. – MiZ informant born in 1926, gen. III. – MiJ informant born in 1964; Bukówiec G.: gen. II. – MaF informant born in 1922, SzJ informant born in 1925, ŚIE

²⁶ *Murlat* vs. *murlata*: <<https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/mur%C5%82avol.html> (accessed on 15.10.2018)>, SDor, SJP Szymczaka, no entry in the NSJP.

²⁷ *dzwon* ‘an element of various devices of that shape’: <<https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/dzwono.html> (accessed on 15.10.2018)>; *dzwono* n. SDor ‘a part of a wooden perimeter of a cart’s wheel, fixed on two spokes’, SJP Szymczaka *dzwono* n. ‘a part of a wooden perimeter of a cart’s wheel’, NSJP – no entry.

informant born in 1929, ŚIZ informant born in 1934, gen. III. – MaH informant born in 1955. The confirmations from Baranówko indicate exclusively the plural form *dzwona* so it is impossible to establish the basic form and its gender. On the other hand, the names confirmed in Bukówiec G. indicated distinct dynamics indicating the related changes taking place. In the field, the plural and singular forms of *dzwono* in the neuter form in masculine gender *dzwón/dzwon*. Interestingly, this variability comes from informants from the same generational bracket:

SZJ: *musiol te dzwóna tam wycióć ... , tam było dzwóno ... , tam buło (!) dzwóno ... , dzwóno to buła czyś ta ... , tam było tylko na sześ czy osiem ... tych dzwón osiem zdaje sie ... osiem tych dzwónów było ... , to właśnie mówie ... dzwóna to so^m te wkolo ... , czyści ... kolo to jes ... to so^m dzwona ...*

ŚIE: *tu jes ... tu jes ten cały dzwón ... , ŚIE: tak ... to jez dzwón ... , to ... to byⁿdzie dzwón ... a to ... śprychy nie ...*

ŚIZ: *ty a dzwón co? ... dzwóny co były? ... kolo miało dzwony ... , a ja myślałam że ... a dzwón to beⁿdzie to wszystko z tym (...?) ...*

As the described referent and name have long since been obsolete (they only exist as part of reconstruction of a wooden wheel) hence the ambiguity in using the word for ‘a part of a wooden wheel consisting of a piece of the perimeter and two spokes’. Of interest is the fact that in comparison with the materials from the 1950s (and unlike them), the word in neuter gender seems to prevail although this may be attributed to the dialect.

Another example is *szufel* feminine (4). In the TGPnW there is no trace of a variant other than the recorded form in the feminine gender. The variant-free form *ta szufla* is an equivalent of the general Polish word. However, in the AJKLW (m. 286 ‘A wooden tool for cleaning manually grains in the wind’) dialectologists observed the coexistence of the word *szufel* in a masculine and feminine form next to the *ta szufla* type, in line with the general Polish language: “The names of the *szufel* type (f.) occur in the central and eastern parts, next to the *szufla* type from the north of Wielkopolska. The *szufla* type is characteristic mainly of southern and western Wielkopolska. It is common to the north of the Noteć river; to the south of the Noteć it coexists with *szufel*” (AJKLW–III, part 2, 71–72).

As for contemporary research, the word has been observed by means of a student questionnaire. The word was provided as synonymous with *sipy* (questionnaire question: ‘*Sipa* means...’ as a referent to ‘a wooden spade to shovel grains). In the obtained material, *ta szufla* appeared 8 times, the form *taka szufel* was recorded only once. Nevertheless, the noun has a feminine gender which seems to prevail. Therefore, the variability pertains not to the gender but rather the form within the gender.

Another example is *pónit/pónita* ‘heddles in looms, ladders made of string or thread, through which warp is passed’. The dictionaries of the Polish language do not provide an entry *pónita/pónit* (in other dialects also *ponita*) but its equivalent *nicielnica* (f.). Therefore, the information from the TGPnW with the general language is not analysed in this case. On the other hand, the dialectal material seems interesting where the masculine form prevails with definitely fewer representatives of feminine gender in

a proportion 15 : 3 (in 5 examples, the gender could not be identified because the examples were recorded in the plural in a context not indicating the gender in the singular). The structure of looms is not described in the AJKLW; similarly, there are no proper references from the contemporary language of villagers.

Cepa f. (2) – in total in the TGPnW *cep/-a/-y/-yj/-ami* etc. is mentioned 26 times but only two examples have a clear gender (*ta cepa* – f.) and in the following 24 cases the gender is unspecified due to the plural number of the examples without a proper context. In Wielkopolska, the words for ‘a wooden device to thresh grains’ may come in singular as masculine or feminine as well as *plurale tantum* (Zierhoffer 1956, 11–23). As it is impossible to acknowledge masculine gender and the actual number of conformations in feminine gender, I need to resort to a modest research sample to continue the analyses. Finally, the SJP PWN (the online version) provides the form *cepy* ‘a device to thresh grains’ while earlier lexicographic works (the SDor, USJP, PSWP, SJPSzymczaka, NSJP)²⁸ provided the form *cep* in the same meaning (typically next to the form *cepy*). As for contemporary field material, what attracts attention is high gender variability of the word in question within a dialect – I discussed the change in the vocabulary related to flails in a separate article (Kobus 2010, 139–146). There, I described the linguistic reality in selected research locations; I referred there to earlier research, quoting from Karol Zierhoffer who carried out in-depth studies on the subject in the 1950s and followed A. Tomaszewski’s materials (disregarded here for reasons presented in the introduction): “K. Zierhoffer concluded that the materials provided by A. Tomaszewski suggest that «The name of the tool in question is not diversified in the dialects spoken in Wielkopolska. It is indicated by the word *cepy* (*cepy*, *cepy*) (...)» (Zierhoffer 1956, 12); he recorded the form *cepa* (Śrem county) only twice and *cep* in 15 villages (Czarnków, Szamotuły, Gniezno, Mogilno, Krotoszyn counties). K. Zierhoffer added: «Unfortunately, Tomaszewski did not ask much about the Nominative of the singular and the Genitive of the plural so his data on the issue included in various materials are sporadic and accidental»” (Zierhoffer 1956, 11–23)²⁹. As for an analysis of the AJKLW, the authors reached the following conclusions: “The comments to the AJKLW–III read: «The differences in the names pertain to the number and the gender of the word *cep*. In Wielkopolska, the word is diverse predominantly with respect to the singular and plural. Oftentimes, both forms occur optionally» (the AJKLW–III, parts 2, 35). According to the materials, in the research locations of our interest (AJKLW–III, m. 258) the following forms were used: *cepa* (BG³⁰, BS area), *cepy* (DW, AD area)” (Kobus 2015a, 142). An analysis of the

²⁸ The variability of the words – *cep/cepy* – is confirmed indirectly by dictionaries of the contemporary Polish language, see the SDor – *cep* ‘equivalent with *cepy*’, *cepy* ‘a tool for threshing grains consisting of two sticks connected typically with leather straps: a longer one, hand-held and a shorter one which threshes sheaves’; the USJP – *cep rol.*; see *cepy* in 1st meaning, *cepy* – ‘a tool for threshing grains consisting of a long wooden handle and attached to it with a leather strap a shorter stick (swingle); *cep*’; the PSWP–6: *cep* – ‘a primitive tools used to thresh grains, made from a long rod and a shorter rod attached to it with a leather strap’; *cepy* see *cep*.

²⁹ Cf. (Kobus 2010, 142).

³⁰ In my article (Kobus 2010, 139–146) I analysed contemporary materials from villages that are also considered here the major locations in the TWsp. group of sources: AD – Adamów, Golina commune, Konin

contemporary materials has allowed me to make the following summary: “The recent surveys provide us with slightly different confirmations which are not very unambiguous. They are evidence of the referent’s non-existence in rural areas and the omnipresence of the general Polish *cep* (in DW, a singular use of the *cop* variant [DuM]). We need to assume that this form prevails in DW and BS. In accordance with the former research, in AD the form *cepy* (pl.tant.) prevails as the leading form which, unlike in the previous research, was not recorded in DW. The word *cepa* (f.) was not recorded in BS while it is still a major form in BG (I will not comment on the hypothetical form in the plural due to a lack of the basic form in the informant’s utterance). The form *cepa*, now used in Dąbrowa, was not recorded before” (Kobus 2015a, 142).

A review of MatStu. (as the control materials) has shown that this source group contains 84 confirmations with *cep-*, including: masculine gender 27 times (certain), feminine once, *plurale tantum* 3 times (certain), there is no certainty about the gender in 53 confirmations. The size of the latter group stems from the mode of work of the students who did not ask in this case about the Nominative singular form. The result is a number of replies to the question ‘What do you call the old thing to thresh? [*cepy // cep // cepa*]’ in an inflected form: *cepami* – is it the *pl.tant.* form (*te cepy*) or *ten cep* or *ta cepa* in singular number? It is difficult to decide about a word which only comes in the plural number; however, the relatively frequent masculine forms draw attention in the light of a much smaller number for feminine gender.

In summary of the considerations of the issue, we can assume that the words for ‘a wooden device for threshing grains’ show variability in dialects and partly in juxtaposition with the general language. As for temporal changes, it is difficult to evaluate their depth. Starting from A. Tomaszewski, various forms with *cep-* have been recorded; it seems that the group of prevailing words was evaluated differently. A comparison of the contemporary materials and the survey carried out 30 years after the AJKLW is evidence of a migration of forms recorded in research locations which did not occur there before (or were not recorded). In this respect, this is gender variability.

Let me proceed with another example provided in the TGPnW, namely a phrase *tą razą*. The historical background of *ta raza* was covered in the early 20th century in “Poradnik Językowy” where the phrase was not considered a linguistic error (Mańkowski 1901, 108).

The phrase has made its way to the dialects and the colloquial language of Wielkopolska. The fact that *ta raza/ten raz* was included in a questionnaire to the AJKLW – 648 is evidence that the phrase has been noted by dialectologists and regarded interesting. ‘Tym razem // tą razą // tym rouz (mu się nie udało)’. In 111 questionnaires, the following results we produced (in some questionnaires there is more than one confirmation so the number of questionnaires/questions does not equal the number of confirmations): no confirmation – 4 times, *tą razą* – 71, *ten raz* – 67.

As the compilation suggests, in the 1970s the variability of the gender of the phrase in the language spoken in Wielkopolska was a fact. Only four examples differentiate the frequency of both forms provided by the informants, with the prevailing feminine

county, BG – Bukówiec Górny, Włoszakowice commune, Leszno county, BS – Baranówko and Sowinki, Mosina commune, Poznań county, DW – Dąbrówka Wielkopolska, Zbąszynek commune, Świebodzin county.

form. In atlas research, *tą razą* was the prevailing form against the general Polish *ten raz*. This is evidence of the familiar theory that dialects preserve old forms.

At present, the phrase *tą razą* still exists in the language spoken in villages in Wielkopolska. While it has not been surveyed as a separate subject, it is clearly infrequent and inferior to *tym razem*. However, the phrase *tą razą* occurred in lexical surveys of various areas which proves its natural existence in active language of villagers. Below are some examples of randomly selected contemporary texts from various parts of Wielkopolska:

Adamów, KaP – informant born in 1960, KaE – informant born in 1974:

KaE: *bo naste^mpnym razem już jechał ...*

KaP: *bo ... bo ... naste^mno^m razo^m podjeżdza ... nie ... żeby nie przykryła tych ... tych ziemniaków ziemio^m i tego ... no ... gonicha że ta ...*

Bukówiec G., MaM – informant born in 1948:

MaM: *niektórzy tag na wierzchu to nie zakrywali tylko to zostawili słome ... włożyli tam jakiś kamień i deske ... żeby to parowało niby ... nie ... a my tam nigdy w domu nie robili tyj ... zaro my przykrywali i koniec było ... za jedno^m razo^m ... mi sie zdaje już było przykryte i koniec ...*

Modliszewo, PaE – informant born in 1948:

PaE: *gospodarz domu czytał ... bo to ... widzi pan ... zależało u kogo była Wigilia ... tego ... to każdy ... za każdo^m razo^m Pismo Świeⁿte czytał gospodarz domu ...*

The above examples were provided by a group of informants from the II generational brackets which may be an indication of special preference for this form of the phrase among people born in 1945–1970 or the recessive nature of the phase in the feminine form.

Among the confirmations with triple occurrences in the TGPnW and qualifying for an analysis with respect to the gender variability was *ta balanza* ‘balance’. Its equivalent in the general language is *balans* ‘leaning in different directions to keep balance’ (the online SJP PWN) i.e. a form in masculine gender. In the TGPnW, *ta balanza/balandza* occurred three times against a single confirmation in masculine gender: *tyn colki balanc*. Therefore, there is a case of gender variability with respect to this example in the dialects spoken in northern Wielkopolska and to the dialect vs. general language opposition. At present, I have not recorded this lexical unit among the informants and, interestingly, the SGP PAN fails to define it, too.

A gender variant which tends to be rare and recorded twice (+ feminine gender once) in the analysed volume of dialectal texts, this type is masculine gender from the name of the town of *Chodzież*. Zofia and Karol Zierhoffer wrote: “The declension of *Chodzież*, *do Chodzieża*, sometimes used by the locals, perhaps a slightly transformed original *Chodziesz*, *do Chodziesza*” (a. and K. Zierhoffer 1987, 37). The 2 : 1 ratio which indicates the frequency of masculine and the feminine genders in the volume provides grounds for drawing important conclusions. A noteworthy fact is the existing gender variability in the inflection of the word *Chodzież* that linguists are well aware of. The example has not been subjected to separate surveys.

This example is the last in a group of confirmations from the TGPnW which occur twice or more times. Below I present the confirmations with single occurrences. I provide comments only on the more interesting names and ones for which I have enough linguistic material.

In the group of confirmations, single occurrences included *akacj* m. (1), *cybul* m. (1), *"obcy"ga* f. (1), *gropka* f. (1), *cygara* f. (1), *dryla* f. (1), *pijeca* f. (1), *krawata* f. (1).

Dryla and *krawata* deserve special attention; both confirmations are feminine.

In the aforementioned monograph *Kierunki i dynamika zmian...* I presented the evolution of the changes in the thematic sub-area SIEW and, as a result, the names of tools used to sow. In an analysis of the words' occurrence in the selected research locations, earlier (the AJKLW) and now, I have reached the following conclusions: "The time of manual sowing was replaced with a time when the first machines were available to make farming easier. Consequently, a *siewka/miska* and the human hand were replaced by a horse-drawn sowing device; typically, it was referred to as *siewnik konny* in Adamów, *dryl* in Bukówiec G., *dryla* in Dąbrówka Wlkp. – here the word *siewnik* was used instead of *dryl/dryla*. Notably, the word *dryl* in masculine gender occupies a large part of Wielkopolska, unlike the feminine *dryla*. However, the latest research provides results different from the atlases; according to the AJKLW III (m. 299), in Dąbrówka Wlkp. one of the used words was *dryl* (masculine); that *dryl* should also occur in Adamów which has not been confirmed by contemporary material yet; the word *siewnik* occurs in the AJKLW as younger than *dryl/dryla* while the contemporary informants use it as synonyms (but more frequently with respect to a mechanical rather than horse-drawn device). The names of sowing tools are not internally diverse in the specific villages. Similarly, the names of mechanical machines – *siewniki* – are homogenous in all the villages; the only differentiation in the micro-field in question is for the word indicating a device operating farming devices, *ciognik/traktor*" (Kobus 2015a, 155). In northern Wielkopolska, the AJKLW indicated the feminine forms *dryl* – *ta dryl*, sporadically *ten dryl* but as a variant with *siewnik*. Therefore, *dryla/dryl* are examples of gender variability in dialects and language of villagers. The scarce research sample from the TGPnW does not provide any theories about the dialects in the 1950a – a single occurrence could have been a signal of gender changes in the words for 'a (horse-drawn) seed-drill as indicated by detailed atlas research.

Another word with a sporadic occurrence in the TGPnW is *krawata* 'a tie'. *Ta krawata*, confirmed once in the volume, was not a part of the AJKLW or contemporary research. However, the feminine form requires a comment as it is in opposition to the general Polish masculine form *ten krawat* due to its regional nature. *Krawatka* is recorded in the *Słownik gwary miejskiej Poznania*³¹, in Krakow (the SRK) while the *Mały słownik gwar polskich* (Wronicz 2010) adds Małopolska (Kolbuszowa county), the Eastern Borderland but fails to mention Wielkopolska.

The remaining examples should be rather viewed as occasional occurrences created by analogy to other words: *akacj* (Popowo Kościelne), *cybul* (Strzelce) – both

³¹ <<http://www.poznan.pl/mim/slownik/words.html?co=word&word=krawatka> (accessed on 18.10.2018)>.

masculine (in general Polish, these are feminine words: *akacja*, *cebula*)³² and *gropka* (Wójcin), *cygara* (Strzelce), *pijeca* (Popowo Kościelne) – all feminine (in general Polish these words belong to different genders and numbers: *grabki* pl.tan., *cygaro* n., *piec* m.).

From among the above presented lexemes, the AJKLW maps the words for ‘an oven for baking bread’ (m. 7) – there is no confirmation of feminine gender, *grabie* as *plurale tantum* (m. 279 – no *grabki* form or *gropka* sing.) and *akacja* (m. 162), predominantly feminine with a single case of *agac* for the southern and western parts of the region: “On the south-western peripheries, words with the change of *-k-* into *-g-*: *agac* 103, 105 occur (...)” (AJKW–II, part 2., 56).

An analysis of old materials does not provide room for observation of the gender diversity on any level. The contemporary material offers more opportunities; it suggests various phenomena taking place in the category of nouns. Perhaps not all the examples are sufficiently representative and the material abundant enough. However, in my opinion the phenomena described further in the article suggest some processes or trends taking place here and now. We do not know it yet but perhaps some of these phenomena or trends will prove a stage of an “evolution” in the course of the development of the grammatical system of the Polish language in its dialectal variants.

Many inflection-related phenomena in language of villagers and related to the gender category are reminiscent of what we are witnessing in the general Polish language. However, there are deviations from this pattern. Some look like single, incidental, even idiolectal patterns; others are repeated frequently enough by the inhabitants of various parts of the region who come from different generations that cannot be treated as incidental.

Let us take a look at several examples: *ten/ta przerebel/przerębla*, *por/pora* and *seler/selera*, *pyz/pyza*, *klusek/kluska*, *ten/ta cień*, *ten/ta topól* and *topól/topola* and *mysz/mysza*, *wesz/wsza*, *brzytew/brzytwa*, *dratew/dratwa*.

Przerębel/przerębla is an example subjected to contemporary gender-related observations. The research was carried out by means of questionnaires distributed among pupils taking part in an educational project³³ and their families. “(...) we developed a questionnaire aimed at, firstly, developing the level of linguistic awareness and the degree to which the respondents identify their own speech with the local language on the level of declarations (Q. 1: open question, Q. 2–6: multiple choice questions), secondly – confronting the declarations with the actual command of a dialect / knowledge of a dialect (questions about specific words, their meaning, variants etc.). (...) The questionnaire revolves around 23 issues; it was distributed among the pupils of the elementary school in Modliszewko, their families or, possibly, teachers. The questionnaire was voluntary and anonymous, the statistical data included information about the sex, year of birth, time of living in a village. In total, 33 questionnaires were

³² The forms *cebul*, *akacj* are examples of a transfer from soft-stem vowel inflection to consonantal inflection. As M. Brzezina noted, this is a process aligned with the general Middle Polish language which has not ended in dialects yet (Brzezina 1977, 348).

³³ An educational project *Holidays, beliefs and superstitions – the language and traditions of villages in Gniezno commune*. The questionnaire involved pupils of the elementary school in Modliszewko.

completed (22 females, 11 males, including 21 children: 12 girls, 9 boys) from Modliszewko (15), Modliszewo (8) and Gniezno (10)” (Kobus, Gniazdowski 2017, 158).

The contemporary materials have a small range, oftentimes limited to a specific village or commune. This method has its benefits and drawbacks. This leads to obtaining material that would facilitate an in-depth analysis of a specific dialect although it limits a quick view of a larger area. This is possible only owing to large-scale research into a specific issue. As it is impossible to confront the words obtained in Modliszewko and their forms with other contemporary confirmations, let me refer to conclusions that I have managed to draw owing to a juxtaposition of old materials. Here are the conclusions: “Questions 9 and 10 revolve around strictly grammatical issues. Question 9 “What do you call a hole cut in the ice?” was aimed at pointing the grammatical gender, a *przerębel* or a *przerębla*. Similarly, Question 10 was to indicate the grammatical gender of the word *przerębel* – *ten przerębel* or *ta przerębel*. The effect of the questionnaire is a single confirmation of the form *przerębla*, in the remaining cases there was a *przerębel* with phonetic variants: *przerębył*, *przyry^mbl*, *przerębl* – in total 23 confirmations for *przerębel* in masculine gender which resulted (and confirmed) in the form of 23 replies to question 10 about Instr. m. sing. – *przeręblem* with the phonetic variants: *przeręblym*, *przyry^mlem*. One person used in both questions the same word *dziura* which defies the analysis. This issue is illustrated in m. 746 AJKLW–IX, according to which in that area, *ten przerębel* masculine prevails although *ta przerębel* feminine occurs next to *wyręb/-ręb*” (Kobus, Gniazdowski 2017, 165).

Bogusław Kreja (Kreja 1977, 118–124) referred to the word *przerębel* with respect to word-formation. On the basis of dialectal materials from Kashubia and Podlasie he deduced that the original form of the word *przerębel* is feminine, as confirmed by the Sstp and B.S. Linde’s dictionary. He indicated *przeręb* (Kreja 1977, 121) as the original form. He also added that the form *przerębla* “(...) was first noted in Knapski’s dictionary (1643), still as an alteration of *przeręb* (Knapski’s *przerębl*) while the masculine form *ten przerębel* was first recorded in dictionaries in the 19th century” (Kreja 1977, 122).

The questionnaire distributed among pupils and their families confirmed the fixed nature of the word among the inhabitants of Modliszewko and the surrounds – the masculine form *ten przerębel* prevails.

The third example or a group of examples, to be more precise: *ten/ta por/pora*, *ten/ta seler/selera*, *ten/ta pyz/pyza*, *ten/ta klusek/kluska*, *ten lepek/ta lepka*, *ten listek/to listko*.

In Wielkopolska, these words come in a grammatical gender different than in general Polish. Back in the early 20th century, scholars indicated the different gender in these examples as a regional element: “The word *seler* is used in Wielkopolska in feminine gender as *selera*, confirmed by Kluk and Jundziłł. In Wielkopolska, *pora* is also feminine whereas in Eastern Europe Galicia it is *por* so in plural it would be *pory*” (Danysz 1914, 246). The forms *seler/selera* and *por/pora* was mapped by M. Brzezina; the data on the map suggest that three gender variants were used in Wielkopolska: *ten seler* and *ta selera*, *ta seler*, where *seler* (m.) and *selera* (f.) are most common (Brzezina 1982, m. 21). The situation is similar in the second example where the scholar showed two competitive forms *por* (m.) and *pora* (f.) (Brzezina

1982, m. 19). The words *por/pora* and *seler/selera* were not subjected to special Wielkopolska research although their presence is still marked in contemporary texts from the region. There are only a few of them in MatStu. and the gender variability is marked (*por* : *pora* – 4 : 5, *seler* : *selera* – 3 : 4). Bearing in mind these data, one could suppose that the feminine form prevails over the masculine one which is evidence of the advantage of the dialect. However, the research sample is too small to decide how the feminine features have survived. It is true that they are still used on a daily basis in Wielkopolska. However, it is hard to evaluate the share of the feminine forms against the general form.

The larger group of confirmations is more interesting: the students asked their informants about the grammatical gender of words recorded in literature on the subject or as a result of field studies in genders different than in the general Polish language. The following conformations appeared: *pyz* : *pyza* – 1 : 55, *klusek* : *kluska* – 0 : 49, *ten cień* : *ta cień* – 20 : 4, *lepek* : *lepka* – 18 : 1, *listek* : *listko* – 55 : 1, *topól/topól* : *topola* – 10 : 25.

The data suggests that the general Polish forms: *pyza*, *kluska*, *lepka* and *listka* are in enormous advantage over the dialectal and regional *pyz*, *klusek*, *lepka* and *listko*. Singular confirmations suggest the occasional nature of the masculine or neuter gender. In the *cienia/cieni* example, it turned out that the general Polish form also prevails over the dialectal one but the representation of four confirmations seems to exclude an incidental nature of the phenomenon.

The last example: *ten/ta topól/topola* seems to be the most interesting one from a statistical point of view (with the expected advantage of general Polish although not so vast) and for reasons stated above³⁴.

In her description of A. Tomaszewski's materials, Monika Gruchmanowa highlighted the lexeme *topól*: "A. Tomaszewski presented the fluctuations of the gender in the mentioned nouns [*ten/ta topól(a)*, *tyń/ta tyńć*– JK] in *Mowa ludu Wielkopolskiego* (p. 36) only generally. The material suggests that the general Polish 'topola' assumes in the dialects of Wielkopolska the form *topól*. (...) in Wielkopolska, the masculine *topól* prevails. The form is most popular in eastern, north-eastern (with fluctuations in Szubin county), north-eastern and western Wielkopolska, reaching to Kramsk. The feminine 'topól' occurs in central (with some fluctuations), western and north-western parts of Wielkopolska. The general Polish form 'topola' occurs in Drawsko (Czarnków county) as an alternation to 'topól' (f.) and in Wijewo (Wschowa county). The Genitive in singular, masculine gender is *topola*. Only one record stands out, namely *kole topolu* (Chojna, Wągrowiec county). The Genitive in singular, feminine gender is *topoľi* without an exception" (Gruchmanowa 2003, 36).

There are 45 contemporary conformations with *top-* to denote 'a tree with heart-shaped leaves; often planted in the homestead [*topola*, *topól* – (m./f.)]' but it was impossible to determine the grammatical gender for 13 examples because the informants provided forms in plural which, in many cases, prevented conclusions. The

³⁴ The gender variability of the word *topól* was spotted by A. Tomaszewski and described by M. Gruchmanowa in her article (Gruchmanowa 1959, 3–10) (reprint in (Gruchmanowa 2003, 32–38)). K. Nitsch (Nitsch 1914, 269) also mentioned this example (*ta topól*).

established proportion is *topól/topol* : *topola* – 10 : 25 where *topól* : *topol* – 5 : 5; the gender is definitely masculine in 3 examples of *ten topól* while in the other examples it is impossible to establish the gender, whether it is *ten* or *ta topól/topol*. The forms *topól/topol* were recorded in the following counties: Jarocin and Gostyń (most frequently), Wągrowiec, Koło, Konin, Kępno. On the other hand, *topola* was recorded in the counties above as well as in Poznań and Szamotuły (most frequently), Leszno, Czarnków, Świebodzin, Turek, Ostrów Wielkopolski. Consequently, the distribution of these recordings has divided Wielkopolska into an eastern and western part with the border running around Poznań.

As for the materials compiled by A. Tomaszewski (mapped by M. Gruchmanowa in the mentioned article (Gruchmanowa 2003, 36)), they show an extended range of the form *topola* (recorded before WWII in the north-eastern outskirts of the region, now dispersed all over Wielkopolska although there are locations where it clearly prevails). A. Tomaszewski's materials definitely indicated the prevalence of the form *ta topól* in the central part of the region with a tendency to move to the north. This fact cannot be verified without further studies

As M. Brzezina noted, the described multi-gender forms *ten/ta topól*, *ten/ta cień* "(...) are related to a general dialectal process of soft-stem de-suffixations still in progress" (Brzezina 1977, 357).

Nevertheless, it turns out yet again that dialectal forms are in a minority against the general Polish forms which should not be surprising. The gender variability of the examples in question has also been confirmed. It occurs in relation with the temporal and the geographic levels because it pertains to a language spoken by generations across a territory (the whole of Wielkopolska, an entire dialect and specific dialects). Therefore, there is clear gender variability against the language varieties (general language – dialect – language of villagers).

A word with a formal referent indicating gender other than the ascribed is an interesting phenomenon as indicates the example of *wuja* which takes the considerations here to the area of regionalisms.

Wuja – this lexical unit is worth mentioning as a curiosity – means 'a male relative, typically a parent's brother but also a male related to the family in a different way; also a family friend', in general Polish *wuj*, *wujek*. This is an interesting confirmation (single in the described volume of the TGPnW) because it is feminine only formally, assuming an ending typical of nouns from the feminine inflection (like the three other ones even if they are sanctioned in the general Polish language). Semantically, it does not change its natural gender therefore it is *ten wuja*. The word is frequently confirmed in contemporary materials, e.g.:

Dąbrówka Wlkp.:

WiW: (...) drożdże **wuja** muszo^m sie ruchać ... nie ...

NiŁ: no to jag mówie ... ty żeż robił ... **wuja** dojż (?) zeż (?) zrobił ...

Bukówiec G.:

BaK: (...) my gdzieś so^m krewni ... nie ... to jez mój **wuja** ... mamy brat ... nie ...

WoM: a **wuja** tu ni ma gdzieś we w tym? ...

SzJ: (...) i tak dzwoni do mnie i mówi ... **wuja** ... w Bukówcu jes dużo takich ... mówi ... rzemiśników ...

Adamów:

KaP: **wuja** Witków (?) może by wiedział ...

LoH: ano właśnie ... to też beⁿdzie **wuja** wiedział ... i dziadek ...

LoH: ja wiedziałam ... widzisz ... **wuja** ci powie ... weⁿdzidło chyba ...

Goraniec:

WeM: jaki **wuja** miał sprzeⁿtu (!) tak powiem nie wiem ... może ten pug i ta broną była ...

WeM: ale w Nidomiu zostało dwóch czy czech gospodarzy ... mieⁿdzy innymi właśnie ten **wuja** co mówiłam że za tym kieratem chodziłam ...

Strzyżewo Kościelne:

KwK: (...) słysze taki chichot ... potworny śmiech ... patrze a to **wuja** Bogdan ... i taki mówie ... i zaraz sie obudziłam ...

These are recordings of utterances of informants from different generations³⁵ (in fact representing all the generation brackets – I do not have materials of children's speech but I often hear this form used by representatives of the younger generation) and coexists with *wujek* and *wuj*; these two are definitely less frequent than *ten wuja*. This regionalism is popular all over Wielkopolska. Z. Zagórski (Zagórski 1991, 79–82) also took notice of the popularity of the form *wuja* among all the informants. Contemporary examples confirm the occurrence of the feminine form ranging from the west to the east of the region, in a broad belt of the meridian orientation. The fact that the word was recorded in the 1950s is proof of stability of the form *ten wuja*. What is more, in 1966 M. Szymczak noted that “In Wielkopolska together with the areas of Sieradz, Kuyavia and Krajna (AJK) there is a form *stryja*. (...) which is withdrawing from the Wielkopolska dialects very quickly, pushed out by *ten wuja*” (Szymczak 1966, 7–9).

Interestingly, this characteristic form of the word in question is an example of the feminine inflection only in the Nominative singular form; the inflection follows the masculine pattern, with the Genitive singular *tego wuja* (rather than *tej wuji*): *do wuja szłam ...* (SzA – BG), *a tam u wuja był za stodoł^m ...* (PuA–AD), *u mojego wuja ...*

³⁵ WiW – 1955, NiŁ – 1929, BaK – 1947, SzJ – 1925, KaP – 1960, LoH – 1933, WeM – 1952, KwK – 1956. These informants represent two generation brackets – II (born in 1921–1945) and III (1946–1970). As an inhabitant of Wielkopolska, I can confirm the occurrence of the form *wuja* also in the IV generation brackets and in the youngest language users.

(WeM–Grc)³⁶. M. Brzezina noted that “in dialects, a junction of paradigms is not an exception” (Brzezina 1977, 355). For this reason, the example of *wuja* is hardly extraordinary although it is not typical, either.

Here I will finish my considerations of gender variability. In my opinion, the descriptions have proven that the phenomena at play continue changes which started in the past and that some of the phenomena are quite new. Not all the deviations from the general Polish language are strictly dialectal, some represent a trend exceeding the limits of a traditional view of a dialect. Not all the questions about the provided examples have been answered even if some of them were observed many years ago, during the atlas studies and earlier (the 1950s, before WWII). I am aware that the subject has not been exhausted but I am also certain that a revision or exclusion of some of the conclusions may result from in-depth and large-scale (general dialectal) research.

2. Gender variances in words indicating young creatures

Let me now proceed with strictly synchronous research. A change in the gender of nouns describing young creatures (non-adult creatures) or small objects is an interesting phenomenon observed in the course of contemporary dialectal research. Interestingly, the gender changes when a noun is inflected. The oblique case also reveals grammatical gender different than the expected one (natural or expected in relation with the general Polish norm). I refer to this situation as a gender variance³⁷.

MatStu will be used to analyse the issue.

In the excerpted material, gender variances are among the most interesting observations, revealed in the entire region as well as with reference to a smaller area. Beside the above discussed words, this holds true for words of young creatures which

³⁶ Similar forms are related to *mysz/mysza*, *wesz/wsza*, *brzytew/brzytwa*, *dratew/dratwa*. This is not about the diversity of the formal and natural genders but rather, the ending of the stem: feminine nouns with stems ending with a consonant. M. Grad-Mucowa (Grad-Mucowa 1970) highlighted the word *mysz*, referring to this group of nouns in Masovian dialects: “Some of them are levelled with the forms ending in *-a* as exemplified by *myżaż* (cf. map 20) and *brváv* (...). The form *myżaż* occurs very frequently in other dialects, it is quite common in the south of Poland” (Grad-Mucowa 1970, 51). It turns out that the form *mysza*, regarded of Masovian and southern-Polish origin, has been used in Wielkopolska. According to the AJKLW, this form was recorded in 13 research locations (hardly incidental then – see the AJKLW: m. 211 ‘*Mysz – pronunciation*’). “The type *mysza* (in 13 loc. *myša*, 16, 83, 93 and 97 *mysa*) was recorded in thirteen locations without a geographic pattern, most frequently as a form facultative to the common Wielkopolska type *mysz* (fem.); only in two locations (loc. 55 near Koło and 97 near Wieruszowo), the form *myša* (loc. 55) and *mysa* (97) were recorded as the exclusive form” (AJKLW–II, part 2, 103). This form is also used by the contemporary population of Wielkopolska villages. The word *mysz/mysza* was examined by students; the two forms coexist in the following ratio: *mysz* : *mysza* 50 : 5. The form *mysza* was recorded in Kępno, Konin, Koło, Ostrów Wielkopolski and Czarnków counties. Other, related examples from the language spoken now in Wielkopolska include *wesz* : *wsza* 21 : 16, *brzytew* : *brzytwa* 7 : 18 (*brzytew* Szamotuły county (× 3), Poznań, Jarocin, Konin, Koło), *dratew* : *dratwa* 4 : 25 (*dratew* Gniezno county (× 2), Wągrowiec, Konin). This rule pertains not only to dialects but also colloquial language. They are examples of a shift from hard-stem consonantal inflection to vowel inflection.

³⁷ In describing this issue, I relied heavily on my article *Przydatność studenckich materiałów kwestionariuszowych do badań fleksji gwarowej rzeczownika* (Kobus, in press).

tend to divide Polish regions (as the words are formed with an ending *-ę* and a formant *-ak*) into two groups: the northern part with the formant *-ak* and the southern part with *-ę*³⁸. However, this is a gender variance within a single dialectal region. In Wielkopolska, the formant *-ak* is typical for the southern and western parts (see Tomaszewski 1934, 34). The data from the sources quoted here are variants frequently provided by a single informant or informants from a specific county or even commune: *kurczak – kurcze*, *goⁿska – goⁿsie – goⁿsioⁿtko – goⁿszczak*, *kaczuszka – kacze – kaczoⁿtko*, *owieczka – jagnie – jagnioⁿtko – jagnioⁿok* (see Tables 2.1., 2.2., 2.3., 2.4.). In the tables I provide information about the number of all the confirmations (from all the questionnaires – the research included informants from 63 villages) and statistical information in selected research locations under a collective label of a respective county. For better geographic orientation, the names of the counties are accompanied by information about dialectal affinity (east, west, south, central Wielkopolska).

Table 2.1. *kurczak – kurcze – kurczoⁿtko*

county / part of region	variant I <i>kurczak</i>	variant II <i>kurcze</i>	variant III <i>kurczoⁿtko</i>
all surveyed	72	50	23
Koło / east Wlkp.	2	6	1
Konin / east Wlkp.	6	6	2
Gostyń / south Wlkp.	12	8	0
Leszno / south Wlkp.	5	4	1
Jarocin / central Wlkp.	4	1	0
Poznań / central Wlkp.	9	4	1
Szamotuły / central Wlkp.	4	2	2

Table 2.2. *goⁿska – goⁿsie – goⁿsioⁿtko – goⁿszczak*

county / part of region	variant I <i>kurczak</i>	variant II <i>kurcze</i>	variant III <i>kurczoⁿtko</i>	variant IV <i>goⁿszczak</i>
all surveyed	37	7	55 (1)	14
Koło / east Wlkp.	3	0	0	1
Konin / east Wlkp.	0	1	4	5
Gostyń / south Wlkp.	3	1	6	0
Leszno / south Wlkp.	0	1	4	0
Jarocin / cent. Wlkp.	4	0	1	0
Poznań / cent. Wlkp.	2	0	4	2
Szamotuły / central Wlkp.	0	0	4	0

³⁸ B. Osowski (Osowski 2015, 97–128) described the issue based on materials from the 18th century. Reference to (Taszycki 1934, 20).

Table 2.3. *kaczuszka – kacze – kaczoⁿtko*

county / part of region	variant I <i>kurczak</i>	variant II <i>kurcze</i>	variant III <i>kurczoⁿtko</i>
all surveyed	46	12	62
Koło / east Włkp.	3	2	3
Konin / east Włkp.	6	4	5
Gostyń / south Włkp.	4	1	7
Leszno / south Włkp.	1	1	3
Jarocin / cent. Włkp.	4	0	3
Poznań / cent. Włkp.	4	0	7
Szamotuły / central Włkp.	4	0	3

Table 2.4. *owieczka – jagnie – jagnioⁿtko – jagniók*

powiat / część regionu	variant I <i>owieczka</i>	variant II <i>jagnie (jagle)</i>	variant III <i>jagnioⁿtko</i>	variant IV <i>jagniók</i>
all surveyed	15	53 (5)	49	1
Koło / east Włkp.	0	4	4	0
Konin / east Włkp.	4	7	7	0
Gostyń / south Włkp.	2	6	7	0
Leszno / south Włkp.	1	4	2	0
Jarocin / cent. Włkp.	0	1 (3)	1	0
Poznań / cent. Włkp.	2	5	4	0
Szamotuły / central Włkp.	0	3 (2)	3	0

The conclusions drawn from the tables above lead to a theory that in Wielkopolska, words for young creates with the formant *-ak* for *kurczak* and *goⁿszczak* prevail, especially in the southern and central research locations in the region and with the referent *-ę (e)* for *jagnie* (*kurcze* enjoys also many confirmations) without more distinct trends in the dialect, resulting from the fact that the data are not sufficiently diverse with respect to the area.

The distribution of gender forms in words denoting young creatures seems much more interesting. Numbers are a relatively representative referent of frequency of use and indicate high actual variability.

As for the words denoting ‘a hen’s offspring’, among the three variants, words like the masculine *kurczak* (72) prevail although neuter nouns like *kurcze* (50) and *kurczoⁿtko* (23) are also frequent. In the example related to ‘a goose’s offspring’, four variants in three genders were recorded, where variant I is a diminutive of the adult feminine creature *goⁿska* (37), half the number (but still many) of indications in masculine

gender *goⁿszczak* (14), while the biggest number of indications was of neuter gender with the prevailing variant *goⁿsioⁿtko/geⁿsioⁿtko* (55 : 1) and the rare *goⁿsie* (7). The collection of words for ‘a young duck’ consists of feminine words formed also by means of a diminutive of a female adult creature – *kaczuszka* (46) and the prevailing neuter words *kaczoⁿtko* (62) and *kacze* (12). The last example is related to words denoting ‘a sheep’s offspring’ and is represented by four variants out of which the feminine ones are formed like the nouns above by means of diminutives of feminine adult features – *owieczka* (15) – and are rather rare in comparison with neuter words like *jagnie/jagle* (53 : 5) and *jagnioⁿtko* (49); masculine gender is represented by the single confirmation *jagnioⁿok*.

An analysis of the excerpted examples of words for young creatures leads to a conclusion that many (if not most) of the informants who provided the Nominative form, did not indicate more than one word. The gender changes when the oblique form appears inflected, other than the Nominative (of course this is not the norm). Below are some examples showing the pattern (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5. Gender variance and word inflection (MatStu.)

location	referent	form in Nom. singular or Nom. plural (gender)	form in Gen. singular or Gen. plural (gender)	change in gender
Powiercie, Koło county	a hen’s young	<i>kurcze</i> (n.)	<i>kurczaka</i> (m.)	n.→m.
Gostyń, Gostyń county	a hen’s young	<i>kurczaki</i> (m.)	<i>kurcze</i> (n.)	m.→n.
Pogorzela, Gostyń county	a hen’s young	<i>kurczeⁿta</i> (n.)	<i>kurczeⁿcia</i> (n.) <i>kurczaka</i> (m.)	n.→m.
Szczurowice, Ostrów Wlkp. county	a hen’s young	<i>kurczeⁿta</i> (n.)	<i>kurczaka</i> (m.)	n.→m.
Odolanów, Ostrów Wlkp. county	a hen’s young	<i>kurczak</i> (m.) <i>kurcze</i> (n.)	<i>kurczoⁿtka</i> (n.)	m.→n.
Powiercie, Koło county	a goose’s young	<i>goⁿsioⁿtko</i> (n.)	<i>goⁿsek</i> (f.)	n.→ż.
Stefanów, Jarocin county	a goose’s young	<i>goⁿska</i> (f.)	<i>goⁿsioⁿt</i> (n.)	f.→n.
Koszkowo, Wyrzysk county	a goose’s young	<i>goⁿszczak</i> (m.)	<i>goⁿsioⁿt</i> (n.)	m.→n.
Pogorzela, Pogorzela county	a goose’s young	<i>goⁿski</i> (f.)	<i>goⁿsioⁿt</i> (n.)	f.→n.
Kawcze, Rawicz county	a goose’s young	<i>goⁿsieⁿta</i> (n.) <i>goⁿski</i> (f.)	<i>goⁿsioⁿt</i> (n.)	f.→n.
Słomczyce, Słupca county	a sheep’s young	<i>jagnioⁿtka</i> (n.)	<i>owieczków</i> (f.)	n.→f.
Dębe, Kalisz county	a sheep’s young	<i>owieczki</i> (f.) <i>jagnioⁿtka</i> (n.)	<i>jagnioⁿtek</i> (n.)	f.→n.
Gniezno, Gniezno county	a sheep’s young	<i>jagnie</i> (n.)	<i>owieczek</i> (f.) <i>jagnioⁿtek</i> (n.)	n.→f.

Pogorzela, Gostyń county	a sheep's young	<i>jagnio^otko</i> (n.)	<i>owieczek</i> (f.) <i>jagnie^oty</i> (n.) <i>jagnio^ot</i> (n.)	n.→f.
Golina, Konin county	a sheep's young	<i>owieczka</i> (f.) <i>jagnie</i> (n.)	<i>jagnio^ot</i> (n.)	f.→n.
Koszkowo county Wyrzysk	a duck's young	<i>kaczo^otko</i> (n.)	<i>kaczo^otek</i> (n.) <i>kaczek</i> (f.)	n.→f.
Gniezno, Gniezno county	a duck's young	<i>kaczo^otka</i> (n.)	<i>kaczo^otków</i> (n.) <i>kaczuszek</i> (f.)	n.→f.
Święciechowa, Leszno county	a duck's young	<i>kacze</i> (n.)	<i>kaczek</i> (f.) <i>kaczuszek</i> (f.)	n.→f.
Witaszyce, Jarocin county	a duck's young	<i>kaczuszki</i> (f.)	<i>kaczuszków</i> (f.) <i>kaczo^oek</i> (n.)	f.→n.
Gostyń, Gostyń county	a duck's young	<i>kaczuszki</i> (f.)	<i>kaczo^ot</i> (n.)	f.→n.

The material presented in the table above shows clearly that the change in gender, taking place in the course of inflection, involves in many cases also a formal change not only with respect to word forming (e.g. *kurczę* ↔ *kurczak*; *kaczę* ↔ *kaczątka*; *gąsiątka* ↔ *gąszczak*; *jagnię* ↔ *jagniątko*) but also in the realm of vocabulary (e.g. *jagnię*, *jagniątko* ↔ *owieczka*; *kaczę*, *kaczątka* ↔ *kaczuszka*; *gąsiątka*, *gąszczak* ↔ *gąska*).

The forms in the Genitive plural offer even greater dynamics of forming words denoting young creatures. The forms recorded by students indicate the difficulty encountered by the informants in creating words according to the system. More and more frequently, they tend to escape the complexity by providing erroneous replies or no replies at all; some informants resort to creating words for young creatures by means of diminutives of the adult creatures or by deforming the names of young creatures formed in line with the system. This issue is illustrated in Table 2.6. with questions and replies excerpted from the recordings.

Table 2.6. Forms in the Gen. plural of young creatures in MatStu.

question	form 1 (-ów)	form 2 (-o)	form 3 (other)	deficiencies	defects
Typically, a duck leads many ... (<i>kacząt, kaczątków, kaczętów</i>).	<i>kaczo^otków</i> (6) <i>kaczuszków</i> (3) <i>kaczoków</i> (1)	<i>kaczo^ot</i> (17)	<i>kaczo^otek</i> (17) <i>kaczuszek</i> (16)	7	17 (<i>kaczek</i> 10, <i>kaczoków</i> 3, <i>kaczy^otka</i> 1, <i>piskło^ot</i> 3)
Many times, a sheep does not have one young but several... (<i>jagniąt, jagniętów</i>).	<i>jagle^otów</i> (1) <i>owieczków</i> (1)	<i>jagnio^ot</i> (34) <i>owczo^ot</i> (1)	<i>jagnio^otek</i> (8) <i>owieczek</i> (10)	4	6 (<i>jagly^ota</i> 1, <i>jagnio^otka</i> 2, <i>owieczki</i> 1, <i>jagnie</i> 2, <i>jagnie^oty</i> 1, <i>jagna</i> 1, <i>owców</i> 1, <i>owiec</i> 1)

When a goose has many young ones people say it has many ... (<i>gąsiąt, gąsków, gąszczoków, ?</i>).	<i>goⁿsków</i> (2) <i>goⁿszczoków</i> (6)	<i>goⁿsioⁿt</i> (30) <i>goⁿszczoⁿt</i> (1)	<i>goⁿsioⁿtek</i> (9) <i>goⁿsek</i> (15)	6	1 (<i>piskloⁿt</i>)
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The general Polish forms prevail here, accompanied by words formed from dialectal names in line with the general language norm, e.g. *kaczoków, goⁿszczoków*. The remaining *-ów* endings are dialectal: *kaczoⁿtków, kacuszaków, jagleⁿtów, owieczaków, goⁿsków*.

In fact, each of the three examples from the survey has six variants among which at least three (half of them) are dialectal variants (although not always with a dialectal ending):

- dialectal *kaczoⁿtków* (6), *kacuszaków* (3), *kaczoków* (1) next to general Polish: *kaczoⁿt* (17), *kaczoⁿtek* (17), *kacuszek* (16);
- dialectal *jagleⁿtów* (1), *owieczaków* (1), *owczoⁿt* (1) next to general Polish: *jagnioⁿt* (34), *jagnioⁿtek* (8), *owieczek* (10);
- dialectal *goⁿsków* (2), *goⁿszczoków* (6), *goⁿszczoⁿt* (1) next to general Polish: *goⁿsioⁿt* (30), *goⁿsioⁿtek* (9), *goⁿsek* (15).

Next to the dialect : general Polish opposition, there are also formal variants within these words.

- *kaczoⁿtków* (6) : *kaczoⁿt* (17) : *kaczoⁿtek* (17) and *kacuszaków* (3) : *kacuszek* (16);
- *jagnioⁿt* (34) : *jagnioⁿtek* (8) and *owieczaków* (1) : *owczoⁿt* (1) : *owieczek* (10);
- *goⁿsioⁿt* (30) : *goⁿsioⁿtek* (9), *goⁿszczoków* (6) : *goⁿszczoⁿt* (1) and *goⁿsków* (2) : *goⁿsek* (15).

The dialectal forms in these examples are always in a minority, irrespective of their endings. This great variability indicates the extremely dynamic nature of this group of words; the chances that the forms with *-ów* will prevail in dialects are slim for two major reasons: 1) general forms are definitely not inferior to dialectal forms, the proportions of the confirmations leave no doubt about the domination of the norm, 2) the words for young ducks, geese and sheep in the dialectal form could be better represented in the language system if they were more widely used in the extra-linguistic context. Meanwhile, the number of these farm animals is clearly diminishing in individual farms (few farmers grow poultry for their own needs, sheep are practically not kept anymore), the dialectal words will withdraw together with their users i.e. elderly people (young people are not willing to use the problematic dialectal forms, having at their disposal regular general Polish words inflected).

Let me go back to the major issue of discussion, the gender and Table 2.5. The most frequent changes to gender in the material at hand occur between feminine and neuter genders; there are seven transitions of the type *f. → n.* and *n. → f.*, each. The number of changes between neuter and masculine genders is much smaller, three of each: *n. → m.* and *m. → n.* There is no relation between feminine and masculine genders which theoretically is possible. Perhaps extending the research sample would indicate this type of change.

The material at my disposal (the entire material compiled by students, not only from the table related to the gender variance and inflection of words) may not seem very ample but it allows to deduce that in the formation of words denoting young creatures in the language spoken by young people from Wielkopolska, neuter gender prevails (in accordance with the grammars of the general Polish language). One can also venture a statement that inflecting certain basic forms becomes too difficult so it is easier to select an oblique form, easier to form for different reasons although resulting in a lexical or gender-related change (selection of the form and the concept of the level of difficulty of creating oblique forms seems to be strictly individual). However, the materials allow to exclude the idiolectal or even incidental nature of the described phenomenon. The analysed linguistic data come from various research locations from Wielkopolska which gives reason to consider the phenomenon a dialectal feature. It would be interesting to know the results of research into this phenomenon in other dialects.

3. The opposition between masculine and non-masculine plural forms – a problem with differentiating gender classes

The dialect users' inability to differentiate between the masculine and non-masculine gender has been largely covered in dialectal inflection. Hanna Jadacka called non-masculine forms of the type *chłopy*, *doktory*, *profesory*, grammatically "deformed" (Jadacka 2006, 20). These issues were described in dialects and the general language in the 1970s and the 1980s by J. Zieniukowa in numerous publications (Zieniukowa 1968, 109–114; 1975, 70–93; 1974a, 87–123; 1974b, 55–63) which resulted in a monograph *Rodzaj męski osobowy we współczesnych językach zachodniostowiańskich* (Zieniukowa 1981), and Z. Saloni (Saloni 1988, 155–166). This issue in dialects was covered by Z. Zagórski (Zagórski 1991) and Halina Pelcowa (Pelcowa 1977, 335–342) and, more recently, by Alina Kępińska (Kępińska 2006) and Łukasz Szalkiewicz (Szalkiewicz 2010, 220–221)³⁹, Danuta Makowska (Makowska 2008, 205–226) and D. Makowska and Z. Saloni (Makowska, Saloni 2009, 145–158), as well as Danuta Skowrońska (Skowrońska 2011, 284–293). The authors of the latest publications avoid

³⁹ Ł. Szalkiewicz provided a review of theories related to a depreciative approach to non-masculine plural forms. The scholar referred to the concepts of Z. Saloni: "Saloni emphasised the fact that depreciative forms are formed completely regularly. Therefore, from the grammatical (systemic) point of view, all the nouns *mos* inflected by the number have depreciative forms in the Nominative plural. (...) Saloni took a step further; he decided that every masculine noun has also a non-depreciative form. This theory is even more controversial and the author devotes a majority of his article to it (Saloni 1988: 160–161, 164–165)"; further on he also referred to a theory by H. Jadacka included in *Nowy słownik poprawnej polszczyzny PWN*, A. Markowski (ed.), Warszawa 2003: "The coexistence of personal and impersonal endings, frequent in the Nominative of masculine nouns, is motivated by the style – negative, common and positive forms receive a material ending as an inflection discriminant, e.g. *chłopy*, *dyrektory*, *ministry*, *policyjanty*, *studenty*, while the neuter use is signalled by a masculine referent, e.g. *chłopi*, *dyrektorzy*, *ministrowie*, *policyjanci*, *studenci*. (...) The style-related mechanism refers here to a series of two-gender forms *-a* where the emotional load is related to the lexemes themselves rather than to their inflection forms, e.g. *beksy*, *gapy*, *lamagi*, *marudy* (...). In this case, the functional-stylistic criterion would determine the selection of the inflection element (NSPP: 1681)" (Szalkiewicz 2010, 224).

references to dialectal materials and contemporary data obtained in rural areas. What is more, the issue of mixing masculine and non-masculine forms in the Nominative plural of masculine nouns have been lately viewed primarily in the context of depreciation.

In this chapter I would like to suggest a slightly different view of the opposition *ci* : *te* in masculine gender plural, namely not as depreciation or non-depreciation, or in the context of the category. I would also refute stylistic considerations. I agree with Z. Zagórski that “(...) the category of masculine plural is an intermediate inflection-syntactic category. Therefore I study the opposition: masculine plural – non-masculine plural or a lack of the opposition, starting with specific syntactic structures and elements of the structure, taking into account the desired extent of inflection elements (on a lower level)” (Zagórski 1991, 29). In my opinion, the structure *te chłopcy robiły/-li* in the language spoken in Wielkopolska is a predominantly syntactic issue from the point of view of grammar, without stylistic considerations. This is because the speakers’ intention is not depreciation (presence of a form in accordance with the general Polish pattern should be treated as a variant rather than an invariant). Of importance here are semantics. There are no problems with differentiating the masculine and non-masculine plural because this is not about taking a look at dialects from the point of view of the general Polish norm – *te chłopcy robiły* from the point of view of the “norm” of language of villagers is a correct phrase (*po naszymu*)⁴⁰. I suggest looking at the relation between the two genders in dialects and in other Polish dialects. This theory is corroborated by examples from dialectal materials where there are no opposition pairs that would allow any choice (i.e. there is one way of expressing a message). This state changes as the linguistic awareness of the users of a local variety of Polish grows, to be evidenced by the material presented below.

Of interest are examples from Wielkopolska texts and the remaining linguistic data like the already analysed volume of the TGPnW, the KwAJKLW and contemporary continuous texts (TWsp.).

In the TGPnW I have found 49 (27/16 + 6) examples confirming the above presented phenomenon (14 different words: *nieboszczyki*, *goście (te)* : *goście (ci)*, *chłopy* : *chłopi*, *k^oośniki* : *kośnicy*, *krawce* : *krawcy*, *kawalery/kawalerzy (te)* : *kawalerzy (ci)*, *so^msiady* : *so^msiedzi*, *drużby* : *drużbowie*, *króle* : *królowie*, *ludzie (te)* : *ludzie (ci)*, *parobki* : *parobcy*, *rzeźniki* : *rzeźnicy*, *rodzice (te)* : *rodzice (ci)*, *młynarze (te)* : *młynarze (ci)*). The numbers in brackets have the following meaning: 27 indicates “untypical” lexical units whose form in the Nominative plural are different from the general Polish language, 16 following a slash indicate the number of words whose different gender stems from syntactic conditioning. It is communicated by the pronoun, verb or adjective, 6 is a number of examples compliant with the norm in the general Polish language.

Statistical data are not very numerous in a majority of examples. In a detailed analysis I have used examples recorded at least three times. In general conclusions, I will consider the entire excerpted material.

⁴⁰ The TGPnW provides also phrases related to a change of gender (against the general Polish language) for feminine nouns in the Nominative plural: *On józ [!] był ostrożny z tym bo to krowy już tam sie zatkali ... panie ...* (p. 29), *To byli ty pijorsie ...* (p. 15).

One could say that in the TGPnW, the non-masculine forms in the Nominative plural of masculine nouns prevail over masculine forms in line with the general Polish norm. In some examples (*te goście, te drużby, te chłopcy, te rodzice, te kawalery/te kawalerzy*) the advantage is considerable. The example *te ludzie : ci ludzie* recorded in the TGPnW 32 times looks interesting although only in five examples was it possible to determine the right gender, resulting in a proportion 3 : 2 for the dialectal form. The situation is similar for the example *te goście : ci goście* recorded in the texts 9 times but only in 6 examples was it possible to determine the gender unambiguously which resulted in a ratio 4 : 2 for the non-masculine form. In the example *te rodzice : ci rodzice* non-masculine forms also prevail – there is a clear 6 : 1 ratio. Attention should also be drawn to *te chłopcy* and *te drużby* which appeared in the texts as the exclusive forms of nouns *chłop* and *drużba*. The example *te kawalery/te kawalerzy* presents a situation where all the examples prove to be non-masculine: two because of the form and one (formally ogp.) owing to the syntactic exponent, in this case the pronoun *te* (*kawalerzy*). The remaining examples – single, possibly double – confirm the occurrence of non-masculine forms in the described category of nouns but there is not enough of them to define their exclusive or sporadic nature (*nieboszczyki, k'ośniki, krawce, so^msiady, parobki, rzeźniki, młynarze*); only the example *króle : królowie* can be treated as a signal that the prevalence of non-masculine forms in the Nominative plural of masculine nouns in Wielkopolska dialects in the 1950s is not so monolithic.

Let me therefore check if the well-established prevalence of the described forms has the same status in the speech of informants examined 20–30 years later.

Unfortunately, in the case of atlas data there are even fewer examples to compare. Among the examples in the TGPnW, the questionnaire asked only about *goście, króle, ludzie*, with added *fszyskie śfyⁿte*. For the sake of the analysis, I have adopted four examples with many conformations. The data suggests that the forms *te goście* are in a minority in relation with *ci goście*, as in the examples *te ludzie : ci ludzie* and *fszyskie śwyⁿte : fszyskich śwⁿtych*. An entirely different result (44 : 0) is reflected in the example *te króle : ci królowie* referring to Epiphany.

To sum up this group of sources one could say that the non-masculine nature in the discussed nouns is highly irregular (the proportions did not indicate zero values except for one example) with prevailing general Polish forms.

How do the described forms operate in contemporary language of villagers? In the analysed set of contemporary dialectal texts I checked the occurrence of the same examples which appeared in texts from the 1950s and the example *Wszystkich Świeⁿtych* checked in the KwAJKLW (in this specific example I used an additional group of transcriptions collected directly for holidays throughout the year in an educational project carried out around Gniezno).

In contemporary texts there are no confirmations for all the examples derived from the TGPnW – there are no confirmations for the Nominative plural for *króle, krawce*,⁴¹. On the other hand, *drużby* and *kawalery, nieboszczyki* had a very low frequency, where

⁴¹ In general, the form *nieboszczyki* operates now in language of villagers – it appeared in Modliszewko (Gniezno commune and county). Here I analyse a fixed group of source materials and in these texts, the form was not recorded.

for *drużby* there is only confirmation of the general Polish form (*drużbowie* x 2). In the second example, there is a non-masculine form of a noun with the accompanying masculine syntactic determinant *niektórzy kawalery* while the form *nieboszczyki* appeared only once. The frequency of the remaining examples leads to certain conclusions. Therefore we can acknowledge the prevalence (and even exclusivity) of the general Polish forms for the examples: *ludzie*, *rzeźnicy*, *rodzice*, *Wszystkich Świętych*, *gospodarze* (this example was not regarded in the TGPnW or KwAJKLW). It is hard to say to what extent the lexeme *goście* – *te* occurs against *ci goście*. There is a proportion 4 : 2 for the first form; while value 2 does not raise doubts, value 4 can be regarded the number determining unspecified nouns with respect to the gender in two out of four recordings because they are forms without a context that would eradicate all ambiguity (while the phrase *iż w goście* is clear about non-masculine gender, in an utterance *to znaczy że goście przyjadom* ... this certainty disappears). It is therefore advisable to take a closer look at the remaining examples, i.e.: *chłopy*, *kośniki*, *so^msiady*, *parobki* where the non-general Polish form definitely prevails.

In the four examples in question, the opposition between masculine – non-masculine plural is very distinct; in the example *ci chłopci* : *te chłopcy* there is a proportion 2 : 43, *ci kośnicy* : *te kośniki* proportion 5 : 8, *ci so^msiedzi* : *te so^msiady* proportion 0 : 6, and *ci parobcy* : *te parobki* – 1 : 3. The value of non-masculine plural has an interesting distribution. There is a division into: A. the number of recordings in the form of a non-masculine noun together with a syntactic determinant (verb, pronoun, possibly an adjective) confirming the gender, e.g. *chłopy jak ... wi pan co ... na wsi ... nie ... jak były tag nauczone ... że jak poczuły ...* (BG – SoF); B. the number of recordings in the form of a non-masculine noun together with the syntactic determinant (a verb, a pronoun, possibly an adjective) which denies this gender (hybrid⁴²), e.g. *chłopy sie narobili...* (AD – WoS); C. the number of recordings in the form of a non-masculine noun without additional syntactic determinants confirming or excluding this gender, e.g. *bo chłopcy to tag za dużo nie lubiom* ... (BG – SoA). In the four examples in question, the confirmations assumed the following values (the number after the colon denotes the number of the general Polish forms – ogp):

te chłopcy : *ci chłopci* (43 : 2) → 15 A / 19 B / 9 C : 2 ogp.

te kośniki : *ci kośnicy* (8 : 5) → 1 A / 4 B / 3 C : 5 ogp.

te so^msiady : *ci so^msiedzi* (6 : 0) → 1 A / 3 B / 2 C : 0 ogp.

te parobki : *ci parobcy* (3 : 1) → 2 B / 1 C : 1 ogp.

In the first three examples, there are three combinations of non-masculine gender in masculine nouns in the Nominative plural. In the fourth example, probably the small research sample affected the lack of combination A. In the example best exemplified in contemporary texts (*chłopy*), the hybrid combination (B) prevails which is also best represented in the remaining two examples (*kośniki* and *so^msiady*). The

⁴² In her article *Konstrukcje hybrydalne typu stare profesory wiedzieli, młode doktory pytali w języku polskim*, D. Skowrońska (Skowrońska 2011, 284–293) used a term *hybrid structures*: “This notion means any combination of depreciative forms (and, by analogy, non-depreciative) with masculine (by analogy: non-masculine) forms of adjectives, verbs and numerals” (Skowrońska 2011, 285). The scholar disregarded dialectal materials. In my opinion, a *hybrid* is a combination of these elements but without associating them with the depreciation category.

significant presence of option B (hybrid) may be evidence that the opposition of the two genders discussed here is not stable in the contemporary language spoken in Wielkopolska. This theory is also corroborated by (few) utterances where the combinations A and B (and C as it is) are expressed at the same time in a single short message (the examples come from people from generation II, from Bukówiec G.: [SzJ] – a male born in 1925 and [LiE] – a woman born in 1935 and Adamów [LoH] – a woman born in 1933):

SzJ: *bo te ... te kośniki no to oni tag ro... rozrzučili ...*

LiE: *i to takie specjalne chłopcy już byli ...*

LoH: *to były takie ludzie ... którzy urok ... rzucali ...*

The examples show a strong influence of semantics on the syntax of the utterances. We can assume that masculine gender in singular which is obvious for a language of villagers user in the examples *kośnik*, *chłop* (and having a natural affiliation with the words), determines that the predicate is used in masculine gender, despite the subject and the accompanying attribute reinforcing non-masculine gender. We cannot decide if the generation affinity of the quoted informants is of any significance here and to what extent, but the fact that in the other generation brackets this phenomenon has not been recorded, may trigger off further search.

An analysis and interpretation of the materials prove that the non-masculine category in language of villagers is disorderly for masculine nouns in the Nominative plural.

The materials presented in table I.1.3. from three different periods are a mosaic of masculine and non-masculine forms in the Nominative plural in the group of masculine personal nouns. In general, a majority of examples, old and contemporary, present similar proportions (with a diverse number of examples) with few exceptions where the sources differ. The trend to ascribe masculine gender to these nouns has survived in dialects and language of villagers (only the proportions in singular examples have changed, e.g. *drużby*, *ludzie*). It seems that we are witnessing more chaos in these forms, especially in syntactic contexts (these are missing especially in the KwAJKLW materials) while formation thereof becomes increasingly difficult for the language of villagers users. We can suppose that the contemporary informants have a set of words which in general are non-masculine (the fundamental example being *chłopy*, but also *k^uośniki*, *so^msiady*); the other ones are affected by the school-taught norm, hence we should not expect a different use than use in accordance with the general Polish language (e.g. *ci ludzie*, *ci gospodarze*). The opposition of masculine- and non-masculine genders is an issue worth observing and studying although a lack of comparative materials from the previous periods is bound to hamper in-depth conclusions.

Summary

In a monograph dedicated to the dialect spoken in Serpelice, Jan Tokarski wrote at the end of characteristics of noun inflection: “Typically, the final stage of developing noun inflection is presenting it by means of specifically named paradigms. However,

a prerequisite for these generalised paradigms are analogies of the specific cases that would suggest repartition of the endings in one case affecting repartition in another” (Tokarski 1964, 111). Due to too many various rules determining the endings in the specific groups of nouns, according to J. Tokarski this pattern is useless due to their large number. The situation is similar with creating certain top-down rules within the specific categories in the gender.

Analyses of the chronologically diverse materials of Wielkopolska dialects have indicated differences and similarities in the language spoken in Wielkopolska with the general language norm. There is no denying that the inflection system of a noun is approaching the system of the general Polish language. However, there are still differences which undermine a theory of a grammatical sub-dialectal sub-system but they also prove that a “dialect” is not dying but evolving. What we tend to label as a mistake, is a new grammatical quality from the perspective of a language. In my opinion, the most distinct example is the opposition between masculine and non-masculine, operating in language of villagers according to separate laws than researchers into the general Polish language see it. Another apt example is formation of words for young creatures where this section of the system is evolving as we speak.

The gender category defies attempts at normative ordering thereof; there are many approaches to distinguishing genders and equally numerous deviations from each approach. An oral language is particularly susceptible to gender-related variants where the rules of correctness are somewhat suspended. An oral language is dynamic and this active nature determines the intensity of the specific features of the oral variety of the Polish language – the right form is created once an act of speech is performed (compliance with the general Polish norm does not count – communication is most important). Despite its specificity, the oral variety stays within the limits of more or less flexible norm of the Polish language (in a broader perspective – probably also the general normative frames of Slavic languages) so many of these rules refer also to oral inflection.

Gender variability, transformations within the gender of nouns denoting non-adult creatures and, finally, the opposition between the masculine and non-masculine genders are only a few of the issues related to gender that can be observed and described in dialectal material.

Notably, language of villagers has some unwritten norms⁴³ which can be compared with *usus*. M. Brzezina made an apt comment on the role of *usus*: “*Usus* stores obsolete or stylistic variants rejected by the system. Within *usus*, there is a spontaneous choice between the competing variants, then one of the variants gains in strength while the other one (or the others in the case of three equal variants) decreases in frequency and gradually in range” (Brzezina 1982, 116–117). A similar scenario is adopted for a specific phenomenon within gender in language of villagers. While inflection does not undergo such dramatic changes as does vocabulary, the mechanism of changes is the same. Finally, the old forms are replaced by new ones and dialectal forms with general ones.

⁴³ I covered this topic in detail in my monograph (Kobus 2015a, 54–60).

When analysing dialectal material, a researcher should follow two trains of thought: to confront the material with the general language form, to take note of the differences between the two varieties of the Polish language and to appreciate the historical aspect of the forms existing (typically) in dialects. Secondly, in my opinion more important and complicated, a scholar should follow the unwritten norm of the language spoken in a specific village or region in order to observe some language trends (to debunk the myth of the corrupted, incorrect language of villagers). All this, however, is so difficult that neither the inflection of the general or regional Polish language are unambiguous; rather, they are full of exceptions from the adopted paradigm (larger-scale research may even prove that language of villagers is less susceptible to variants with respect to inflection than the general Polish language).

Dialects are a variety of the national language that we would like to attribute to many historical or even pre-historical features. However, this is a variety of language which evolves as do the other varieties of the national language. Therefore, it does not shy from linguistic innovations. Language users will always choose forms sufficient to perform an efficient act of communication. Dialects are at a moment of their developments when the researches try to identify elements typical of a dialect, oblivious to its prevailing structure which stems from the recent communication needs of language of villagers users. There is a reason why we survey language of villagers rather than typical dialects.

A description of the dialectal grammatical system in Wielkopolska is hampered by lack of field research, carried out for many years and targeted. The opinion that the existing materials suffice for grammatical analyses has proven wrong. Contemporary dialectologists should channel at least some of their efforts to regular surveys of systemic issues by adjusting the research methods to the contemporary grammatical forms. It is not enough to ponder the existence or lack of specific forms (typical of a specific dialect). Now, new forms have emerged while the old ones often reveal themselves only in contexts. What is regarded typical of language of villagers may prove to be a marginal phenomenon and vice versa: a general or colloquial phenomenon in language of villagers may assume a different meaning. These phenomena need to be surveyed before we pass a verdict that annihilates dialects.

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Linguistic geography and historical material. An example of inventory ledgers from the second half of the 18th century kept in Wielkopolska¹

Abstract: This work connects with the dialectological aspect of linguistic geography. The analysed material consists of inventory ledgers kept in Wielkopolska in the second half of the 18th century for nobility possessions. It is assumed that the then regional variety of the Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska was geographically diverse and this diversity was anything but accidental. It was affected by the education of the communication actors (including the writers) and their command of the literary Polish language, dialectal influences, impact of foreign languages, presence of archaic and innovative elements. This diversity is reflected in inventory ledgers; an analysis thereof was aimed at excerpting examples of lexical variants. This work contains 4 selected examples: ‘bogaty chłop’ [a wealthy farmer], ‘ziemniaki’ [potatoes], ‘mała izba’ [a small room], ‘niebieski’ [blue]. Maps have been created for them. The analytical part is followed by generalisation of the variability in the surveyed sources (types of variability, its sources, levels, types of variants).

Keywords: linguistic geography, historical dialectology, 18th century, inventory ledgers, variability, a linguistic map.

Abstract: Geografia lingwistyczna a materiał historyczny. Na przykładzie wielkopolskich inwentarzy z drugiej połowy XVIII wieku. Niniejsza praca wpisuje się w nurt dialektologiczny geografii językowej. Analizowany materiał to wielkopolskie inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich z 2. połowy XVIII wieku. Zakłada się, że ówczesna wielkopolska polszczyzna regionalna była wewnątrznie zróżnicowana w wymiarze geograficznym i zróżnicowanie to nie miało charakteru przypadkowego, lecz wpływały na nie takie czynniki, jak: wykształcenie uczestników aktu komunikacji (w tym pisarzy) i opanowanie przez nich polszczyzny literackiej, wpływy gwarowe, wpływy obcych języków, obecność elementów archaicznych i innowacyjnych. Zróżnicowanie to odbija się w inwentarzach, a ich analiza miała za cel wyekscerpowanie przykładów wariantów leksykalnych. W niniejszej pracy przytoczono 4 wybrane przykłady: ‘bogaty chłop’, ‘ziemniaki’, ‘mała izba’, ‘niebieski’. Stworzono dla nich mapy. Po części analitycznej sformułowano uogólnienie na temat wariantowości w badanych źródłach (typy wariantowości, jej źródła, poziomy, typy wariantów).

Słowa kluczowe: geografia lingwistyczna, dialektologia historyczna, XVIII wiek, inwentarze, wariantowość, mapa językowa.

¹ This article presents the theoretical suggestions and selected detailed issues included in Osowski 2019.

Introduction

This work connects with the dialectological aspect of linguistic geography. Since its origin, in a broader sense, linguistic geography has indicated the relations with a diachronic approach, and with historical dialectology in Poland (the emergence of the literary Polish language and the influence of the specific dialects). One of the tasks faced by linguistic geography² was description of the latest status of the language (dialects) and the resulting reconstruction of the previous states that could have been different from the contemporary ones. The reasons were explained by means of territorial expansion of one language system on another (Leszczyński 1980, 89–90).

Diachrony in language atlases is typically interpreted as drawing diachronic conclusions on the basis of the distribution of language features in contemporary (mostly 20th century) dialectal atlases (Czyżewski 2012). To date, linguistic cartography has not been used to present historical data, mainly because the set of territorial data is insufficient. This information comes from inventory ledgers kept in the 2nd half of the 18th century in Wielkopolska (G, K, KP, P, RK I–III, cf. the subsequent description of the analysed material). The methods of linguistic geography applied with the historical material, e.g. inventory ledgers (recognised with respect to the place and date), can bring about interesting results because regional varieties of the Polish language often include regionalisms and dialectisms. A cartographic depiction of the 18th century data provides an opportunity for comparison with the 20th century atlases bearing in mind the variety-related differences in the mapped linguistic facts.

Contemporary historiographical research has abandoned the hope that it is possible to reach pure facts. Therefore, a historian is never able to fully reconstruct events from the past because he/she faces a multi-faceted source fact that calls for analysis i.e. what is left after a historical fact, directly unavailable to a historian. Consequently, a historical fact, interpreted this way or other, is never fully objective. What is more, the very search of facts depends on the previously suggested hypotheses (Kleszczowa 2007, 142–143). In the context of the analysed material, the inventory ledgers in question are a source fact which makes it possible to arrive at a historical fact i.e. the regional variety of the Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska³ in the second half of the 18th century. The primary hypothesis underpinning the analysis assumes that the

² The first Polish linguistic atlas (*Atlas językowy polskiego Podkarpacia* by Mieczysław Małecki and K. Nitsch from 1934 – AJPP) was written relatively quickly after West European works (*Atlas linguistique de la France* by Jules Gilliéron and Edmond Edmont from 1900–1912). It was followed by works on a national atlas of subdialects but the outbreak of WWII put a stop to the preparations. The work was resumed after the war and in 1957, the first volume of *Mały atlas gwar polskich* (MAGP) was published.

³ I define a regionalism as a non-general Polish linguistic feature (with a limited geographic range) used by educated people in a specific region (or several regions) while a dialectism is a non-general linguistic feature bereft of approval of the educated population. Therefore, dialectisms are equivalent with dialectal features while regionalisms can be sub-dialectisms by origin. A research challenge is posed by the diversity of regionalisms and dialectisms in historical texts. We certainly cannot assume that an emergence of a linguistic feature in a written (e.g. official) text is evidence of its literary pedigree because many writers used dialects despite their education. Insufficient command of the literary norm opened the door to dialectal features in texts.

regional Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska was internally diverse in the geographic aspect and the diversity was anything but accidental. It was affected by the education of the communication actors (including the writers) and their command of the literary Polish language, dialectal influences, impact of foreign languages, presence of archaic and innovative elements.

As Mirosława Sagan-Bielawa (2014, 10–12) has argued, the Partitions of Poland largely affected the linguistic awareness of the citizens of the Second Polish Republic in the Interwar period. As a result, Poles from Poznań felt cultural, social and customs-related closeness with Germans living in Poznań bigger than with Poles from the other regions of the country. Consequently, the traditional division of the country from before the Partitions gave way to the borders delineated by Prussia and Russia. In the face of this diagnosis of the post-Partitions situation, the status quo before the Partitions seems interesting. Was it marked by linguistic differences? The question can be partly answered by an analysis of inventory ledgers. They were common practice before the Partitions and after the first and second Partition. The research into the language spoken before the Partitions in Wielkopolska focused primarily on vocabulary because it is related to the biggest research needs (Dunaj 2010, 54). The Polish language spoken in the 18th century in Wielkopolska was a system including various elements and for this reason, the following variants have been at the centre of attention: elements which can be semantically identical but diverse with respect to the form, less frequently formally identical and semantically diverse.

In this work I present the opportunities offered by linguistic geography in analysing historical material; the examples used include variants of the following issues: ‘bogaty chłop’ [a wealthy farmer], ‘ziemniaki’ [potatoes], ‘mała izba’ [a small room], ‘niebieski’ [blue]. First, the historical background was presented and the condition of the language in the second half of the 18th century was regarded together with the linguistic policy of the Enlightenment, the analysed material and the work method with the variability theory. Next, the above mentioned invariants were analysed together with generalities about the scale and reasons for variability. The work finishes with summing up conclusions.

An outline of the historical situation – the condition of the society and the language

In the Age of Enlightenment, culture was identified with the ability to read. However, 90% of the society still acquired knowledge in a traditional way: “by looking and listening” (Chaunu 1989, 17). Enlightened Europe witnessed “a miracle of relative standardisation” (Chaunu 1989, 290) which resulted from a withdrawal of folk cultures and a triumph of the elite. It manifested itself in a negative attitude towards dialects and propagating a standard language all over the country, predominantly in the written form. Nevertheless, the miracle happened at a slow pace. In the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, 40% of the middle-rank nobility in Poland was illiterate; the same held

true for up to 90% of lower-rank nobility (Topolski 1999, 608)⁴. The situation affected the language spoken by the nobility.

Wojciech Ryszard Rzepka and Bogdan Walczak are certainly right in saying that in the 17th century (and probably later), the nobility's sociolect was different from the burghers' sociolect or the peasants' sociolect. In fact, that sociolect not only integrated the nobility but also differentiated its members. The nobility was integrated by rusticity, hospitality, the noble etiquette, the cult of the office, a specific sense of humour, a specific type of piety, oscillating between openness and megalomania and xenophobia, conviction of the extraordinary importance of the nobility, shared social and political ideology (golden freedom), a sense of equality within the estate of the realm and separateness from the other estates (Rzepka, Walczak 1992, 181–182). There were equally many features differentiating the nobility sociolect: territorial differentiation (regional varieties of the nobility sociolect: from the Eastern borderlands, Wielkopolska, Masovia, Pomerania and Silesia), stylistic, differences in the social roles, gender, share of foreign elements. The territorial differences in the nobility's language were primarily related to affluence and access to education. Therefore, the lowest "echelons of the nobility spoke subdialects or almost subdialects back in the 17th and 18th centuries (...)" (Rzepka, Walczak 1992, 185).

Among the various national groups living in Poland in the 18th century, attention should be devoted to Germans because the influence of the German language is manifested in the analysed inventory ledgers. Close contacts were kept with Germanised Silesia, Prussia and Gdansk. In Poland, thousands of Germans from Bohemia, Silesia and the German-speaking countries found shelter from religious prosecution. On the other hand, many Poles studied in Germany. Since the 17th century, in Wielkopolska and partly in Masovia, a large number of villages were established to accommodate mainly newcomers from Germany, followed by Poles and, by exception, the Dutch (HKMP, 21). All this was conducive to German influences on the Polish language. A reverse phenomenon could also have taken place, as testified by handbooks for learning Polish published with Germans in mind (Lewaszkiewicz 2015, 94). The numerous contacts between Polish and German languages could have resulted in interference.

The Enlightenment attached great importance to words because it was believed that there is a relation between language and reality. It was assumed that language has a social function, that language not only reflects the world around but also creates it (Postman 2001, 95–96). Features of regional origin were avoided. It was the only possibility because the Enlightenment was focused on reason and, apparently, it was the same for

⁴ In the light of the presented data one can say that with respect to the nobility's literacy, the situation in Wielkopolska was better. On the basis of an analysis of the captions in inventory books (single-handedly–*manu propria*, not single-handedly – *with hand held*, uncertain) it has been established that 71% of the signatories signed the documents single-handedly and only 12% *with hand held*. Detailed data (by counties) show that the biggest number of people who could sign a document was in Poznań county and, in general, in north-western Wielkopolska. The biggest number of not single-handed signatures was in south-eastern Wielkopolska (Gniezno, Kalisz, Konin, Kościan, Pyzdry counties). There is some correlation of data with the distribution of schools and Reformation centres in the west, north and south of the region (Osowski 2016a, 118–120).

all thinking entities, nations, epochs and cultures (Postman 2001, 31). The geographic diversity of the language was therefore a contradiction to this way of thinking.

The epoch perceived dialects as a corrupted form of the casual language or its more primeval form (Kloch 1995, 204); territorial varieties of the Polish language and the dialects were considered anomalies of the literary language (Zdaniukiewicz 1978, 330). What is more, in the Enlightenment, stability of language was appreciated (Krycińska 1969, 145); dialects, geographically diverse, assuming changeable and ephemeral oral forms, were apparently bereft of the stability. It comes as no surprise that this atmosphere was conducive to opinions aimed at excluding dialectal features from the literary language but also at destroying dialects as such. In 1790, Henri-Baptiste Grégoire, bishop of Blois, sent out a questionnaire in France with 43 questions about French dialects, e.g. Is it frequent for the subdialect to have several words to call the same thing? Ironically, the first dialectological questionnaire in France was devised to destroy dialects which were perceived as an anachronism from the previous (feudal) epoch, a variety of language devoid of abstract words and thus precluding intellectual development as an obstacle in the communication between the state and the subjects. Having received the replies to the questionnaire, in 1794 Grégoire presented to the National Assembly a *Report on the need to destroy subdialects* (*Rapport sur la nécessité de détruire les patois*) which was approved.

The analysed material

The value of the inventory ledgers is in the detailed information they provide. Noblemen were willing to keep records in county ledgers to record their rights to land. The intensification of this practice in the 18th century can be attributed to a transition from the oral culture (where the proprietary relations were maintained by human memory of the local community, the neighbourly friendship) to the written culture where the property rights were entrusted to acts independent from professional memory. Andrzej Pośpiech attributes the growing number of inventory ledgers to the growing individualisation of property and disintegration of the former familial structures, social and family ties (Pośpiech 1992, 37). This does not contradict the remarks on the oral and written cultures; rather, it supplements them.

The documents pertain mainly to gentry from Wielkopolska or from outside the region but closely related to it. This work encompasses the so-called Wielkopolska proper i.e. the 18th century provinces of Gniezno, Kalisz and Poznań plus the vicinity of Wschowa.

A majority of inventory ledgers were related to tenure of land. The farmers undertook to return the property after a specified time in a condition as upon receipt. In order to avoid possible misunderstanding, the condition of the property was described in detail in the inventory ledgers. The inventory was taken on the basis of experience and testimony given by the rural gathering (of special value were opinions of old men who remembered old times – they were considered sources of information more reliable than the written inventory ledgers). However, the earlier documents were not altogether disregarded. The text was subjected to the control of the landowner and the

farmer which is a guarantee of the authenticity of the details included in the ledgers (Rutkowski 1956, 151–152). However, it poses a methodological problem to a linguist. The text becomes a multi-faceted record including utterances of various individuals and social groups: the testifying farmers, the parties interested in the content of the document, the writer and, in the subsequent stages of the document's life, the copyist. We can assume that these individuals spoke different varieties of the language, from dialects to regional and literary Polish.

The inventory taking procedure was adopted exclusively by the interested individuals from outside the office; only later were the documents transferred to the proper ledgers thus being legally sanctioned. Interference of officials, employees of the county chancellery was in practice limited to receiving the act and copying it to the ledgers (Pośpiech 1992, 66). The fundamental linguistic form of an inventory ledger emerged as a result of actions on the part of the directly interested individuals. Interventions of the chancellery writers could have been secondary (if at all). Nevertheless, J. Kość is right to include the county ledgers into a group of texts from social circles other than elites, not subjected to the printer's corrections or intense self-correction of the writers (Kość 1992, 39). Therefore, the preserved language is of special value to establishing the image of the regional Polish language from that time.

Inventory ledgers have all the properties of official texts which, according to J. Kość, (Kość 2004, 38–40) place them as highly reliable in historical and linguistic research: regionality – the analysed inventory ledgers come from one region, territorial location – most of the documents contain information about the place where the text was written down and copied, the temporal location – a majority of the inventory ledgers bear the date of drafting the document and its copies, subtle normalization – a text written in the literary Polish language includes regional and sub-dialectal elements etc. Being a replica of an originally colloquial text, the verbal nature of the conveyed information is corroborated by the *verba dicendi*, micro toponyms and anthroponyms used by the locals, possible reconstruction of the historical, territorial and social varieties of the Polish language (Osowski 2016b, 96–100).

The theory of linguistic variability and the analysis method

The theory of linguistic variants evolved in relation with structuralism which differentiated between the dimension of language (*langue*) which is an abstract and social creation, and the dimension of speaking (*parole*) i.e. a specific and individual process. The system's unit is an abstract invariant (fixed and immutable) while the unit of speaking is a variant: implementation of an invariant in a specific text. It is assumed that variants compete with each other to occupy the same place in a language system (Urbańczyk 1977, 75).

In Polish linguistics, Adam Heinz provided methodological insight into the concept of a variant. In his opinion, the essence of variability is represented in the multiplication of “a specific system unit which (...) assumes forms which are different but equivalent with respect to the essence of that unit” (Heinz 1974, 139). The “equivalent forms” are real variants in texts while the “system unit” is an invariant, an abstract notion.

The dependence of variability from the scale of the overview was identified also in socio-linguistics. As a result, the macro scale has been defined (social classes, strata, professional categories, territorial communities) and the micro scale operating on small groups, from several to over a dozen individuals (Bartol-Jarosińska 1989, 18). By referring the above establishments to our material, we can distinguish variability on the macro level (a region), the mezzo level (as part of smaller areas, e.g. counties) and the micro level (within a location). As for the micro level, attention should be drawn to intra-textual and inter-textual variability as well as the impact of the writer's idiolect on the content of the inventory ledger.

These deliberations are supplemented by Hanna Orzechowska's stance who considers variants not only language units which occur as alternations on a single level of a language but also on different levels, e.g. morphology – syntax (Orzechowska 1989, 163). While examining variability in the inventory ledgers, the main part of the analysis was devoted to lexical variants (single-word forms and multi-word structures were considered, a type of stable combinations) i.e. formally diverse renditions of the same (or similar) content (e.g. 'schody'[stairs] – *schody*, *trep*a, *wschody* etc.). For control purposes, under scrutiny was the same form with diverse meanings (e.g. *chlew* – 'an enclosed area where pigs are kept', 'an enclosed area where horses are kept', 'an enclosed area where cows are kept' etc.).

The material, excerpted and grouped into types, is presented in a cartographic⁵ and/or statistical form⁶. The described geographic arrangements of variants are compared with the status in the 19th century (established mostly on the basis of language atlases). Owing to numerous atlases, data from the 18th century can be related to both 20th century national as well as regional analyses (MAGP, AGP). A comparison of these two periods results in a dynamic picture: progressive, regressive and inert units (Książek-Bryłowa 1992, 173). However, these works are not fully comparable. Data from inventory ledgers represent a regional variety of the Polish language (with literary, regional and dialectal elements) while the atlases contain predominantly dialects. We have juxtaposed them for comparison purposes because they are strongly related to the territory (including presence of dialectal elements in the inventory ledgers) and lack of a historical picture of the dialects in the time in question and lack of cartographic works for the then regionalisms. Nevertheless, the above mentioned simplification needs to be considered.

What is more, the analysed vocabulary has been viewed with respect to inclusion into lexicographic collections (historical and contemporary) in order to separate archaic units, innovative units (neo-semantic, new derivatives and expressive forms), dialectal and regional.

The comparative aspect of the work has a double meaning: the analysed material should be referred not only to the General Polish language but also other contemporary

⁵ Maps not only combine the precision and accuracy with the clarity of the data exposure; they also allow to spare inclusion of long lists of locations where the specific variants occurred. Only in few situations, the data have not been presented in a cartographic way.

⁶ The tables supplement the maps with a mosaic-like data arrangement. They sort out sets of numbers as part of administrative units thus underpinning generalisations.

regional varieties from the time in question⁷. The idea of comparing analogical texts, written at the same time but in different regions, is particularly valuable because isolating the results of regional studies from a national perspective leads to erroneous conclusions⁸. Unfortunately, in a majority of cases we cannot resort to suitable regional analyses that could be used in comparisons of the material from inventory ledgers.

An ideal structure of presenting the selected lexical and semantic issues in an analytical part contains a historical and cultural introduction to the analysed issue, with information about the ethnographic diversity of the referents, if available, which could have affected the language), an etymological analysis of the units (unless otherwise indicated, explications as in Boryś 2008), lexicographic and atlas-related research, an analysis of data from inventory ledgers by means of cartographic and statistical methods. In the specific cases, the structure is modified. In total, the analysis encompasses over 50 invariants for which 44 maps have been drawn; this work presents 4 exemplary invariants.

Analysis: selected examples

1. ‘Bogaty chłop’ [A wealthy farmer] (map 1)

The social hierarchy in the rural areas in the 18th century was quite rigid and sometimes applied with the precision of a mathematician, e.g. *he wanted to make 10 semi-farm owners out of 5 farm owners* (P 19 Głuponie: 144)⁹. Originally, the property ratio between a farm owner and a semi-farm owner was 1 : 2 (land – semi-land) but over time, these differences started to blur (Baranowski 1958, 48, Szczepański 1971, 148).

The phrases referring to ‘a wealthy farmer’ are represented in the inventory ledgers by: *gbur*, *gospodarz* (the general meaning close to ‘a farmer’ or ‘a peasant’ was disregarded), *kmieć*, *rolnik* (only when the context suggested clearly that this was not a general meaning). Derivative forms have also been regarded, e.g. *na kmiecym polu*

⁷ In her research into the historical Polish language in Silesia, A. Kowalska concluded that from a methodological point of view, a possibly broad comparative background should be considered. It should include not only the general literary Polish language from a specific time but, if possible, its regional varieties, especially from the adjacent areas (Kowalska 2002, 19).

⁸ For example, when Aleksander Zajda described 22 rare words known from rural ledgers, he finished his reasoning in the following way: “Their geography is limited to south Lesser Poland because this is where the ledgers come from. We do not know if they occurred elsewhere (...)” (Zajda 2001, 429). Meanwhile, the words *ruchome* ‘movable property’ and *pańskie* ‘obligatory work rendered by subjects in a manor, serfdom’ occur in Gniezno ledgers (G: 310 i G: 142). This only proves that comparison of material from various regions is indispensable.

Zofia Kowalik-Kaletowa is also right in saying that the dialectological sources from the 20th century are not sufficient to decide that old forms (which in the 17th and 18th centuries could have had a status of literary works) are dialectal. Similarly, it is hard to define the ranges of the features because in the past, they could have taken different courses (Kowalik-Kaletowa 1970, 139–140). In defining the ranges of linguistic features, inventory ledgers come in handy, which are localised and abundant.

⁹ When quoting material from the inventory ledgers, an abbreviation of the source is provided, the number of the text in a specific collection, the location and the age following a colon. If the location is not important, a concise transcript is used, consisting of a symbol of the source and the page.

(KP 38 Goniczki: 139), *na kmiestwie* (P 16 Sienowice: 136), *kmiotka* (RK II 64 Karmin: 159), *Kmiotka* (RK III 131 Karmin: 172).

The excerpted variants are of different origin:

– *gbur* – a borrowing from a medieval German *gebūr / gebūre* ‘neighbour; peasant; a simpleton’, Low German *gebūr* ‘a peasant, a settler; a neighbour’ – in confrontation with the Polish subdialects, the original meaning was enriched with the ‘wealthy’ element;

– *gospodarz* – from the Proto-Slavic **gospodъ* ‘host, lord, ruler’, **gospodinъ* in the same meaning or **gospoda* ‘gentlemen, mister and mistress, hosts, rulers, members of the higher stratum of the society’, modelled by the productive type of names of agents with the formant **-arъ*; therefore, subdialects retained their original meaning while in the literary Polish language, it was limited to ‘any farmer, peasant’, without the ‘wealthy’ element;

– *kmieć* – Slavic **kъmetъ* ‘patrician, high-level official’ > ‘a wealthy peasant; a countryman’, a borrowing most probably from the Romance form **comēte(m)* or **cumēte(m)* which continued the Latin *comes, comitis* ‘a companion of a ruler, a chieftain; a member of the ruler’s entourage’, later to indicate various officials;

– *rolnik* – from the adjective *rolny* (from the Proto-Slavic **orlъji / *orlъja* ‘tillage, farming; arable, tilled field’) with the *-ik* formant.

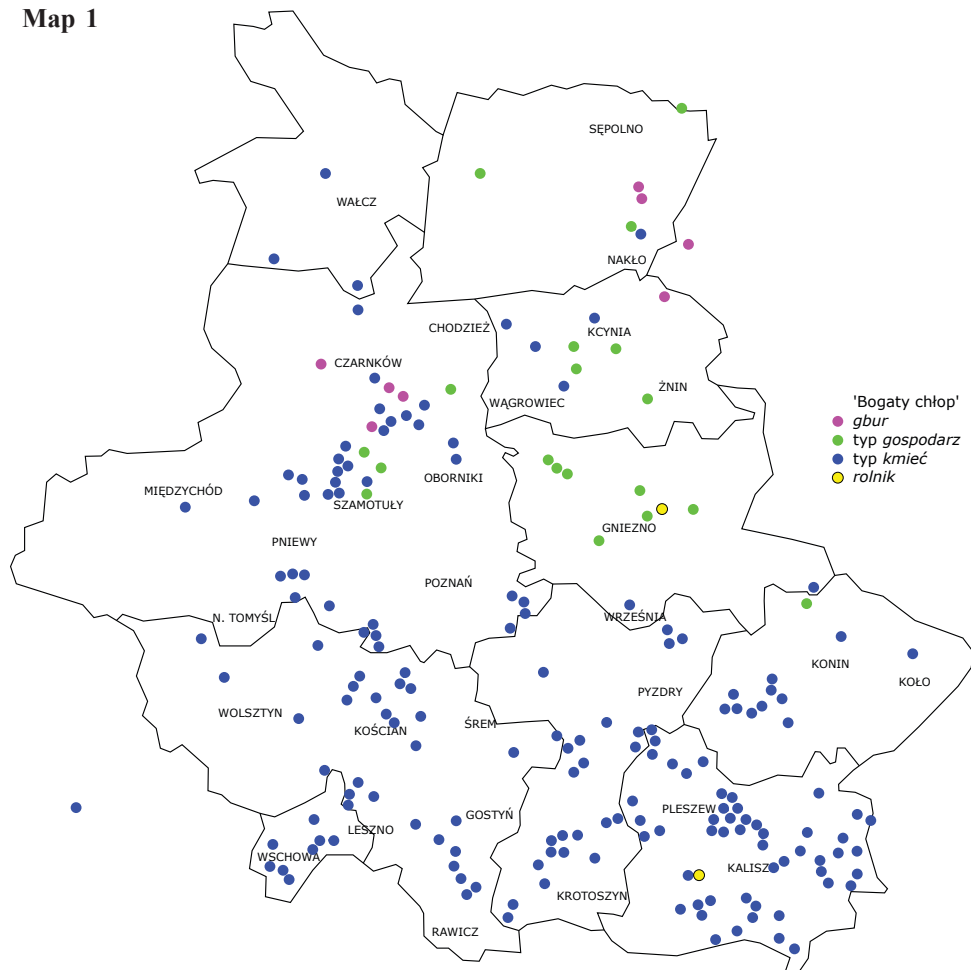
Gospodarz, *kmieć* and *rolnik* have been included in all the used dictionaries but only some of them record the specific meaning ‘a wealthy farmer’. Typically, a general definition is provided (‘a farmer tiling land’). *Gospodarz* ‘a wealthy farmer’ occurs in the SXVI and the SXVII (with Kalisz inventory ledgers from the first half of the 18th century), *kmieć* in the SXVII, the SW (subdialectal) and the PSWP (historical). In the meaning of our interest, *gbur* occurs only in the SW (with a subdialect qualifier) and in the SD (referred to as subdialectal, northern). Consequently, all the mapped entries need to be deemed differential with respect to the meaning against the Polish language spoken in the 18th century.

J.S. Bandtkie refers to *gbur* as a Wielkopolska provincialism (Peplowski 1988, 308) but it was also known in Pomerania (Breza 1991, 91; Lewińska 2005, 56). On the other hand, *kmieć* ‘a wealthy farmer’ was also recorded in Lesser Poland (Kobylińska 1996, 344; Bułat 2009, 25) and *gospodarz* ‘a more affluent farmer’ in Lesser Poland (Bułat 2009, 26) and in Silesia (Burzywoda 1983). In this context, they would be neo-semanticisms.

In the 20th century subdialects, *kmieć* meaning ‘a wealthy farmer’ occurred in southern Poland, western Wielkopolska and, less frequently, in central Poland. (...) *Gbur* (...) occurs in northern Silesia with areas adjacent to Syców and Rawicz and in northern Poland (from Kuyavia to Kashubia and Masuria). In the north, *gbur* occurs sometimes with an additional defining adjective (*duży, większy* [big, bigger] etc.) because *gbur* alone may indicate any farmer (rich or poor) (...)” (MAGP IX, 136–137)¹⁰. What is more, all over Poland (except for a part of Silesia, Pomerania and Masuria as

¹⁰ In the case of atlases, Roman numerals indicate the volume while Arabic numerals indicate the number of a map (abbreviated m.) or page.

Map 1



* Due to the technical limitations and with the map's transparency in mind, the names of the locations are not provided, only names of larger places.

well as central Poland), (*duży, bogaty*) *gospodarz*¹¹ was mixed with other names (MAGP IX 446). According to the AJKLW VII 597, the reach of *gbur* in Wielkopolska is smaller, in fact limited to the area to the north of the Noteć river; *kmieć* occurs in an area enclosed by the line between Międzyrzecz, Kościan and Wschowa and in the vicinity of Gostyń, Rawicz, Pleszew, Kalisz and Konin, in single cases *gospodarz* and phrases accompanying the noun remain geographically unspecified. As the MAGP IX 446 has indicated, in the 20th century Wielkopolska did not have separate phrases

¹¹ In the inventory ledgers, combinations like *Gospodarze na większej roli* (G 26 Goranin: 98), *gospodarz większy* (G 26 Goranin: 98) were subordinated to the *gospodarz* type.

to define ‘a wealthy farmer’. This is confirmed by the AGP II 164 (*gbur* in Masuria) and the AJPP 5 (*rolnik, gospodarz, kmieć*).

In the light of the MAGP IX 446 i AJKLW VII 597, *bamber, bauer, bogacz, bogol, bur, gburas, koltun, kulak, pampuń* and *witos* look like new words because they are not included in the inventory ledgers. These are mostly single confirmations where only the *bauer* and *bogacz* types have broader ranges (the former in southern Wielkopolska, the latter in nearly all subdialects in the region).

The map of the ‘*gbur*’ variants is an exception against the other maps because, with a large number of villages (199), two variants (*kmieć, rolnik*) coexisted in only one location (Górzno). Therefore, this is not variability on a micro level (village) but only on a higher level: macro and mezzo. The exceptional nature of the map lies also in the very distinct ranges of the specific variants. The *kmieć* type is exclusive to the south of the line between Międzyrzecz, Pniewy, Poznań and Konin. In the north, the type is accompanied by other variants. Gniezno county is an exception here as the central location of *gospodarz* (accompanied by *kmieć* only in the south) which occurs sporadically also in the adjacent areas, mainly in Poznań and Kcynia. The word *gbur* has a very narrow range limited to the vicinity of Wieleń and Czarnków as well as the west and north of Nakło. *Rolnik* is confirmed only twice.

A comparison of the status defined on the basis of the inventory ledgers and 20th century subdialects (AJKLW VII 597) shows a similarity in the occurrence of *gbur* only in the north of the region while in the 18th century, *kmieć* was not limited solely to two enclaves in the south but was the prevailing type. Within 200 years, *kmieć* gave way under the pressure of *bamber* and *bogacz*. The remaining variants occurred too rarely for valid generalisations.

2. ‘Ziemniaki’ [potatoes]

Initially, potatoes were grown in Europe as a garden plant. It was not until the late 18th century when they gained popularity in France (Chaunu 1989, 265) and in Poland (Ochmański 1965, 271). Jędrzej Kitowicz, an 18th c. historian, had a different view, calling potatoes *jablka ziemne* [apples of the earth] or, “in more present” nomenclature, *kartofle*. According to him, potatoes made their debut during the reign of Augustus III of Poland in the crown land managed by Germans who introduced the vegetable. Initially, potatoes were not popular among Poles who considered them harmful to health and susceptible to profanity (mixing potato starch with wheat flour to bake altar wafers). The German and Dutch settlers in Wielkopolska contributed to the popularisation of potatoes as Polish farmers started to copy the methods of cultivating and serving potatoes. At the end of the reign of Augustus III, potatoes were apparently known all over Poland. According to J. Kitowicz, *ziemniaki* and *bulwy* were different plants (Kitowicz 1985, 295).

The hypothesis that in the 18th century potatoes were not very common is corroborated by the small number of names in the analysed inventory ledgers and a complete lack thereof in the names of food products in rural ledgers examined by E. Horyń (2008).

To Polish people (and inhabitants of Wielkopolska), the region and potatoes (*pyry*) are intrinsically connected. This is the reason why I have included words indicating ‘potatoes’ even if sometimes they have single confirmations. These words include:

- *jabłka ziemne* – a calque from the French *pommes de terre*;
- *kartofle* – a borrowing, *kartofel* < German *Kartoffel*;
- *pantówki* – from Low German *Pantüffel* ‘potato’ (AJK III, 89);
- *perki* – “this is the Old Polish dialectal **pyrka**: ‘something bulging, protuberant; a bulb’” (Bańkowski 2000). Anna and J. Basar indicated the similarity with the form *pyrkać* ‘to spatter, to growl’ meaning ‘what spatters while cooking’ (Basara, Basara 1992, 42). The AJK III, 90 combines it with the German *Birne* ‘pear’ and suggests a hypothetical link with Peru.

In the light of the used dictionaries, among the analysed variants only *kartofle* are of literary nature (from the SL to the PSWP). At the same time, the form *perki* emerged but the SL provides information that this is what “simpletons” called potatoes. The SWil qualifies it as provincial, the SW as folk and provincial, the SD and the PSWP as regional. *Pantówki* is included in the SWil (provincial) and the SW (folk and provincial). *Jabłka ziemne* occur in the SL (under the entry *kartofel*) while in the SWil and the SW the phrase indicates a different plant. Therefore, *kartofle* and *jabłka ziemne* should be deemed literary forms while *pantówki* (J.S. Bandtki considered it a provincial word from Wielkopolska – Peplowski 1988, 308) and *perki* should be classified as differential (the latter mentioned in S.B. Linde’s work on regional dialectal forms in Wielkopolska – Matuszczyk 2005, 267).

Two maps in the AJKLW make it possible to compare the old names and the new names for ‘potatoes’. Juxtaposing them with data excerpted from inventory ledgers provides an even broader perspective. Table 1 presents this information in a synthetic way.

Table 1. 18th and 19th century names for potatoes in Wielkopolska

	<i>pyrki</i>	<i>pery</i>	<i>kartofle</i>	<i>bulwy</i>	<i>ziemniaki</i>	<i>pantówki</i>	<i>sasoki</i>
Inventory ledgers	<i>perki</i> – Będzieszyn, Bilczew, Gostynie, Góra, Karski, Morawin (Kalisz area)		Kielczew Górny (Konin area), Górzno (Kalisz area)	no examples	only <i>jabłka ziemne</i> (Biniew, Kalisz area)	Rososzycza (Kalisz area)	no examples
AJKLW III 353 ‘old names for potatoes’	the most common name	concentrated in the west and south-west, less frequent in the north and sporadic in other areas	rare in the past, more frequent in the east, Kuyavia and scattered locations	small concentrated range on the border between Ostrzeszów, Kępno and Silesia, rare elsewhere	the eastern part of the Wieluń area	in Kuyavia and near Wyrzysk	areas of the Prosna river around Wieluń

AJKLW III 354 'contemporary names for potatoes'	Still in use though together with <i>kartofle</i> and <i>ziemniaki</i>	optionally in the western part	range bigger than in the past, in the south-east ousted <i>sasoki</i> , <i>bulwy</i> , <i>knule</i> and <i>pantówki</i> optionally in Kuyavia; optionally in east and south-west Wielkopolska and sporadically in the north	very rare occurrences	marking their presence since after WWII, an optional name	disappearing	unknown
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On top of that, the AJKLW III 353 recorded *knule* in three locations in Silesia.

In the 18th century in Wielkopolska, the names for potatoes were not very common. However, back then the most popular form was *perki* whose range would narrow down over the centuries while the word's status changed from prevailing to alternative. At the same time, the morphological forms developed: the inventory ledgers recorded exclusively *perki*, the AJKLW III 353: *pery*, *pyrki*, *pyruszki*. *Kartofle* prove to be strongly related to the eastern part of the region, in the past and in the 20th century alike. In the 18th century, *pantówki* occurred quite far from their 20th century ranges but a single confirmation could have been accidental. *Bulwy*, *knule*, *sasoki* and *ziemniaki* are not found in the inventory ledgers for reasons unknown: they were either unfamiliar or were associated with subdialects and thus blocked by the writer's linguistic awareness.

3. 'Mała izba' [a small chamber] (map 2)

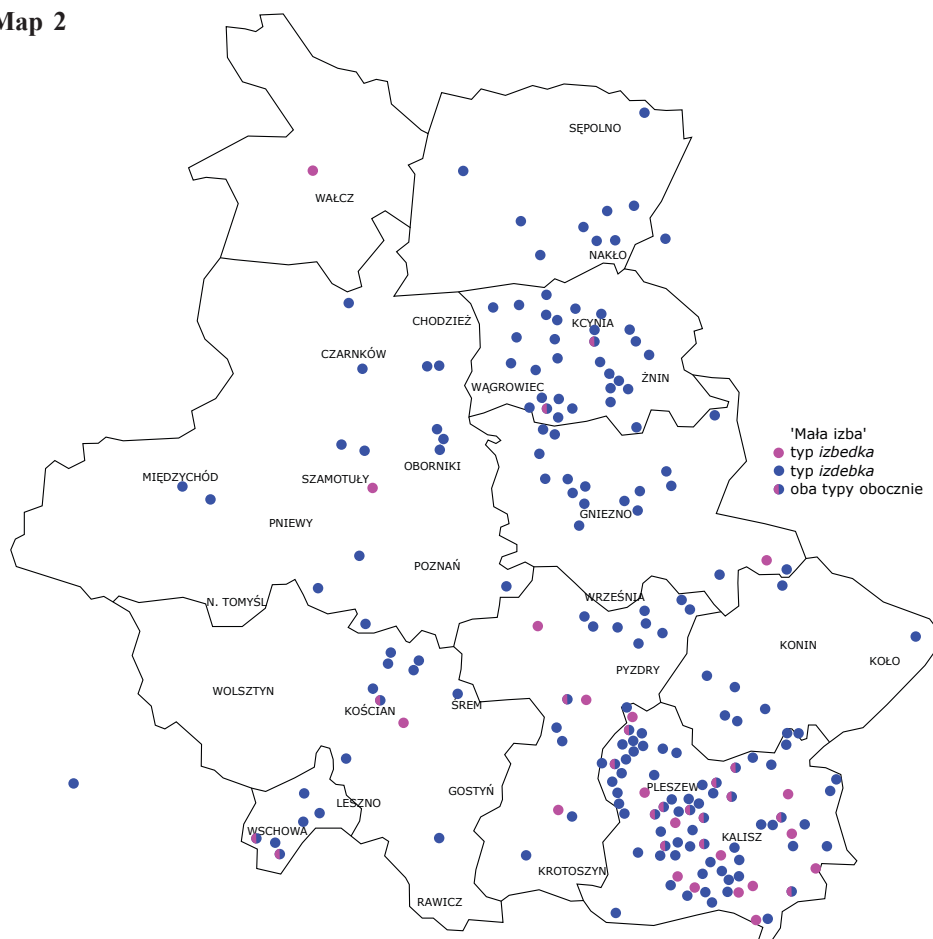
The variants of the meaning analysed here are limited to the diminutives of the basic word *izba* and they occur in two major variants: *izbedka* (or with alternative spelling *izbetka*) and *izdebka* (with numerous confirmations of a second degree diminutive: *izdebeczka* – P 99 Świdnica: 489).

Both derivatives come from the main word *izba* < Proto-Slavic **jbstoba* 'heated living quarters; subterranean quarters, a dugout' (originally 'a primitive steam bath, a sauna (in a dugout)', a borrowing from the folk Latin **extūfa* / *extūfa* 'steam bath'). The original regular diminutive of the basic form was *istebka*; under the influence of *izdba*, it was changed to *-zb-* to result in *izdebka*. Consequently, in the course of metathesis, this form led to *izbedka* (Bańkowski 2000).

Izdebka was first confirmed in the SXVI and it occurs in all the dictionaries written in the subsequent periods. *Izbedka* was first recorded in the SXVI, then in the XVII, and only then in the SW where it was marked as a subdialectal form. A lack of *izbedka* in the SL indicates that it was differential with respect to the literary Polish language in the 18th century. This did not prevent the form from appearing in Silesia (Wyderka 1985, 57; Wyderka 1990, 85; Burzywoda 1983).

There are no atlases containing the forms of our interest; only J. Siatkowski devoted some attention to the diminutives of the word *izba*. Map 31 (Siatkowski 1958) presents *izbka* and *izbetka*; the latter occurred in nearly the entire area except for the

Map 2



vicinity of Ostróda, Olsztyn, Nidzica, Szczytno and Pisz. Therefore, the differential form *izbedka* is not typical only of Wielkopolska.

As for the inventory ledgers, the general Polish word *izbedka* prevails, most frequently as an exclusive form. *Izbedka* per se occurred in 19 locations and in 19 other locations as an alteration of the main variant. The small number of confirmations of the differentiating forms is dispersed nearly all over Wielkopolska: the *izbedka* type did not occur only in Konin and Nekla counties.

4. 'Niebieski' [blue]

When excerpting the words for 'blue', into consideration were taken adjectives and derivative forms (adverbs). The collected words refer to both the prime colour and its varieties of different intensity ('light blue' and 'dark blue') but without other colours added. The word *granatowy* [navy blue] was disregarded because it was impossible to establish whether it meant 'dark blue' or 'dark red' as it occurs in subdialects (Zaręba

1954, 53–54); similarly, *jasny* was ignored ('blue' or 'a bright hue of a colour'). In several locations, the word *lazurowy* appeared (Dobieszewko, Kcynia county) and *blawatny* (Nakło) – due to singular confirmations, they have been ignored in the analysis.

The more frequent occurrences included:

– *blękitny* 'intense blue, azure' – a borrowing from Old Czech *blankytný*, light blue, which comes from *blankyt* 'the colour light blue' < Old High German **blankhīt* 'brightness' < Old High German *blank* 'bright, shiny';

– *modry* 'intense blue, dark blue' < Proto-Slavic **modrь* 'blue, dark blue';

– *niebieski* 'the colour of cloudless sky, bright blue, azure' < Proto-Slavic **nebesьskъ* 'related to the sky', over time the meaning narrowed to the contemporary 'related to the colour of the sky', an innovation in some North Slavic languages.

Błękitny and *modry* are mentioned in the SStp, *niebieski* in the context of our interest is mentioned in the SXVI through the PSWP. It might seem that these are unmarked, general units. However, I. Włodek qualifies *modry* as an old, neglected word (LO3, 432) while J. Brzeziński is of an opinion that *niebieski* began to occur more frequently not earlier than in the 18th century texts (Brzeziński 1979, 19). Nevertheless, despite the daily habit of referring to the colour of the eyes, noblemen could have known the words *niebieski*, *blękitny*, *modry* from poetry (Brzeziński 1979, 100) which could have maintained the longevity of the words.

The above mentioned words are sometimes treated as synonymous with 'niebieski'; other times, they differ mainly with respect to the intensity of the hues ('light blue' – 'dark blue')¹². This status is reflected in atlases of dialects from the 20th century. According to the MAGP IX 531, in Wielkopolska (and Silesia, in north-western Lesser Poland, Sieradz Łęczyca areas and partly in Masovia), 'light blue' is referred to as *jasny*, in the south – *niebieski* (all over Poland) or *modry* (known also in south Silesia, Masuria, Tuchola, Kociewie, Kashubia and Masovia), *siwy* in the east (mainly in Lesser Poland). The AJŚ III 259 confirms *niebieski* as 'light blue' in south Wielkopolska (except for the vicinity of Rawicz where *jasny* prevails). As a national unit, *niebieski* is also mentioned in the AJPP 432.

All the forms recorded in the inventory ledgers are known from Polish dialects as indicating 'dark blue' (MAGP IX 532): *niebieski* (central Poland), *modry* (Silesia, north-western Lesser Poland, a part of Sieradz area, Masovia, Kuyavia and Pomerania), *blękitny* (Lublin area). Between Rybnik and Czadca, the AJPP 432 also confirms the form *modry*. The AJK IV 184 recorded *modry* and *niebieski* meaning 'blue'.

The above mentioned forms occurred in total in only 26 locations (predominantly Kalisz county and therefore a decision was made against a map). The rarest form is *blękitny* – only 2 locations. *Modry* was more popular only in documents from Kalisz county (as an exclusive form in Rajsko, Staw and Morawin, alternately with *niebieski* in Karmin, Kuczków and Wszółów) and also in Samokłęski Duże (Kcynia county). *Niebieski* was the most frequent and geographically most popular variant.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the geographic distribution on the basis of a small number of locations. Only in 4 locations, alternative forms were recorded; it is

¹² Alfred Zaręba noted that there is not a single common word for the colour blue in dialects (Zaręba 1954, 36).

hard to say if they are synonyms of a single colour or words for various hues thereof. It is certainly surprising to see that *modry* is almost non-existent outside Kalisz county; in the 20th century, it was largely confirmed in the subdialects of western Poland (Zaręba 1954, 38–39). This fact may be explained by I. Włodek's remark that *modry* was an obsolete word (perhaps it had already existed in subdialects as an archaism) and therefore, the form did not make way to the texts because of the linguistic policy of the Enlightenment.

The scale and conditions of variability

The above discussed examples of variants were typically macro-oriented (on a regional level) and mezzo-oriented (on the level of smaller units: counties and arrangements of linguistic features). The maps allowed to describe variability conditioned by geographic factors while in the descriptions, attention was paid to possible material diversity of the referents, the influence of foreign languages or peripheral locations. Now I will focus on the micro perspective (single locations). The occurrence of variants within a single research location may be related to extra-linguistic factors (referents), geographic and textual factors. The deliberations will be presented against more general comments about variability in the analysed inventory ledgers.

Let me start with the scale of the variability. It was established on the basis of the ratio between the locations where at least 2 variants occurred and the number of all the locations where at least one variant was recorded of the mapped issue. The scope of variability oscillates between 0% and 36.2%; on average, the locations with parallel variants represent 14% of them all. Therefore, the variability in a specific location is not frequent.

Of course, the more locations on a map the more locations with variants; however, the values do not grow proportionately, *przez* – 303 locations (incl. 43 with variants), 'other' – 317 (72), 'cart' – 320 (27), *bez* – 328 (14). The number of systemic variants is insignificant. In the case of all the mentioned invariants, the maps registered not more than 2 variants in a single location; there is no pattern for a larger number of variants, either.

Let me proceed with several comments on systemic variants (all the potential variants for a specific issue) and textual variants (variants which occurred in a single location). In the analysed set of more than 50 issues, from 2 (13 analyses) to 18 variants (1 map) were taken into consideration. On average, there are 4.2 variants per one mapped issue. As it is easy to predict, the more possible variants to choose from, the more locations with more than 2 variants. However, the trend is true for 2–6 systemic variants (with at least one location with the maximum number of variants). In the case of 7 and more variants, the trend collapses. When there are 7, 9 and 18 possible variants, 4 variants may coexist in a single location while with 8 possible variants – only 3. While, theoretically, a large part of textual variants can occur in a single location, in fact these cases are very rare. The maximum number of systemic and textual variants overlap 36 locations for 7 issues with 3 variants, 1 location on the map with 4 variants, 2 locations for 2 issues with 5 variants and 1 location on the map with 6 variants.

Therefore, systemic variants do not always tend to be textual variants. On the other hand, textual variants are not always idiolectal variants.

The above mentioned types of variants are variants within a single location. However, in some locations there are two types of variability: inner-textual and inter-textual. The latter occurs when all the variants appear in a single document. The latter occurs when some variants appear in one text and other variants are used in another text (other texts). A mixed type is also possible if all the analysed variants occur in one document and, additionally, in others. When it comes to an inner-textual variance, we are quite confident to say that it is idiolectal variability (assuming that the language of a document is identified with the language of a single person, e.g. the writer). On the other hand, inter-textual variance may include idiolects of different people. Therefore, this is an example of variability of a micro-group (writers, copyists etc.).

In the locations with two variants, inner-textual variability is more common (nearly 51%). The numbers of inner-textual and mixed variants are nearly equal, with a slight prevalence of the latter. As the number of variants in a location grows, so does the mixed-type group (65% with three variants and 75.5% with four); at the same time the number of inner-textual variants decreases (26.6% and 20.8%, respectively) and so does the number of inter-textual variants (8.2% and 3.8%) which in locations with five or six variants are insignificant. This is because with every subsequent document, there are more variants characteristic of various idiolects.

The emergence of variants is affected by the writer's language, it is not an automatic phenomenon. Therefore, we need to take into consideration the influence of many other factors. The multi-faceted nature of the inventory ledgers seems most important; many people were involved in writing the texts, starting with the testifying farmers, the interested parties, the writers of the previous inventory ledgers and individuals writing down a document, perhaps even copyists. The elements of the language of each of these individuals may be included in the documents and trigger off variants. The multi-faceted nature of the inventory ledgers is also related to other factors including the geographic, chronological and genetic diversity of the vocabulary, the impact of material factors (diversity of the referents).

Once the affinity of variants with varieties of the Polish language is considered together with the types of elements of language, some patterns emerge¹³. The lexical issues related to rural life (114 variants – table 1) have a smaller percentage of general variants than lexical issues not related to rural life (57 variants – table 2). This is confirmation that the type of the analysed issue affects the vocabulary's affinity with a variety of a language. However, in both groups, general vocabulary prevails. This is why, seeking only differential elements in the regional varieties of the Polish language largely distorts the picture. Nearly 2/3 of the words related to rural life and nearly 3/4 of the vocabulary not related to rural life belong to the general Polish variety.

As for borrowings, it turns out that before the Partitions, they represented at least 20% of Wielkopolska's vocabulary (Table 2). There were slightly more borrowings in the vocabulary unrelated to rural life (30%) which may result from the isolation of

¹³ Lexical issues related and unrelated to rural life were considered; semantic issues with only 5 identified variants were disregarded.

rural areas in the 18th century, resistant to developmental and linguistic changes. Among the borrowings, Germanisms prevailed (e.g. *kub*, *ozd*, *pantówki*, *zaga*), followed by Latinisms (e.g. *rekwizyta*), Italianisms (e.g. *moregi*) and Gallicisms (calque *jabłka ziemne*). The German influences included old and new borrowings alike (*fasa* – *tynka*) whereas the borrowings from the remaining languages were rather new. Among the slightly more numerous borrowings, Germanisms stand out (they could have occurred in the general Polish language and dialects, which they probably infiltrated together with new referents or during contacts between Polish and German farmers, e.g. settlers of Dutch or German ancestry) and borrowings from Latin which should be associated only with the literary Polish language and the general command thereof among the Polish nobility.

Table 2. Native and borrowed variants

Issues	Native variants	Borrowed variants				Total
		Germanisms	Latinisms	Italianisms	Gallicisms	
Rural	80%	17%	2%	0	1%	114
Non-rural	70%	19%	7%	4%	0	57

In the variety of the Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska in the second half of the 18th century, general vocabulary played a major role, followed by neo-semanticisms, derivatives and borrowings. Old vocabulary, with changed phonetics, casual and regional, played an insignificant role (up to 2%).

Table 3. Types of variants

Issues	Units							
	General	Regional	Semantic diff.	Structural diff.	Diff. borrowings	old	Phonetic diff.	old
Rural	63	1	15	12	4	3	2	0
Non-rural	71	0	7	7	9	2	2	2

Diff. – differentiation /differentiating

Conclusion

Variability is a multi-faceted phenomenon; when examined with respect to geographic diversity, various levels thereof should be considered: the macro level (an entire area, e.g. a region), a micro level (the most detailed level, e.g. a village) and the mezzo level (an intermediate level of e.g. sub-regions, lower-level administrative

units). Whatever is a systemic variant (on the biggest scale, the entire research material), does not necessarily need to be a variant on lower levels: local, textual or idiolectal. Notably, the emergence of variants may be affected also by individual features. So we need to examine documents which describe more than one village as well as locations described in more than one document. The occurrence of variants in a text reflects the influence of the writer's idiolect although this is not an automatic phenomenon. The diversity of variants in the various locations described in the same text is affected by the multi-faceted nature of the inventory ledgers (a text is written as a result of cooperation of several people), the geographic, chronological and genetic factors as well as the material diversity of the described objects.

In the course of examining lexical variability, we should not focus entirely on looking for the differentiating features because analyses have shown that approximately 2/3 to 3/4 of vocabulary belongs to the general Polish variety. The remaining part of the vocabulary consists of neo-semantisms (*suszenie* 'malt drying place'), new derivatives (*bojewica*), borrowings (*kubel* 'a place where porkers were kept'), colloquialisms (*reperować*), archaisms (*kokot*), regionalisms (*pólslednik*), lexicalised dialectal phonetic forms (*sabatnik*). The number of the specific types of vocabulary was impacted by the type of the issue at hand, related or not to rural life. This is most vividly demonstrated in borrowings (20% of genetically foreign words in areas related to rural life and 30% in areas unrelated to it). Therefore, the share is close to the share of Germanisms in the urban subdialect spoken in Poznań (approx. 29% – Walczak 1997, 67), shaped mainly in the 19th century i.e. a time of an intense influence of the German language. While this issue requires further research we can see now that even before the Partitions, the regional variety of the Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska included a huge number of borrowings with prevailing Germanisms (18–19%).

The use of the linguistic cartographic method in an analysis of historical data has demonstrated both the benefits and the shortcomings of the procedure. The benefits include:

- verification of dictionary data: *pólslednik*, referred to in the SL as typical of Wielkopolska, did not occur in the entire region, but mainly in its south-western part (Kościan and Poznań counties);

- verification of academic data: *tesarz* and *gbur*, recorded by researchers in Pomerania, were defined as regional and Pomeranian units but they were also known in Wielkopolska. Therefore, these words have a geographic range bigger than we previously thought. A compilation of the vocabulary from the inventory ledgers (and other sources) written in other regions will provide further verification of the territorial ranges of the specific lexemes. We may find out that the conclusions presented in this article will also need to be verified;

- presentation of the internal (geographic) diversity of the regional varieties of the Polish language. Researchers into historical and regional varieties of the language draw attention to its diversity, mainly in the social aspect i.e. they take notice of the influence of various factors, including the writer's education, sex and affluence, on the command of the norm of the literary language and the presence of subdialectal features; linguistic cartography allows to present also the variety's geographic diversity;

– indication of the relations between phrasemes in a specific region and other regions: the differential inventory material typically reflected the relations between Wielkopolska and Silesia and Pomerania. Let me emphasise yet again that an analysis, extended to other regions, is likely to uncover more inter-regional relations;

– supplementation of contemporary data: sometimes historical data represent a former state when a specific linguistic feature occupied an area bigger than in the 20th century. Areas which are not adjacent to each other and which share a feature are extended by areas connecting them through historical data;

– connection of linguistic and non-linguistic data: this feature may be interpreted in different ways: 1) the location of Wielkopolska as a peripheral region in the 18th century is an explanation of the local archaisms, while the proximity of Prussia indicates the influence of the German language, 2) the diversity of the referents translates into the diverse words ('a container where bees are kept': *ul, koszka, barć, kłoda, pień*), 3) a high degree of local variability (in a specific location) and lack of distinct geographic arrangements accompanied by a lack of the referents' diversity is an indication that variants operate as synonyms with a stylistic function, used in order to avoid repetitions.

An analysis of historical data by means of linguistic cartography has also revealed some drawbacks of the procedure:

– an unplanned network of locations – in the 20th c. atlases, efforts were made to make the network of the surveyed locations regular and to obtain replies to the same set of questions in all the locations. In historical research, we must resort to the material; the same set of questions will bring about replies from only some locations;

– a selection of the mapped issues: examining lexical variants of identical (or similar) meaning forces a scholar to choose issues which have their variants in the material (this limitation does not pertain to the method of lexical fields); the issues selected in this way form a thematically diverse set;

– combining variants into types: this is required in an analysis of material that was not collected for research into variability; otherwise, the analysis would have stuck at the level of too dispersed and too detailed data.

While the method applied in this work certainly has its limitations, its benefits prevail and are more important than its drawbacks. The possibility of applying linguistic cartography in analysing inventory ledgers and other sufficiently numerous sources from the remaining regions of Poland are especially promising.

Abbreviations of the basic sources

G – *Materiały do dziejów chłopca wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, selected from county ledgers and published by J. Deresiewicz, vol. 2: *Województwo gnieźnieńskie*, Wrocław 1956.

K – *Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich powiatu kaliskiego*, vol. 2: *Z lat 1751–1775*, W. Rusiński (ed.), Wrocław 1959.

KP – *Materiały do dziejów chłopca wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, selected from county ledgers and published by J. Deresiewicz, vol. 3: *Województwo kaliskie*, Wrocław 1957.

- P** – *Materiały do dziejów chłopca wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, selected from county ledgers and published by J. Deresiewicz, vol. 1: *Województwo poznańskie*, Wrocław 1956.
- RK I–III** – *Inwentarze dóbr szlacheckich dawnego powiatu kaliskiego z lat 1776–1792*, collected and edited by W. Rusiński, part 1: *Inventory ledgers z lat 1776–1779*, “Rocznik Kaliski”, 1981, vol. 14, pp. 99–264; part 2: *Inventory ledgers z lat 1780–1784*, “Rocznik Kaliski”, 1982, vol. 15, pp. 129–273; part 3: *Inventory ledgers z lat 1785–1792*, “Rocznik Kaliski”, 1983, vol. 16, pp. 85–241.

The other abbreviations

- AGP** – *Atlas gwar polskich*: Dejna K., vol. 1: *Małopolska*, Warszawa 1998; Dejna K., Gala S., Zdaniukiewicz A., vol. 2: *Mazowsze*, Warszawa 2000; Dejna K., Gala S., vol. 3: *Śląsk*, Warszawa 2001; Dejna K., vol. 4: *Wielkopolska, Kaszuby*, Warszawa 2002.
- AJK** – *Atlas językowy kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich*, Team of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, preliminary volume, issues 1–6 and *Supplement* to vol. 1–6 under the supervision of Z. Stieber, issues 7–15 under the supervision of H. Popowska-Taborska, Wrocław 1964–1978.
- AJKLW** – *Atlas języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski*, vol. 1–6, Z. Sobierajski and J. Burszta, eds., Wrocław 1979–1991, vol. 7, Z. Sobierajski (ed.), Wrocław 1992, vol. 8–11, Z. Sobierajski (ed.), Poznań 1994–2005.
- AJPP** – Małecki M., Nitsch K. (1934), *Atlas języka polskiego Podkarpacia*, Kraków.
- AJS** – Zaręba A. (1969–1996), *Atlas językowy Śląska*, vol. 1, Kraków, vol. 2–7, Kraków–Warszawa, vol. 8, Warszawa.
- HKMP** – *Historia kultury materialnej Polski. W zarysie*, vol. 4: *Od połowy XVII do końca XVIII w.*, Z. Kamińska and B. Baranowski (eds.), Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978.
- LO3** – *Ludzie oświecenia o języku i stylu*, developed by Z. Florczak and L. Pszczołowska, M.R. Mayenowa (ed.), vol. 3, Warszawa 1957.
- MAGP** – *Mały atlas gwar polskich*, developed by the Institute of Dialectology (from vol. 4 Group in charge of the Atlas and Dictionary of Polish Subdialects), Institute of Linguistics of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow, vol. 1–2 under the supervision of K. Nitsch, vol. 3–13 under the supervision of M. Karaś, Wrocław–Kraków 1957–1970.
- PSWP** – *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny*, H. Zgólkowa (ed.), vol. 1–50, Poznań 1994–2005.
- SD** – *Słownik języka polskiego*, W. Doroszewski (ed.), vol. 1–11, Warszawa 1958–1969.
- SL** – Linde S.B. (1807–1814), *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 1–6, Warszawa.
- SW** – *Słownik języka polskiego*, J. Karłowicz, A.A. Kryński, W. Niedźwiedzki (eds.), vol. 1–8, Warszawa 1900–1927.
- SWil** – Zdanowicz A. et al. (1861), *Słownik języka polskiego*, Vilnius.
- SXVI** – *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 1–34, M.R. Mayenowa, F. Peplowski (eds.), from vol. 35, K. Mrowcewicz, P. Potoniec (eds.), Wrocław 1966–1994, Warszawa 1995–.
- SXVII** – *Słownik języka polskiego XVII i I. połowy XVIII wieku*, Krakow 1996–. Electronic version available on <https://sxvii.pl/>, and collection of *Słownik* available on <http://www.rcin.org.pl/publication/20029> (30 Dec. 2018).

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Selected aspects of the existence of Slavic dialects in the Internet¹

Abstract: The research material pertains to rural and urban subdialects and dialects of nearly all the Slavic languages spoken in Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Ukraine. The article consists of a theoretical part (dedicated to linguistic research into the Internet, computer-mediated communication) and of two analytical parts. The first of them, more general, is aimed at defining the codes used on the surveyed fan pages and the reasons for creating thereof. The goal of the other analytical part, which consists of detailed considerations, is to present the structure of dictionary posts by using *Dawniej tutaj – gwara wielkopolska*, one of the oldest Polish fan pages dedicated to subdialects.

Key words: subdialect, Internet, Slavic languages, Slavic dialects, new media.

Abstrakt: Wybrane aspekty funkcjonowania gwar słowiańskich w Internecie. Materiał badawczy dotyczy gwar wiejskich i miejskich oraz dialektów niemal całej Słowiańszczyzny: z terenu Białorusi, Bułgarii, Czech, Macedonii, Polski, Serbii, Słowacji, Ukrainy. Artykuł składa się z części teoretycznej poświęconej badaniom językoznawczym nad siecią i komunikacji komputerowej oraz dwóch części analitycznych. Pierwsza, o charakterze ogólnym, ma za cel określenie kodów używanych na badanych fanpage'ach oraz motywacji ich zakładania. Cel drugiej części analitycznej, mającej charakter rozważań szczegółowych, to omówienie budowy postów słownikowych na przykładzie jednego z najstarszych, polskich fanpage'y poświęconych tematyce gwarowej *Dawniej tutaj – gwara wielkopolska*.

Słowa kluczowe: gwara, Internet, języki słowiańskie, dialekty słowiańskie, nowe media.

Introduction

Dialects and the Internet are seemingly unrelated phenomena. However, the Internet has become another dimension of reality, attracting forms which are new and typical of this medium or known from the “real” world. Among the activities taking place

¹ This text is an extended and modified version of B. Osowski, *Gwary słowiańskie w nowym środowisku komunikacyjnym – Internet*, [in:] *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych*, series 13, vol. 2: *Językoznawstwo*, Z. Greń (ed.), *Prace na XVI Międzynarodowy Kongres Slawistów w Belgradzie 2018*, Poznań 2018, pp. 223–232.

in the Internet are fan pages dedicated to dialects. (The status of dialects in the Internet has been marginalised following S. Dubisz's appeal to adopt not only dialectal systems but also dialectal features operating in the communication and stylistic varieties of the Polish language as a subject of a dialectological description (Dubisz 2013, 54)).

The material has been selected according to the name of the fan page (e.g. containing the word *subdialect*, *dialect* or another Slavic equivalent), its description and information about it, and the associations (links) with the already analysed pages. The research material pertains to rural and urban subdialects and dialects² of nearly all Slavic languages, spoken in Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Ukraine. Attempts at finding Russian material have proved futile, perhaps because of the existence of V Kontakte, a Russian equivalent of Facebook. The same holds true for Croatian, Sorbian and Slovenian. The specific subdialects and dialects will be represented to various degrees.

The article consists of a theoretical part (dedicated to linguistic research into the Internet, computer-mediated communication) and of two analytical parts. The first of them, more general, is aimed at defining the codes used on the surveyed fan pages and the reasons for creating thereof. While an analysis of the Web should take into consideration the relations between the producers and users of materials posted online (Schneider, Foot 2008, 28), due to the size of the text and for clarity purposes, the analysis has been limited to the contents uploaded by the creators of the fan pages. The goal will be accomplished by using the data included in the *Description* and *Information* parts of each analysed page. However, if the data were not provided (6 fan pages), we analysed the page title.

The goal of the other analytical part, which consists of detailed considerations, is to present the structure of dictionary posts by using *Dawniej tutej – gwara wielkopolska*, one of the oldest Polish fan pages dedicated to subdialects³. While the starting point is the theory of traditional lexicography, the material shows that in many cases it is not sufficient. This is because the Internet adapts and develops classical forms. Bearing in mind the popularity of the *Dawniej tutej...* fan page and the fact that its creator is not a professional linguist, the way in which dictionary posts are developed may be an indication for professional lexicographers as pinpointed by amateur dictionary compilers and their audiences.


² The creators of the surveyed pages are oftentimes amateurs without linguistic knowledge hence they make mistakes in naming varieties of language.

³ It was established in 2013 and it boasts 42,000 users. As the authors have informed us, it was established to propagate the Kościan variety of the Poznań subdialect. The posts published on the fan page typically take the form of online memes introduced by a short copy. (The above data come from the Information section of the analysed fan page).

The Web as a subject of linguistic research

The emergence of the Internet followed by its popularisation have contributed to the various changes in contemporary societies. Among the most serious consequences of the phenomenon is communication established by entities which are dispersed at the same time and in unlimited space (Bugajski 2010, 143). Therefore, one of the basic features of dialects has been questioned, namely the factor of geographic diversity and being embedded in a specific space. This is the reason of J. Grzenia's doubts if subdialects could emerge in the Internet:

In natural conditions, spatial limitations in communication lead to the emergence of folk subdialects. However, this type of language varieties cannot emerge in the Internet due to its global nature; however, they can surface in the environment of a variety of a language. As a result, numerous sociolects are created, basically revolving around the conversational variety of online communication (Grzenia 2006, 116).

However, the names of fan pages like *Gwara Zagłębiowska dla Ciućmoków; Górole Żywieccy – Hej gronicki, gronicki, Wy muoje kuochane; Moravština; Razmaulaj Pa Prostu; Брациговски диалект* and the texts they present, e.g. *fes szczuny z eki se nie wlywajom!* (Dawniej tutej, 3 March 2017, com.⁴); *Dáme si erteple s tatarkó šušni-flintové?*  (Moravština, 6 February 2017); *NA SCHÔDKACH PÉRED SKLÉPOM SIDIËLI OTRÓKI I CHLÍSTALI PÍVO; KORÓVA PÁRA RÁZY CHLISNÚLA VODÝ I BÓLŠ NE SCHOTIËĽA* (Svoja, 6 March 2017) are evidence of the existence of subdialects in the Internet.

However, it is impossible to ignore the fact that back in 2005, D. Crystal mentioned the practical use of the Internet and the applied perspective, including preservation of minority and endangered languages. In the existing linguistic and social situation, they include also subdialects:

Firstly, it aids documentation, because digital techniques allow the easy recording of ethnological material – and, of prime importance, doing so using a technology which the teenage generation think of as ‘cool’. The teenagers, after all, are the critical generation for any endangered language, as they are the parents of the next generation of speakers, and if their interest goes, the language is lost. Secondly, the Internet aids language revitalisation, by enabling speakers separated by space to maintain a virtual contact through email, chat, and instant messaging environments, and there are some very lively interactions out there now (Crystal 2005, 3).

It seems that the presented examples of subdialects in the Internet are evidence of seizing the opportunities described by D. Crystal. The analysis will not cover all

⁴ When I quote online sources, the original spelling is presented. When I quote comments from a fan page, the abbreviation *com.* means quoting a comment; lack of that abbreviation means that I quote a post.

the manifestations of dialects online but only the ones existing on fan pages. A fan page is

a place in the Web where the Internet users meet virtually because, for example, they share opinions and interests or are enthusiasts of a person or group. The software developers (...) of *Facebook* have developed a characteristic type of *fan pages*. They consist of:

- a board where the users exchange their views and share links to other websites,
- a gallery or a place where photos, memes etc. are made available,
- applications for carrying out opinion polls etc. (Cemborowski 2014, 92).

This definition of a fan page reflects the diversity and integration of the forms carrying messages. In that collection, the analysis has been limited to the following texts:

– a social post – (typically) a short form aimed at sharing the latest news, links, information, where multimedia can be posted (photos, video or audio recordings); it can be commented on by the readers (Chyrzyński 2012, 115–116);

– comments – opinions posted by website readers; they refer to the main text or other comments and often lead to an extended discussion whose structure is reminiscent of a tree of threads in a discussion forum (Chyrzyński 2012, 112–113); it can contain multimedia and links; the copy and the comment are both referred to as a post;

– a thread – a series of opinions of discussion participants within a forum, letters, a discussion group or in a social networking service; it is hierarchical with the person starting the thread as the highest in the hierarchy although a change of subject is possible and the participants can refer to the statements of the other users (Chyrzyński 2012, 115);

and graphic elements containing copy:

– an online meme – a digitalized unit of information (an image, a video, a website, a slogan, hyperlinks) distributed online (Kowalewska 2015, 183); typically memes are associated with online jokes, funny things conducive to distribution thereof (Kamińska 2011, 61; Piskorz 2013).

In this work, the postulate to consider websites' orientation to the same subject and shared time frame while delineating the web's limits (Schneider, Foot 2008, 28), has only been partly fulfilled. However, the thematic homogeneity has been maintained as a result of focusing on Facebook fan pages dedicated to subdialects. Yet the requirement of a shared time frame was impossible to fulfil because each of the analysed pages has a different rate and frequency of publishing posts and time of existence.

Computer-mediated communication (CMC)

As the name suggests, computer-mediated communication needs to take place by means of a tool, a computer. Computer-mediated communication may be based on a text (a chat, a discussion forum, an e-mail etc.) or on a video (streaming a video, predominantly with the audio). The first type may be further divided into synchronous communication (taking place in real time, during a chat or in an instant messenger)

and asynchronous communication (which permits a time lag, e.g. an e-mail or a discussion forum) (Chyrzyński 2012, 34–35)⁵.

Attempts have been made to describe computer-mediated communication, which is recorded in writing, not only in the categories of writing but also speech. It shares some features with writing: it is permanent, spatially limited, the sender and the recipient are away from each other and anonymous, there is no eye contact, the context is not used and there is no fast feedback, the time between conveying and receiving the message makes it possible to carefully organise the text, abbreviations and acronyms. These features depends on the tools, e.g. a message is more carefully organised in the case of e-mails while in chats this is less important. What differentiates computer-mediated communication from speech is dynamics and volatility, loose syntax structures, ellipses and syntax streams, exchange of the sender and the receiver roles and there is less time to express one's thoughts in an organised way⁶ (Chyrzyński 2012, 41–53). Computer-mediated communication has some features of writing and contradicts others. The same holds true for the features of speech.

J. van Dijk has taken a slightly different stance; when describing the modes of symbolic communication (linguistic, non-verbal, iconic, logical and mathematical, musical) he noted that as new media appear in the linguistic mode, the importance of the audio-visual variant grows (texts accompanied by images and sounds) at the expense of the oral and written variants. What is more, the role of the iconic mode (videos, pictures, drawings, charts, windows and other graphic forms) is growing while the non-verbal mode (social-sign language) has disappeared wherever mediated communication, limited to transmission of speech, text and data, has replaced direct communication (van Dijk 2010, 295–296).

A *face-to-face* relation, known from direct communication, is replaced by an *inter-face-to- interface* relation. It is not fully direct communication but neither is it equivalent with communication based on print because “the interlocutors can communicate at the same time, not being close to each other” (Grzenia 2006, 65)⁷.

⁵ In fact, technological determinants do not always indicate unambiguously that a specific communication tool is synchronous or asynchronous. Then, a reference can be made to the pragmatic aspect (the goal and the prevailing rules of using a specific medium), e.g. a chat permits a time lag but it is not accepted by the users and for this reason it is a part of synchronous communication (Chyrzyński 2012, 35–36).

⁶ When describing online communication, M. Bugajski perceives the classical division of roles between a sender and a receiver in yet another way. He says that it is shaped in opposition to the official media and its nature is affected predominantly by the netizens' individualism. As a result, the division between senders and receivers, so clear in analog media, is blurred: “When communicating online, we are more of participants of communication processes than senders or recipients and these roles are not enforced by anyone” (Bugajski 2010, 141).

⁷ J. Grzenia defines proximity as circumstances in which eye or voice contact can be maintained; the first type of contact needs to be related to physical proximity, the other does not (Grzenia 2006, 65).

Linguistic codes on Slavic subdialectal fan pages

An analysis of using linguistic varieties is expected to provide answers to the following questions: which code (literary or subdialectal) does the fan page author use? Is this the only code? Does it have relations with any other codes?

In the surveyed material, 8 literary codes were distinguished (English, Bulgarian, Czech, Macedonian, Polish, Serbian, Slovak, Ukrainian). The presence of English among fan pages dedicated to Slavic subdialects is quite surprising. However, initially as much as 90% of sites were managed in English; the drop to 60% is attributed to the growing trend of online locality (Krzysztofek 2008, 397). Messages in English may also stem from willingness to reach a larger audience which reflects a feature of the Internet, glocality: “every message, meant as local, may have a supra-local if not downright global range” (Krzysztofek 2008, 405)⁸.

A subdialectal code pertains to a smaller number of languages: Belarus, Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian. It appeared exclusively on 17 fan pages; the literary code has been used as the only one on 25 pages. Clearly, while the analysed pages are meant to promote geographic varieties of a language, the fact that the content is targeted at large audiences (*Motivation behind establishing subdialectal fan pages*) induces the authors to use the literary variant.

A more interesting case are messages with heterogeneous varieties, including a mixed English-Slavic code (2 fan pages), e.g. *Pirot (Serbian Cyrillic: Пупом) is a town and municipality located in south-eastern Serbia.* (...) Циљ ове странице је прављење мреже људи који живе у Пироту, као и упознавање других људи са нашим градом (Пиротски говор), and a mixed dialectal-literary code (6 fan pages).

On the analysed pages, the interferences of language varieties may assume different forms: 1) separate spheres of life (e.g. a title – *Subdialect Góralско* – and a description – *Gwarom ô subdialect lo subdialect!* – in the subdialectal code while the information is provided in the literary code), 2) co-existence of different language varieties in a single message following the pattern of a) equivalence, e.g. Лемколянд – лемківска сторінка для діти: gry, забавы, малюванкы, сьпіванкы. Lemkoland – łemkowska strona dla dzieci: gry, zabawy, malowanki, śpiewanki (Lemkoland), or b) using in the prevailing (literary) code a (subdialectal) quotation, e.g. *Migawkę kupujemy na krańcówce przy Górniaku, ale nie tylko! Po łódzku nazywamy setki miejsc i rzeczy – i nawet o tym nie wiemy...* (Po łódzku), *Dla tych, którzy wożą się salatką, z nosa usuwają tylko fluki apiać wiszczą* (Gwara Białostocka). In all these cases, except for the rare type 2a), the literary code prevails.

In the case of 3 fan pages, use of the Latin alphabet rather than the Cyrillic script is quite significant (Pa prostu; Howorymo; Wala). As M. Dąbrowska-Partyka indicates, in specific cases writing becomes “not only a (spelling) system but also a symbol of

⁸ This supposition is confirmed by data about the community of *Howorymo po swojomu*. It consists of nearly 9,000 members; 7,568 of them are Poles, 294 are from the UK, 220 from Belarus, 106 from Belgium, 96 from the Ukraine, 89 from Germany (Czarnecka 2017). Therefore, approx. 16% of the fan page's readers come from outside the country inhabited by the natural users of the subdialect.

a specified set of values, a determinant of ethnic and cultural identity” (Dąbrowska-Partyka 2000, 178).

Motivation behind establishing subdialectal fan pages

The most frequent reason for keeping a subdialectal fan page is **creating a community** (cf. the diagram at the end of the chapter). To this end, the following arguments are typically put forward: shared pronunciation, e.g. Група за всички, които говорят на родопски диалект! (Родопски диалект), *Też mówisz w 1 os. l. poj. – przelamę się w końcu – ogródek przekopę jutro – nie kłamę mamy – wieczorem się wykopę*”? (Kielecki Dialekt), shared place of residence, e.g. *Witajcie piyknie fisyćcy górole łod Żywca* (Górole Żywiec), the language being used by older generations, e.g. *jon [prosty jazyk – B.O.] nasz, bo na jim rozmaŕajujć ni Muryny ũ Afrycy, ale naszyma dziedki i baćki* (Pa Prostu), quantifiers, e.g. *Kożny maje takuju susiedku* (Wala). Unlike the users of a traditional subdialect, this is not a community closed to strangers but rather, it frequently emphasises its open nature and encourages others to join it, communicate with it, e.g. *Dla Pudlaszuków i dla wsićch chto może i ne z Pudlasza ale ciekawitsia!* :) (Howogumo), Циљ ове странице је прављење мреже људи који живе у Пироту, као и упознавање других људи са нашим градом (Пиротски говор), *Jesteśmy Ślązakami. Nie jesteśmy żadną ukrytą opcją. Poznajcie naszo godka. Łatwiej będzie nam się porozumieć* (Ślónsko godka), *Zachęcam do komentowania postów* (Gwara Góralsko).

Computer-mediated communication, which facilitates contact without direct interactions between people who live close to each other, leads to a situation when modern societies increasingly extend their time and space range (van Dijk 2010, 221). The natural environment, which used to be an important point of reference, has been replaced by social environments created by people (or the two intertwine) (van Dijk 2010, 223). Therefore, the spatial limitation (natural in the case of traditional subdialectal communities), is overcome on the analysed fan pages. The geographic dimension starts to act as a symbol around which the interested individuals gather; it is no longer a determinant of using this or other subdialect. This is because cyberspace is de-territorialized and therefore it can only be referred to in a metaphorical sense (Krzysztofek 2008, 391). At the same time, in a situation of no unity of place, a specific group is actually united by a sense of belonging to a community (Greń 2008, 431), hence the above mentioned practices of individuals keeping subdialectal fan pages.

The second most popular reason for keeping the analysed pages are **marketing activities**⁹. A subdialect or another variety of a language to which a fan page is dedicated are treated as goods of market value or used to promote products other than the subdialect itself. This group contains primarily offers of shops (e.g. gryfnie, Gwara Zagłębiowska, Z Bytomią), oftentimes referring to websites other than Facebook and activities related to linguistic normalization, e.g. *Koli wy chcecie doznatić bółsz chaj*

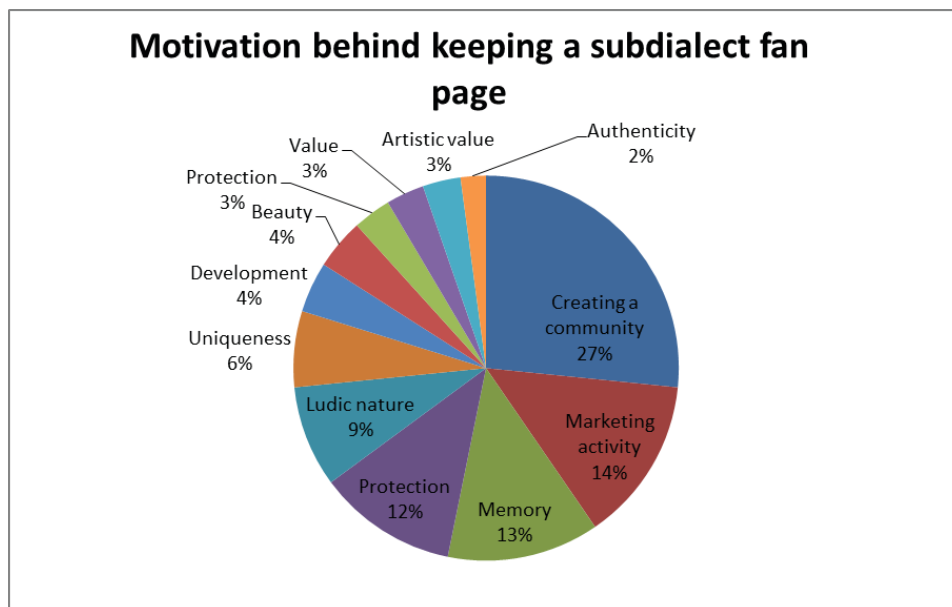
⁹ They connect with one of the major goals of online communication (on top of willingness to inform and express) i.e. intention to affect the audience (Grzenia 2006, 95).

bude wam pomoszczu storonka Pana Jana Maksymiuka svoja.org ! :) (Howorymo), *Slużę też radą przy opracowywaniu tekstów gwarowych* (Subdialect Góralско). An interesting exception is an offer of managing events in Hantec slang: *Nechte se bavit od toho, kdo to umi!!* (Honza Hantec). It is difficult to decide if the individuals keeping fan pages with marketing in mind are genuinely interested in a subdialect or only in the possible profits.

The category of memory and the related activities are another reason for keeping a subdialectal fan page. Therefore, the intention of the authors of the analysed pages is to remind vocabulary that has slipped into oblivion, e.g. Да си припомним позабравени думи и изрази (Равногорски диалект), Всеки който си спомня истории и разговирни фрази (Брациговски диалект), *tłumaczył stare, często zapomniane słowa* (Gwarant Góralско) which oftentimes exist only in scholarly books, e.g. *Zaglądamy do starych słowników* (Po łódzku), cultivating the language of the ancestors, e.g. [fanpage – B.O.] *odkurza te [słowa – B.O.], którymi mówili nasi dziadkowie* (Po łódzku), *Poznaj codzienne słowa i słowecz używane przez naszych pradziadów!* (Lwowski słówku). A community's culture, including a subdialect, is sometimes perceived as heritage, e.g. популяризація історії та культури Лемківщини як невід'ємного надбання українського культурного спадку (Молода Лемківщина). Observers of new media have noticed that contemporary societies, while very modern, are fascinated by time and the past as part of some sort of a retro cult. At the same time, digital media, including the Internet which is a source of this material, modify the old way of experiencing the past (Filiciak, Tarkowski 2014, 40–42). Nostalgia and memory are by nature subjective; by posting on fan pages dialectal words and memories of past events we externalize them, add inter-subjective character to them and make them a component of public memory. At the same time, a subdialect which can exist only in a dialogue, in a social environment, is perceived individually.

Another motivation to keep the analysed pages – **protecting a subdialect** – results from the above mentioned strong relation between a subdialect and the past. For example, Да съхраним автентичния равногорски диалект, който е единствен (Равногорски диалект), *Sięta storonka dla wsiêch kotory (...) choczut kob jich mowa peretrywala!* (Howorymo). On some of the analysed pages, protection, which is a defensive notion, is related to an offensive notion, propagating a subdialect, e.g. *Zapraszamy do współtworzenia i promowania strony oraz idei twadokońcówkowej w pierwszej osobie liczby pojedynczej* (Kielecki Dialekt), *kcem coby fsyćcy na tej stronie pisali gwarom, coby nie zabocyj nasej piyknej górolskij mowy!!!* (Górole Żywieccy), популяризація історії та культури Лемківщини (Молода Лемківщина).

The ludic motivation of subdialectal fan pages may be attributed to both longing for the good old days, memories of youth – e.g. Ще се радваме да видим и стари снимки от минали събития... (Брациговски диалект), Да се посмеем и повеселим от сърце! (Равногорски диалект) – as well as the present, e.g. *Hantec – písničky, povídání, soutěže... prostě správná volba pro Vaši zábavu! :-)* (Honza Hantec), *Warzymy–Wařymy, pichcymy, Srandujymy, wice łosprowjomy Po Našymu...* (Warzymy). Some authors of the pages under scrutiny see the ludic potential of a subdialect itself, e.g. *Zapraszam również wszystkich innych do zapoznania się z ciekawą, a często zabawną, dawną mową Pałuczan* (Pałuki).



Oftentimes authors of fan pages are motivated by what they think of as attributes of a specific subdialect: **uniqueness**, e.g. *Słowa, zwroty, powiedzenia – wyjątkowe, bo hajnowskie* (Po hajnowsku), *Celem naszej strony jest wychwycenie i odnotowanie unikatowych zwrotów i nietypowego słownictwa* (Dialekty Lubelszczyzny), **beauty**, e.g. *Kwolmy się tym co mamy nojpiknijse!!!!* (Górole Żywiecyy), *A co, niech będzie pięknie ładnie – po łódzku!* (Po łódzku), **development** (including standardisation), e.g. *THE SITE IS DEVOTED to the standardization and development of the new written East Slavic language*, *Podlachian* (Svoja), *Osoby, które interesują kwestie kodyfikacyjne gwar góralskich, zapraszam do grupy* (Subdialect Góralisko), **value**, e.g. *Да съхраним богатството на диалекта ни !* (Панагюрски диалект), *Jon warty stolko, skolko usie druhija mowy światu* (Pa prostu), *Wyjmy dumni, ze my som górolami łód Żywca!!!* (Górole Żywiecyy), **protection**, e.g. *Ni raz i ni dva my czuli, szto prosty jazyk heto papsuta polska mowa, zaśmieczana rasijskimi słowami, padrusyfikavana. (...) Prosta mowa heto ni jakajaści tam papsuta mieszanka* (Pa prostu), *Też mówisz w 1 os. l. poj. “- przelamę się w końcu (...)”?* *To nie błąd* (Kielecki Dialekt), **artistic value**, e.g. *Politická a poetická satira o naši Moravě* (Poezie), *Na jim nawet wierszy piszuć* (Pa prostu), **authenticity**: *Да съхраним автентичния равногорски диалект* (Равногорски диалект), *Cztery razy w tygodniu prezentujemy jedno słowo prawdziwego Łodzermenscha* (Po łódzku).

The *Dawniej tutaj...* fan page as a subdialect dictionary

An analysis has been carried out of the posts on *Dawniej tutaj...* published between 11 February 2019 and 30 April 2020. Out of 131 posts, 100 (76%) represented the dictionary type i.e. one tasked with presenting subdialectal vocabulary and explanation thereof.

The entry word and the accompanying lemmas are most frequently the first element of the graphic design. Its special role is also emphasised by a size, type or colour of the font different than that used in the remaining part of the text. Again, as with many other issues, there is no single solution that would be used consistently. It also happens that the lemma loses its initial position for the benefit of another element, e.g. it is preceded by a qualifier (*wielkopolskie frazeologizmy*, followed by a phrase *słodki pamper*), the defining element (cf. example 1) or a different element. Example 2 shows an interesting practice: here, the entry word is the last element and as such it is better remembered.

What is more, the text can be dominated by graphic elements like in example 3. The entry word *luj* written with a capital letter (not standard spelling), written in a bolded font, much bigger than the definitions, disappears next to a large male figure wearing a yellow, eye-catching T-shirt. This example also shows that, while a division into graphic and textual elements is useful in ordering an analysis, gets frequently blurred in the material; here, the man leans against the entry word.



Example 1. (25 Dec.2019)¹⁰



Example 2. (11 Feb.2019)



Example 3. (29 Oct.2019)

The figure from the first entry word is a canonical figure, known from scholarly dictionaries (*jadaka* ‘a gob’, *berbelucha* ‘vodka of inferior quality, moonshine’, *gaska* ‘a narrow street or a blind alley’, *ciul* ‘a wimp, a klutz’), lemma in the form of morphological, lexical, phonetic, graphic variants (*śrupok/śrubler* ‘a floor scrubber’, *churchać churchlać* ‘to cough stubbornly’, *ruk cuk* and *rug cuk* ‘quickly, in no time at all’, *piec kachowy kachlany kachlanny, pyry deptane duszone / krychane* ‘puréed potatoes’), multiple-word entries (*głazejki z cicikiem* ‘gloves with fur’, *odbić bilet* ‘to

¹⁰ In parentheses, the date of publishing a post was provided.

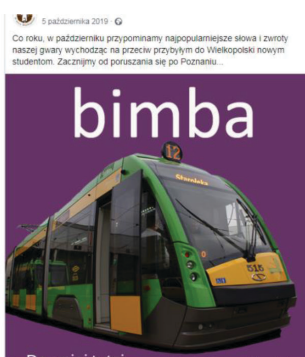
punch a ticket’, *melona babka* ‘pound cake’), phrasemes (*dać sobie w tyte* ‘to get drunk’, *słodki pamper* ‘a person who likes sweets’, *myjcie statki za świeżego powietrza* ‘wash the dishes right after a meal’).

To me, the accompanying lemma are entries enjoying the same status in the artwork. Therefore, the same font of the same size and colour was used; the arrangement does not suggest the main and subordinate entries. A scholarly dictionary would present each time a different entry whereas here the entries are amassed which stems from the semantic relations between the combined words.

The entry variants may enjoy the same status – these cases were described in the preceding subsection as the accompanying lemma; they may also be subordinate to the major variant which serves as an entry word. The first type of registering variants is more frequent (12 out of 16 posts). The second type includes *bejmy* ‘money’ and its synonyms *baniole/banioki/szut* ‘coins, change’ (8 Oct. 2019), a participle *unorany* ‘soiled’ and its synonyms *usznujdrany, uślabrany, uślumprany, uszmodrany, uśluńdrany* (19 Aug. 2019), *pyzy* ‘steamed yeast dumplings’ and *kluchy na lachu*. The record is held by *kwirlejka* with 19 identified variants (example 4).



Example 4 (24 Aug. 2019)



Example 5 (5 Oct.2019)



Example 6 (21 June 2019)

Synonymous **definitions**¹¹ were most frequently used (63 entries), based on providing synonyms. While lexicographers are not very appreciative of this type of definitions, on *Dawniej tutaj...* page this type of definition works best because the page users are either bilingual or diglossic, they know both the subdialectal and the general Polish codes. Indication of the general Polish synonym facilitates identification of the subdialectal word more quickly than when a real-meaning definition is provided. For example, *haj* has been defined as ‘a knife’; the meaning is conveyed more quickly than the definition does: ‘a cutting tool consisting of a metal blade fixed to a handle (...)’¹². Use

¹¹ In the classification of the analysed material, W. Doroszewski’s typology of dictionary definitions is used i.e. real-meaning, structural-semantic, structural, range-related, synonymous and grammatical definitions have been identified. Cases with an image definition or without a definition have been added. In the material in question, there were no structural or range-related definitions.

¹² Entry *nóż* as in the SJPD.

of contrast (often resulting from negation) is an interesting modification of a synonymous definition which indicates Wielkopolska's linguistic dissimilarity from the remaining parts of the country, e.g. *Na podwieczorek nie podajemy ciasta tylko słodkie z dobrą kawą* (16 Nov. 2019), *W Wielkopolsce kulka się kula a nie toczy* (4.07.2019), *To co u innych jest na górze w Wielkopolsce jest do góry* (11 Feb. 2019).

Interestingly, for practical reasons (limited space due to the artwork), not much text can be provided if it is going to be prominent and evident. Clearly, an author of an amateur dictionary published on a fan page does not seek precision of definitions as the art of lexicography would require; at play is the author's audience-orientation, his/her communication competence and possible perception.

The number of real-meaning definitions is definitely smaller (21). This type of definition appears next to referents related to regional culture which do not have their equivalents in the general Polish culture. This is the reason why they convey detailed ethnographic information, e.g. *ślepe ryby* means 'potato soup served in Wielkopolska. As no meat was used to prepare it, it did not contain fat therefore it was 'blind' «ślepa»' (26 Feb. 2020), *makielki*: 'A traditional dish served in Wielkopolska at Christmas Eve made from poppy seeds, dried fruit and nuts and wheat bread. Today, the bread is replaced by dumplings or pasta' (20 Dec. 2019). This rule applies less frequently to objects known outside the region but they do not have an individual, single-word designation, e.g. *angielka* means 'a kitchen coal stove, in an iron or tiled frame, with small legs' (17 Feb.2020), *obklad* – 'what is put on top of bread, e.g. cheese, cold cuts' (9 April 2019).

In a real-meaning definition, related to referents which serve as symbols of regional culture, there may be an expressive element (*cudownie smakujące*) and a quantifiable element¹³ (*kultowe danie*), e.g. *Zamawiając w Wielkopolsce **pyzy** otrzymacie coś zupełnie innego niż w pozostałej części kraju. Dostaniecie cudownie smakujące, ugotowane na parze ciasto drożdżowe uformowane w kształcie bułek. Podaje się je z mięsem, sosem i kapustą. To kultowe danie kuchni wielkopolskiej. Takie pyzy nazywano niegdyś **KLUCHAMI NA ŁACHU*** (11 Oct.2019). Again, we are dealing with the authors' different attitude in scholarly and amateur compilations. The aim of the former is to convey objective knowledge. In the latter, the knowledge is combined with integration, creating a community. The aim is to reinforce a sense of belonging to a regional group enjoying good reputation.

The third most frequently used is the image definition (11), essentially foreign to scholarly dictionaries. If graphic elements (e.g. photos) appear in subdialectal dictionaries, most typically they are there to exemplify, to show whatever the definition conveys. However, an image definition completely replaces a verbal definition. Therefore, to some extent this is a reference to the saying "Anybody can see what a horse looks like" from *Nowe Ateny* by Benedykt Chmielowski from the first half of the 18th

¹³ When analysing thematic online dictionaries dedicated to religious vocabulary, K. Czarnecka also indicated occurrence of definitions which are tainted by subjectivism (Czarnecka 2015, 25–30). Therefore, the author's subjective quantification would be a feature shared by amateur lexicographic works. This is a telling difference from professional dictionaries in which, according to P. Żmigrodzki, objectivism is an absolute criterion (Żmigrodzki 2008, 58).

century (Urbańczyk 2000, 46). In *Dawniej tutaj...* this type of definition attracts the biggest number of images which indicate a specific object unambiguously, e.g. a tramway (example 5) or a strawberry (example 6). This is the reason why the usefulness of image definitions is limited; they are hard to apply to abstract words, hyperonyms, specific nouns without a tangible, substantial form, phrasemes, verbs, synsemantic words and that is only when I limit myself to the entries covered in *Dawniej tutaj*.

A grammatical definition occurred in the studied material barely 5 times. It was used both with synsemantic parts of speech, e.g. *wej* ‘1. an exclamation to express admiration, astonishment, 2. reinforcing an element of speech’ (1 April 2019), as well as auto-semantic ones. In the latter case, attention is paid to the inflection properties of the entry word rather than its meaning – cf.: *wuja* ‘In Polish, *wuja* is the genitive and the accusative case of the word *wuj*. In Wielkopolska, *wuja* is the nominative case of the word *wuj*’ (12 Aug. 2019).

There was also a single structural-semantic definition (*W Wielkopolsce kulka się kula a nie toczy* – 4 July 2019) and once, with an entry phrase *chono ino na wino*, no definition was provided (‘the phrase does not require explanation’ – 30 March 2019). What is more, as always, there are cases of entries defined by several types of definition simultaneously.

The status of **graphic illustration** is heterogeneous. On the one hand, it may be a sort of a graphic definition, presenting a specific object visually like an ostensive definition. On the other hand, it has the features of a quotation i.e. an illustration, an example of use. The first case was discussed in the previous section, let me now proceed with the second one. For example, the entry *betki* (12 Sept. 2019) is a hyperonym as *betki* is a collective reference to mushrooms which as such cannot have a single, realistic image. This is why the illustration shows a specific type of mushroom – the boletus. Yet another case is represented in example 7. The entry *klara* ‘the sun’ is illustrated by means of an arbitrary image of the sun with eyes and a smile.



Example 7 (28 July 2019)



Example 8 (14 Jan.2020)



Example 9 (13 June 2019)

Quotations are used in only 28% of the dictionary posts although their number would grow if the text from the non-graphic part were considered. The artwork from

example 8 is preceded by a phrase *Wszędzie wyprzedaże, może coś sobie lajsnąć?* which serves as an introduction and a quotation. The quotes from the artwork consistently present subdialectal features from the other levels of language while the discussed example manifests only the lexical feature (the entry word). This is an indication of a different function of the non-graphic text.

Sometimes a quotation represents a different meaning of the lemma than the defined meaning, e.g. *nowe lotko* means ‘a habit of walking from house to house with a pine or spruce twig’ while the quote pertains rather to the twig: *Pani gospodyni, nowe lotko w siyni. Jeśli chcecie łoglundować to musicie coś darować. Zielony gaj, koszyczek jaj...* (21 March 2020). Sometimes a quote confirms a form other than the entry, e.g. *dać sobie w tyte* ‘to get drunk’ and in a quotation *Sprawił sobie tyte, że jejku kochany!* (30 March 2020).

However, these shortcomings are not the main objections to quotations, unlike the failure to provide the source. However, this is a drawback only from the point of view of scholarly lexicography while the audience and the amateur authors do not seem to mind. Nevertheless, this practice questions the possible use of this material as a source of subdialectal data.

Doubts arise because out of 28 posts with quotations, in 22 cases the quotations were taken from the *Słownik gwary miejskiej Poznania* (SGMP). To do justice, I need to take notice of the fact that the fan page’s author mentioned the dictionary in the bibliography. However, the problem is that the SGMP registers the vocabulary of a specific variety of the Polish language (an urban subdialect) and with a specific territorial range (Poznań) while these parameters are non-existent on the fan page. *Dawniej tutaj...* refers to itself as a page for the *subdialect of Wielkopolska*; the information part suggests the Poznań subdialect *in its Kościan variety*. There is no choice but to trust the fan page author’s linguistic intuition and believe that the published entries belong to a collection shared by the subdialect from Poznań and the surrounds of Kościan.

Back to the quotations from the SGMP: let me emphasize that some of them are published without any changes (in total, 12 posts), e.g. in *Dawniej tutaj...* and in the SGMP, *churczać, churchlać* – *Churchla i churchla, już tego suchać nie można* (12 March 2020), *sznupa* – *I niech se fifnie sznupe ośrupie* (9 May 2019), *klapsztula* – *Widziałeś jakie se klapsztule z szynką do roboty wziół?* (7 April 2019), *strużyny* – *Mieli my tyle strużyn, że można było na nich proszczoka uchować* (19 March 2019), while some of the quotes are changed. The changes include shortening of the original quotation to erase its literary origin in order to extend the use context, e.g. *chachulić* – *Dawniej tutaj...: On coś chachuli!*, the SGMP: *On coś chachuli! – oświadczył. Papiery zgadzały się, nie można było im nic zarzucić – On chachuli, panie poruczniku! – obstawiał sierżant; gis gisowa* – *Dawniej tutaj...: Szło na gisówce, bo niebo było obniesione jak diaski*, SGMP: *Szło na gisówce, bo nie było obniesione jak diaski, ale jo nic, tak jak stojołym – jade*. A quotation may also be shortened because it contains definition elements revealed in a different way, for example in artwork. In the SGMP, the entry *ramiączko* is accompanied by a quotation: *Przystojny chociaż? – Eee tam, takie ramiączko: ramionka waziutkie, nogi jak patyki*, a post from 13 June 2019 includes only *Przystojny chociaż? Eee tam, takie ramiączko* but the quotation is

accompanied by artwork depicting cowboy Woody, a character from the *Toy story* films whose arms and legs are this and narrow (cf. example 9).

The changes to the original quotation (in total in 10 posts) consist in replacing words, e.g. **haj** – *Dawniej tutej...: Tutej często haje szły w ruch, a Eda miał nawet knare* (28.04.2020), SGMP: *W tym luchaniu często haje szły w ruch, a Eda miał nawet knare*; **pierdola z Gądek** – *Dawniej tutej...: Z wami, prześmiewcy, sie nieusionde jak jaki pierdola z Gondek* (28.01.2020), SGMP: *Z wami, prześmiewcy, sie nie usionde jak opyplany pierdola z Gondek*; *Dawniej tutej...: Nabolale jabza ino na mus sie nadajom* (15.09.2019), SGMP: *Te nabolale jabka to tylko na mus sie nadajóm*; **wygololona** – *Dawniej tutej...: Łazi taka wygololóno, że wszystko ji widać* (13.02.2019), SGMP: *W szkole przy dzieciokach lazi wygololóno, że wszystko ji widać*.

Sometimes, the changes are superficial: adding a conjunction, a change to the spelling or the phonetic feature, e.g. **galarepa** – *Dawniej tutej...: A galarepa po czemu?* (16 July 2019), the SGMP: *Galarepa po czemu?*; **migać** – *Dawniej tutej...: Pani, jak to teraz migajom trzeba wstydu niy mieć: dziewczuchy cyckami trzynśóm, dupskiy kryncom* (25 Feb. 2019), the SGMP: *Pani, jak to teraz migajóm – trzeba wstydu niy mieć: dziewczuchy cyckami trzynśóm, dupskiy krynśóm*. It is hard to say if the changes have been introduced on purpose or result from careless copying of the text from the dictionary.

In the analysed material, there are also quotations which have no equivalents in the SGMP (6 in total). They tend to have a simple structure as indicated by the fact that they were heard or created by the posts' author, e.g. **nie** – *To co wiara idymy, nie?* (27 May 2019), **Bier badejki, bo idymy sie bachać!** (17 June 2019), **klara** – *Ale dzisiaj klara daje!* (28 July 2019).

In the analysed material, four **qualifiers** have been identified. The first one emphasizes the integration nature of the vocabulary, e.g. **kalafa** 'it means both the face and the gob' (15 April 2020), with which the qualifier of the limited territorial range corresponds, e.g. **ślepe ryby** 'potato soup from Wielkopolska' (26 Feb. 2020), **Wielkopolska phrasemes słodki pamper** (20 Feb. 2020) because the mentioned limitation pertains to a regional community which is evaluated positively on the fan page. What is more, the qualifier may indicate a *phraseme*, e.g. **Wielkopolska or Polish proverbs Wszyńdzie ploży, ale wew chacie najbarzy** (26 Feb. 2019) coupled with lack of stylistic connotations in the regional variety of the Polish language, e.g. **ciul** 'according to the "Dictionary of the urban Poznań subdialect", the word was not perceived as a profanity' (4 Feb. 2020), **pierdolić** 'NB! In the Poznań subdialect, this word is not a curse word' (1 Feb. 2020). The last type is very interesting because qualifiers typically indicate stylistic connotations rather than lack thereof. However, this information is required in a situation of bilingualism (diglossia) when a language user can transfer a vocabulary connotation from one code to another.

The attempt at explaining the origin of a specific entry has been treated as the **etymology**. In the analysed material, there is a reason provided, e.g. **ślepe ryby** 'Potato soup from Wielkopolska. As no meat was used to prepare it, it did not contain fat therefore it was 'blind' «ślepa»' (26 Feb. 2020) or a folk-based explanation, e.g. in order to explain the entry **macoszki** 'pansies', reference is made to a story of a reader's grandma where the biggest petal is compared with a step-mother, two smaller ones to her daughters and the two last ones to step-daughters (16 May 2019).

However, the sources of the borrowings are not provided even if the material contains numerous Germanisms, e.g. *śrupok / śruber* – from German *der Schrubber* ‘a scrubbing brush’, *Co ja za to mogę?* – from German *was kann ich dafür* ‘what can I do about it’¹⁴.

The collocations of the entry word, which in the artwork are subordinated to artwork, are deemed **fixed combinations of words** and were attributed a status subordinate to the lemma, e.g. a smaller font was used to record it and typically it was placed at the end of the text. This group contains both phrases subjected to phraseology, e.g. *kalafa* ‘a face, a gob’ and *drzeć kalafę* ‘to shout, scream’, *kalafa się komu drze* ‘to be sleepy, to yawn’, *mieć kalafę od ucha do ucha* ‘to have a big mouth, to be quarrelsome’ etc. (15 April 2020) as well as combinations of words in their original meaning, e.g. *szneka* ‘a sweet roll’ and *szneka z glancem* ‘a sweet roll with frosting’ (14 Nov. 2019) although *glanc* means ‘frosting’.

Conclusions

Notably, subdialects have increasingly marked their presence in the Internet. The fan pages analysed in this work show that the authors’ motivations are diverse, ranging from an attempt to create a community, through marketing activities and willingness to protect or maintain subdialects up to the ludic aspects etc. At the same time, an analysis of language codes used on the analysed fan pages has shown that there is often a discrepancy between the authors’ declarations and the practice: sites dedicated to subdialects and other geographic varieties of the language are kept in the literary variant or even in English. This is because of the fashion in which elements of subdialects operate in a new environment. The Internet is conducive to de-territorialization and creating groups based on shared interests rather than a territory. Another difference is the type of contact as compared against traditional subdialects: *face-to-face* communication has been replaced by *interface-to-interface* communication. Therefore, one can venture a cautious statement that in the analysed material, we deal with **elements of traditional subdialects** transferred to the Internet and operating there according to rules different than in the previous environment, not with online **subdialects as such**. However, this issue requires further research that will be carried out elsewhere.

On the other hand, amateur compilations of subdialectal vocabulary, while modelled by traditional lexicography, in the Internet are adapted to a new medium and the audience’s competence and capabilities.

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¹⁴ Etymologies as in the SGMP.

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Homer and contemporary folklore – different time, one tradition

Abstract: In the article, I present an issue of importance to the interpretation of folk culture, namely if texts representing contemporary folklore to some extent continue the traditional poetic structure. The major question is if contemporary folklore may go back to the time when oral culture prevailed. Original folk texts from various Slavic nations were subjected to an analysis. The textual persistence of identical elements of the poetics of folk works in all Slavic languages is an argument in favour of a thesis that these structures go back to the proto-Slavic community. The occurrence of folklore units, absent from dialects and the literary language, is evidence of their proto-Slavic origin.

The formulaic discourse of the epics of Slavic folklore and the like structure of Homer's texts allow to advance an argument that both textual structures have the same origin and come from one tradition while the time of documenting thereof is different.

Key words: oral creative activity, proto-Slavic poetic language, Slavic folk song, Homer, folklore formulas.

Abstrakt: Homer i współczesny folklor – różny czas, jedna tradycja. Artykuł podejmuje istotną dla interpretacji kultury ludowej kwestię: czy teksty współczesnego folkloru są w jakimś stopniu kontynuacją tradycyjnej struktury poetyckiej. Zasadnicze pytanie brzmi: czy współczesny folklor może swymi korzeniami sięgać czasów dominacji kultury oralnej? Analizie poddane zostały oryginalne teksty folkloru różnych narodów słowiańskich. Tekstowa żywotność w całej Słowiańszczyźnie identycznych elementów poetyki utworów folklorowych przekonuje, że są to struktury obecne już w czasach wspólnoty prasłowiańskiej; Obecność jednostek folklorowych – nieobecnych w codziennych gwarach i w języku literackim – przekonuje o ich prasłowiańskim rodowodzie.

Formuliczność epiki folkloru słowiańskiego i takoważ struktura tekstów Homerowych pozwalają stawiać tezę o wspólnym pochodzeniu obu tych struktur tekstowych, o jednej tradycji przy różnym czasie ich dokumentowania.

Słowa kluczowe: twórczość oralna, prasłowiański język poetycki, słowiańska pieśń ludowa, Homer, formuły folklorowe.

In contemporary Europe, the issue of the relations between local tradition and the shared cultural heritage is gaining in importance. In these circumstances, a juxtaposition of Homer's works and contemporary folklore, although slightly surprising, is not unjustified. Bearing in mind the fabric (uttered words) and the form of the message, both cases should definitely be viewed as manifestation of what we refer to as "literary" works.

Before I proceed, several reminders will come in handy, namely:

The history of European literature begins with the poems of Homer and Hesiod. In written form, 'Homer' may have made a partial appearance in the early seventh century B.C. Even this vague date is not authenticated (...). It depends on an inference from the probable date of the invention of the Greek alphabet in which the poems were written (Havelock 1986, 19).

The above statement shows clearly that Homer's poems were written at a time of no competition for the oral tradition. However, they have survived only because they have been preserved in writing. The very time of their origin, coupled with detailed research into their language and style (Тронский 1973)] are conclusive evidence that these works respect the specificity of the oral culture.

M. Parry and his disciple, A. Lord, researchers from the Harvard school dealing with the idiosyncrasies of folklore works (especially the south Slavic epic poetry) noted that "the formulaic character of Homeric (and Yugoslav) content, tracing the control over the narrative exercised by typical themes and episodes. The discussion is kept for the most part within the context of stylistics. The poems are still 'literature' albeit with a style of their own, namely an oral style" (Havelock 1986, 52).

This statement clearly juxtaposes two types of verbal creativity of our interest. Interestingly though, folklore is represented here only by its epic element. This approach is hardly surprising in the light of the Harvard researchers' assumption. Their intention was to understand what we could refer to as "a creative act" performed by a folk singer. Long epic songs provide opportunities for these observations. This type of analysis of oral folk works allowed A. Lord to provide more details to M. Parry's definition of a formula: "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (Lord 1975, 30). According to this concept, a formula is the basic unit of the folk poetic style.

In the context of these deliberations, information that M. Parry had written two dissertations dedicated to the traditional epithets in Homer's epic poetry and Homer's formulas and metrics is of significance (Parry 1928a; Parry 1928b).

Notably, the researchers' deliberations centre on an analysis of texts (sung) in verse. The other type of folk works – prose – is strongly influenced by casual speech, an actual dialect. In these two varieties of oral expressions, extreme conditions prevail: submitted to specific standards of the "poetic nature", versed works are predestined to preserve tradition. Of special use here is the rhythm and the rhyme of a poem; in this respect, prose is more free which does not imply, however, that the specific poetic rules do not apply.

In an analysis of the linguistic structure of the folklore of different (Slavic) nations, attention should be paid to their specific characteristics. Formulas prove useful in epic works, long texts. While south Slavic folklore is in fact bereft of epic poetry, it is nevertheless affected by a formulaic structure, especially in the ballad. An analysis once carried out on the incipit of a famous Polish ballad about a woman from Podolia¹ has resulted in several important conclusions:

¹ The incipit in question is like this: *Na Podolu biały kamień
Podolanka siedzi na mim.*

A text segment's affinity for a specific type (model) of the formula is determined by the semantic and syntactic factors. On the other hand, the arrangement is not fixed on the metre level if it is not repeated in all the translations. (...)

In the course of identifying the formula described above, of significance is:

a. a fixed arrangement of the grammatical categories, i.e. word order:

Locative adverbial: (predicate) – modifier – subject,

Subject – predicate – locative adverbial;

b. with respect to the meaning, it is a fragment of text locating the plot; in the text structure it performs the function of the incipit (of an entire text or a strophe);

c. occurrence of invariable elements: *biały kamień* and *siedzi na nim*. It turns out that the occurrence of the selected pair of rhymes largely determines the content and grammatical structure of the text segment;

d. the rhyme is an element which organises the formula (just like the invariable fragments) (Sierociuk 1977, 14).

The above findings should also be borne in mind in the considerations in this article.

In their scholarly work, the Harvard scholars adopted a methodologically homogeneous view of two “creative acts” extended over time. To these considerations, of importance is also the fact that folk creative activity is represented by works of communities occupying areas not very distant from each other. While mutual cultural continuity (and dependency) is out of the question, the research areas: Greece and the former Yugoslavia, were located very close to each other. This circumstance may be significant as, unlike in southern Slavic tribes, the folklore of eastern and western Slavs practically lacks epic poetry.

Are there indications of a shared cultural legacy in the context of oral folk creative activity? This question in fact pertains to the issue of cultural continuity; it tends to assume the following form: was there a proto-Slavic poetic language (Sierociuk 2001)? When the answer is positive, there are grounds for juxtaposing Homer's and folk works.

Let me therefore take a closer look at vital issues, namely proving continuity of the folklore tradition; it is also a good opportunity to refer to the oral nature of folk creative activity. I do realise that referring to the oral nature of contemporary folklore texts (typical of primitive cultures) may seem rather surprising, especially in the context of the prevalence of the culture of writing.

In the light of lack of source texts, when we want to justify the existence of a poetic language in the pre-literate period, out of necessity we need to rely on an analysis of phenomena which could only be preserved in the oral tradition. We need to realise that this procedure may take a course similar to the reconstruction of dead languages or ones representing the time when communication communities emerged. In the light of these facts, my intention is to present the arguments as part of a cohesive, logical series of premises.

While discussing the poetic function of any utterance, a fundamental question needs to be answered, namely: did the opposition *informal language vs. artistic/poetic language* exist in the time of our interest? In order to simplify the subsequent

considerations I will assume that the artistic language is an arena of language elements foreign to the informal variety used to communicate with words on a daily basis.

Assuming the generally accepted model of components of communication with language and the related functions of language suggested by R. Jakobson (Jakobson 1960) one should agree that in the time of our interest, texts were communicated by the addresser to the addressee with the poetic function playing an important role. We should probably agree that the elements foreign to informal (ordinary) language could have appeared in texts related to religion or folk magic.

Providing an answer to the question about the religion of the proto-Slavic period may be the first indirect proof of existence at that time of special language formulas (or rules) used to communicate to the tribesmen content revolving around beliefs or used in the course of religious practices.

The traditional beliefs of Slavs have attracted attention for a long time; literature on the subject is quite impressive. The subject has been covered by historians and linguists alike; cf. the most significant Polish publications: A. Brückner, *Mitologia słowiańska i polska* (Brückner 1985), S. Urbańczyk, *Dawni Słowianie. Wiara i kult* (Urbańczyk 1991), T. Linkner, *Słowiańskie bogi i demony* (Linkner 1998), J. Strzelczyk, *Mity, podania i wierzenia dawnych Słowian* (Strzelczyk 1998).

Written sources offer sparse information about the nature of the religion or the practices. Nevertheless, we know about a slightly later time that

when it comes to other details, in short all the northern barbarians have the same arrangements and habits as they tend to think that only one god, the creator of the lightning, is the lord of the entire world and they offer him oxen and any other animals as sacrifice. They know nothing about destiny nor do they acknowledge its role in human life" (Labuda 1999, 170).

As the nature of religious beliefs and, subsequently the possible survival thereof in the altered reality of the Christian world may prove useful to the subsequent line of reasoning, let me refer to several opinions on the above:

As a traditional, group religion, the Slavic system developed in the process of spontaneous ideological work heavily relying on the heritage, processed to an extent hard to define yet immutable in its core. A multitude of numinous was at its heart as a subject of cult while polyodoxy prevailed, untouched by archaic multiplicity of deities, representing its component. The multitude of numinous resulted in religious liberalism (Łowmiański 1986, 241).

The experiences of historians of the subject prove indirectly that there was a need to use texts with a clear poetic function, texts of prayers and charms. At the same time, the nature of religious practices, close to Christian practices, could have contributed to the former's extended persistence.

Therefore, could there have been a poetic language in the proto-Slavic period?

With reference to the pre-literate time in the history of Poland, the issue of literary language was pondered by S. Urbańczyk (1979). However, he followed only the lead of source evidence and disregarded the oral tradition. S. Urbańczyk took into

consideration the certifications of the persistence of folk texts but only documented in historic texts; he treated them like works of written literature.

In my considerations, of importance is an analysis of genuine texts of sung folklore, traditional oral literature. The analysis pertains to original folk songs of a majority of Slavic nations. It is a review of the oral language of western, eastern and southern Slavs. It is a search of the elements of the poetic language of oral folk works shared by all these nations.

The time of my interest, preceding the disintegration of the proto-Slavic community, coincided with the long literary tradition which made a contribution to the history of universal culture. Long before the beginning of the new era, human achievements in literature were represented by Homer's and Sumer epic poetry including the Epic of Gilgamesh. It is important that these works' structure is made up of many elements traditionally considered typical of oral literary culture – the formula (as mentioned before).

Before I proceed with an analysis of the linguistic material, let me remind several fundamental characteristics of the language of folk oral creation. By juxtaposing folklore texts and casual texts from the same linguistic environments, researchers into Slavic folklore draw attention to the autonomy of the linguistic structure of folklore demonstrating themselves in the persistence of linguistic units foreign to the local dialects. Some of the peculiarities were indicated by P. Bogatyriev (Богатырев 1962; Богатырев 1963); examples of detailed studies of the folklore of selected nations representing the three major groups of Slavs include S.J. Ermolenko's works (Эрмоенко 1987) on the Ukrainian folklore, B. Koneski's (Конески 1967; Конески 1971) works on Macedonian folklore and J. Sierociuk's (1990) analyses of the entire lexical and semantic domain (native terminology) in Polish folklore. Works taking into account other aspects of the language of folk oral creation are evidence of persistence of various means of artistic expression in this environment, typical not only of folklore where the formulaic nature and the related fixed phrasemes, especially epithets, play an important role.

While formulas helped folk singers to create especially long epic texts, they could also have been used to create shorter texts. Detailed research into Polish folklore (rather bereft of epic texts) shows that the formulaic nature may demonstrate itself in the presence of a specific syntax or an intonation pattern (Sierociuk 1977). Notably, if "originally, the native medieval Polish poem did not have rhymes or at least systemic rhymes" (Woronczak 1958, 245) then in the proto-Slavic times rhymes were most probably also non-existent. It is equally clear that the formulaic nature of folklore is conducive also for preserving archaic linguistic units. This opinion is shared by researchers into Homer's works: "Именно формульный строй обеспечил для древнегреческого эпоса сохранение разноречной лексики и морфологии от микенских времен вплоть до VIII–VII вв. до н. э." (It was the formula of the structure that made it possible for the ancient Greek epic poetry to maintain diverse vocabulary and morphology since the Mycenaean times until the 8th–7th centuries ACN), (Тронский 1973, 72).

What is more, the formulaic nature is not specific only to versed texts. As W. Propp (Propp 1976) proved, fable has a specified structure which not only facilitates story-telling but also marks the genre determinants. The formulaic nature of prose texts (fables) was proven by N. Roşianu (Roşianu 1973; Рошияну 1974). Similar

idiosyncrasies of folklore texts are typical not only of the Slavic universe but also Romanian creative texts as largely covered by O. Bîrlea (1979).

In his *Kultura ludowa Słowian* K. Moszyński included many significant comments on the structure of the language of Slavic folk works, for example:

The so-called trichotomy was extremely popular among all Slavs both in songs, fables and many other works; the entire content of a work or – much more frequently – its fragments disintegrate into 3 completely symmetrical parts (Moszyński 1968, 655).

Therefore, if we assume that the folklore of Slavic peoples is in fact based on a uniform poetic system, we need to accept that the system did not emerge independently for each language. We need to agree, however, that the sources of the system go back to at least the time of the proto-Slavic community. Leaving their proto-mother country, Slavs must have taken with them an already established system of the poetic language, the major framework of some sort of poetic art. Notably, this knowledge is spread in a similar way also in our times.

The fact that folklore undergoes constant changes has been indicated by numerous scholars (Burlasová 1973; Sierociuk 1990); therefore, in many cases approaching materials from different times in the same way is a grave methodological mistake. However, in this case the idea is to indicate the elements of language present in the language of Slavic folklore after their community disintegrated. This is the reason why this requirement is meaningless with respect to this article. The texts referred to above were written down in the last two hundred years of the second millennium.

As my intention is to prove the existence of poetic tradition in the proto-Slavic time, attention needs to be drawn to the presence (in the language of folklore of nearly all Slavic peoples) of elements which certainly were not created in a later period of time, irrespective of the development of language relations in a specific area. In this procedure, I will make use of only two selected examples which seem to fulfil the above conditions.

I need to emphasize very strongly that I do not mean an exemplary reconstruction of the elements of the phonetic and phonological layers. In this respect, the considerations will be definitely different from the attempts at reconstructing the structure of the proto-Slavic language. Bearing in mind the specificity of folk oral creation, I will focus on a set of elements of the structure of the poetic language rather than specific fragments of the individual works. From this point of view, reconstruction of specific works from the proto-Slavic period is not possible at all.

Among the numerous folk poetic words is *dąbrowa* which distinctly juxtaposes the language of Polish folk songs with informal dialects (Sierociuk 1976, especially the map on page 196). An analysis of this lexeme's connectivity with epithets shows that, unlike the word *las* (forest) which may be *dense*, *green*, *dark* or even *black*, in Polish folk songs *dąbrowa* appears in two contexts: with the word *zielona* (green) or without an epithet. This is also true for other nations. In Belorussian folklore *zielonaja dąbrowa* is mentioned only in a song (in a song – 25 times, in prose – 0 times) although in the collection under scrutiny “the prose contains over 1.5 times more words than the text of the song” (Glinka 1969, 218). This connection is confirmed in the folklore of

southern Slavs in the *Słownik prasłowiański* where volume IV reads as follows: “decline since the 14th c. *dùbrava* ‘a forest, typically in a farmland valley’ (cf. Chakavian dial. *dumbrava* from a folk song from Istria: V zelenoj *dumbrave*, RJAZ; with a secondary intrusive *m*, p. Skok ER I 449)” (SP, 182).

Another example of folk poetic creativity, typical of all the Slavic nations, is *wrony* as an epithet of a *horse*. Let me remind that “the motif of a horse was nothing new in pagan (Slavic – J.S.) beliefs. The animal’s image was carved on the front of the Zbruch Idol and on one of the stone steles. However, it was most popular in beliefs of Polabian Slavs and the peoples of Western Pomerania” (Gašowski 1988, 583).

Wrony as a name of equine coat colour has not been recognised in Polish dialects (Sierociuk 1996). This is an extremely folkloristic poetic word typically used in love songs. Therefore, it is strongly related to the poetic system as an element co-creating the linguistic model of the genre in folklore (Sierociuk 1987; Sierociuk 1999, 148). In Belarusian songs, *warany koń* is the most frequent poetic designation (Glinka 1969, 218) (in a song – 169 times, in prose – 0 times²).

Let me discuss singular examples (the size of the article does not allow to analyse a large number of them) which are evidence of the phrase’s persistence in the folklore of the specific Slavic nations:

Polish:

Dziwcyno młoda, ślicno, urodna,
Na kogóz się oglundos?
Na ciebie, Jasiu, mój Jasiuleńku,
Co *wrónygo kónia* mos; (Skierkowski 1934, 373).

Czech:

Sedla bych si na *koně vraného*,
jela bych s nim do pole širého,
spolu bysme bojovali,
nepřátelům hlavy posekali; (Oliva 1980, 85).

Slovak:

Sadla bych mu, sadla,
na jeho maštale,
až by zardžali, hoja,
jeho *kone vrané*; (*Pesne* 1986, 75).

Russian:

Он соскакивал с *вороного коня ...*; (*Русские* 1979, 177).

Belorussian:

Заезджу коніка, *каня варанога*,

² This compilation itself may be an indirect proof of the phrase’s absence from everyday speech of specific users of folklore. Unlike songs, prose texts are much more dependent on the local dialects.

Ой, скажы, дзеўчына, ці што будзе з тога ...; (*Вянок* 1988, 241).

Ukrainian:

Ой у полі криниченька
На чотири зводи,
Напували козаченьки
Вороній коні (*Пісні* 1986, 59).

Notably, according to S. J. Ermolenko (Эрмоенко 1987, 81), *вороній коні* lies at the heart of the poetic tissue of Ukrainian folklore³;

Bulgarian:

Куга ойдеш в Малинови двори,
ти не слáзи от *вранаго коня* ...; (Стоин 1975, 225).

Serbian:

Пођи збогом, неве наша, не обзири се
на братине *вране коње!* (Караџић 1977, 32).

The word *wrony* as an epithet of a horse fulfils the requirements of formulas and, as the above review of material shows, it is an element of the general Slavic folk poetic tissue. Having said that, I must add that this form has a property of interest to these considerations: as a component of the poetic language of Slavic folklore, it is therefore affiliated only to folklore. As Polish materials indicate (there are no confirmations of everyday use), it is also *exclusively* folk poetic creation. Therefore, if the folklore of all the Slavic nations contains a form absent from informal dialects, this absence is the best proof that the poetic language of all Slavs took shape when they were still members of a community before its disintegration.

In other words, a juxtaposition of the examples provided here and information about the stylistic properties of the language of the Slavic folk song leads to the following, very likely interpretation: in the absence of the specific units in the structure of the language of everyday communication (see for example the situation in the Polish language) and their presence in the general Slavic song folklore one should assume that in the proto-Slavic period, there was already a structure of the poetic language. It is hard to relate the presence of units which are linguistically and functionally identical to the independent and incidental development of the poetic systems in Slavic nations bereft of contacts.

Both types of literary work: Homer's narrative poetry and Slavic folklore, go back to a single source, namely oral culture. They also share a similar approach to words, the basic material.

J.W. Ong noted that

Oral cultures tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human lifeworld. (...) Havelock (...) has shown that pre-Socratic Greeks thought of justice in operational rather than formally conceptualized ways and the late Anne Amory Parry (...) made much the

³ Cf. entry *вороний* in: Жайворонок 2006.

same point about the epithet *amymōn* applied by Homer to Aegisthus: the epithet means not “blameless”, a tidy abstraction with which literates have translated the term, but “beautiful-in-the-way-a-warrior-ready-to-fight-is-beautiful” (Ong 1992, 41).

He made another important observation in the context of this article:

Traditional expressions in oral cultures must not be dismantled: it has been hard work getting them together over the generations, and there is nowhere outside the mind to store them. So soldiers are brave and princesses beautiful and oaks sturdy forever. This is not to say that there may not be other epithets for soldiers or princesses or oaks, even contrary epithets; but these are standard, too: the braggart soldier, the unhappy princess, can also be part of the equipment. What obtains for epithets obtains for other formulas (Ong 1992, 38–39).

While discussing the typicality of phrases, combinations of epithets co-creating poetic formulas, the standard attribute of a folk lover should be added, namely *czarne oczy* (black eyes). It accompanies the characteristics of a girl provided by the song’s protagonist. In fact, this combination is typical only of erotic folk poetry.

Beside the historical distance, both types of creative achievements differ with respect to the cultural context. Homer lived when collective memory was the only way to continue tradition; for centuries, the oral nature of folklore has been juxtaposed with culture based on the tradition of writing. Nevertheless, it seems that even in this context, the major elements of oral culture are still present in the social cycle. This is corroborated by a simple experiment conducted with students of the Poznań University’s Institute of Polish Philology who were requested to write down the Little Red Riding Hood fairy tale. Neither of the participants had attended classes during which the poetics of folk texts were discussed or any analysis was carried out of the fairy tale in question. Out of the resulting approximately 150 texts⁴, only several contained composition rules foreign to the folk poetic art. The incipit of the fairy tale which is a translation of the Grimm Brothers version (*There was once a sweet little maid ...*) has a distinct time indication. While in their opening lines, the students went beyond this repertoire [Sierociuk 2008], they remained within the limits established by N. Roșianu who has divided the initial fairy-tale formulas into two types: some only place the fairy tale in time – chronological (“*temporale*”), others define the topography (“*topografice*”) (Roșianu 1973, 19).

This experiment shows that, despite the dominance of the culture of writing, cultures with two different origins continue their coexistence. Cultural habits of childhood (a non-writing stage of life), especially exposure to “fairy-tale” literature, turned out to be persistent despite lack of active participation in the “folklore environment”. Let me finish by referring to J. W. Ong’s conclusion: “Oral formulaic thought and expression ride deep in consciousness and the unconscious, and they do not vanish as soon as one used to them takes pen in hand” (Ong 1992, 26)*.

⁴ All the participants were allowed 30 minutes for the task.

* The text is a slightly modified version of the first print: *Homer i współczesny folklor – różny czas, jedna tradycja*, [in:] *Мови та культури у новій Європі: контакти і самобутність*, Редколегія збірника: П.О. Бех, В.М. Зорівчак, С.А. Карпіловська ..., Київ 2009, pp. 453–462.

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The methodological assumptions about research into language of villagers

Abstract: The article presents a presumption that contemporary rural areas are witnesses not only to intense transformations of the inhabitants' living conditions but also very rapid changes to the language spoken by the local communities where the traditionally defined dialects are less and less frequently the major means of communication.

- 3) The presented research proposal highlights the need for taking into account several premises: collecting in the field lexical material mainly by focusing attention on a specific subject area;
- 2) taking into account various social and linguistic parameters at the stage of collecting the material; for the research, select informants who represent various generations as indicated by the informants' years of birth; for the purpose of clarity, five generation intervals have been identified;
- 3) the material, subjected to computer processing, should be accompanied by particulars including a few basic parameters that allow to characterise each element in detail.

Key words: dialect, language spoken in rural areas, research methodology.

Abstrakt: Założenia metodologiczne badań języka wsi. W artykule wychodzi się z przeświadczenia, że współczesne wieś jest terenem nie tylko intensywnych przeobrażeń warunków życia jej mieszkańców, lecz także jest to obszar bardzo szybko zachodzących przeobrażeń języka kształtującej ją społeczności, gdzie tradycyjnie pojmowane gwary coraz rzadziej są podstawowym środkiem porozumiewania się. Prezentowana propozycja badawcza akcentuje potrzebę uwzględnienia kilku przesłanek:

- 1) gromadzenie w terenie materiału leksykalnego głównie poprzez koncentrację uwagi na określonym polu tematycznym;
- 2) na etapie gromadzenia materiału uwzględniać różne parametry socjolingwistyczne;
- 3) do badań typować informatorów reprezentujących różne grupy pokoleniowe wyznaczone rokiem urodzenia informatora; dla celów porządkujących przyjmuje się pięć takich przedziałów pokoleniowych;
- 4) poddawany obróbce komputerowej materiał ma być zaopatrzony w odpowiednią metryczkę zawierającą kilka podstawowych parametrów pozwalających na dokładną charakterystykę każdego z jego elementów.

Słowa kluczowe: gwara, język wsi, metodologia badań.

Contemporary rural areas are witnesses not only to intense transformations of the inhabitants' living conditions but also very rapid changes to the language spoken by the local communities. The traditionally defined dialects are less and less frequently the major means of oral communication, just as the old (basic) farming activities and

tools are in fact familiar only to the oldest representatives of the contemporary farming population.

In the light of the dynamic linguistic changes coupled with the internal diversity of the language spoken in contemporary rural areas, dialectologists need to consider them in the research plans; this involves changes to research orientations, especially at the stage of field work. However, field explorations are derivatives of general methodological assumptions.

Contemporary dialectology has at its disposal a practically satisfactory description of the territorial distribution of lexical units characteristic of dialects. However, a static approach to these phenomena prevails. Therefore, there is an urgent need if not a requirement to focus on two aspects: observing the processes of linguistic evolution (especially on a lexical level) and a derivative of the above: documenting a relatively complete assortment of the language spoken in contemporary rural areas.

At present we know enough about the dialectal diversity on the phonetic level and – on the basis of selected units – the lexical level; not much is known about the morphological diversity, especially word-forming. However, this is not about a register of morphological elements but predominantly about diversification of processes, word-forming techniques, the processes' dynamics and diversity. Lexical research is not accompanied by theoretical reflection, either; we do not know much about the semantic structure of specific thematic (lexical) areas, their specificity or the territorial diversity of the arrangement of lexical and semantic structures.

Completed as well as currently edited atlases of dialects present material which, to a large extent, belongs to the past. Similarly, the *Atlas języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski* (AJKLW) is now of historical nature. In fact, the field material obtained in the mid-1970s represents a language spoken by a past generation. As a result of the specific selection of the informants recruited from the oldest generation (a large part of the respondents were people born back in the 19th century; in the other cases the date of birth did not exceed 1910) we lose sight of the language spoken by their children, grandchildren and – practically – great grandchildren. However, there is an urgent need to observe linguistic behaviour of the three new generations.

Notably, the need for regular repetition of field research has been postulated at the stage of establishing the Poznań centre of dialectology. L. Zabrocki, an organiser of the Phonographic Archive, presented sound registration of dialects which started in 1948 as follows:

The sound should be recorded with respect to the future phonetic (phonological), vocabulary and syntax analyses. Within ten years, global recording of all the dialects of the Polish language is to be completed in Poland and abroad. The next general recording should take place in twenty five years. Consequently, the Archive will have a recorded picture of the Polish language in intervals of twenty five years (Zabrocki 1948, 516).

Inhabitants of the rural areas in Wielkopolska speak a language different from the one registered in the first recordings; it also varies from the language presented on the maps in the AJKLW. In fact, there are no longer pure, traditional dialects in

Wielkopolska. It is equally true that we know relatively little about the speed, direction and specificity of the changes to the linguistic environment.

The contemporary organisational and technical solutions allow to prevent this situation. Below I present the methodological assumptions adopted in the course of field research by the team of the Institute of Polish Dialectology of the Poznań University.

The major goal is setting up an archive that would reflect the condition of the linguistic diversity in contemporary rural areas. In the course of obtaining field material, the rules presented in this article have been followed. Let me stress the fact that the collected documentation is intended to be neutral with respect to any methodological concept (and this is one of the major assumptions). This means that the documentation is not collected for the purpose of research according to the assumptions of structuralism, generativism, cognitivism or other methodological orientations. Similarly, it is not our intention to juxtapose a corpus of materials in order to survey phenomena exclusively on a specific level of language description: morphology, lexical or semantic sets. We also have in mind obtaining possibly broad contexts of the cultural entanglement of the specific phenomena and linguistic units¹. The analyses included in the AJKLW serve as a good point of reference.

This procedure may be referred to in a most general way in the following way: possibly most ample material providing data necessary for a comprehensive and diverse description.

Before I proceed with detailed proposals, let me present some more general assumptions.

In field research, an assumption is made that possibly most extensive thesauruses should be compiled, including also various grammatical forms. We do realise that editing complete dictionaries is practically impossible. Nevertheless, by focusing on selected subject areas, for comparison reasons and to define the internal lexical and semantic structures of the language spoken by inhabitants of selected villages, we hope to obtain sets which would indicate the idiosyncrasy of the organisation of specific sections of the linguistic reality inside various rural populations and in the opposition between the **general language** and the **language spoken in rural areas**. We assume to shift the focus from the frequently incidental (in these cases) set of lexical units to comparing closed and holistic sections of specific lexical and semantic structures.

The concept of a *thematic area* was presented by T. Skubalanka²; created on the basis of association, the concept is semantically capacious and can be very extended, including many distinctly marked lexical and semantic areas. By focusing on a specific subject in the course of the research, we enjoy the opportunity of confirming rare units which are also characteristic of a specific generation.

¹ These ventures are exemplified by, for example, *Słownictwo pola tematycznego WIERZENIA I OBRZĘDY w gwarze ...* This subject, with a distinct ethno-linguistic bias, enjoys considerable interest of participants of M.A. seminars.

² In her work dedicated to love-related vocabulary used by J. Słowacki, T. Skubalanka referred to the thematic criterion; she called the resulting arrangement of concepts “a thematic or connotation area”; see (Skubalanka 1966, 16).

Of importance is also the fact that in this research framework, at the stage of field exploration, it is possible to include into the team less experienced members; it is easier to prepare an explorer with respect to the content bearing in mind only a specific section of the rural reality rather than a broad range of thematically diversified issues. Field work is also conducted by students, participants of M.A. seminars³ and optional classes.

In the adopted assumptions, an important role is assigned to the generational diversity of the language spoken by inhabitants of contemporary rural areas. It is assumed that the complexity of linguistic behaviour of a specific individual is mainly affected by the time in which his/her linguistic competence was shaped, the time needed to master a linguistic system together with cultural references. For this reason (and also for the purpose of clarity), we focus primarily on the generational affiliation specified by the year of birth. Based on our experience, we have identified the following generational intervals:

I. born **before 1920**. This generational group is practically no longer represented. This is a generation which developed its linguistic habits at home; it is also a generation whose language (Polish) was not affected by the school. In fact, this generation's language is best documented, presented on the maps of language atlases. When this proposal was being developed, conversations with representatives of that generation were possible and very recommended. At present (an entire generation later), it would be difficult to record a representative of this generational interval in the course of a field exploration;

II. born in **1921-1945**. When referring to the oldest generation, we deal with representatives of these years of birth. In rural areas, it is a group of people brought up in homogenous social and economic conditions. The informants from this interval are the main source of vocabulary related to the traditional organisation of rural life;

III. born in **1946-1970**. The interlocutors from this generation grew up in different social and economic conditions, marked by gradual disappearance of the traditional rural structures and the conditions of traditional rural life. Their language has been largely affected by the school and human migration. Of importance is also the impact of the external factor – the unprecedented influence of the urban environment;

IV. born in **1971-1995**. This generation is most diverse with respect to the conditions affecting their command of language. The social and economic transformations have left the deepest mark on them. The changes taking place in rural areas and brought about by external factors (including general electrification, water supply networks, different agricultural inputs etc.) which have contributed to a new reality, mainly on the vocabulary level;

V. born in **1996 and later**. This generation grew up in the progressing transformation of the growth initiated by the previous generation. Observations of the language spoken by representatives of this generation lead to conclusions about the rate of linguistic changes that will take place in this group in the future.

³ A case in point are submitted M.A. theses focusing on an analysis of vocabulary including thematic areas: TRADITIONAL CHORES OF RURAL WOMEN, HUMANS, WORK, THE FOREST. For comparison purposes, the same subjects are tackled in locations representing various dialects in Wielkopolska.

The generational periodization adopted here slightly deviates from the divisions suggested by researchers into the (general) contemporary Polish language⁴ or dialects (Zagórski 1991, 9).

Let me emphasise the fact that this proposal is not based solely on the taxonomy of generations; the suggested division and the underlying rules prove very helpful in contemporary field research. Once the above presented generational division is adopted, long-term research can be carried out on the same informants and this is of great value in monographic projects. The Institute of Dialectology of the Poznań University is in possession of ample material representing all the identified generational groups⁵. Consequently, respecting the above assumptions provides insight into the dynamics of the changes taking place in the linguistic environment in the rural areas.

The transformations in contemporary rural areas lead also to including into the research individuals typically disregarded in this type of ventures. Bearing in mind the issues of the integration and disintegration of the language of villages (*język mieszkańców wsi*), we will also analyse utterances of extralocal populations well settled in the specific villages; the same holds true for representatives of various professions. Villages inhabited by exclusively rural populations or populations settled for several generations no longer exist; observations of the extralocals' linguistic behaviour is most useful in the context of describing linguistic contacts.

In order to provide more details, the material collected in accordance with the above general assumptions needs to be catalogued. The technical solutions available today allow to create registers in which each archived unit can be accompanied by very extended particulars. The technological progress leads to creating databases where the specific units may be accompanied by a very complex set of parameters. As a result, we can adopt additional methodological assumptions at the documentation stage.

The audio content is registered during field research and subjected to computer processing, preferably in the digital form.

The resulting database includes the following parameters:

A. the locations exceeding the name of the village – and possible allocation in the administrative division – will be based on the geographic coordinate system using strips and posts. The division of Poland, adopted by the Military Cartographic Works (Map), into 10 strips and ten posts, allows to locate material unambiguously irrespective of the changes to the administrative division. The map, published in the 1990s, allocates the longitude and latitude to any location under scrutiny. In the future, it will allow to present linguistic configurations in a visual form. It also provides insight into confirmations from any given fragment of an area. The goal is to have in a specific square several points providing material of diverse abundance. With duly ample documentation and a slight modification of the sizes of the fragments of the map it will be possible to make presentations based on the solutions applied in dialectometric research (Goebel 1982; Kelle 2001; Müller 2001).

⁴ Cf. the outline of "chronological succession of generations" as suggested in (Dubisz 1995, 83).

⁵ Material obtained from kindergarten kids born in different years in rural areas is extremely interesting. It has been aptly reflected in an M.A. thesis written as part of my seminar (Kasprzyk 2001).

B. The time of the recording including the day. We assume that the interviews with the same informants will be held in different time intervals, e.g. during a several days' long field trip or by an M.A. student working on a specific location. In special cases, research is repeated on the same informant. Data on the time of registering the dialectal material is of great importance in the context of defining the dialect as a language of the oral environment i.e. language facts, in this case communicated orally in a generation-based tradition.

C. The informant's initials; as a result, each language form can be associated with a specific individual. This is of importance because for monographs, several informants are selected. In the Institute of Dialectology of the Poznań University, we have recordings of sets of materials obtained in a specific location, typically from three to five individuals. Bearing this in mind, the corpora of texts obtained in Bukowiec Górny (Leszno county) and in Dąbrówka Wlkp. (Świebodzin county) are quite impressive. The former corpus includes more than 200 hours of recordings of conversations with more than 70 individuals. While some of the interlocutors were less outspoken, their participation was each time noted. While the corpus from Dąbrówka Wlkp. is smaller, its size exceeds that of typical sets of dialectal texts collected in a single village.

D. The basis of obtaining the material – we mark confirmations which are replies to the questions in the questionnaire or fragments of a casual conversation. Of special value are confirmations obtained in unofficial, spontaneous situations. The dedicated thematic questionnaires are some sort of a guide to a relatively informal conversation. In this situation, the interlocutors very frequently spontaneously confirm linguistic units loosely related to the subject of the conversation and not included in the questionnaire. The questionnaire is not presented during the conversation; the explorer needs to know its content as part of his/her preparations for field work.

E. Meta-language information provided by the interlocutors. The audio material often includes explanations of both the time when specific forms were used and the acceptability of use in a specific communication situation. These supplements are extremely valuable in the course of examining the dynamics of the linguistic changes taking place in rural areas. They are also the basis for identifying passive vocabulary.

F/ generational identifiers – affiliation with one of the above presented generational groups but also the year of birth. The generationally diverse material superimposed on the map shows the direction and dynamics of the linguistic processes taking place in rural areas (Čižmarová 2000; Sierociuk 1996). The material, obtained in villages in accordance with these principles, coded in line with the adopted assumptions, poses an opportunity to view various processes taking place in the environment of a specific dialect. I have presented many such lists in my works (Sierociuk 2015). I will refer here to texts excerpted from a corpus from Bukowiec Górny; it pertains to variants of diminutives:

DRABKA [36 x]: **DRABECZKA** [12 x]: **DRABINKA** [20 x]:

2 – SzM (1886) – –

8 – PaK (1910) – 1 –

– – UrA (1912) – 5 –

1 – PoJ (1919) – – –
 – – SoW (1920) – 1 –
 1 – DoS (1921) – – –
 1 – MaF (1922) – – 3
 1 – SwS (1922) – 1 –
 1 – SIJ (1923) – 1 –
 2 – SzA (1923) – – 2
 – – SzJ (1925) – – 3
 – – PoW (1928) – – 2
 4 – SoA (1928) – – –
 – – SoF (1928) – – 1
 1 – LiE (1935) – 3 1
 3 – PoB (1937) – – –
 4 – PoC (1942) – – 1
 – – GrP (1944) – – 1
 – – GuB (1946) – – 1
 – – BaK (1947) – – 1
 7 – SaZ (1948) – – 2
 – – WoS (1959) – – 2

G/ negative confirmations i.e. confirmations that a specific unit is unknown (Sierociuk 1992); in the course of field exploration and in the resulting database they are treated as equal to text documentation.

The assumptions presented here in a brief form result in a methodological basis for very specific research into the structure and inner diversity of the language spoken in rural areas. The detailed techniques are direct derivatives of the above presented solutions; they are expanded on in a database structure developed with this research in mind*.

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Features defining dialects spoken in language of villagers

Abstract: The article focuses on the suitability of collections of texts for listing dialect characteristics. Attention has also been paid to the occurrence of some dialectal features in Z. Sobierajski's *Teksty z zachodniej Wielkopolski*; 210 pages of his book contain 62,711 dialectal word forms. The material from the corpus has been confronted with M. Gruchmanowa's *Gwary zachodniej Wielkopolski* (Poznań 1970) and the *Atlas języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski* (Wrocław...– Poznań 1979–2005). The corpus either lacks an entire group of forms regarded typical of the region's dialects or the occurrences are very rare. Therefore, despite the ample material, in many instances an attempt at linguistic characteristics of specific dialects is futile.

Keywords: dialect, language spoken in rural areas, dialectal system, text rendition.

Abstrakt: Cechy definicyjne gwar w języku mieszkańców wsi. Artykuł koncentruje się na problemie przydatności zbiorów tekstów do zestawiania charakterystyki gwar. Zwrócono tu uwagę na występowanie niektórych cech dialektalnych w książkowym wydaniu *Tekstów z zachodniej Wielkopolski* Z. Sobierajskiego. Na 210 stronach druku odnotowanych jest 62711 słowoform gwarowych. Materiał z tak zestawionego korpusu skonfrontowany został z M. Gruchmanowej *Gwarami zachodniej Wielkopolski* (Poznań 1970) i *Atlasem języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski* (Wrocław ...– Poznań 1979–2005). Cały szereg form, uznawanych za typowe dla gwar tego regionu, w badanym korpusie nie występuje, lub ma poświadczenia jednokrotne. Mimo więc tak obfitego materiału w wielu wypadkach nie jest możliwe podjęcie prób naszkicowania charakterystyki językowej konkretnych gwar.

Wyrazy kluczowe: gwara, język mieszkańców wsi, system gwarowy, realizacja tekstwa.

In the dialectological tradition or, more broadly, in the linguistic tradition, dialectal texts are regarded a very important source used to characterise a specific dialect. To a large extent, the material available in the publications represents the basis of monographs and it is also highly valued in lexicography. Notably, until recently collections of dialectal texts provided in fact the only opportunity to study the dialectal diversity in any language. However, for obvious reasons hand-written utterances of inhabitants of rural areas did not represent relevant research material. In many instances, their suitability depended on the documentalist's professional preparation. It was not until phonographic registration that the volume as well as the diversity of the accounts could be increased. Listening to the recordings numerous times posed an opportunity

for an in-depth analysis. Contact with a substitute of a live language has enjoyed growing popularity in academic teaching.

Kazimierz Nitsch's *Wybór polskich tekstów gwarowych* (Nitsch 1929) has played a very important role in Polish linguistic studies. A collection of dialectal texts, published in the Interwar period with a large group of student of Polish philology and other specialisations in mind, was a major source of knowledge that enabled to present the specific dialectal complexes. Registered live language spoken by inhabitants of rural areas was not available before the phonographic archive at the Poznań University was made partly available (more in Sierociuk 2009).

The article's material basis is represented by a fragment of a lexicographic corpus of the Dialectology Laboratory of the Poznań University developed for the purpose of the future dictionary of Wielkopolska's dialects. The utterances were registered in the early 1950s by Zenon Sobierajski; some of them are available in *Teksty gwarowe z zachodniej Wielkopolski* (Sobierajski 1985). A book of 210 pages presents utterances of inhabitants of 11 villages from a compact dialectal area. For the purpose of the corpus, the material was rewritten in a simplified form to replace the original phonetic transcription and submitted to digital processing. The corpus includes only dialectal word forms from the analysed texts. The collection contains 62,711 units.

In the computer database, each form ("flashcard") has a few pieces of information; with view of further analysis, of importance may be the initials identifying the informant, his/her year of birth, place of residence and the day of the recording. Once the material has been sorted, a specification of the usage of all the forms has been drafted; it provides insight into the phenomenon's territorial and idiolectal prevalence. With a rich and diverse material at hand, we can identify various chronological (generational) layers of the local linguistic features. A case of making use of this type of information is the type *jeszczyk* 'jeszcze' (still) which appeared quite frequently, namely 22 times. The form was confirmed in four locations. For these considerations, on top of the geographic information of importance is the idiolectal distribution: Drawsko (informant born in 1866) – twice; Nowa Wieś Zbąska (informant born in 1866) – once; Stare Kramsko (informant born in 1874) – twice; Kęblowo (informant born in 1874) – 17 times.

In each location, this example was registered in one informant's speech; bearing in mind the fact that there were several interlocutors taking part in these conversations (three males in Kęblowo), the above findings are meaningful, especially with reference to the material from Kęblowo. The situation unambiguously shows that dialectal documentation may reflect phenomena typical of specific idiolects.

Another reason why the *jeszczyk* type deserves is that the lack of confirmation thereof in contemporary recordings clearly indicates that the phenomenon is obsolete. It also shows that, in the course of an analysis of archived materials, a researcher may come across idiolectal confirmations, sometimes even single. Examination of archived materials leads to a question if this type of examples may be at the heart of the characteristics of a specific dialect.

In the database, the *zernik* 'rzeźnik' (butcher) type has characteristic confirmations, 6 of them in just one location (Drawsko) and from one informant at that. The subsequent question seems obvious: is it a dialectal or idiolectal feature?

Before I proceed with the major topic, let me devote some attention to the possibility of indicating the phenomena in the article's title.

The dialectal texts, published by Z. Sobierajski, were recorded in the 1950s following the rules formulated by Jan Otrębski (Otrębski 1953), listed for the purpose of a dialectal phonographic archive. The assumed thematic diversity of the recordings is reflected in the analysed specification of west Wielkopolska texts. The founders of the Poznań archive assumed that these were texts representative of the documented dialects. When working on the selection, Z. Sobierajski assumed that "in the future, the texts (...) may provide a valuable material basis for further research split into two areas, namely dialectology and ethnology". (Sobierajski 1985, 5).

Therefore, the selection of a group of texts for scrutiny resulted from, among other things, willingness to test their suitability "for further research". To be more specific, two premises prevailed: the lexical representation of Wielkopolska dialects ("Only texts lexically explored for the "Słownik gwar polskich", compiled under the supervision of M. Karaś were regarded" (Sobierajski 1985, 5)) and the heavily stressed conviction that the lexical material was so abundant that in the future, it might provide the basis for a Wielkopolska dictionary. The author of these large selections of dialectal texts wrote:

there is ample material for further work on Wielkopolska folk culture, material and social alike (...).

Needless to say, a Polish philologist will find lots of materials for further research into the regional Polish language spoken in Wielkopolska, within the resources of all the sections of the language system. The multitude of the lexical material can be used in the course of editing the "Słownik gwarowy Wielkopolski (na tle kultury ludowej)" (Sobierajski 1995, 5 160 x 2356).

Not surprisingly, the above led to a conviction that the texts were representative, also about other levels of organisation of the system of dialects ("A dialectologist will find lots of material from all sections of the language system" (Sobierajski 1985, 5).

Therefore, are thematically diverse texts containing 62,711 word forms a sufficient corpus to make an attempt at constructing a relatively complete profile of the dialects in question?

There are several works in Polish dialectology that allow to confront the corpus material with monographs. The dialectal picture of west Wielkopolska is presented mainly in two works, namely in the *Atlas języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski* (AJKLW 1979–2005) and *Gwary zachodniej Wielkopolski* by Monika Gruchmanowa (Gruchmanowa 1970). However, when juxtaposing these texts with material compiled by Z. Sobierajski, one should be aware that they were used by both M. Gruchmanowa and the team editing the atlas. Nevertheless, the question about the occurrence of features defining dialects in these rather lengthy texts is absolutely intriguing.

The *Atlas...* and M. Gruchmanowa's monograph pose an opportunity to compare the analysed corpus and the findings presented by field researchers; the latter work is a confrontation of the confirmations from Z. Sobierajski's recordings with a database including material from explorations carried out for the purpose of a dictionary of Wielkopolska dialects.

By submitting the comments below I do not assume that an analysis of the entire dialectal system is possible; my intention is only to decide if this type of corpus is representative enough for subsequent attempts at a monograph of the specific dialects. The issue gains in importance when, for example, a dictionary of dialects is compiled. To what extent can a researcher be satisfied with longer utterances of inhabitants of rural areas and to what extent do we have to resort to the semi-questionnaire method to obtain lexicographic material?

Let me proceed with more concrete examples.

Phonetic phenomena:

The texts recorded by Z. Sobierajski document the prevalence of the typical features defining Wielkopolska dialects: lack of mazuration and voicing interword phonetics; equally common are diphthongs, typical of the region. While indication of these primary defining features is not at all problematic, peculiar features were registered much less frequently.

Forms like *graje*, *grajesz*, *znaje*, *znajesz* (Nowak 1982: 33) are regarded characteristic of a large part of dialects of Wielkopolska as well as Kashubia, Krajna, north and south Wielkopolska and a part of Silesia. The corpus of my interest includes only *znaje*, confirmed once in Dąbrówka Wlkp., Podmokle Wielkie and Jażyniec. There are no other dependent forms; the corpus does not contain confirmations of the *graje* type.

Assuming that a monograph includes forms deemed typical of a region, let me take a look at their representation in the analysed corpus.

According to the monograph (Gruchmanowa 1970, map 14), 'skrzydło' is used in the area's dialects in the following forms: *krzydło*, *skrzydło* and *śkrzydło*; two of these forms occur in texts while *krzydło* has two confirmations; *skrzydło* has been written down three times; in Z. Sobierajski's texts, the form *ckrzydło* was recorded, unknown to M. Gruchmanowa;

'pszczola' (bee) – no form has been recorded in the texts; (Gruchmanowa 1970, map 9) presents two forms: *pszczola* and *pczola*;

'szkło' (glass) – out of the forms *ćkło*, *czkło* and *szkło* (Gruchmanowa 1970, map 8), only the first type is confirmed: *ćkło* – 3 times, *ćklónka* – 3 times; types *czkło* and *szkło* were not recorded;

'rumianek' (camomile) – according to the monograph (Gruchmanowa 1970, map 92), two forms occur in the area in question: *rumianek* and *rymianek*; Z. Sobierajski's texts do not confirm it;

byś 'być' (to be) regarded typical of this area, confirms this attribute in the texts; even today, older respondents use this form;

roście 'rośnie' (grows) – quoted 3 times by informants from Dąbrówka Wlkp. and 3 times in Podmokle Wielkie;

bojewica (a place in a barn to park a cart) occurred in various locations in Z. Sobierajski's register;

kóniewi (to a horse) – a sporadic form in the corpus – confirmed once.

The possibility of obtaining word-formation structures is much more complex. In the specific conditions of research into word-formation in linguistics in the mid-20th

century, interest in these forms was slight. Nevertheless, one could expect occurrence of some lexical units representing specific *ford*-formation types. The west Wielkopolska corpus does not contain many names of locations; confirmations like *bielnik* ‘a place where yarn is whitewashed’ are rare or sporadic (once); *kurnik* (3 times); formations with the *-isko* suffix are also rare: *siedlisko* (*fish habitat*), *szczernisko* (*stubble field*), *topawiska*. In the analysed corpus, only three augmentatives are present: *wiórzysko* – 3 times, *ptaszysko*, *weselisko*. In Z. Sobierajski’s texts, names of professions are rare; there is a *rzeźnik* type, a *strażnik* (once), a *stelmach* and a *sukienik* // *sukiennik* (3 times); the form *rzeźnik* (a butcher) was uttered by one informant as *zernik*. There are no representatives of the types *kołodziej*, *kominiarz*, *powroźnik* or *pracownik*, confirmed in other materials from this area.

While the texts contain references to harvest with mentions of various parts of the scythe, the lack of a name for “one who scythes” (*kosiarz*) is surprising; the dialects of west Wielkopolska include the words *kośnik*¹ and *kosiarz* (AJKLW 1979–2005, map 331). According to the local standard, the texts also lack the *kosić* form; traditional west Wielkopolska dialects use the verb *siec* whose position, in the light of the texts, is also irrefutable. On the basis of an analysis of the relations in question, nothing can be said about words like ‘a woman following a reaper’ – not a single occurrence of the *odbieraczka* or *ubieraczka* type was registered.

The words *dużyki* ‘duży’ (large), *dużyko* ‘dużo’ (lots of) are equally frequent in various locations; they are also confirmed in contemporary materials.

The prevailing diminutive formant *-yszek* is regarded typical of Wielkopolska dialects; in the AJKLW 1979–2005, they forms *colnyszek* (m. 535), *garnyszek* (m. 59), *grzebyszek* (m. 333), *kawałyszek* (m. 25), *młastyszek* (m. 56), *rzymyszek* (m. 471), *ślupyszek* (m. 368), *kundyszek* (m. 25), *spodyszek* (m. 70), *stolyszek* (m. 39), *toporyszek* (m. 281), *więcioryszek* (m. 738), *woryszek* (m. 40) are confirmed in various locations and with varying intensity (map numbers in brackets). One could therefore expect at least a few recordings in the corpus material; however, the type *rzymyszek* occurs only once. In this situation, this type is hardly representative, especially that other materials from this area provide also *chłopyszek*, *grzebyszek*, *kamyszek*, *kwiatyszek*, *snopyszek* and *wionyszek* (on top of some forms registered in the atlas).

The documentation compiled by Z. Sobierajski poses hardly any opportunities to indicate the prevailing type; it is not possible to identify the relations between the types *wianyszek* and *wianuszek* because neither is confirmed; there is only the general Polish type *wianek*.

There is no reason to analyse the relations between the diminutive formants *-ik* and *-ek*; the former is regarded characteristic of Wielkopolska dialects. The corpus lacks the *wózik* and *wózek* types; *plózik* and *plótek* are equally non-existent. There is not a single example of the *kłózik*, *kłósek*, *kłóseczek* series.

Due to the lack of textual representation of a specific type of vocabulary, it is impossible to make attempts at describing other word-formation relations. In the analysed corpus registered in the course of field exploration, there are no examples of the type

¹ I have disregarded a single confirmation of the word *kośnik* which was uttered in a reply to the explorer’s question in which the word was mentioned.

tanecznik ‘one who dances well’, *brudas* ‘one who is dirty’, *brukarz* ‘one who lays cobbles’, *chapacz* ‘one who works hard, toils’; *chlewnia* as an alternation of *chlew*, *chrześniak*, *chrześniaczka*.

The persistence of forms *gorzyć się*, *gorszyć się*, *gniewać się*, indicated in the *Atlas* ... (AJKLW 1979-2005, map 601: *Gniewać się* and the synonyms) has not been confirmed, the type *równik*, *równiak*, *rów(n)ieśnik*, *rówieśnik* is non-existent (AJKLW 1979-2005, map 594: names of humans of the same age).

Let’s also take a close look at the textual representation of the indicators of a feature’s intensity, e.g.:

-*utki*: *cieniutki* (once), *drobniutko* (once), *glaciutko* (once), *króciutkie* (once), *malutki* (5 times), *samiutki* (once), *świżutki* (once); the forms *czyściutki*, *czyściutko*, *mięciutki* were not registered;

-*uchn-*: *cieniuchno* (once), *zólciuchne* (twice);

-*eńki*: *drobniuteńkie* (once);

-*itki*: *malitki* (once).

The above examples clearly indicate that it is impossible to instigate respective research based on this otherwise bulky material corpus.

In order to supplement these observations, let me refer to a comment on the name regarded typical of the Western sections of the analysed dialects, also by contemporary respondents: *bulwa* ‘ziemniak’ (potato). Its dispersion is presented in the AJKLW 1979-2005 – map 353. The picture emerging from Z. Sobierajski’s texts is very telling: *bulwa* – once, *pyra* // *pyrka* – 104 times, *kartofel* – 6 times. Therefore, the picture is absolutely clear: the words *pyra* // *pyrka* are widespread; *bulwa*, regarded a representative form, is practically non-existent in the analysed texts.

One more example not related to vocabulary: the type *po nogach* ‘on foot’, which occurs in various dialects of Wielkopolska, is represented only once, by the type *po kolanach* ‘on bent knees’.

As I have indicated above, each form is accompanied by information of importance from the point of view of a sociolinguistic analysis. Bearing in mind only the generation factor (and the generation affinity is indicated by intervals of 25 years in the informants’ dates of births) (Sierociuk 2003), we can indicate the chronological stratification of the language spoken by the inhabitants of the villages under scrutiny. Obviously, in many instances the texts registered in the 1950s are the only confirmation of a specific form’s persistence. A case in point is the type *jeszczyk*, absent from contemporary material. On the other hand, we need to bear in mind that absence of a specific form, especially when it concerns systemic phenomena, does not mean that the form does not exist in the structure of a specific dialect. In many cases, it only means that the form of interest did not appear in the analysed texts. A researcher needs to be aware of the systemic limitations which occur also in the general language (Skubalanka 1977). This should result in accepting the fact that following an analysis of even very large corpuses, it is not possible to indicate the ranges of specific phenomena. This article contains many examples of singular confirmations of phenomena of importance to the general characteristics of dialects in west Wielkopolska. If we want to obtain information of geographic nature, we need to be open to different methodological solutions and resort to questionnaire surveys.

Sometimes, these corpuses' limited usefulness for lexicographic purposes is undeniable; lack of many important words related to harvest in materials collected by Z. Sobierajski (despite conversations on the subject) indicates a need for very specific field explorations. The most effective method is obtaining a respondent's longer, guided utterance (stimulated by a "questionnaire").

Finally, let me add one more observation: the texts compiled by Z. Sobierajski surprise with an attempt of subordinating a dialectal utterance to the rules of the literary Polish language. To this end, delimitation typical of the written language was employed where the text is divided into syntactic units. Sentences start with capital letters and end with a stop. There are also commas. This approach to a recorded material is clear evidence of the researcher's (the transcribing party's) interference. Some important features of dialectal syntax have therefore been removed.

Z. Sobierajski admitted that "before the recording, the utterance had to be prepared together with the informant to ensure that there were no longer pauses in the stories when the record was in the course of grooving" (Sobierajski 1985, 6). Therefore, the ultimate "product" was slightly processed at the beginning²; some phenomena are blurred – it is practically impossible to analyse the so-called small syntax. As the interlocutor was prepared for the recording, the chances of natural utterances were compromised. This "concern" was reflected in a lack of the element "nie" (no) in the registered conversations, very characteristic of the language spoken in Wielkopolska, used as a particle rather than negation.

In this context, let me compare three fragments from Dąbrówka Wlkp.:

A co to jest „biczek”?

Biczek to jez^d jak sie kónczy p^oótno robić ... już ino ... i potym tag jeszcze ze ... trzy^j, s^tryry razy sie tym czolnkim przebiję, żeby to sie nie wysypało z te ... z tych chółwów i z tych ... z te płochy.

A co oznacza „łamanie lnu”?

A nó to gó trzymy^j, tag gó ... to my trzymy^j tó^m cierlicó^m, to ... to jesta łamanie. My mówimy na to trzeć. Nó, jagby t^o nie wytar, to by ... to by niy mó^g przy^ś, to by nie bu^o teg^o ... nó jak to sie mówi ... tego wlosa by nie bu^o. Bo to by była słóma, nie?

[Dąbrówka Wlkp., Świebodzin county; informant born in 1899; recorded in 1951 – Sobierajski 1985, 91].

Z. Sobierajski's selection of texts from Dąbrówka Wlkp. encompasses more than 18 printed pages (pp. 86–104); the lexical unit of interest to us did not appear even once. This is surprising because in recordings from that time (of informants representing different generations) the word *nie* was registered quite frequently. It is an element clearly indicating its function; in the text, it is indicated by a short pause on either side.

² Similarly, there are no elements characteristic of spoken texts from the early, hand-written dialectological documentation; while dictating the text to the explorer, the informant tried to speak "nicely" i.e. without unnecessary ornaments or repetitions; see also (Nitsch 1929).

Co to jest bażka?

A: *bażka to sie kojarzy z czymś takim podłużnym ... o formie stożkowej na końcu ... i czymś wiszoⁿcym ... dyndajoⁿcym sie ... jak ... załóży ... w zygarach tych ... tych ścinnych ... na końcu łańcuszków takie ... takie so^m ... odważniki metalowe ... i to też mówili na to bażka ... bynajmniej u naz w domu ... nie ... i to^m bażko^m pocioⁿgaleś ... i nacioⁿgalyś spryⁿżyne ... nie ...*

B: *roz tyn ... roz tyn ...*

A: *jedna była bażka do bicia ... a jedna była do odmirzania czasu ... dwie bażki ... a sosna szyszka ... a bażka to jez za krótkie ... chyba że byⁿdzie jakiś kwiatek ... mały beⁿdzie ... to ... ale beⁿdzie taki w formie cylindrczynj ... nie ... bo szyszka jest w formie stożkowatj ... i taka krótsza ... nie ... no a bażka sie z czymś kojarzy ...*

[Dąbrówka Wlkp. Świebodzin county; informant A born in 1959, informant B born in 1923; recorded in 2007].

* * *

A młyńce i plince to było to samo?

no ... zależy jak kto pozywał ...

I jak to się robiło?

te plynce (!) ... zimniaki sie tarło ... no teraz so^m miksery ... nie ... tera sie rzuci do miksera ... i ozdrobniło (!) ... i ten ... wode sie odlalo ... moⁿke matka tam brala z tej ... i jajko czy coś tam ... i to zamieszala ... i ... i sól ... i ten ... do smaku ... nie ... i na patelnie ... i piekło sie ... tam nabierala ... i łyżko^m wazowó^m włożyła ... bo my duże mieli te plince ... nie ... ale tak ... żeby carny nie był ... nie ... to pilnowala ... carny to zaraz odłożyła dla kotków ... i ... bo to już jez gorzki smak ...

(Dąbrówka Wlkp. Świebodzin county; informant born in 1933; recorded in 2009).

These two fragments come from longer conversations held with inhabitants of the same village. Each fragment was registered during a conversation which was over an hour long which is conducive to the respondent's natural utterance, his/her familiarity with the situation.

Therefore, to what extent old field material can be reliable for a synthesis? The above analyses clearly indicated that these texts, while registered as speech, do not always fulfil the expectations of contemporary research. Full characteristics of the syntactic complexity may be developed with respect to the respondents' registered longer, natural utterances. The presented findings are also evidence that activities aimed at compiling lexicons of specific dialects need to be preceded by targeted field explorations (theme conversations). The utterances of the village inhabitants, obtained haphazardly, very often fail to confirm the field persistence of too many linguistic units characteristic of a specific dialects. Beside phonetic phenomena, this also indicates the remaining levels of organisation of a dialectal utterance*.

* This is a modified and extended version of the text *Cechy definicyjne gwar w języku mieszkańców wsi*, [in:] *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych*, seria XII. Językoznawstwo. Prace na XV Międzynarodowy Kongres Slawistów w Mińsku 2013, Warszawa 2012, pp. 159–166.

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About certain dependence of word formation on the structure of the lexical and semantic field

Abstract. This article presents the situation caused by the interference of new lexical units foreign to a specific dialect. Words transparent with respect to word formation, like *grabisko*, *siekierzysko*, *kosisko*, *stylisko*, documenting the idiom of the formant *-isko* with the noun base (in names of the components of simple tools) change their characteristics under the influence of an increasingly popular form like *styl* ‘handle’. Consequently, the structure of the type *kosisko* ‘handle, hilt, grips of a scythe’ (with a noun basis) is being replaced by the type *kosisko* ‘the metal part of a scythe, the chine’ (with a verb basis). Similar transformations are taking place with *grabisko*.

Key words: dialect, word formation in dialects, impact of new lexemes on the word forming structure.

Abstrakt: O pewnej zależności słowotwórstwa od struktury pola leksykalno-semantycznego. W artykule rozpatrzona została sytuacja wywołana ingerencją nowych, obcych konkretnej gwarze jednostek leksykalnych. Przejrzyste słowotwórczo wyrazy typu *grabisko*, *siekierzysko*, *kosisko*, *stylisko* dokumentujące łączliwość formantu *-isko* z podstawą rzeczownikową – w kategorii nazw części składowych prostych narzędzi – zmieniają swoją charakterystykę pod wpływem oddziaływania upowszechniającej się formy typu *styl* ‘trzonek’. W konsekwencji zamiast struktury typu *kosisko* ‘trzonek, rękojeść kosy’ (z podstawą rzeczownikową) zaczyna dominować typ *kosisko* ‘metalowa część kosy, która kosi’ (z podstawą czasownikową). Podobne przeobrażeniom poddaje się także *grabisko*.

Słowa kluczowe: gwara, słowotwórstwo w gwarach, oddziaływanie nowych leksemów na budowę struktury słowotwórczej.

Dialectological material, located in time and space, oftentimes offers possibilities of observing complex processes taking place in a live language spoken by a large group of users. It is also an opportunity to follow natural processes, self-regulated only internally within a distinctly outlined territory.

When discussing the processes taking place in a dialectal environment, we need to bear in mind the language’s specificity: as forms of oral culture, dialects do not have a normative approach enjoyed by various grammars in the case of standard, written inflection. The feature, of importance to us, has been emphasized by Z. Topolińska:

In every historical section, the ever so dynamic relation between a local dialect and the standard, creates an entire range of transition forms which are sometimes hard to define theoretically and sometimes it is simply impossible to separate them empirically and describe. In this situation, in my opinion a demarcation line should be drawn wherever it can be drawn and, instead of the dialect ~ standard opposition, we should discuss an opposition between uncontrolled and controlled development (and the development product). When discussing development and the controlled system, I do not mean the self-regulating usage norm i.e. spontaneous control kept by a community using a specific system, but rather control imposed by the local authorities' linguistic policy (typically the government), an administratively enforced prescriptive norm (Topolińska 1992, 251).

In this article, I focus on an attempt to explain the changes taking place in the formant semantics and caused by the properties of the respective lexical and semantic structures. In this specific case, the phenomenon revolves mainly around changes to the formant *-isko* confirmed in the meaning 'hilt, handle of a simple tool'; therefore, I will take into consideration structures like *toporzyisko* 'handle of an axe or a cleaver', *kosisko* 'handle of a scythe, grips', *grabisko* 'handle of rakes' etc.

The major thesis of this article can be presented as follows: semantic characteristics (also the category value) of a formant can be affected by the mutual relations taking place inside a lexical and semantic micro field containing words formed by means of a specific formant. In this specific case, the phenomenon at play are semantic changes of the *-isko* formant from 'hilt, handle of a simple tool' to 'the part of a simple tool which does the work'. In my opinion, this change has been impacted by an extended lexical structure; in other words, under the influence of superfluous opulence (some sort of lexical surplus), a possible expression restricted to the semantic formant by means of vocabulary.

Let me proceed to the heart of the matter.

The tools I discuss here consist of two parts: a type of a long stick connected with the part used to complete a task. These two parts of specific tools can be referred to by very different words. The longer parts, hand-held, are typically derivatives with *-isko*; the "working" parts have names either identical with the entire tool – e.g. *scythe*, or names unrelated to a specific tool, e.g. *belka* or *prożek* (*próg*) as a part of a rake (*grabie*). Therefore, with respect to the assortment of lexical elements required to describe specific referents, there are two groups: tools whose total names are the same as their elements, e.g. *kosa* as 'a tool for scything' but also 'the metal part of a scythe'; *siekiera* is 'a tool to chop' and 'a metal part of an axe'. On the other hand, there are tools like *grabie* (rake) consisting of a *grabisko* and a *belka* (*belecza*, *próg*) and *cepy* (flail) which is a combination of a *dzierżak* and a *bijak*.

As I am going to present an analysis of names related to the construction of a scythe and a rake, it is advisable to show their diverse names in Polish dialects. However, earlier I will refer to F. Sławski's opinion which provides a historical background for these considerations:

The major function of the suffixes *-iście*, *-isko* is creating loci nominatives from the basic nouns or verbs, e.g. *béliście* : *béliisko* 'a place where cloth is whitewashed' < *béli* 'white-wash, bleach, for example cloth' (Sławski 1974: 95).

He continues by stating:

A group of words with these suffixes meaning 'a tool's handle' is also well confirmed, e.g. *kosišče* : *kosisko* 'a snaith of a scythe' < *kosa*; *sekyrišče* : *sekyrisko* 'a handle of an axe' < *sekyra* 'siekiara' (axe); *toporišče* : *toporisko* 'a battle-axe's handle' < *toporь* 'topór' (Sławski 1974, 96).

Contemporary dialects in fact continue the Proto-Slavic status; this is the latest distribution of the words in question:

The names of the handle of a digging fork clearly vary from one area to another. With the exception of several sporadically recorded names which are always duplets (...), there are four etymological groups of the different names. They are: *trzonek* (*trzon*); *widlisko*; *stylisko* (*styl*) and *rączka*, the latter having a very small range but clearly focused geographically. Once the diversity of the word-formation and the lexicalised phonetics have been considered, we obtain in total 9 names indicating the handle of a digging fork (Basara 1997, 63).

The handle of a digging fork – beside the systemic phonetic changes – is referred to as *grabisko* all over Poland (...) (Basara 1997, 64).

The nomenclature for the snaith of a scythe is almost homogenous. All the dialects use the word *kosisko* (...) (Basara 1997, 65).

While the names of a rake as an entire tool and the end of a rake (...) including the teeth of a rake, are poorly geographically diversified, the word for the stick attached to the teeth is extremely diverse and interestingly distributed in the field (Basara, Basara 2004, 163).

The above references and the distribution of the names on the specific linguistic maps create an impression that the material of interest is poorly diversified while the names are basically clear. Dialectological maps show another aspect of the issue: there are references to only one name in the specific survey points. Less experienced readers of these maps (and dialectologists are of an opinion that map reading is a useful skill) might think that only the indicated name is in fact, if not exclusively, used in a specific location. Disregarding other details characteristic of dialectological research, this is a case of lexical typicality, lack of alternations etc. Lexical diversity, so common on dialectological maps, cannot serve as an argument in favour of a high degree of synonymy of dialectal vocabulary (Sierociuk 2001); dialects avoid expanded synonymy.

An analysis of the lexicographic documentation contained in dictionaries and maps provides an unambiguous picture: in a lexical and semantic field referring to simple tools, *-isko* forms the names of the tools' handles.

This is why, especially in Wielkopolska, the following words may pop up in conversations:

1. Czaczyk, Kościan county (southern Wielkopolska); informant: female, born in 1933:

Q: **Jak mówimy na płaską, metalową część kosy?**

A: *kosisko?* ...

Q: **Ta część kosy, która tnie.**

A: *to to kosisko* ...

After some time, further in the conversation:

Q: **A długa, drewniana część kosy?**

A: *kosisko* ...

2. Pałędzie, Poznań county (central Wielkopolska); informant: male, born in 1952:

Q: **Z jakich części zbudowane są grabie?**

A: *grabie ... no to so^m zes trzonka i ... i z grabiska ... to jes to grabisko ... tag mówiliy ... ja to mówie ta-ag u mnie w domu mówili ... nie¹ ... to jes to grabisko ... to jes to ... i tu so^m drewnianne ze^mby ... a tu jes trzonek ... nie ...*

Q: **A czy jest jakiś element metalowy?**

A: *dawni w grabiach to nie było* ...

Q: **Ta część grabi, która się trzyma w reku?**

A: *trzonek ... to tag mówili zawsze* ...

Q: **A ta część, która się grabi?**

A: *no tag mówili grabisko ... nie ... bo ja wim co to jeszcze?* ...

3. Giżyce, Ostrzeszów county (south-eastern Wielkopolska); informant: male, born in 1942:

Q: **Część grabi, którą trzyma się w ręku?**

A: *no to ... sztyl ... sztyl* ...

Q: **A ta część grabiąca?**

A: *no ... to-s ... no to jes grabisko ... grabisko* ...

4. Bukowiec Górny, Leszno county (western Wielkopolska);

a. informant: male born in 1922

Q: **Ta część cepy, którą trzyma się w rękach, to długi.**

A: *jak ... to nawed nie wim ... a to buł ... cepisko ... a to buł bijok ... a tutaj były kapa ... co to ... skórzane niby takie buło* ...

Q: **Czyli cepisko to był ten długi, kij?**

A: *tak ... tyn kij to buło cepisko ... ta oprawa* ...

Q: **A to narzędzie, którym się grabi?**

A: *to grabie przeciż* ...

¹ In Wielkopolska dialects, *nie* is often used as the colloquial *no* (emphatic for *yes*).

Q: **Część grabi, którą się trzyma w rękach.**

MaF: *stylisko (!) ... styl ...*

Q: **A ta część grabi, w której są zęby?**

A: *to grabisko ... no ...*

Q: **Czyli zęby były w grabisku, tak?**

A: *tak ...*

b. informant: female born in 1968

A: *... kosa wiem jag wygoⁿda ...*

Q: **Jakie fragmenty wyodrębnia się w metalowej części kosy?**

A: *kosisko ...*

Q: **A co to jest kosisko?**

A: *kosisko to jes chyba właśnie ta czeⁿźdz metalowa która ścina ... nie wiem ... trawe ... zboże ...*

Q: **Czyli to jest ta całość metalowa, czy tylko któryś fragment?**

A: *no ... dla mnie to jakiś ten ...*

Q: **To drewniane, tak?**

A: *to ja nie wiem ... to ja nie wiem ... bo mi sie wydaje że kosisko to ta czeⁿść która kosi ... ale nie jestem pewna ...*

The above examples show that the phenomenon is not limited to a small area, to a dialect spoken in a single village. Similarly, the examples do not come from only selected inhabitants. Of importance to this analysis is the fact that these confirmations come from interlocutors representing various generations, most typically a younger part of the rural population. Nevertheless, the phenomenon itself deserves a close scrutiny.

It seems that in an attempt to explain the above examples, a reference must be made to the general characteristics of the occurrence of the formant *-isko* in Polish dialects. Researchers should not only examine the presence of the formant in question but also its general productivity. For the purpose of this article, I have considered material from two areas of different dialectal affiliation: the Lublin region and Wielkopolska.

Bearing in mind the general, category-related characteristics, there are hardly any differences. In the dialects of both dialectal complexes, *-isko* is used to form names of places, augmentative names and handles of simple tools. In both areas, there are occurrences of *owsisko* 'a field where oats grew'; *psisko* 'a large dog; pejoratively about a dog'; *grabisko* 'a handle of a rake'. There are also bases conditioned by the differences in the lexical exponents like: *kartoflisko* and *pyrczysko* referring to 'a field where potatoes grew i.e. *pyry* (in Wielkopolska)'. The differences come up only when we juxtapose replies to questions about identical referents: in both areas under scrutiny, 'a handle of an axe' is called *toporzysko*. However, in the Lublin region the expected (and in Wielkopolska confirmed) form *toporzysko* was not recorded. In the Lublin region, 'an old, shabby overcoat' is *fartuszyna*, by analogy with *sukienczyna*. The dialects spoken in southern Wielkopolska confirm *fartuszysko* and *sukienczysko* used in this semantic context.

Field research often proves that within the same category of meaning, a specific formant can be used in various geographic complexes depending on the basis with which it forms a word. Therefore, dialectology is more focused on the range of a specific derivative than the general range of the formant used in that derivative. To some extent, these expectations (i.e. the range of a formant and the range of a derivative) are reconciled in collective maps which show the productivity of a specific word-forming unit (Kowalska 1991).

Of more interest is the difference in productivity of the formant *-isko* in the two regions where Wielkopolska confirms a wider use. It is not possible to refer to the ample material available; let me only emphasize that in the context of the Lublin confirmations, the locative *kupowisko* recorded in Wielkopolska (Bytyń, Szamotuły county – western Wielkopolska; informant: female born in 1941: *śmietnisko to jes kupowisko wielkie ... nie¹ ... a śmietnig no to jez mniejsze ... nie ...*). Compared with the material collected in the Lublin region, this is a slightly different arrangement of semantic relations within a specific formant defined as a cluster of semantic relations. A juxtaposition of the materials obtained in both areas shows that in the dialects spoken in the Lublin area, the semantic distinction of the formant *-isko* is more definite than in Wielkopolska.

The extended meaning of the category-related formant *-isko* is coupled with synonyms foreign to dialects; the typical word-forming structure has been replaced by a borrowed element, the German *sztyl*, confirmed in various phonetic variants. The unit “competes” with the native elements. *Sztyl* has taken over the meaning of all the local names of handles. This is clearly confirmed by field material:

5. Bukówiec Górny, Leszno county (western Wielkopolska); informant: female born in 1923:

Q: Co to jest **sztyl**; przy jakich narzędziach sztyl występuje?

A: *styl to jes przy łopacie ... przy siekierce ... przy szczotce do zamiatania ...*

Q: Przy czym jeszcze może być sztyl?

A: *no mówie ... przy grabiach ... przy hakach ...*

Q: Przy grabiach też jest sztyl?

A: *tyż styl ...*

A przy kosie?

A: *tyż ...*

Q: Czyli mówilo się, że trzeba było grabie ...

A: *oprawidź na sztyl ... na styl ...*

Q: A co to w takim razie ...

A: *na ten ... na ... na kosie to kosisko ... oprawa ... kosisko ...*

Q: To nie sztyl tylko kosisko?

A: *kosisko ...*

Q: A przy grabiach?

A: *sztyl ...*

Q: A z jakich części cepa się składała?

A: *cepa sie skladala ... ta-ag by waleg do ... do walkowania ... z drywna ... nie ... i styl ... cepisko mówili ... cepisko ... i na ... na takich paskach ... uhaczone ze skóry ...*

Q: **I jak te poszczególne części były nazywane; cepisko to ta część krótsza czy dłuższa; czym się trzymało czy czym się uderzało?**

A: *czym sie uderzało ...*

Q: **To cepisko?**

A: *no ... cepisko ...*

Q: **A to, co się w rękach trzymało?**

A: *no to chyba styl ... bo co je ... bo to reⁿce ...*

Introduction of a new and very expansive unit to a lexical and semantic structure consisting of few units distorts the structure. The above examples are unambiguous evidence of the scenario.

Notably, the presented semantic fluctuations are typical of Wielkopolska dialects; the Lublin area with its clear arrangement of *-handle* : word-forming type with *-isko* – does not have the problem.

Therefore, how do we explain the semantic shift present in the dialects spoken in southern Wielkopolska in the meaning-related structure of the formant *-isko*, a formant also commonly recognised in the general Polish language?

Observations of other specific cases recorded during field research indicate the consequence of interfering with a stable lexical and semantic structure. Interestingly, the indicated semantic disturbance pertains in fact to two words: *kosisko* and *grabisko*. The emergence of the prevailing type *sztyl* has weakened the semantic distinctiveness of the formant *-isko* which in these words starts to be combined with the bases of verbs. Therefore, this is a case of neutralizing the basic meaning of ‘handle...’ and the resulting different genetic perception of these derivatives. In the new reality, they are perceived as adverbial structures while the stabilising category-related meaning is: ‘a part of a simple tool which does ... (an activity indicated in the basis)’.

In the course of an analysis of the above indicated phenomena, a question arises about their range. Is this a peculiarity confirmed only by this example?

Dialectological material offers examples of surprising consequences which are an attempt to bring order to linguistic reality. In the dialects spoken in the Lublin region, ‘a mushroom which has mucus (like butter – *masło*)’ is referred to as *maślak* or *maśluch*. In the zone where the two names coexist, a structure has emerged which is undoubtedly a result of morphological contamination: *maślach* (Sierociuk 1996, map 30). However, in areas located on the outskirts of dense ranges of the specific word-forming types, the type *maśloch* has been recorded. Notably, the type *maśloch* cannot be perceived as an effect of the so-called inclination, a feature characteristic of dialects in large parts of Poland. This interpretation is corroborated by the position against the “competing” units of language. Therefore, the density on the morphological level has resulted in an emergence of a “resultant” form from the phonological level. Competition, a conflict between forms with a high vowel (*maśluch*) and a low vowel (*maślak*) have paved the way for an intermediate form – with a medium vowel (*maśloch*).

The presented material shows changes to only a single phenomenon; nevertheless, it gives a reason to take a closer look at the relations between word formation and

vocabulary. This is also an example of a response of the living (spoken) language to problems stemming from an excess of linguistic elements, in this case words. Dialects which do not contain normative depictions handle this lexical surplus very well. Bearing in mind the fact that the standard language is increasingly affected by the informal variant (with a large share of dialects), the phenomenon presented here does not need to be a singular case, limited to dialects*.

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* This is a modified and extended version of the text *O pewnej zależności słowotwórstwa od struktury pola leksykalno-semantycznego*, [in:] *Словообразуване и лексикология. Доклади от Десетата международна конференция на Комисията по славянско словообразуване при Международния комитет на славистите*. София, 1–6 октомври 2007, В. Радева, Ц. Аврамова, Ю. Балтова (eds.), София 2009, pp. 401–409.

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Dialectal diminutives in a system and a text

Abstract: The article is an attempt at verifying the general opinion about “a vast multitude” of diminutives in Slavic languages, including dialects. An analysis has been carried out of texts recorded by Z. Sobierajski in 1951-1953 and published in a volume of slightly more than 200 pages of texts from 11 locations in western Wielkopolska region (Sobierajski, 1985).

Contrary to the expectations, the number of diminutives in these texts is negligible. They do not represent more than 0.5% of the registered word forms (whose total number in the volume amounts to 62,711). What is surprising is the redundant, surplus expression of ‘smallness’ by means of the MAŁY (small) type. MAŁY + a diminutive appeared 38 times thus representing 61.29% of the MAŁY lexeme in the texts.

Key words: dialectal word formation, dialectal diminutives, system of dialectal word formation, diminutives in a dialectal text.

Abstrakt: Deminutiva gwarowe w systemie i w tekście. Artykuł jest próbą weryfikacji ogólnego przekonania o „ogromnym bogactwie” deminutiwów w językach słowiańskich, w tym kontekście także w gwarach. Oglądowi poddane zostały teksty nagrane przez Z. Sobierajskiego w latach 1951–1953 i opublikowane w tomie zawierającym nieco ponad 200 stron tekstów z 11 miejscowości zachodniej Wielkopolski (Sobierajski 1985).

Wbrew oczekiwaniom deminutiva pojawiają się w tych tekstach w ilościach śladowych, liczba ich tekstowych użyć nie przekracza 0,5% zarejestrowanych słowoform (tych w całym tomie jest 62 711). Zaskakuje natomiast redundantne, naddane wyłożenie ‘małości’ typem MAŁY. MAŁY + deminutivum pojawiło się 38 razy, co stanowi 61,29% użyć tekstowych leksemu MAŁY.

Wyrazy kluczowe: słowotwórstwo gwarowe, deminutiva gwarowe, system słowotwórstwa gwarowego, deminutiwa w tekście gwarowym.

This article presents an analysis of the occurrence of diminutives in dialects which are regarded “the most universal language category (...). They occur in languages which belong to various language families and groups, spoken by nations with a different cultural and civilisation background” (Heltberg 1964, 93).

The quoted researcher has ventured other opinions; following a closer look, some of these assumptions call for tackling the issue. She wrote:

All Baltic and Slavic languages have a **vast** [bold print – JS] multitude of diminutive formations, hypocorisms and augmentatives. Wide use and a large number of word formation opportunities, coupled with entire grades of shades make diminutives very important rhetorical terms of expression in these languages (Heltberg 1964, 94).

In the context of dialects, the statement about a “vast multitude” of diminutives is in conflict with field experience. Irrespective of the research area, the following utterances are very frequently recorded:

Q: Jeśli ktoś jest wzruszony, to mu z oczu płyną ...

A: *nie wim jak to sie mówi ... nie wim ... zy (!) ...*

Q: Mała lza.

A: *nie wim jak to mówić ... lza to lza ...*

Q: A mała lza?

A: *mała lza ... bo ja wim? ... lęzka ...*

Q: Mała sosna.

A: *sosinka ... taka mała sosinka ...*

(Boruja Kościelna, Nowy Tomyśl county and commune; informant born in 1913; recording from 2001).

* * *

Q: Co się pojawia nad palącym się drewnem?

A: *nó ... co sie może pojawić ... dym jak sie pojawia ... znaczy sie skry ... no ... ogień sie pojawia ... nie ... pomienie ... no ...*

Q: Duży płomień.

A: *duży pomiń nie wim ...*

Q: A mały?

A: *nie wim ...*

Q: Mały płomień ...

A: *to iskra ... nie ...*

Q: A płomyczek?

A: *to tyż tam by mogło być ... ale czy my tam na to mówili jakoś? ...*

(Czechel, Gołuchów commune, Pleszew county; informant born in 1952; recording from 2008).

These two examples come from different dialects of the Wielkopolska dialect. It is not an indication that this type of utterances is unique to that area. In the subsequent parts of the analysis, I refer to the area of Łuków and recordings of dialects from the historical border between Lesser Poland and Masovia. The structure of these dialects is also affected by the location on the borderland of Polish (i.e. a West Slavic language) and Ukrainian and Belarusian (i.e. an East Slavic language) language areas.

Materials from two very distant dialectal complexes (the dialects of the Łuków area represent the south Masovia dialect) will allow to indicate features which are not determined regionally. Notably, dialectology continues to analyse data labelled with

their spatial (territorial) location and, more and more frequently, time location (taking into account the informants' age).

Before I proceed with an analysis of the material, let me discuss the idiosyncrasies of dialects which, in my opinion, are of importance.

Unlike the general language which exists predominantly in the written form, ours is a case of a spoken language, upholding the oral tradition. This "life" of dialects was significant when a majority of their speakers were illiterate. Therefore, the rules which in a written language are referred to as norms, operated differently. Consequently, dialects do not comply with standards achieved by all types of grammars (or the entire correctness system) in the writing cultures. When discussing the specificity of oral language, W.J. Ong wrote: "An oral culture has no vehicle so neutral as a list" (Ong 1992, 42); "Oral cultures tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human lifeworld" (Ong 1992, 48–49). And, finally, the most important statement in this context:

Oral cultures of course have no dictionaries and few semantic discrepancies. The meaning of each word is controlled by what Goody and Watt (...) call 'direct semantic ratification' that is, by the real-life situations in which the word is used here and now (Ong 2002, 46).

The above determinants largely impact the need of a specific approach to the research basis. A dialectologist who has at his/her disposal even a substantial collection of territorial registrations (texts) cannot be certain that all the phenomena characterising a specific dialect have been recorded. I have covered the subject in an analysis of a collection of over 200 pages of *Dialectal texts from western Wielkopolska region* by Z. Sobierajski (Sobierajski 1985) where I pinpointed that the (extensive) book lacks the fundamental features defining west Wielkopolska dialects (Sierociuk 2012a). I will make more references to Z. Sobierajski's texts.

The previously quoted examples from Wielkopolska seem to indicate the interlocutors' problems with creating diminutives. These fragments of conversations were targeted at obtaining the persistence of diminutives (and partly augmentative forms). Therefore, an attempt was made to "gain insight into the system" of the dialect. The aim was to validate the statements documenting the persistence of specific word-formation processes and the productivity of the specific diminutive formants.

Let's take a look at selected examples documenting the phenomenon in question:

Q: Czy jeszcze obecnie używają kosy?

A: *do siana jeszcze nie ... jakiś kawaleczki tak ... małe obszary to koso ...*

Q: Półokrągłe metalowe narzędzie do ręcznego wycinania roślin.

A: *sierp ... a no sierp ... zapomniałam ...*

Q: Czy jeszcze obecnie używane są sierpy?

A: *nie ... w małych ilościach ... do że'cia (!) dzieś w ogródku ... czy tak ...*

(Gręzówka, Łuków county; informant born in 1937; recorded in 2017).

* * *

Q: Jak robi się stogi właśnie?

A: *stogi sie robi? ... jes taki dlugi dlugi droⁿżek ... wkopany w ziemie lekko ... i na okolo ... jaki chcesz tyn stóg zrobic ... czy duży czy mały ... ile tam siana masz ... i do samego końca ... od samego końca jes szerzy ... później tak coraz weⁿżej ... coraz weⁿżej ... i taki czubek zostaje tylko ... przy samym tym droⁿżku ...*

(Gręzówka, Łuków county; informant born in 1957; recorded in 2017).

* * *

Q: Z jakich części składa się radło?

A: *ma lemiesz taki mały ... i odkładnie takie ...*

Q: Czym się różni radło od pługa?

A: *pługim sie orze ... a redlem sie robi rzoⁿdki ...*

(Brzozowica, Radzyń Podl. county; informant born in 1940; recorded in 2017).

The above examples illustrate what is confirmed in larger dialectal corpora; in order to determine if we are dealing with diminutive meaning we need more field studies – vide: “*ogródek*”, “*dlugi dlugi droⁿżek*”, “*rzoⁿdki*”. Field experience shows that these forms cannot be labelled as diminutives. On the other hand, there are also examples of communicating ‘smallness’ with lexical means: “*mały*” (small); vide: *mały lemiesz*. Field material also provides evidence of the persistence of examples which indicate unambiguously that not every noun can be a basis for diminutive derivation:

Q: Jak przygotowywano kosę, żeby ścinane zboże “ładnie się układało”?

A: *no jak? ... to musi być dobrze naostrzona ... i trzeba tak kosiskiem operować ... żeby małe pokosy ... bo jak duży pokos weźmiesz to nie ścioⁿgniesz ... a jak mały pokos ... mniejszy pokos ... to sie lepiej układa pokos ...* (Gręzówka, Łuków county; informant born in 1957; recorded in 2017).

However, this issue is not a part of the analysis presented in this article; here I only draw attention to it.

To make the picture complete, let me add a different example: *my mieli w kuchni takie małe okno ...* (Bytyń, Szamotuły county; informant born in 1931) where one could expect a diminutive form.

The example below shows an interesting phenomenon:

Q: Proszę opisać jak wygląda soczewica, i co się z nią tradycyjnie robiło?

A: *suszyło sie ... to so małe stroⁿcky (!) ... suszyło sie ... i to sie późni młóciło ...*

Q: Jak wygląda ta soczewica?

A: *to nieduże stroⁿczki so ... i ona wygloⁿda tak ... to co sie pierogi robi nieraz ... mniejsza ... dużo mniejsza od tego ...*

Q: Od grochu?

A: *od grochu ... może łubinu nawet ...* (Burzec, Łuków county; informant born in 1937; recorded in 2017).

This is a situation dramatically different from the *mały lemiesz* case where the change in size is communicated only on the lexical level: *mały*. It seems (and lack of field experience confirms it unambiguously) that this is an example of limiting the derivative potency; in the dialects under scrutiny, no derivative of *lemiesz* occurs. In the latter example, the same lexical element is placed next to an evident diminutive form: *małe strońcky*, replaced by another variant: “*nieduży*”. This is therefore an interesting example of redundancy, a semantic surplus to which W.J. Ong referred in the following way:

Since redundancy characterizes oral thought and speech, it is in a profound sense more natural to thought and speech than is sparse linearity. Sparsely linear or analytic thought and speech are artificial creations, structured by the technology of writing (Ong 2002, 39).

In the examples above, “small size” is expressed in two ways: the derived form is somewhat reinforced in a lexical way (there are frequent situations of doubling the lexical element: *nóm mama chleb ... taki mały mały chlebeg upiekła ...* (Bytyń, Szamotuły county; informant born in 1931); I will discuss it further in the article.

The materials in question contain specimens representing specific usage of the lexical element *małe dzieciory* [Bytyń, Szamotuły county; informant born in 1928].

Therefore, if we top the above list of formants recorded in various dialect-oriented publications (including *Atlas języka i kultury ludowej Wielkopolski* – AJKLW), the resulting picture will nevertheless be partial. We know that Wielkopolska region dialects include a diminutive formant *-yszek* (type: *kawałyszek*, *wianuszek*) and that the area is an arena of competition between the diminutive formants *-ik* and *-ek* (type: *wózik // wózek*, *plózik // plótek*). However, having read the mentioned publications we will be none the wiser about the actual usage (persistence) of the word formation category of our interest by speakers of dialects; that knowledge is fragmentary (cf. Sierociuk 2012c). On the other hand, we should consider the specific property of spoken texts (Sierociuk 2012b) – they lack many features typically regarded markers of specific dialects, features defining a specific dialect (more in Sierociuk 2012a).

A question arises: do dialectal diminutives share the characteristics of the general, written language?

K. Kleszczowa referred to these considerations as follows:

Diminutives are a word-formation category revolving around a modification of the object's features or the intensity of the notion inscribed in the noun. Just like the inflection-based category of the degree, diminutives are within this scale: a word indicating a neutral object with respect to size – a word smaller than the preceding one. This is therefore an act of comparison rather than mere indication of a small size (Kleszczowa 2015, 160).

The above statement will serve as a basis for excerpting diminutives from texts provided by over a dozen informants from west Wielkopolska. For the purpose of the analysis, I have selected the aforementioned “*Teksty gwarowe z zachodniej Wielkopolski*” by Z. Sobierajski (Sobierajski 1985) which, following preliminary treatment, have been included into the material corpus of a dictionary of (ethno)dialects in Wielkopolska,

developed in the Dialectology Laboratory of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. This collection of over 200 pages of text contains utterances by inhabitants of 11 villages from an area fairly homogenous with respect to dialects and registered mainly in 1951–1953. The texts were obtained from informants born in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries; therefore they document a dialect from a time when it was still slightly affected by external factors. Notably, it is the oldest available register of dialects from that area of this size.

The collection of dialectal texts taken into consideration in this article contributes in total 62,711 dialectal word forms. When an electronic version of the corpus was being developed, first all the texts were typed in a simplified transcription and, later on, all the forms in the explorer's questions were deleted. Next, in the corpus information like the informant's year of birth, his/her initials, place of residence (recording), the day of the recording and the page in the printed collection was attributed to each dialectal word form. At the same time, each usage contains a relevant, multi-word context (an equivalent fragment of the continuous text)¹.

The material from west Wielkopolska contains examples like *p^uo^e pó k^uopy wióⁿży-my^j wiⁿksze sno^epki potym, a te małe snopki só^m dali* (SobZWP87²); *A wtedy do^epiro wióⁿże gó sie w takie małe snopeczki i p^uo^ety^m ustowio sie takie małe myndylki. W tych myndylkach przynajmni jeszcze tydzień stoi (...)* (SobZWP108); *ludzi – którzy mieli małe chałupki* (SobZWP86).

This is another case where diminutives are not only expressed by word formation. What is more, the material excerpted from the collection (subjected directly to analysis) requires some comment: there are many forms there which cannot be deemed diminutives although in special situations a speaker of a dialect may attribute this meaning to them (cf. the above statements by W.J. Ong). A case in point is the type *pyrka* which in Wielkopolska dialects is frequently alternated with *pyra*. *Pyrka* simply means a 'potato' rather than a 'small pyra' (*te stare króliki pasimy "o^ewsym, pyrkami i sianym* (SobZWP117); *"ozili my pyrki z p^uola. Te pyrki były na polu przykryte m^ocnio ze zimió^m* (SobZWP105)). Likewise, lack of a diminutive function is reflected in examples like *koszyk, worek* etc. (*my po kolana hakali i do koszyków i do worków sypali* (SobZWP140)).

K. Kleszczowa commented on this situation:

The problems in evaluating the value of the diminutive word form stem primarily from the multiple functions of the formants which create the value. Of course not all the *-ka, -ek* functions or the *-ko* function are of significance to the considerations (Kleszczowa 2015, 161).

Very frequently, in this situation we deal with formal diminutives which, as detailed research shows, can also be subjected to a cartographic analysis (Kloferová 2004).

¹ For the sake of this article, a parallel corpus of Wielkopolska dialects has been reviewed containing now more than 1,500,000 word forms (dialectal usage).

² SobZWP is a source abbreviation beyond bibliographic data, it also contains the page number; hence SobZWP87.

Let me therefore proceed with issues referred to in the second part of the article's title – diminutives operating in a dialectal text. I should also comment on K. Heltberg's opinion on a "vast multitude" of these formations. In this situation, a question arises: how frequent are diminutives in dialectal texts?

Z. Sobierajski's texts from west Wielkopolska include:

- the *-yszek* formant confirmed in total 4 times (*czepyszek*, *garnyszek*, *rzymyszek* – the latter twice) and this formant is widely recognised as "typical" of Wielkopolska dialects;

- the *-oszek* formant, in total confirmed 3 times, where one derivative is preceded by the word *kónsek* '(a small) bite'; these are: *dziecioszek* and *chleboszek* (and once *kónsek chleboszka*);

- the *-aszek* formant, confirmed four times in *robaszek*.

(Due to the regional characteristics), the *-eczek* formant (*bocheneczek*, *szopeczek*, *wianeczek*), confirmed five times, provides a specific context; however, once a derivative with this formant is accompanied by an adjective (*mały snopeczek*).

This very list proves that diminutives are not highly represented in the text. On the other hand, the list does not give an indication of the general situation.

The lists compiled with reference to the corpus containing the word forms from Z. Sobierajski's collection of texts allow to shed some light on the issue.

Therefore, in a collection of dialectal utterances published on more than 200 pages, the respondents used word forms 62,711 times. The diminutives of our interest or ones that should be considered in this context included:

- 208 diminutives where the group includes derivatives which, in a specific dialect, have units that could be at the basis of the derivation process; this amounts to 0.3316% of the text;

- 29 examples that could be deemed formal diminutives – 0.046% of the text.

Let me also refer to other data, namely examples with multi-functional *-ek*, *-ka* etc. formants. I have counted 646 of them which represents 1.03% of the text.

The above data are not impressive. Obviously, they should be confronted with at least two sets: a corpus of written texts (preferably by authors from Wielkopolska) with respect to the persistence of diminutives. On the other hand, it would be very useful to present "statistical" analyses of similar texts (where the regional identity of dialectal affinity has been maintained).

Nevertheless, this analysis provides insight into the idiosyncrasy of dialects, in this case dialects of west Wielkopolska. However, some peculiarities occurred also in materials depicting other dialects (here, dialects from Łuków area in eastern Poland). It seems that dialects from the general area of Poland share a redundant, surplus display of 'small size' by means of the MAŁY (small) type (see e.g. *małe strońcky*).

The textual use of the MAŁY lexeme in the context of using diminutives also calls for a closer look. The corpus (west Wielkopolska corpus) includes:

- MAŁY (in various forms of the gender) occurring 62 times, while the cluster
- MAŁY + diminutive occurred 38 times; this represents 61.29% of the textual usage.

What is interesting in this list is (barely) three occurrences of the regional form MAŁKI (*malki synek* – SobZWP126; *malki synuś* – SobZWP127 and *malkie góńsióńka*

– SobZWP126) next to a diminutive; however, these are the only contexts of the textual use of this form of an adjective. It is difficult to determine unambiguously if this form is related in the texts to diminutives; nevertheless, the phenomenon itself deserves more attention in the future.

What is more, the comments presented here clearly confirm that the ultimate picture of the complexity of word-formation processes (and it seems unimportant if it is true only for dialects) to a large extent depends on the way in which the material has been obtained. Focusing exclusively on a description of examples recorded in the course of special explorations does not allow to identify the degree of their persistence (here: rare) in the entire linguistic environment. When examining dialectal phenomena, idiolects should also be taken into consideration as in some situations (with a limited number of informants), they may blur the picture. An analysis of relatively large corpora proves unambiguously that in this type of research the generation factor is of importance. The available modern research methods confirm it beyond any doubt (see Sierociuk 2015).

A confrontation of the examples referred to above is also evidence that it is hard to discuss the specificity of dialectal word formation with respect to data obtained during explorations for the purpose of atlases. In general, the interest in the complexity of word-formation elements grows as synchronous word formation occurs (here, M. Honowska's work *Ewolucja metod polskiego słowotwórstwa synchronicznego (w dziesięcioleciu 1967–1977)* [1979] is of great importance). In a majority of dialectological questionnaires (especially the earlier ones), word-formation issues are treated marginally. It is also the case with the materials obtained for the AJLKLW where word formation is not largely represented: out of 645 questions in volume I, including *vocabulary, inflection, word formation*, there are 123 references to word building although there are also questions definitely exceeding proper word forming like: “*Are formations... still in use?*” (Sobierajski 1972). The word-forming structure of selected units was frequently presented with reference to an analysis of specific lexemes, dictionary entries. Very frequently, a “habit” from analyses of general language material prevails where an assumption is adopted that any unit with a transparent structure includes a word which is a starting point for the derivation. There is also an indirect assumption that similar relations rule dialects. As it happens, a proper description of the processes of dialectal word formation requires simultaneous access to an entire derivative pair: the derivative and the word which is a word-forming basis. In a dialectal environment, these relations are often non-existent. From the point of view of word-formation relations observed in a dialectal environment, sometimes (e.g. in Wielkopolska dialects) *kosiarz* will be an indivisible word because what a *kosiarz* (haymaker) does is *sieczenie* (cutting); therefore the relation between *kosiarz* and *siec* does not document the word-formation relation (Sierociuk 2001; Sierociuk 2003).

One final remark: I do realise that the material subjected to statistical analysis represents one type of dialects. As we know, in dialectology taking into account the territorial diversity lies at the heart of this discipline of science. In this situation, we should assume that, also in this respect, there may be specific differences between dialects of

various dialectal complexes. However, field experience proves that, while these differences should be considered, the results of the analyses will remain within the same ranges*.

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* This is a slightly modified version of the text: *Deminutiva gwarowe w systemie i w tekście*, [in:] “Z Polskich Studiów Slawistycznych”, series 13, volume 2. Językoznawstwo, Zbigniew Greń (ed.), Prace na XVI Międzynarodowy Kongres Slawistów w Belgradzie 2018, Poznań 2018, pp. 273–282.

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The sociological context of research into language of villagers

In 20 years' time, the border between the European Union
and Russia will be uninhabited land
(Trusewicz 2006, 9)

Abstract: The article is an attempt at presenting the context of the linguistic situation in rural areas. New findings offered by sociology, geography of the country and other disciplines dealing with rural areas indicate clearly that contemporary dialectology requires methodological re-orientation. As a consequence, there is a growing need of referring to a language spoken by inhabitants of rural areas rather than a traditional dialect. There is also growing awareness of the value of local culture and an imperative to cultivate it, accompanied by an urgent need of compiling own dictionaries of dialects.

Key words: dialect, language of villagers; rural sociology; contemporary dialectological research.

Abstrakt: Socjologiczny kontekst badań języka mieszkańców wsi. Artykuł podejmuje próbę szkicowania kontekstu współczesnej sytuacji językowej wsi. Przywołane nowe rozstrzygnięcia socjologii, geografii wsi – i innych dyscyplin zajmujących się obszarami wiejskimi – jednoznacznie wskazują na konieczność zmiany orientacji metodologicznej współczesnej dialektologii. Konkluzją powyższego jest coraz wyraźniej rysująca się potrzeba mówienia o języku mieszkańców wsi miast o tradycyjnej gwarze. Wzrasta też świadomość wartości lokalnej kultury i potrzeby jej kultywowania. Coraz częściej jest też odczuwana potrzeba zestawiania słowników własnej gwary.

Słowa kluczowe: gwara, język mieszkańców wsi, socjologia wsi, współczesne badania dialektologiczne.

It comes as no surprise that rural areas are undergoing rapid changes in land management and the related transformation of the rural population. Some processes have been observed for a long time, others are the sign of the latest time.

The quotation which serves as the motto is a conclusion of an article written by Iwona Trusewicz and published in “Rzeczpospolita” daily, entitled *Tylko bociany wracają* (Only storks come back). The text with this telling title includes other statements, for example:

Polish maps still feature villages which in fact no longer exist. Every year more villages are depopulated. Uninhabited land is emerging along the Polish border between the Union and Kaliningrad Oblast. (...)

Irene van den Linde, a Dutch journalist, knows the eastern border of the Union like the back of her hand. In 2003, it took her and Nicole Seger, a press photographer, ten months to cover 20 thousand km of the borderline of the new united Europe. On 1 May 2004, the day of the Union's enlargement, Irene and Nicole presented in Rotterdam the results of their journey, a book entitled *The end of Europe. Meetings on the new eastern border (Het einde van Europa: ontmoetingen langs de nieuwe oostgrens)*.

The journalists reached the most remote small towns, villages and hamlets in Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, Slovakia and Hungary. The Dutch women first visited Poland and the border between Poland and Russia. Later on they moved to Podlasie, the Lublin area and the Bieszczady Mountains.

"In each country, be it the affluent Finland or the poor Slovakia, we saw the same thing, the intensifying process of abandonment", said Irene van den Linde. "These areas are facing slow death, depopulation" (Trusewicz 2006, 9).

How is this information of any interest to a dialectologist? Let me add that the "depopulation" of rural areas is not typical of only the so-called eastern wall where, even following Poland's accession to the European Union, there have been abandoned farms while the local population consists of mainly elderly people representing the post-working age generation. This trend is confirmed by some information presented by the media; for example, in 2006 in Poland, 45 localities were removed from an official register mainly because of complete depopulation¹; similar phantom localities are scattered all over the country.

Should this statement, referring in fact not only to the borderland areas, be accepted indiscriminately? "The process is irreversible. People, especially young ones, leave borderland villages because there is no work there once collective farming ceased to exist. In 20 years' time, the border between the European Union and Russia will be uninhabited land" (Trusewicz 2006, 9).

In order to create a full picture, let me refer to a statement which provides a slightly broader context for the reporter's conclusions, based on research carried out by experts in rural issues:

In Poland, a new and interesting phenomenon has emerged, namely migration of city dwellers to the country. This has been confirmed by research into the directions of migration in the communes neighbouring with Warsaw and Lublin. In 1999, the communes in a direct vicinity of the two cities had a positive migration balance while the inflow was mainly from the city. In areas located further away from Warsaw and Lublin, the migration balance was typically negative. (...)

On the other hand, in the peripheries of the country (especially in eastern Poland), depopulation continues in villages although the rate has declined against the 1970s and 80s. The

¹ As covered by "Fakty" news on TVN, 08.01.2007, 07:26 p.m.

migration balance in these areas is typically negative and the population leaving villages tends to choose big cities” (Bański 2006, 53)².

In the light of the unambiguously acknowledged changes to the population and the generational structure in large areas of Poland, dialectology needs to adopt an equally unambiguous methodological attitude. Otherwise, we may be tempted to identify research into dialects with specific linguistic archaeology; in this situation, dialectology may become an extremely diachronic discipline. With reference to the areas in danger of depopulation, the activity may centre mainly on reconstructing the linguistic past while the research will be based exclusively on the previously collected documents or reconstruction thereof by means of archived material obtained from the locals who, following migration, settled in new areas. While in contemporary Slavic studies there have been examples of reconstructing former “linguistic areas” as is the case with villages located near Chernobyl³, this should not mark the beginning of a new dialectological specialisation, namely documenting the language spoken by inhabitants of abandoned human settlements.

Dialectology is a discipline of linguistics based primarily on direct contact with pure speech of the inhabitants of geographically identified rural areas. Even casual observation of contemporary rural areas provides evidence that the approach to the research object needs to be re-appraised against the previous recommendations. For transparency purposes, let me refer to the rules followed by the first Polish atlas-related research. The standards of selecting the interlocutors were defined by Mieczysław Małecki and Kazimierz Nitsch at the beginning of their work on *Atlas językowy polskiego Podkarpacia (AJPP)*:

The prerequisites of the informants were as follows: 1) born in a specific village; 2) permanent residence there; emphasis was placed on tracing people who did not leave their native villages or were absent for a short time; (...) 3) the right age, preferably between 45 and 65; (...). 4) if possible, illiterate; in general reading books rarely. 5) The county’s head officer’s and other inhabitants’ opinions that the person in question ‘talked like a farmer, as we do’ which in a large majority of cases proved true; 6) relative intelligence and a possible skill of story-telling because then an individual handles the questionnaire better than a daft person even if he speaks only a dialect (AJPP, part II, 18).

Some of the recommendations for the setting should be deemed anachronistic; others are increasingly more difficult to fulfil. It is impossible for contemporary inhabitants of rural areas not to be in touch with the world as they are not completely settled; rare book readers are even harder to find even if the general language affects speakers in ways other than through books.

² Cf. the figure placed there: “Figure 6.9. Origin of residential building construction investors as per building permits issued in 1995–2000 in the Lublin area”.

³ See for example *Говірка села Машеве Чорнобильського району*, ч. 1–3, Київ 2003, ч. 4, Київ 2005.

Respecting the rules of traditional dialectology may lead automatically to the discipline's crisis; the waning research interest and dwindling numbers of young scholars are alarming.

A dictionary and a language atlas must not be the ultimate achievement of dialectology⁴. By accepting this assumption one also needs to accept the end of dialectology as a living discipline of science. Pursuing dialectology does not need to be limited to following phenomena in a diachronic context.

Therefore, what determines the required change to the methodological approach in dialectology?

The contemporary economic transformations bring about in a natural way changes to the demographic structure of the country and the way of farming. It is assumed that Polish villages are over-populated, too many locals are dependent on work broadly related to farming. In these circumstances, one needs to expect not as much a continued outflow of inhabitants of rural areas but changes to the employment structure. The mono-vocational nature of the rural population is increasingly slipping into oblivion.

A detailed example is provided in the form of data presenting the demographic structure and the size of the specific farms in a single village submitted to intense research carried out by the Institute of Polish Dialectology at the Poznań University. These are the characteristics of Bukówiec Górny in Włoszakowice commune, Leszno county:

Number of inhabitants: 1636 (...) including 824 females, 812 males. The village's geodetic area: 1585 ha (...). Number of households: 323. Farms: 263 (including) 1–2 ha – 99, 2–5 ha – 68, 5–7 ha – 23, 7–10 ha – 25, 10–15 ha – 30, 15 ha – 18” (NJ 2006, 2).

In this large village, there is less than a hectare (approx. 0.97 ha) of “geodetic area” per inhabitant; more than a half (167) of the farms have at their disposal less than 5.0 ha which is below the average for the entire village of Bukówiec Górny (6.02 ha).

Traditional farming is no longer the source of livelihood for a large majority of the local population. The same holds true for other regions in the country. In Polish rural areas⁵, too many people are employed in farming. Bearing in mind the indicator per 100 ha of agricultural land, “the existing level of employment in Polish farming is reminiscent of the levels in other European countries from 30–50 years ago (e.g. in France in 1970 the density indicator amounted to 22, in Germany to 7.8)” (Jezierska-Thöle 2006, 65).

Observation of world trends leads to an assumption that the indicator will decrease. Let us take a look at the latest statistical data applicable to Poland and a majority of European countries.

⁴ More on the subject in Sierociuk (2005).

⁵ In 2002, the size of the rural population in Poland varied from 28.6% (Lower Silesia) to 59.4% (Subcarpathia). In Wielkopolska the indicator amounts to 42.3%; data provided by [Bański 2006, 44-45].

Country	Urbanization – rural areas (in %)	Employment structure – agriculture (in %)	GDP production structure – agriculture (in %)
Poland	38	16	4
Ireland	40	6	5
Finland	39	4	3
Switzerland	33	4	2
Austria	33	12	2
Italy	33	4	2
France	25	4	3
Spain	22	6	4
Dania	15	4	2
Germany	12	2	1
UK	10	1	1
Holland	10	3	3
Slovenia	49	12	3
Serbia	48	3	16
Romania	47	35	13
Slovakia	42	4	4
Ukraine	33	20	18
Lithuania	33	16	7
Bulgaria	31	10	12
Belarus	29	11	9
Russia	27	10	5
Czech Republic	25	4	3

Source: *Wielki encyklopedyczny atlas świata*, Wydawnictwo PWN and “Gazeta Wyborcza”, Warszawa 2006.

The above table leads to a conclusion that soon, more changes will affect rural areas in Poland and other countries. While the share of rural population in the general demographic structure of Poland does not differ much from many EU countries, the level of urbanization is among the lowest. However, there are distinct differences in the employment structure: 16% of professionally active Poles work in agriculture⁶. The EU average is approximately 75% lower. The observed trends suggest that in the nearest future, rural population will be professionally more diverse. Agricultural production is also bound to change with prevailing mass production farms. The transformation of the agrarian structure will result in rapid changes to agricultural production and exchange of the major tools. Even now carts are rarely used by farmers on a daily basis in some regions, not to mention horses. Irrespective of the size of the farm, more and

⁶ J. Bański wrote: “The share of inhabitants of rural areas employed in farming varies between 33 and 35% in Lubusz and West Pomerania regions to over 70% in Świętokrzyskie and Subcarpathian and 80% in Lublin and Podlaskie regions. Employment in agriculture can also be determined on the basis of the number of people working per 100 ha of agricultural land (...). The percentage is the highest in the provinces most fragmented with respect to agriculture, namely: Lesser Poland, Subcarpathian, Świętokrzyskie; it is the lowest in the north and the west of the country” [Bański 2006, 58-59].

more frequently farmers use the latest equipment; as a result of access to the Internet, they can follow the regularly updated weather forecasts which facilitate field work planning; this knowledge, in turn, allows to better use the increasingly complicated tools and pest control⁷. Needless to say, all this changes the language beyond recognition.

Rural populations tend to follow the rules established in a liberal and democratic society “whose members (...) are not bound by identical, common goals but general, ordering rules like for example the price system informing about goods deficit” (Kromka 2006, 126).

Contemporary rural areas are not free from the impact of the crucial processes like globalisation which, according to sociologists, “in a sociological sense indicates (...) progressive “uprooting” of human activity, the vanishing importance and bond-forging power of specific time-and-space action contexts and social references, the growing importance of “remote activity” which is also possible owing to new forms of communication and information channels. (...) Finally, globalisation also means in-depth “transformation” of culture, its traditional bases of knowledge, forms of expression and prevailing rules of rationality, caused primarily by a revolution in information and communication technology and the related trans-cultural processes of diffusion” (Sterbling 2006, 42).

The impact of global processes on the language of the inhabitants of specific regions has been a subject of interest of scholars, including linguists (*Глобализация* 2006; Нешименко 2006).

In this situation, should dialectology be interested in a language spoken by a community with a dramatically different linguistic and cultural profile? Is it not time to realize the need for research into this new communication structure? Equally importantly, it is no longer a traditional dialect but a language spoken by inhabitants of new rural areas.

Migration of the rural population intensified in the second half of the 20th century; since 1945, the process has affected all parts of Poland, to a varying degree. On the one hand, the inflow resulted from forced resettlement shortly after WWII. On the other hand, it was a natural exchange of people resulting from familial contacts (incl. marriages with partners from outside one’s own village). Depending on the intensity of these movements, in one way or another immigrants affected the language spoken by the locals or immigrants acquired the locals’ habits and communication behaviour. Contemporary dialectologists cannot disregard this large part of inhabitants of contemporary rural areas.

The linguistic consequence of these processes enforces a different look at the tasks faced by contemporary dialectology.

⁷ Cf. press information: “Farmers from Wielkopolska can make use of the www.agrometeo.pl weather forecast portal. It is intended to help them to organise farm work. It offers data on the weather updated every 10 minutes with emphasis placed on a three-day forecast. The website was created in cooperation between the Poznań Academy of Agriculture and the University of Warsaw. ‘Modern farming does not stand for peasants with wagons. The website makes it easier for farmers to forecast changes in the weather or prepare for an invasion of pest’, said Prof. Janusz Olejnik from the Faculty of Agrometeorology at the Academy of Agriculture in Poznań” (“Dziennik”, 9–10.06.2007, p. 9).

Sociologists have also changed their methodological orientation. The related transformations are at the basis of a conviction that the traditional perception of “country sociology” should be replaced by “rural areas sociology” (Gorlach 2004). More and more frequently, these “rural areas” are the destination of people previously living in cities. At the same time, in rural areas the number of groups professionally not related to (traditional) farming is growing.

On the other hand, a large part of the rural population is employed far away from the place of residence. This phenomenon, typical of economically highly developed societies, is increasingly common in Poland. In sociology, this employment-related mobility is referred to as circular migration which has become “the prevailing feature of life in rural areas although the social type of the migrants has changed. After WWII, the development of Western Germany was underpinned by moonlighting farmers (farmers-cum-workers) commuting every day to the nearest city where, in most cases, they worked as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers while their wives minded the farms” (Vonderach 2006, 24). This “professional” group of farmers-cum-workers was also popular in Poland and the language they spoke was analysed by Marian Kucała in a book with a telling title: *O słownictwie ludzi wyzbywających się gwary* (The vocabulary of people getting rid of their dialect) (Kucała 1960).

To a large extent, circular migration of rural populations stems from the development of the automotive industry.

In the early 1960s, as the standard of living improved, the popularity of cars grew and consequently changed the mode of operation of migrants (...); a majority of them started to commute to work in the city in their own cars. The number of regular commuters increased as a result of the accelerating structural changes to agriculture. The number grew also because car owners who did not have farms could work in the city and live in the country thus putting a halt to depopulation. Many villages with disappearing farms, accompanied by growing professional mobility of its inhabitants, started to act as “dormitories” for circular migrants (Vonderach 2006, 24).

While this is an account of the situation in Germany, it is becoming more and more frequent in rural areas in Poland.

The questionnaire, distributed for the purposes of this article⁸ among the inhabitants of Bukówiec Górny, confirms the above statements. The questions answered by grownups included ones pertaining to the phenomenon under discussion:

Does your family’s income come solely from the farm you own?

yes: 11 no: 51 (no reply: 4)

Does any of your family members work outside Bukówiec?

yes: 50 no: 12 (no reply: 4)

⁸ The questionnaire, filled in by 66 individuals, was distributed in April 2007 during the 11th dialect contest held in Bukówiec Górny.

The replies, presented against the data on the village provided earlier, are hardly surprising. Owners of small farms need to look for alternative sources of income outside their place of residence.

Research into the language spoken by the inhabitants of rural areas needs to take into account many different extra-linguistic factors affecting the communication structures⁹. In his book, Jerzy Bański (Bański 2006) presents various data which prove very useful in field research. Researchers should know the percentage of the inhabitants not involved in farming as early as at the stage of preparations (Bański 2006, 60); the numbers are lowest in the eastern provinces and highest in the west of Poland. Of importance will also be the knowledge of the spatial diversification of agriculture (Bański 2006, 78–119) on the basis of which we can exclude cultivation of the sugar beet and plan research in large parts of the following provinces: Lodz, a large majority of Masovia, Świętokrzyskie, Silesia, Lesser Poland etc. On the other hand, ample material can be expected in Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), the Opole region, the Kuyavian-Pomeranian region and the southern part of the Lublin area (Bański 2006, 86). Important factors affecting the living conditions in the country: housing, rural infrastructure, spatial organisation, land use etc. (Bański 2006) largely impact the content and nature of the local vocabulary. These factors affect the local phonetic, syntactic and other systems (not only idiolects) indirectly, by access to the press, the radio, TV and the Internet. On the other hand, local water and sewage facilities largely influence the vocabulary related to housing space management, hygiene, meal preparation etc. and lead to an assumption that the once indispensable wells will disappear.

This combination of various factors affecting the rural linguistic environment brings about an important change to the nature of the transformation. In its approach to linguistic changes, traditional dialectology mainly centres on observing the limits between dialectal areas. A case in point are maps illustrating Zenon Sobierajski's opinions on the modifications of the range of some lexical features in Wielkopolska (Sobierajski 2003) where, following presentation of the former and the existing range of the words *pyrki // pyry*, the "direction of the expansion of vocabulary" is indicated (Sobierajski 2003, 78)¹⁰. In an unambiguous way, it suggests a dialectal change consisting in a shift in the isolex. Z. Sobierajski wrote: "As a result of changes to the vocabulary following WWII, Wielkopolska, an area where the word *pyrka* definitely prevailed in the Inter-war period, turned into a mostly three-synonymous area i.e. an area where three words exist as alterations: *pyrki // kartofle // ziemniaki*. Only the dialects of north-western Wielkopolska have remained immune to the words promoted by the media, *kartofle* and *ziemniaki*. It refers to a narrow strip of the former borderland between Poland and Germany and the borderland between Wielkopolska and Pomerania up to the line connecting the towns/cities of Międzyrzecz, Szamotuły, Czarnków, Chodzież and Bydgoszcz" (Sobierajski 2003, 79). However, contemporary field research carried out with view of the major sociological factors at play (especially the informants' age) (Sierociuk 2003) clearly indicates a different nature of the processes taking place in that area, namely changes to the local language structures occurring not only on the

⁹ I took notice of these conditions earlier in (Sierociuk 2000).

¹⁰ See also similar signage on the maps.

peripheries of a specific phenomenon; mass media impact equally the peripheries and the centre of the traditional dialectal area. Observations of a language spoken by different generations of large parts of populations from specific villages are evidence of significant lexical abundance (less so with respect to the grammar) confirmed in this area. The diversity of synonymous sequences is to a large extent affected by the respondents' generation affiliation (Perkowska 2007; Graf 2007).

In these conditions, traditional vocabulary is going out of use; more and more frequently, in order to document it researchers need to refer to the informants' memory. It is therefore no accident that in a majority of villages in Wielkopolska, the vocabulary referring to the *potato* and, for example, the *well*, represents vocabulary of former times.

The conditions presented here strongly impact the change in rural populations' perception of the world; slowly, the gap between the living conditions in the country and the city is narrowing. Nevertheless,

education remains an important feature differentiating the rural and urban populations (...). The disproportion in education is better reflected by the "rural society's" education structure: in the country, secondary and above-secondary education is twice less frequent than in the city (26.7% vs. 52.3%) which means that less educated groups prevail. In the country, people with primary education represent the biggest group (38.3%); in the city it is groups with secondary and post-secondary education (Halamska 2007, 375–376).

Bearing in mind the generally poorer education, does the rural community fail to appreciate its language? This question is of importance in the context of a nearly universal approach to treating dialects as an inferior, corrupt language. Lamentably, this attitude is shared by a large part of local influential circles, including teachers, especially teachers of Polish. Students of Polish philology corroborate this view indirectly by demonstrating their attitude towards folk language and culture. The misguided care for "correct speech" at the expense of dialects is after all a demonstration of the failure of the "liberal arts elites" to understand the major historical and linguistic processes, the process of shaping a national language.

However, it seems that we are witnessing a revival of regional self-awareness, an act of forging a bond with the local culture and language. In the Institute of Dialectology of the Poznań University we receive a growing number of requests of assistance in compiling dictionaries of local dialects (Sierociuk 2006). This is a very specific cooperation offer made in an informed way with the aim of registering possibly all the linguistic elements by a community's members.

Bearing in mind that Wielkopolska dialects have a very poor lexicographic documentation (Reichan, Woźniak 2001, 41; Karaś 2011, 293), there is an urgent need of supplements. In cooperation with the local communities, with schools in the lead, we have made an effort of preparing (and publishing) thematic dictionaries, according to formerly established editorial rules. Sets of vocabulary of a specific thematic field are to be repeated in various parts of Wielkopolska (initially we are planning compilation of 3-4 dictionaries). The intention is to enable comparative analyses of an entire dialect, at the same time providing an opportunity to shed light on the complexity of the

lexical and semantic relations taking place in a specific section of local vocabulary. A lexical questionnaire with 600–800 questions is circulated in the field by interested pupils while supplementary research is carried out by members of the Institute of Dialectology of the Poznań University. As a result, the phonographic archive gains typically 30–40 hours of recordings of contemporary dialectal material. In some villages, due to the specificity of the local dialect, the research is carried out regularly for a longer time. Consequently, in Bukówiec Górny we have documented more than 200 hours of detailed conversations about various areas of country life; lexicographic documentation compiled in Dąbrówka Wlkp. is nearly as impressive. The assumed concentration of field research on concrete subject areas, taking into account the fact that the respondents represented different generations (Sierociuk 2003), poses excellent opportunities for explaining both the complexity and the course of linguistic processes taking place in the country (Sierociuk 2007).

Following the concept, several dictionaries have been edited (Dragan, Woźna 2014; Giera, Jańczak 2005; Kobus, Gniazdowski 2018; Kobus, Stępień 2018; Osowski 2018a; Osowski 2018b; Osowski 2020; Sierociuk 2019). Interestingly, presentation of these lexicons facilitates cooperation in the field in other villages; often conversations end with declarations of the “we want our dictionary, too” type.

It seems that the attitude of country folk to their language has gradually evolved towards a greater interest in it and care for preservation thereof. Time will show how constant this trend will be and what territorial range it will have. Nevertheless, the regional dictionaries published to date (Wronicz 2006) and the growing interest in dialect contests are good omens. The questionnaire distributed in Bukówiec Górny during the 9th contest of dialects included questions which shed light on the scale of the phenomenon. The replies provide an unambiguous picture confirmed by observations made in other villages in Wielkopolska:

Do you think that organising dialect contests is desirable?

yes: 58 no: 3 no opinion: 5 (no reply: 2)

Do you think that dialects should be cultivated?

yes: 64 no: 2 no opinion: 0 (no reply: 0)

Do you often use dialectal words?

often: 29 rarely: 28 I try not to use: 9 (no reply: 0)

When do you speak a dialect in a conversation?

at home: 29 + 23¹¹ with neighbours: 8 + 23 in the city: 3 + 10 (no reply: 3)

Are you ashamed of using dialectal words?

I'm ashamed: 0 I'm not ashamed: 41 + 4 I don't pay attention to it: 22 + 4 (no reply: 0)

¹¹ Since in this point, several options were marked in total, I present them in an order: the first were the replies marked as exclusive, followed by replies containing several options.

Do you think that a dictionary of the dialect spoken in your village should be compiled?
yes: 60 no: 1 no opinion: 5 (no reply: 1)

The credibility of the above data is confirmed by the friendliness that accompanied each conversation with the inhabitants of Bukówiec Górny. Their keen interest in dialectological documentation and the dictionary to be edited makes the work a joint venture while nearly every more important language form (less frequent or out of circulation) is accompanied by a comment of a competent user.

The fragmentary sociolinguistic characteristics of Bukówiec Górny is only an example of a modest verification of the sociological conditions of contemporary dialectological research indicated here. In the Institute of Dialectology of the Poznań University we are certainly aware of what determines our actions. However, we think that this is not in contradiction to the existing premises of dialectology. On the contrary, it poses new research opportunities (Sierociuk 2005). Just as the general conditions of living in the country are changing, so is the language spoken by the rural population; dialects have ceased to be the major way of expressing thoughts. By observing the various forms of oral communication taking place in the country, researchers should realise that they are not dealing with traditional dialects but a complex structure of the language of the rural population*.

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About synonymy in dialects in the context of the general Polish language

Abstract: This article presents the issue of synonymy in dialects. The phenomenon is viewed in a context of contemporary dialectal lexicographic descriptions and the abounding material excerpted from a corpus of a dialect spoken in a single village in Wielkopolska (Bukówiec Górny, Leszno county). If we agree that synonymy is a stylistic phenomenon, *choice* gains in importance as the prerequisite for a synonymic relation. The presented analyses indicate that a proper synonymic relation in dialects occurs only on the level of idiolects.

Keywords: dialect, idiolectal nature of vocabulary in dialects, vocabulary in dialects, synonymy in dialects.

Abstrakt: W sprawie synonimii w gwarach – na tle polszczyzny ogólnej. W artykule podejmowany jest problem funkcjonowania w gwarach synonimii. Zjawisko to rozpatrywane jest zarówno w kontekście współczesnych dialektalnych opisów leksykograficznych, jak i bogatego materiału wyekscerpowanego z korpusu gwary jednej wsi wielkopolskiej (Bukówiec Górny, pow. Leszno). Uznając synonimię za zjawisko stylistyczne, przyjmuje istotne znaczenie *wyboru* jako podstawowego warunku zaistnienia relacji synonimicznej. Przedstawione wyniki analiz wykazują, że o właściwej relacji synonimicznej w gwarach można mówić jedynie na poziomie idiolektalnym.

Słowa kluczowe: gwara, idiolektalność leksyki gwar, leksyka gwar, synonimia w gwarach.

In an attempt at describing the alternative function of specific units in dialects, be it lexical or grammatical, first we need to tackle several theoretical issues. In this case, a definition must be coined of a dialect as well as a synonym (or variant). For clarity reasons I assume that a dialect is an oral phenomenon, operating with reference to oral traditions and messages. A synonym provides the possibility of choice.

Dialects follow developmental rules other than the general language; dialects do not undergo internalization – with reference to the general language, these functions fulfil all the sorts of grammar or, as Zuzanna Topolińska noted: “a prescriptive norm enforced by the local authorities’ language policy (typically the government) and administratively executed” (Topolińska 1992: 251). It seems that it is of major importance to a description of how a dialect operates.

On the other hand, we should take into account reservations of experts in stylistics, for example:

It seems impossible to define a lexical synonym without a prior analysis of the notion of choice which, this way or other, always accompanies a discussion of synonyms. After all, you choose from synonymous rhetorical forms (Skubalanka 1995, 43).

This quotation is a clear indication of *choice* as an element defining a synonym. I will refer to the possibility of *choice* very frequently. This is because we need to decide whether pairs of linguistic units, commonly presented to exemplify a synonymous relation, in fact offer the speaker the choice which stems from the definition.

Since *choice* is a commonly adopted element defining *synonyms*, in my presentation I will focus exclusively on this aspect. I have assumed that the decision if, in the course of oral communication, a specific language unit is indeed an element of a semantically equivalent pair, determines the subsequent research procedure.

These issues, of importance also to the general theory of synonyms, will be viewed by reference to dialects and the oral Polish language.

However, before I proceed with an analysis of specific conditions, let me focus on the relevant possibilities offered by the general Polish language in dictionaries of the Polish language and by analogical dialectal material presented in dictionaries of dialects. There is an important methodological difference between research into the general Polish language and the language spoken in rural areas. While many methodological solutions in research into the general and dialectal Polish language are common, they differ in the approach to two important conditions: time and space. The former does occur in research into the general Polish language but, basically, it defines the opposition between **synchrony** and **diachrony**. In fact, what is missing is the generational differentiation, more and more frequently considered in dialectological research. The other factor, space, differentiates the two research disciplines in a more decisive way. Dialectological methods have the ultimate goal of showing linguistic diversity in the geographic aspect, on language maps. Interestingly, the cartographic method of presenting data more and more often takes into account the differences affected by time i.e. the generational differentiation (Dejna 1998).

From a dialectologist's point of view, the general Polish language represents the condition of a dialect from a single research location in a strictly defined, narrow time frame. While dialectology takes into consideration the differences in the linguistic systems of the users of a specific dialect, using in research into the general Polish language material collected in the available general dictionaries is reminiscent of a dialectologist's daily contacts with a specific, single informant who is a dialect user. Another important difference, which allows to take a slightly different stance on the title issues, is the fact that dialectological research allows to verify the observations directly in the course of the research. There is an opportunity to gain insight into the linguistic structure of the dialect spoken by its users. In this situation, the following dependence emerges: the relations between the language variety in question and its *specific* implementation by *specific* users in a description of the general Polish language assumes that the language spoken by every person reflects lexicons. In

a dialectological approach, it is the opposite: a general picture of the linguistic structure dialect results from individual idiolectal systems. Therefore, in the two cases, synthesis is approached from opposite directions.

Before I proceed with an analysis of specific examples which illustrate the issues under scrutiny, let me regard the relations between the basic notions at play, namely *synonymy* and *variability*. Without providing too many details about other authors' ideas, let me refer to the most popular approach presented in the *Encyklopedia języka polskiego* (Encyklopedia 1992). It says:

Synonymy is based on expressing the same content by means of two (several) different linguistic forms. Synonymy may pertain to syntax structures (*rzucić kamieniem – rzucić kamień*), morphological forms (*inżynierowie – inżynierzy*) and lexemes. Lexemes, which are related by synonymy, are referred to as synonyms. (Encyklopedia 1992, 343).

Variants – elements of a language treated identically with respect to their function even if their forms differ. Variants can be viewed as implementation of one and the same linguistic unit which some structuralist schools of thought tend to call invariants. Typically, variants are discussed in phonology (see Variants of a phoneme) (Encyklopedia 1992, 372).

If we assume that these definitions represent terms accepted by a majority of scholars we also need to assume that, as a relation largely based on semantic synonymity, *synonymy* can only be referred to the lexical level. On the other hand, *variability* is a functionally identical relation; therefore, defining it as equivalent to synonymy is not justified. If we also assume that, on the morphological level, allophony is marked by functional sameness accompanied by formal diversity (cf. above), attributing synonymity to units on the lexical (and higher) level is unjustified. When I allude to variability, I mean the relations taking place between phonological units and broadly-defined morphology: inflection and word formation.

The above suggests unambiguously that in the case of both synonymy and variability, there is a possibility of *choice*. However, in both situations the choice is made according to slightly different rules and between units of varying degrees of sameness.

After these theoretical considerations, let me proceed with reviewing selected examples that allow to take a stance on the major issues.

Dictionaries of the general Polish language provide numerous examples of lexical pairs of nearly identical meaning. The example below, which comes from the *Słownik języka polskiego* (M. Szymczak ed.), will be a starting point for the subsequent deliberations:

kolebka (...) a baby's crib equipped with a rocker or a different rocking device; a cradle
kołyska (...) a baby's crib equipped with a rocker or a different rocking device; a cradle
 (Szymczak 1979).

Based on both definitions, these two words should definitely be deemed synonyms. However, does it hold true for every situation? Let me refer to dialectological experience.

Back in 1939, Józef Tarnacki wrote:

In Masovia, the two words (*kolebka*, *kołyska*) are in use although the older generation finds the word *kołyska* alien (Tarnacki 1939, 46).

The above statement clearly indicates that the synonymic relation between these two words in a specific use is not unambiguous at all. An analysis of how the words in question function in a dialectal environment leads to interesting conclusions. On top of the frequent lack of concurrent longevity of the verb form that can be a starting point for the derivative process (*kolebać* and *kołysać*, respectively), the informants use the words under scrutiny alternately. This happens frequently in the dialects spoken in the Lublin area, especially in the borderline area between Masovia and Lesser Poland. Therefore, in this situation, for a specific dialect user, the word *kolebka* does not necessarily need to be synonymous with *kołyska* because the informant knows only one element of the presented lexical pair.

Let me provide another example from the general Polish language which pertains to ‘a (separated) place in a block of flats for storing prams’. Bearing in mind the word-forming rules of the general Polish language, you could expect a pair *wózkownia* : *wózkarnia*. This is because in contemporary Polish, names of rooms are created by adding suffixes *-ownia* and *-arnia* (and other) to the basis which here happens to be a noun (Grzegorzczkova, Puzynina 1979, 257 and 262). Respecting the above word-forming rules, these two words should be deemed synonyms. Meanwhile, the picture is quite surprising. In the eyes of regular users of the Polish language living in cities (the rooms are typical of blocks of flats), these forms are not synonymous because a majority of speakers know only one of them. While in Poznań and Gdynia, even in the local press, only the word *wózkarnia* is used, the inhabitants of Lublin also use only one word and it is *wózkownia*. To the inhabitants of the three cities, the words *wózkarnia* and *wózkownia* are not synonyms for a simple reason: being unaware of the other unit in the pair, they do not have a choice in the word forming or vocabulary.

Lately, there have been several works stimulating continued discussion of not only synonymy in dialects but also its specificity. The latest literature on the subject includes two special positions: Елена А. Нефедова, *Многозначность и синонимия в диалектном пространстве* (Нефедова 2008) and Gwary dziś. 5. Anna Kowalska, *Apelatywne nazwy miejsc w dialektach polskich. Derywacja sufiksalna* (Kowalska 2011). Both works have been written with reference to vast material; in the Russian book, more emphasis is placed on the theoretical aspect of the issue, exemplified by representatives of four semantic fields¹. The Polish monograph illustrates the phenomenon of my interest by providing more examples.

¹ The “theoretical” chapter on “*Многозначность и синонимия в пространстве диалекта*” (pp. 21–84) is followed by a detailed analysis of the words from the semantic fields of ‘TIME’ (pp. 96–149), ‘POGODA’ (pp. 150–177), and morpho-semantic fields: ‘LIFE’ (pp. 178–293) and ‘CAR TRAFFIC’ (pp. 294–407). The monograph is based on north-Russian dialects spoken in the vicinity of Arkhangelsk; for years, the author has been member of a team publishing a dictionary of the dialects.

A good context for these considerations has been provided by A. Kowalska who, among the names of ‘places where various plants grow’, refers to a series of 8 derivatives: *jagodzisko // jagodowisko // jagodnik // jagodownik // jagodniak // jagodziniak // jagodniec // jagodziniec* (Kowalska 2011, 125). However, this is not the longest series in the sub-chapter “Word-forming synonyms with a common basis and various suffixes”; the name of ‘premises for farm animals’ boasts 9 derivatives: *świniarnia // świniarka // świniarnik // świniatnik // świniusznic // świniarzec // świnioch // świniuch // świniak* (Kowalska 2011, 125). This is not an exception, namely:

An even bigger number of synonyms defines ‘a room where wood is stored’ – some of them are derivatives with suffix extensions: *-nia* (*drewutnia // drwalnia // drewnia // drewnialnia // drewarnia // drewkarnia // drewniarnia*); *-ka* (*drwalka // drzewiarka // drzewiarka // drewlarka // drewniarka // drewutka*) and *-nik* (*drewnik // drwalnik // drewiatnik*); the remaining ones are *drewutnisko // drewnica // drewiarek* (Kowalska 2011, 125).

There are as many as 19 lexical units. This situation raises questions. Firstly, does an average speaker of a local dialect consider these forms synonymous? Do inhabitants of various regions in Poland know these words equally well? In this situation, do we deal with synonymy of dialectal forms of the type: *koniewi : konioju : koniu* (: *konio-wi*)? For example, an inhabitant of Wielkopolska (to whom the form *koniewi* seems natural) will not be aware of the type *konioju* which exists in other (Masovian) dialects and vice versa. These forms will not offer a choice to individuals who live in the areas of the two dialects.

This global, general-dialectal approach to the research material leads to surprising conclusions.

All (...) dialects enjoy myriads (emphasis by J.S./ of grammatical forms and words, coupled with practically unlimited possibilities (emphasis by J.S.) of their alternations. However, the biggest variability, conditioned primarily by geography and the generations, is typical of vocabulary and dialectal inflection (Pelcowa 1996, 157).

With this statement in mind, I could conclude that dialects provide examples of high synonymy of the vocabulary system and equally high variability on the morphological level. The question about the point of reference in drawing these conclusions remains topical. By the way, in this situation, a question about the communication of speakers of dialects seems only natural. Are dialects orderly or perhaps they reflect “a linguistic mess”, idiolectal freedom?

The answers to these questions are partly provided by an analysis of the material obtained from dialects with the biggest degree of variability both with respect to inflection and vocabulary (Pelcowa 1995, 156–57), namely the dialects spoken in the Lublin area. Their considerable diversity is partly attributed to the location in the borderland between Poland and Russia on one side and the borderland between Lesser Poland and Masovia. The reason why these dialects were chosen for observation was the fact that lexical research carried out by Halina Pelcowa in this area were supplemented by my research into dialectal word formation (Sierociuk 1996). Therefore,

I am familiar with the lexical and word-forming diversity of these dialects. Another argument in favour of choosing this area for observation, is publication of maps; the material for them was obtained independently and with different research assumptions – cf. Pelcowa 1995, map 3. (A place in a barn where cereals are threshed (and Sierociuk 1996, map 8) ‘A place in a barn where a cart can drive’).

Let me take a look at the answers obtained in the field: H. Pelcowa recorded four lexemes: *klepisko*, *boisko*, *bojowisko*, *tok*; on a word formation map, these names are accompanied by sporadic *sklepisko*, *scepisko* and *pobojowisko* occurrences. One can assume that in the dialects of the Lublin area, there are at least **seven** words denoting a specific referent (with varying geographic longevity/. Can they all be deemed synonymous?

The seven confirmed lexemes can be deemed synonymous only in two cases:

1. If the entire dialectal material is treated as counterbalance to confirmations of the general Polish language i.e. in accordance with a holistic approach to the opposition between a **dialect and the general Polish language**;

2. If we view these examples in a general dialectal context; here we would in fact decide against the geographic differentiation of dialects.

The mentioned maps do not reflect the existence of all the seven (or even four for that matter) names in a single village. While two (less frequently three) of the lexemes were recorded in several locations, I need to note that this is not common practice and their location does not seem to be incidental. Most frequently, these synonymous confirmations appear in areas where two competing lexical (morphological) units clash. A comparison of the word formation map placed in (Sierociuk 1996) and map (no. 2) from the same book, which shows the informant’s year of birth, leads to a conclusion that a large majority of the alternative recordings appear where the material was obtained from (at least) two individuals. This allows to define another level of reference when synonymous features in dialects are identified: the synonymy of a dialect spoken in a single village.

The presented “synonymous” sequences are rarely included in monographs of dialects from a small area, especially within a single dialect. These sequences are frequently recorded by authors of dialectal dictionaries (i.e. focusing on a complex of dialects) – there are many examples to show. However, synonymy is an important problem in lexicographic works; some of the related issues were described by B. Wyderka (Wyderka 2006).

Therefore, it seems interesting to answer the question about the complexity of the phenomenon at hand in a context of the field material. A point in case is material obtained from inhabitants of a single village: Bukówiec Górny (near Leszno) in south-western Wielkopolska. We have regularly spoken to the inhabitants of the village for over 20 years. This research is supposed to result in a dictionary of the local dialect. The field exploration is focused on obtaining data that allow to view the complexity of the language system of a local dialect as well as material for a future dictionary of the language spoken in Wielkopolska. The goal is to obtain possibly most complete lexical material. Since the village has been subjected to special research considering various sociolinguistic aspects, the conversations have been held with a large group of respondents representing different generations (Sierociuk 2003).

What are synonymous relations in a specific dialect like? Let me use the example of the words for ‘a man who mows’. Because of the specificity of Wielkopolska dialects, for clarity reasons I need to add that I mean here ‘a man who slashes’ because in that area, for mowing cereals (or grass) the word *sieczenie* [slashing] is used (rather than *koszenie* [mowing] as is the case in a majority of dialects and the general language). In Bukówiec Górny, I recorded five words: *kośnik*, *kosiarz*, *kosarz*, *kosynier* and *kosiarek*. Certainly, this sequence should be included in the planned dictionary. However, are all these words synonymous? The answer is yes if we consider the dialect spoken in Bukówiec Górny as a whole. What are the relations like on the level of a specific user of a specific dialect?

Let me explain the method of obtaining the relevant material. In the course of the research, with all the conversations recorded, we strive to turn the exploration into a casual conversation on a specific subject. Each recorded session is dedicated to obtaining vocabulary from a selected thematic area which encourages the interlocutors to focus on a specific subject. Consequently, there is a possibility of registering very diverse vocabulary. At the basis of each conversation is a special (thematic) questionnaire which is a sort of a script filled with the content of each conversation. This procedure does not embarrass the informants, at the same time creating opportunities for discovering vocabulary (or grammatical forms) typically not included in a traditional questionnaire. The interlocutor has more freedom in expressing his or her thoughts, hence vocabulary from “related” thematic areas pops up in various circumstances. All the uses are natural, stemming from the natural course of the conversation.

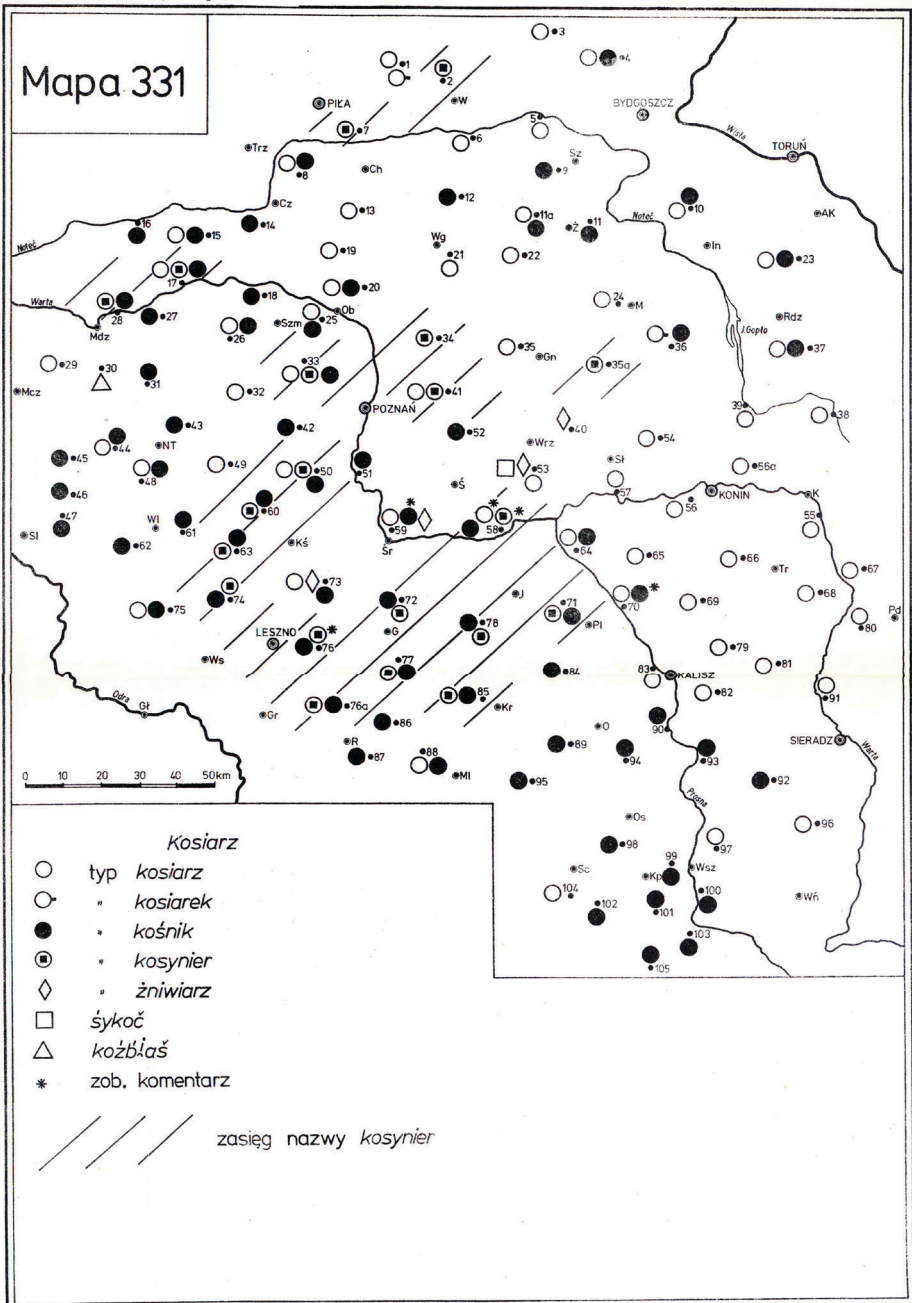
The confirmations presented below were obtained in natural circumstances; they were not triggered off by a special question in the questionnaire. The confirmations appeared frequently in conversations on other subjects. Therefore, their presence in an utterance of a specific respondent reflects his/her natural language preferences, in this case – lexical.

The viewed material comes from 59 conversations with 46 individuals; the texts offer 600,000 word forms. Each of the presented uses is accompanied by the interlocutor’s initials and his/her date of birth. This information provides general insight into the dynamics of the changes taking place in the local dialect. In this case, there are also changes to the possible linguistic preferences of the interlocutors.

A map from an atlas of the language and folk culture in Wielkopolska (AJKLW 1982) can serve as an introduction to this part of the analysis:

Bukówiec Górny was a research location (74.) for the AJKLW where map 331 shows the ranges of the name of interest. Two types were recorded: *kośnik* and *kosynier*. Our research, carried out 40 years after the atlas exploration (Sobierajski 1972), confirmed the longevity of five forms (as specified above). In the absence of longevity of the form which is at the base of the derivation process (verb *kosić*), *kosiarz* and *kosarz* should be treated like separate units; *kosiarz* may be treated as a transfer from another dialect (in similar situations, H. Górniewicz (Górniewicz 1967, 15) assumed that “this is a derivative imported from another dialect”), while *kosarz* could have emerged locally as a substantival derivative (< *kosa*).

Below, I present the frequency of the specific forms in utterances of 21 individuals. In fact, a synonymous relation takes place only with reference to the pair *kośnik* //



Map 331. Kosiarcz. Type kosiarcz
 See comment. Range of word *kosynier*

kosiarz; the first form in the considered material appeared 104 times; the other form 23 times. This result should be topped with 3 confirmations of the phonetic variant (*kosiorz*) which appeared once in each utterance of various interlocutors.

	<i>kośnik</i>	<i>kosiarz</i>
SoW (1920)	10	2
DoS (1921)	0	1
SIJ (1923)	3	5
SzJ (1925)	9	4
SoF (1928)	6	2
SoA (1928)	5	3
MIP (1929)	5	4
MaM (1948)	5	1
WoM (1968)	0	1
TaF (1914)	2	
UrA (1912)	3	
SoW (1920)	10	
SzA (1923)	12	
KaM (1923)	3	
SoF (1928)	6	
PoW (1928)	3	
MaE (1929)	3	
MIP (1929)	5	
LiE (1935)	3	
BaK (1947)	7	
MaH (1955)	4	

The variant *kosior*, a phonetic variant, was uttered by 3 individuals:

SIJ (1923)	1
PoB (1937)	1
DrZ (1962)	1

The remaining forms were confirmed as follows:

<i>kosarz</i>	– 1	(SbW – 1917)
<i>kosiarek</i>	– 3	(PoW [1928] – 2), (DrZ [1962] – 1)
<i>kosynier</i>	– 2	(GuB – 1946)

On top of synonymy, the above set is also a mark of a methodological problem of importance to atlas research. This is related to the selection of the informant who may have specific idiolectal preferences. In many cases, the managers of atlas projects limit the exploration to a single respondent; examples of this solution are included in the

Atlas gwar polskich by Karol Dejna² (Dejna 1998). The “List of points, informants and explorers” included there (Dejna 1998, 37) contains this type of information:

709 Wilkowyja, Garwolin county, Siedlce province (Garwolin county). Informant: Franciszek Sarek, born in 1880. Explorer 1956 Karol Dejna.

709W – Wilkowyja, Garwolin county. Informant Katarzyna Borkowska, born in 1913. Explorer 1992 Stanisław Jankowski.

713 Grabów, Grabów n. Pilicą county, Radom province (Kozienice county). Informant Józef Rosiński, born in 1885. Explorer 1957 Karol Dejna.

713G – Grabów, Grabów n. Pilicą county. Informant Franciszek Kuchciński, born in 1931. Explorer 1989 Stanisław Jankowski.

Therefore, in a discussion of synonymy in a dialectal environment, attention should be drawn to the specificity of the phenomenon. In a local dimension (a dialect of a single village), synonymy seems to be a phenomenon with relatively limited longevity. The presented material suggests that in an idiolectal system (especially that of the older generation), verbal homogeneity is preferred. Therefore, extended synonymy is not confirmed in the light of field explorations. In this situation, dialectal dictionaries cannot be used to survey dialectal synonymy, especially when they cover large areas. In many cases, what is a synonym for a lexicographer, is a foreign element to a dialect user. From the point of view of lexicographic practice, it would be more appropriate to refer to tautonymous relations.

Therefore, viewing the possible emergence of *synonyms* in dialects should not exceed the idiolectal level, the language spoken by a specific individual. In fact, it is only on this level where possible synonymy or semantic synonymous features of words can be discussed. However, direct contacts with informants in the field sometimes result in confirmations which cannot be interpreted in an unambiguous way. To be more precise, these are situations when asked a question /especially/ from the questionnaire about a name/, an informant says: *X ... but some also say Y*; or: *X ... but others say Y or Z*. Are these confirmations evidence of synonymy? Are the forms from the replies synonymous from the point of view of the informant’s language? Partly, this is reminiscent of a situation when someone starts to learn different words in a foreign language. From the point of view of an individual’s language system, these are not exchangeable units in communication.

The above presented material triggers off more general questions; in the case of dialectological considerations (and specific examples in dialectal research), of importance is the point of reference when an alternative form is indicated, creating a pair based on synonymic relations: **synonymous with what..., and in what conditions?**

In reference to the material considered here, the above question becomes relevant when we realise that the Polish language in its oral version is an area where the law

² Interestingly, the atlas questionnaire contains 2,000 questions.

of linguistic economy prevails. Agreeing to that, we significantly weaken the statement about the exceptional richness of lexical synonymy (and variability) in dialects*.

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* This is an extended text of the issues as presented in: *W sprawie synonimii w polszczyźnie ogólnej i w gwarach*, [in:] *Leksyka a gramatyka w tekście językowym*, K. Wojtczuk (ed.), Siedlce, 195–203, and *Problem wariantywności i synonimii w dociekaniach dialektologicznych*, [in:] *Čeština v pohledu synchronním a diachronním. Stoleté kořeny Ústavu pro jazyk český*, Světla Čmejrková, Jana Hoffmannová, Jana Klímová (eds.), Universita Karlova v Praze, Praha 2012, pp. 351–355.

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The linguistic and cultural community of a Slavic village: research project assumptions

Abstract: The article presents assumptions of a project laying foundations for linguistic and cultural comparative research into the contemporary Slavic village. Relatively complete material obtained from carefully selected thematic micro-fields is intended to give the basis for large-scale corpus research.

Key words: Slavic dialectology, vocabulary, comparative studies.

Abstrakt: Językowo-kulturowa wspólnota wsi słowiańskiej – założenia projektu badawczego. Artykuł zawiera założenia projektu mającego dać podstawy do językowo-kulturowych badań porównawczych współczesnej wsi słowiańskiej. Pozyskanie w miarę pełnego materiału z odpowiednio wybranych mikropól tematycznych ma także dać podstawy do szeroko zakrojonych badań korpusowych.

Słowa kluczowe: dialektologia słowiańska, leksyka, komparatystyka.

The linguistic environment of rural areas consists of structures used for daily communication as well as an assortment of traditional folk culture. While the linguistic part has undergone relatively perceptible modifications, the phenomena attributed to folk culture are in general less susceptible to changes. Nevertheless, in both cases the researchers review homogenous native material. In this situation, it is difficult to pinpoint the linguistic and cultural peculiarities of a specific community; it would require confrontation with a set of corresponding units from a different (oftentimes neighbouring) cultural area. In other words, it is not possible to evaluate comprehensively the idiosyncrasy of material including a large number of peculiarities registered in a specific research location. In these circumstances, any evaluation is pointless.

The goals of this research project is to obtain material that would provide the basis for reliable comparative analyses of specific sections (thematic fields) of Slavic dialectal vocabulary. While in Slavic studies, dialectal lexicography has been presented in numerous, sometimes even detailed works, the material is not always suitable for comparative analyses. A large number of these works focus on different thematic groups of dialectal vocabulary. On the other hand, the cultural specificity of a region has been taken into consideration in very diverse ways. The differences in

approaching ethnographic knowledge is reflected not only in the way of obtaining verbal material but, in an indirect way, it affects the material's representativeness. In a majority of the collections, lack of a single lexical unit (in general: a linguistic unit) does not indicate lack of the unit's longevity. We do not know whether the lack (in a specific collection) results from actual absence of the element of our interest in a specific area or maybe it has not surfaced because it was not a subject of interest at the stage of field explorations – no effort was made to confirm its longevity (or lack thereof marked by a *negative confirmation* – more on the subject in Sierociuk 1992).

Focus on presenting the linguistic specificity of an area typically precludes large-scale (and relatively accurate) comparative studies. Therefore, the information about the range of the selected linguistic units in (for example) a specific atlas is not continued on maps illustrating the diversity of the neighbouring areas. This synthetic approach is very clearly presented in *Polskie atlasy dialektologiczne i etnograficzne* [Polish dialectological and ethnographic atlases] (Reichan, Woźniak 2004) which include all the maps representing various Polish cartographic approaches. From our point of view, of special importance is a list of maps in regional atlases compiled by subject. The atlases focusing primarily on regional phenomena, specific to a dialectal area, in fact do not provide an opportunity for research encompassing larger (let alone entire) groups of vocabulary collected according to the thematic criterion.

Inability of comparison is much more frequent on the level of lexicography. In this case, a dictionary's representativeness is not only a resultant of its size.

To a large extent, materials available in the dialectal dictionaries do not fulfil the expectations accompanying confrontational research; many cultural forms and facts (of importance to various areas and dialects) have not been recorded, e.g. a question was asked about 'the first milk of a cow after calving' – *siara, m(o)łodziwo* [beestings, first milk] but there is no information if the milk was consumed by humans. If the question had been asked, we would have obtained examples of diverse vocabulary related to the names of "food products" and the way in which 'colostrum' is used in traditional cuisine. It is also an opportunity to obtain important ethnographic and cultural information typical of specific rural communities. This pertains not only to the diversity in a specific ethnic (national) area; it proves very useful in providing the characteristics of inter-ethnic relations.

This case requires standardisation of the way in which field material is collected where attention must be paid to better comparative properties. The presented material (including the suggested corpora) should allow to follow not only the differences in the meaning but also the geographic distribution of the surveyed features. Search for common lexical elements in texts on, for example, wedding parties and field works, is an extreme example of expectations which cannot possibly be met.

A preliminary analysis of the material registered in several selected villages is evidence of relatively important similarities as well as discrepancies on the lexical level, to a large extent determined by the cultural (ethnographic) conditions. While the various aspects of this issue have been largely described (including Толстой 1995, Герд 2015), general conclusions would be welcome.

The specific dialects (representing specific dialects) differ with respect to the vocabulary as well as the referents described by means of the lexemes, with respect to the structure and the function alike.

* * *

The discussed issue is among the research propositions of the Dialectology Committee at the International Committee of Slavists.

Beside Polish researchers, dialectologists from Ukraine and Russia have expressed their willingness to join in. The nearest future will show if the research team will incorporate our colleagues from other Slavic countries.

* * *

To a large extent, the suggested research procedure is affected by the specificity of the material at hand. The research team is of an opinion that dialectological surveys should be closely connected to documentation of ethnographic facts. This approach determines equal treatment of linguistic data and information of cultural (ethnographic) nature. This enforces extension of the research interest at the very stage of field explorations. It is not possible to collect satisfactory lexicographic documentation of, for example, building a haystack without the knowledge of the construction techniques. They tend to vary significantly from one area to another. In some regions, building a haystack starts with fixing a pole (in the ground) which marks the vertical structure and supports it. In other areas this may be considered superfluous because the pole lifts as the stack grows and, consequently, it only supports the upper part of the haystack. The length of the pole amounts to 2–3 metres. The way in which a haystack is protected from rain is also reflected in the language and the culture of a given area; in Wielkopolska, the function is performed by a straw *baba* while in eastern Poland it is frequently a special cover made from foil.

* * *

This type of activity is possible if the researchers focus on it at the stage of field exploration; the indicated areas of rural life, not very diverse in the Slavist respect, are to be subjected to a very detailed lexical review. In the long run, it will provide the basis for comparative analyses. If these assumptions are adopted at the stage of field explorations, we will face an opportunity of obtaining comparable sets of dialectal vocabulary as well as filling the gaps in the existing dictionaries. This is the case of the vocabulary which calls for an initial comment. Descriptions of the structure of a haystack (depending on the area i.e. dialectal affiliation), the work **BABA** appears in the Dictionary of Polish Dialects (SGP) in a semantic context of our interest, with a single confirmation as

26. ‘a pole, a rod’: **a**. ‘a vertical rod reinforcing a stack, around which cereals or hay is arranged’: Kórnik śrm (SGP).

In the course of field explorations, focusing on the construction of a stack brought about a very interesting material. The examples were collected in 2015–2017 with

a dictionary in mind that would focus on the various aspects of farming. To date, two dictionaries have been published which present the subject in the dialects of two different dialectal complexes: from Wielkopolska and the borderland between Lesser Poland and Masovia (Kobus, Stępień 2018; Sierociuk 2019); the lexeme of our interest has been documented as follows:

baba – ‘an element of a stack’s structure; the central part of a stack or its top part, also about a pole inserted in the middle of a stack’: *stóg no jes z baby ... baby i zakończynie ...* (Czw); *baba to środkowa częś stogu ...* (Czw); *bo zaś cały ... ten cały ten słup sie mówilo baba ... że sie prowadziło ...* (Grb); *zawsze wyży na ty babie musiało być ... zaż jagby sie uległo to by sie zrobiło tak ... zara mokło ... a jag było ... snopki musiały być prawie ... no nie całko... ale w^okszości był (!) tak kładzone ... (...) tako^m babe sie zakładało ...* (Grb); *baba to tyn kóniec [stogu] ... no to baba ... no nie wim jak to ... po co to ta baba ... ale nie wim ... ta baba to chyba było ... właśnie ta słóma zawióⁿzano koo tegó kija ... bo to ... no ... to jeszczy pami^otóm ... tam przyniś ... uszykujta tam coż na babe ... nie ...* (Grc); *stóg zbożowy ... to mówie ... to kij dopiro na te babe wbili na ostatku ...* (Grc); see *droⁿg, kij*. (Kobus, Stępień 2018).

baba I – 1. ‘the top part of a stack protecting hay from the rain’: *nazywały (!) babo ... to różnie nazywajo ... ale to co ja wim przykrycie ... to może to babolica ...* (Bur); [czy była baba w stogu?] *tak ... robiona na wierzchu stogu ... w celu ochrony siana ...* (Osn); *no ta baba no to jako ochrona od deszczu ... na czubku ... to ze słomy ... to sie na wirzchu jo ustawia ...* (Grz, WDM); zob. **babolica**; **2.** ‘konstrukcyjna część stogu, drewniany drąg, wokół którego układa się siano’: [baba to] *z drzewa ... środkowa ...* (Brz); *w stogu jes tyn właśnie droⁿżek ... to jes ta baba ...* (Grz); **3.** ‘wewnętrzna część konstrukcji stogu umożliwiająca jego napowietrzanie’: *je w zbożu to nie wim ... chyba nie ... ale tak jak w sianie ... albo dzieś ... to sie robi take ... take te babe ... w środku ... [a co to jest ta baba?] to tego ... spiczek (!) ... sie robi takie ... wiesz ... z ukosa troszke ... żeby tam powietrze w środku dochodziło ... abo sie układa w koło siano ... czy ... a w tym to nie wim ... bo tam u nas stertów sie nie robiło ...* (Śwk); **4.** ‘wewnętrzna część konstrukcyjna stogu ułatwiająca jego formowanie’: *no to w środku [w stogu] taka baba była ... od środka sie zaczynało na pocz^otku ... na samym dnie ... to była taka baba ... sie robiło ... późnij od ty baby sie jechało do końca ...* (Grz); **5.** ‘słup w stogu, zazwyczaj uprzednio wkopywany w ziemię’: *baba ...* (Śwd); see **stogowisko, stożoło**. (Sierociuk 2019).

Clearly, the differences in the construction (including the names of the specific activities and referents) will be conditioned by the material used in a stack: cereals (or straw) or hay. I have disregarded the major information, namely if in the area, stacks were made from both cereals and hay or perhaps a single material was used, e.g. solely hay.

Collected for the promotion of the linguistic and cultural complexity of contemporary (and older) rural areas, the materials should represent not only phonographic documentation as the prevailing way of obtaining linguistic data. It is recommended to create simultaneously a photographic archive (see Kaś 2003, Kaś 2015–). In many cases, video registration is also desired; see (Dragan et al. 2014).

Let me emphasise what in dialectological research is increasingly ignored: a dialect is defined by its spatial location. Any activities disregarding (or even only belittling) this aspect are not conclusive; in many cases they lead to superficial conclusions or suggesting that a satisfactory description of the issue is not possible.

The diversity of the research team with respect to the methodological representativeness and the diversity of the dialects themselves (as the research subject) to some extent enforce indication of the preferred methodological assumptions.

A dialect is defined as a language/speech in an oral environment where the entire culture (including the language) is passed orally from one generation to another. Dialects, typically attributed to rural areas, in a historical approach was a way of communication of the illiterate population. Rural areas came into contact with written culture (with varying intensity) as late as in the mid-19th century. Nevertheless, all that time different linguistic and cultural systems were at play. The written culture environment where a general, standard language is used on a daily basis, had access to the applicable rules published in various types of grammars but it also created these grammars and, over time, dictionaries.

As a carrier of oral culture, a dialect can be passed orally from one generation to the next. In this situation, I must agree with many conclusions included in Walter J. Ong's *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word*, first published in Polish in the 1990s (Ong 1992). W.J. Ong described oral culture in the following way:

In an oral culture, knowledge, once acquired, had to be constantly repeated or it would be lost: fixed, formulaic thought patterns were essential for wisdom and effective administration (Ong 1992, 24).

Thought requires some sort of continuity. Writing establishes in the text a 'line' of continuity outside the mind. (...) Redundancy, repetition of the justsaid, keeps both speaker and hearer surely on the track.

Since redundancy characterizes oral thought and speech, it is in a profound sense more natural to thought and speech than is **sparse** linearity. Sparsely linear or analytic thought and speech are artificial creations, structured by the technology of writing (Ong 1992, 39).

If we want to understand the structure of the language used by representatives of oral culture, other determinants should be taken into consideration:

An oral culture has no vehicle so neutral as a list. (...) An oral culture likewise has nothing corresponding to how-to-do-it manuals for the trades (...) (Ong 1992, 42).

Oral cultures (...) have no dictionaries and few semantic discrepancies. The meaning of each word is controlled by what Goody and Watt (...) call 'direct semantic ratification', that is, by the real-life situations in which the word is used here and now. The oral mind is uninterested in definitions (...). Words acquire their meanings only from their always insistent actual habitat, which is not, as in a dictionary, simply other words, but includes also gestures, vocal inflections, facial expression, and the entire human, existential setting in which the real, spoken word always occurs. Word meanings come continuously out of the present, though

past meanings of course have shaped the present meaning in many and varied ways, no longer recognized (Ong 1992, 46).

Oral cultures tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human lifeworld (Ong 1992, 48-49).

The above statements lead to unambiguous conclusions related to our ventures; the most important is an assumption that a dialect, as a language/speech in an oral environment, continues to evolve. In this situation, a description of a dialect should include only a pre-defined, generally a (very) narrow timeframe; it holds equally true for a dictionary, the documentation of a dialect. It is equally obvious that dialectal documentation should be accompanied by some important information. First and foremost, we aim for a specific date (the day even) when an analysed utterance was recorded (this is of importance especially in research into dialects from the linguistic borderland). In contemporary dialectological works, precise location is less and less frequently provided while by its very nature, a dialect is a phenomenon limited by space (area). Another factor, of importance to characterising a dialect, is the idiolectal conditioning. The contemporary research possibilities allow to take into consideration many such determinants, for example the respondent's generational affiliation and the range of variants (on the idiolectal or environmental levels).

It seems that some kinds of variants do not disturb the process of oral communication; the phenomenon itself may occur even in a relatively short utterance by the same informant;

a tobie sie rozchodzi o sztelwage (!) ... orczyk a sztelwaga to było co inne ... bo orczyk to był dla jednego konia ... a jak chciałeś ... przypuszczalnie ... orać czy spre"żynować ... jak byś chciał ... a miałeś dwa konie ... to musiała być sztelwaga (!) ... i wtedy już było na tyj ... dwa okucia ... na stelwadze (!) ... z boku ... i dopiero sie na to orczyk zakładało ... (recording from 2017, Dąbie, Łuków county; informant born in 1947).

Failure to provide the date of registering the analysed material may lead to conclusions very out of tune with reality. A case in point are data presented before for Bukówiec Górny (Leszno county), representing phenomena characteristic of Wielkopolska dialects. The *Atlas of Wielkopolska's language and folk culture* (AJKLW) includes forms of the verb 'jechać' (ride) expressed mainly in the forms *jachać* and *jechać* (AJKLW, vol. V, entry 498); *jachać* is the geographically prevailing form. The atlas questionnaire has confirmed that the form *jachać* is practically the only one used with the small exception of the eastern dialectal borderland. In these deliberations, of importance is the fact that we have at our disposal concrete dates of the field research (exploration protocols); the atlas material was obtained in the second half of the 1970s. The end result has been partly affected by focusing on the utterances of the oldest respondents, stemming also from the methodological assumptions. Nevertheless, the domination of a single type (*jachać*) in the context of the subsequent explorations is still surprising.

It seems that the linguistic uniformity presented on atlas maps may result from selecting a specific informant or the adopted methodology of field research (e.g. questions like *what did they say in the old days?*) which oftentimes leads to a conversation with one interlocutor (see data entered later by Karol Dejna to the *Atlas of Polish Dialects*, (Dejna 1998, 41), information about items 738. and 741.).

The material from Bukówiec Górny, presented below and excerpted from loose utterances of 29 respondents (for the purpose of the analysis, conversations with a group of over 70 villagers were played), are not fragments of the questionnaire study (more on the subject in Sierociuk 2016a). Therefore, there is an opportunity to observe the actual linguistic preferences of the specific users of the local dialect.

JAch(ać) [39 x] : JEch(ać) [46 x]

--	PaK	(1910)	- 2
--	TaF	(1914)	- 1
5	PoJ	(1919)	--
5	SoW	(1920)	- 2
--	DoS	(1921)	- 2
10	SwJ	(1921)	--
--	BiW	(1922)	- 1
--	MaF	(1922)	- 2
6	SwS	(1922)	- 2
6	SlJ	(1923)	- 2
--	SzA	(1923)	- 2
--	SzJ	(1925)	- 5
--	SoF	(1928)	- 2
--	SoA	(1928)	- 4
1	MiP	(1929)	--
--	ŚlZ	(1934)	- 2
1	LiE	(1935)	--
1	PoB	(1937)	--
1	PoC	(1942)	- 3
1	GrS	(1942)	--
--	GrP	(1944)	- 3
--	GuB	(1946)	- 2
--	BaK	(1947)	- 1
--	MaM	(1948)	- 4
2	SaZ	(1948)	--
--	PrE	(1949)	- 1
--	PoA	(1951)	- 1
--	PoB	(1957)	- 2
--	WoS	(1959)	- 1

What is surprising is the nearly homogenous textual representation of the younger form with *je-*, irrespective of the interlocutors' generational affiliation. Notably, all the above data were registered for a time slightly exceeding the first decade of the 21st century.

Obviously, the ability to make use of the data as presented above is determined by the adopted methodological assumptions. In this case, the field material is obtained in the course of a relatively informal conversation on a single subject. Therefore, not only common phenomena are registered; we also record all the aspects of differentiating the language spoken by inhabitants of a specific village, not only vital dialectal facts (Sierociuk 2007). An opportunity avails itself to capture linguistic peculiarities which would not have been identified in a questionnaire. Reading a typical questionnaire, the explorer to some extent checks his/her knowledge of a specific phenomenon; chances for spotting a form from outside the questionnaire are slim. These conversations, focused on a single subject, allow to return to detailed issues, explain semantic nuances and cultural peculiarities. Let me use two examples: during a conversation about breeding, held in Bytyń near Pniewy, a feminine form *kafra* appeared against the generally used masculine type *kafer*: 'a closed aperture in the side of a farmhouse's roof where hay can be stored (outside a barn)'. On the other hand, longer conversations about harvesting and storing crops (especially harvested cereals and hay) resulted in confirming the territorial longevity of the type *baba* in two meanings (see SGP 1981) nearly unknown to dialectal lexicography: 'the upper part of a stack protecting it from the rain' and 'an inner part of a stack's structure which is a continuation of a stack of cereal, acting as its stabilising axis'. Interestingly, the first meaning refers basically to haystacks; the other meaning is more popular in areas where cereal stacks are built.

Another problem is posed by the extent of the territorial longevity of a specific lexical unit. *Baba* is often recorded in Wielkopolska as an important structural element of a stack (almost exclusively in reply to the questions from the questionnaire). More rarely (but not sporadically), the form's longevity is confirmed in the area of the historical borderland between Lesser Poland and Masovia and the Łuków area. With respect to the language affiliation, it is southern Masovia. In the context of the comprehensive linguistic and cultural characteristics of the villages in the regions in question, this type of information is significant. The picture is supplemented by specific *negative confirmations* obtained accidentally (the questionnaire research poses this opportunity) (Sierociuk 1992), often disregarded in dialectological inquiries which unambiguously dispel the doubts whether the absence of a specific unit in the available corpus confirms lack of longevity of the element in question or it only stems from the fact that, in the course of field exploration, not enough attention was paid to it (the extent of the longevity was not investigated). Limiting the subject of the conversation creates natural conditions for dispelling the above mentioned doubts.

In this situation, research in which the questionnaire method is used proves necessary. In our case, it means only that attention needs to be focused on obtaining comparable material. While the questionnaire is typically employed in atlas research, focusing on presenting the ranges of specific (basically singular) linguistic elements, most often semantically isolated (sometimes as single structures from a specific

semantic field), in our case it is intended to “sort out” the research issues more affiliated with dictionary explorations. Therefore, the collected research material should provide the basis for possible comparison of the complexity of selected lexical and semantic structures and confrontation thereof in the geographic aspect. Consequently, preparations for this stage of the analysis are preceded by juxtaposing relatively comparable thematic dictionaries.

The above can be illustrated by means of examples obtained in the course of collecting Wielkopolska vocabulary related to farming. By asking about the names of the specific elements of basic farming tools, we received the following replies: *kosisko* ‘the part of a scythe that mows cereal or grass’ and *grabisko* ‘the teeth of a rake’. Both derivatives are generally used to indicate a handle of simple tools; therefore *kosisko* and *grabisko* mean ‘the snath of a scythe’, ‘the handle of a rake’. We could not explain the phenomenon before we had at our disposal material encompassing the entire lexical and semantic structure i.e. having exact answers including answers to questions about the structure of the specific tools, including a scythe and a rake. The nearly common type *kosisko* ‘the snath of a scythe’, *grabisko* ‘the handle of a rake’ are sometimes replaced by an element borrowed from German: *sztyl* as a ‘handle of simple tools’. This new unit contributed to semantic transfers in the system of the existing semantic relations within a specific lexical and semantic field, to some extent “pushing out” the formant *-isk/o/* from its category of substantival names meaning ‘a handle of a simple tool’ to a new group of adverbial names like *kosisko* ‘the mowing part of a scythe’, *grabisko* ‘the teeth of a rake’. This type of phenomena can be observed after collecting complete material, specific names of all the elements of the mentioned tools; some time ago, I pinpointed this type of relation when I analysed certain conditions of dialectal word-formation (Sierociuk 2009).

Another type of relations is reflected in confirmations of the *bark* type which occur in an area where the *orczyk* type prevails in Polish dialects, meaning ‘a special rod made of hard wood with a metal ear with a ring in the middle, with incisions on the sides to fix the horse harness’. In the course of accumulating in 2017 material for the dictionary of the language spoken in the Łuków region, questions about this element (a name-related question) was asked in 20 villages. The culturally foreign *bark* was registered in four locations: Grodzisk (Zbuczyn commune, Siedlce county), Gąsioro (Ulan-Majorat commune, Radzyń county), Gołębki (Łuków commune, Łuków county) and Żyłki (Ulan-Majorat commune, Radzyń county). These locations are somewhat things of the past in the area, reflecting the local German colonisation. In this situation, the proximity of the villages is evidence of special conditioning. The small distances between the villages could have led to neighbourly relations. Interestingly, in all the four villages the longevity of both names unambiguously indicates their synonymous relations.

The Łuków area is small, located on the historical borderland of Lesser Poland, Masovia and Podlasie; along a small section in the east, it was also adjacent to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The area’s limits are marked on the maps of the *Small atlas of Polish sudialects* (see ancillary map “Draft of territorial divisions in Poland in the 14th-15th centuries” – MAGP 1957–1970). As a result of the location, the inhabitants’ language is very diverse. Therefore, disregarding data of fundamental importance

to dialectology, i.e. the location where specific forms were recorded, does not give ground for subsequent comparative analyses. At the same time, we should take into account information that would allow to take a stance on the variants (or synonymia) recorded in the utterances of specific respondents. The issue is more complex than various authors would suggest. Dialects are internally diverse but a proper description of the phenomenon is conditioned by the level of language organisation. It is an altogether different story in the (territorial) context of a specific dialect and on the level of an idiolect (Sierociuk 2001, Sierociuk 2012). Therefore, if we want to perform a comparative analysis, these aspects need to be taken into account – cf. the fragment of an utterance of an inhabitant of Dąbie. At present, this type of information can be used in different ways owing to increasingly advanced digital technologies of data processing, including linguistic data.

Assuming that the contemporary multitude of linguistic forms reflects the existing diversity of the material environment of speakers of a specific dialect, we need to follow the rules of synchronisation of these two levels of analysis. Language observations need to be accompanied by documenting phenomena of ethnographic nature. A case in point is the linguistic and ethnographic complexity of the scythe, the major tool used in all the areas in question. While now it is used less and less frequently, it is still a part of rural culture. Irrespective of the purpose – mowing grass or cereal – its structure consists of three basic elements: the metal mowing part (*kosa*), the wooden handle (*kosisko*) to which the mowing element is fixed and a small wooden grip, fixed perpendicularly to the snaith to hold the scythe properly. In a geographic aspect, the construction of two of the three parts (the metal chine and the wooden snaith) is not different. Important alterations exist in the structure as well as the names of the smallest element, the wooden grip fixed to the long snaith of the scythe. The basic dialectal and ethnographic analyses present them as: *kosa*, *kosisko* and *rączka* (*kosa jes zbudowana z kosiska ... ro'czky (!) ... i metalowej kosy ...* – Osiny, Wola Mysłowska commune, Łuków county).

However, irrespective of the region, the scythe is viewed differently in mowing grass or various cereals. Here, the required specific “equipment” is determined by the geographic factor. A case in point are *graty* from Wielkopolska and the east of Poland (e.g. the Łuków area), *pałki* depending on the mowed cereal (the height) with a special *plachta*. Obviously, preparing a scythe for mowing grass or high cereal will require a different set of activities; the range of lexical elements will of course be different, too.

In the research approach suggested here, attention should be paid to the mentioned third structure element – a *rączka*. It is not only the structure itself but also the way of fixing it on the snaith. This ‘grip fixed on the side of a snaith that makes mowing possible’ can assume two basic forms: a single-element grip fixed on the snaith and an oval wooden bow whose ends are tied to fix it firmly. The latter type still occurs in the Polish-east Slavic borderland. Villagers from the Łuków area refer to it also as *korzystka* (*korzystka ... czy ro'czka ... zależy jak kto nazwoł (!) ...* – a recording from 2016, Czerśl, Łuków commune and county, informant born in 1971). One of the respondents said:



Photo 1. Dąbie, Łuków county (photo by J. Sierociuk)

przy kosie była korzystka ... co sie trzymało re^oko ... jedno re^oko za koniec kosiska ... a drugo re^oko za te korzystke ... to był ... z drzewa ... wy^ozowygo (!) ... wygie^oty ... tak zwany kablo^oczek ... który sie później sznurkiem ścio^ogalo ... podrobiony on że pasował do kosiska ... i kształt ... że ścio^ogalo sie późni przodym do kupy ... i już sie robiła korzystka ... (recording from 2017, Grodzisk, Zbuczyn commune, Siedlce county; informant born in 1922).

Materials from the Łuków area clearly show withdrawal from using the referent and the name itself. It is particularly distinct in a comparison of material collected in the 1980s and contemporary data. Now it is interpreted as a thing of the past:

to tylko były te ro^oczki ... to ... co ty mówisz ... te podwójne ... take co były wio^ozane ... to tylko robili ich (!) ci ... jeżeli ktoś ... dwóch kośników chciało jedno koso kosić ... bo przypuszczalnie ... taki prosty przykład ... o! ... tak jak ja stoje ... ro^oczka powinna być przy pasie ... nawet jeszcze bliżej ... bo ona powinna być niżej ... bo ona powinna być przy biodrze ... a jak trafił sie wyższy (!) to se ro^oczke podniós ... rozumiesz ... żeby sie ... jak chciał kosić ... żeby sie nie musiał kłaść ... i dlatego te ro^oczki były wio^ozane ... bo ta ro^oczka była składana ... sznurkiem (!) ... jak widziałeś ... sznurkiem skre^ocana w środku ... bo ona ... dlatego że ona była regulowana ... mogłeś jo opuścić ... mogłeś jo podnieść ... a sznurkiem (!) tylko regulowałeś sobie wysokość; kiedyś to ro^oczki były wyginane ... ro^oczka była przesuwana ... regulowana ... (recording from 2017, Dąbie, Łuków commune; informant born in 1947).



Photo 2. Węglewo, Poznań county (photo by J. Sierociuk)

Therefore, if we want to compare the (mainly) lexical resources, the data collected in corpora need to take into consideration information about the degree of the longevity of the referent in question in a specific area and the time of the latest use thereof. The possibilities of comparing research corpora allow to consider also precise data on the respondents' generational affiliation (see the above set illustrating the use of forms like *jachać* / *jechać* in Bukówiec Górny). Obviously, the material will need to be obtained from several individuals while the subject of the conversation needs to be subordinated to the prime goal: comparison of the obtained material. The above utterances related to the structure of a scythe were registered during a conversation focusing mainly on a selected group of traditional activities of villagers.

The strictly lexicographic material is supplemented by photographic documentation obtained at the same time. In many cases, it is photographs that best explain regional specificity. A case in point is the way in which farmers check if the chine is well fixed in the Łuków area (southern Masovia) and in Pobiedziska (Wielkopolska). The photographic documentation allows to retain information of importance to ethnographic queries thus extending the basis of the linguistic and cultural characteristics of a specific research location.

A comparison of the linguistic and cultural complexity of a contemporary village is possible also when we focus on a concise section of rural life in all the surveyed locations (so there is a reference to the method used in atlas research) during conversations with several respondents. A case in point is a thematic micro-field formed by the vocabulary revolving around the concept of a SCYTHE. In our project, we should collect words referring to: a structure of a scythe and preparing it for work; mowing grass and storage thereof; mowing cereals and other works related to grain production. The above assumptions can be tested in the course of obtaining the names of the same referents. Bearing in mind that field exploration will be carried out by various people, it is recommended to develop a questionnaire that would serve as a conversation guide. Obviously, the explorer will have to be equipped with a relatively precise lexical questionnaire aimed at obtaining dictionary material. A conversation with a selected subject creates an opportunity to obtain not only long, informal utterances; there are also chances for lexical elements which, not recorded in the previous explorations, were not taken into consideration by the explorer “for checking”. Most typically, it relates to vocabulary that is rare or spoken in a small area.

According to the assumptions, it is not before ample and relatively homogenous material is collected when there are reasons for compiling a corpus basis that makes it possible to perform a linguistic and cultural analysis of the rural community both in the national and Slavic contexts. Several years ago, “Prace Filologiczne” journal covered the attempts at creating a corpus including dialectal texts from the Polish language area in a text *Towards a Corpus of Polish Dialect Texts* (Karaś et al. 2012). Some time later, H.Karaś described the subject in more details (Karaś 2015). Unfortunately, due to failure to obtain a relevant grant, the works never exceed the design phase.

Obtaining material in the field in accordance with the suggested assumptions may result in two types of works. Of course the possibility of relatively in-depth comparisons of the linguistic and cultural complexity of specific ethnic areas is of importance (they are represented by selected research points). Further on, it is possible to juxtapose specific regional dictionaries which reflect the richness and specificity of the vocabulary in a selected thematic field. These relatively small dictionaries may partly fulfil the expectations of the lexicographic representation of the area, either completely bereft of this set of notions or with only a small set.

Bearing in mind the needs not only of the circles of dialectologists from the Dialectology Workshop at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, we have decided to publish a series of regional dictionaries which partly represent the vocabulary of Wielkopolska (for want of a general dialectal dictionary) and offer an opportunity to carry out comparative studies (Sierociuk 2016b). The underlying assumption is that the dictionaries contain approximately 1,500 entries from a limited thematic field. Consequently, having several lexicons which order the material around the subject of *Farming*, we have an opportunity to carry our analyses aimed at presenting the overriding issue of the project. Interestingly, to a large extent the field material at the basis of these lexicons is obtained owing to the involvement of local communities, especially students of regional schools. The cooperation between the university (the dialectologists) and the youth brings about results which satisfy the academic and regional

needs. The experience to date (Dragan et al. 2014) proves unambiguously that, irrespective of the (thematic) content, these regional dictionaries contribute to growing interest in the local language and culture.

Bearing in mind the goal of the project, we need to accept the limitations imposed by the research material. Not all the sections of regional vocabulary can be freely compared. Territorial limitations will be reflected, among other things, in folk design, related to the local folk jewellery and the artistic aspect of the folk garment. The “production” of clothes (especially everyday use clothes) is less conditioned by the regional factor.

In this situation, there is a need for extending the preliminary field studies designed to select a group of research subjects to be pursued in the future. The available groups of issues (a questionnaire) taken into account in our surveys also needs to be extended. Consequently, we would have at our disposal a “questionnaire” containing also photographs of specific referents. Extended with documentation from the concrete research points, it should be an integral part of a partial synthesis, next to information about the time when the material was registered, the respondent’s generational affiliation (reflected in his/her year of birth – see Sierociuk 2003) and full field documentation.

We assume that when we have material that satisfies the above assumptions, we will obtain more than just a geographic aspect of the linguistic and cultural relations in large areas. It should also facilitate analyses which result from corpus research*.

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* This is an extended text of the original entitled *Językowo-kulturowa wspólnota wsi słowiańskiej – założenia projektu badawczego*, “Gwary Dziś” 9 (2017), pp. 71–83, <http://www.wydawnictwo.ptpn.poznan.pl/czasopisma/gwary/Gwary-9-06-Sierociuk.pdf>.

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