

I. ROZPRAWY I ANALIZY

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The Concept of HOMELAND in the Works of Belarusian Emigrants and Repressed Citizens

Pojęcie OJCZYZNY w twórczości białoruskich emigrantów i osób represjonowanych

Abstract: The article analyzes contexts with nouns that express the concept of HOMELAND in Belarusian: *radzima*, *ajčyna*, *bac'kaŭščyna*. The main meanings of these words are 'place of birth, small homeland' and 'native/home country'. The works of emigrants and repressed citizens in different periods of the 20th and 21st centuries are considered, including the changes that the concept of HOMELAND in these works has undergone over the past hundred years. In the first half of the 20th century, *bac'kaŭščyna* 'fatherland' predominated, at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries, the word *radzima* and especially the proper name *Belarus* prevailed. The noun *ajčyna*, which belongs to the highest style, was and is used most rarely. In emigration literature, *ajčyna* and *bac'kaŭščyna* meant 'homeland', only the lexeme *radzima* sometimes meant 'small homeland, place of birth'. The importance of the country's history and historical studies for the formation of the concept of HOMELAND is noted.

Keywords: HOMELAND; emigrants and repressed citizens; text linguistics; Belarusian; linguistic worldview

1. Introduction

1.1. The aim and methodology

The aim of the article is to explore how the representation of the concept of HOMELAND changed in the texts of Belarusian emigrants and repressed

citizens from early 20th c. to early 21st c. The concept of HOMELAND in the Belarusian language is expressed with the words *radzima*, *ajčyna*, *bac'kaŭščyna* with two main meanings: 'place of birth, domicile, small homeland' and 'native, home country'.

This study follows the ethnolinguistic approach to concepts.¹ The research was carried out following the methodology of the Lublin Ethnolinguistic School (see Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2020: 99-196), also known as the School of Cognitive Ethnolinguistics.

Cognitive ethnolinguistics is characterized by a detailed methodology, described for example in Bartmiński (2009). This methodological approach involves several mandatory steps: (1) an overview of research on the topic; (2) an account of systemic data (including dictionaries); (3) analysis of texts; (4) incorporation of data from corpora; and (5) incorporation of data from questionnaires and surveys (following a specific format). The results have to be uniformly integrated into the cognitive definition, i.e., a structured description of the concept. Then profiles are distinguished – those are subjective conceptualizations representing different points of view on a given object or phenomenon. This unified research methodology of cognitive ethnolinguistics allows for effective cross-linguistic comparison and provides opportunities for rich interpretation.

The article presents partial results of stage (4), namely how the concept of HOMELAND was nominated and changed in the texts of emigrants. To do this, several periods within the time span under investigation have been identified, and relevant texts for each period have been analyzed. At least one text has been analyzed for each period.

Partial results were presented in previous publications and at conferences. The latter include panels organized by the author at the International Congress of Belarusian Studies (ICBS): *Radzima – Belarus?* [Homeland – Belarus?] (Kaunas, October 2022) and *Kancept RADZIMA ŭ moŭnaj karcine svetu belarusaŭ* [The Concept of HOMELAND in the Linguistic Worldview of Belarusians] (Gdańsk, September 2023). The International Congress of Belarusian Studies has been held since 2011, usually outside Belarus to represent both official and emigrant Belarusian humanities. The first version of this study was presented at the congress in Gdańsk. The reports of other panelists are quoted below.

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A special publication examines previous works devoted to the concept of HOMELAND (Rudenka 2024). For a broader overview see Bartmiński (1993) and Bartmiński, Sandomirskaja, and Telija 1999: 25-49).

1.2. The Internet as the source of information on emigrants and repressed citizens

Information on the works of emigrants and repressed Belarusian citizens mainly comes from the Internet. For example, the books *Antysaveckîâ ruhî ŭ Belarusi: 1944-1956* [Anti-Soviet Movements in Belarus: 1944–1956] (1999) or *Dèmakratyčnaâ apazycyâ Belarusi: 1956-1991. Pèrsanažy i kantèkst* [The Democratic Opposition of Belarus: 1956-1991. People and Context] (1999) come from the website <https://slounik.org>. Similar publications include, among others, *Rèabilitacyâ: Zbornik dakumentaŭ i narmatyŭnyh aktaŭ pa rèabilitacyi ahvâraŭ palityčnyh rèprèsiâŭ 1920–1980-h gadoŭ u Belarusi* [Rehabilitation: Collection of Documents and Normative Acts on the Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions in Belarus, 1920s-1980s] (2001); *Belarusizacyâ, 1920-â gady: Dakumenty i matèryâly* [Belarusization, 1920s: Documents and Materials] (2001), Mihail Kascûk's monograph *Bal'savickaâ sistèma ŭlady na Belarusi* [The Bolshevik System of Power in Belarus] (2000). The website Kamunikat.org and the library *Belaruskaja Palička* [Belarusian Bookshelf] (www.knihi.com) are also very informative. Several thematic collections can be found on YouTube, especially on little-known facts in Belarusian history: *Niaprostaja historyja* [Uneasy History] (<https://www.youtube.com/@NiaGist>) or *Historyja na svabodze* [History in Freedom] (<https://www.youtube.com/@svaboda-historyja>).

Katarzyna Waszczyńska notes:

The current emigration is critically changing the way Belarus is viewed and understood. This is undoubtedly facilitated by the development of information technologies. Thanks to them, there is a possibility of constant communication, as well as the creation of new communities and associations or providing support for existing ones. [...] Belarusian emigration as a phenomenon is not a characteristic of recent times only – it is one of the characteristics and experiences recorded in the history of Belarusian society. (Waszczyńska 2022)²

² Unless otherwise noted, all translations into English are mine (A.R.).

2. The concept of HOMELAND at different stages of Belarusian history in the 20th–21st centuries

2.1. The First Belarusian Renaissance and the October Revolution of 1917

The history of Belarus, especially during the 20th–21st c., undoubtedly affected the content of the modern concept of HOMELAND. Let us consider the development of the concept following successive stages in Belarusian history.

The so-called First Belarusian Renaissance at the beginning of the 20th c. and the emergence of the Belarusian People's Republic in 1918 brought well-founded hopes of national and state independence and a clear understanding of HOMELAND: the unique, priceless Belarus.

The names for HOMELAND belong to the high style in Belarusian, so they are not common in conversation or folklore. After the October Revolution of 1917, the words *bac'kaŭščyna*, *radzima*, and *ajčyna* entered Belarusian Soviet journalistic discourse and, in the sense of 'native country', became associated with revolutionary pathos, the Soviet homeland, and Soviet power. They spread, on the one hand, in Soviet journalism and poetry, and on the other hand, in Belarusian emigrant literature. Thus, two very different images of HOMELAND emerged. In this study, the former will be used for comparison with the latter, which will be placed in focus.

In the preface to the collection of texts by repressed citizens and emigrants *Rasstralaŭâ litaratura* [The Shot Literature], one reads: "... in Belarus, the policy of de-Belarusization and creation of Homo Sovieticus without national roots, traditions, and language was carried out. This was also the spirit of the training of administrative staff" (Sidarëvič 2008: 9). In the light of these words, it is obvious that in Belarusian official press and pro-Soviet fiction, HOMELAND was understood not as Belarus, but as the Soviet Union. Along with this sense of HOMELAND as the Soviet Union, there was a synthetic concept of "both Belarus and the Soviet Union" or "Belarus in the Soviet Union". According to Katarzyna Waszczyńska, HOMELAND in Belarus in the 20th c. was understood both as a "little homeland" and as an "ideological" one, i.e. "one's home country or state" (Waszczyńska 2022). In this case, the role of the "little homeland" was assigned to Belarus, while the "home country" was the Soviet Union as a whole.

Waszczyńska notes that the concept of "ideological homeland" (see Osowski 1984) was used by supporters of both independent and Soviet Belarus. Among the Belarusians who cherish their native history, culture, and lan-

guage, many shared the ideas of Soviet unity, a “big” and “little” homeland, and proletarian internationalism (Waszczyńska 2022).

2.2. The 1920s

In the same preface to the book *Rasstralânaâ litaratura* [The Shot Literature], Sidarevič also writes:

... at the beginning of the 1920s, sincere faith in the good intentions of the Bolsheviks prevailed – faith in communism, in social progress, in the progress of Belarusian culture. Future Belarusian writers (Mikhas’ Zarecki, Andrej Mryj, Mikola Khvedarovič, and others) defended the new government and the new order with weapons in their hands. (Sidarevič 2008: 10)

At this time, Vaclaŭ Lastoŭski (1883-1938), a writer, publicist, and researcher of Belarusian history, but above all one of the outstanding figures of the Belarusian national Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, published the brochure *Što pavinen vedac’ kožny belarus* [What Every Belarusian Should Know]. The work first appeared in Vilnius in 1918, and then in many reprints: in the newspaper *Volnaja Belarus’* [Free Belarus] (also in 1918), in Minsk (1943), Berlin (1944), in the newspaper *Nezalezhnaja Belarus’* [Independent Belarus] (1970), again in Minsk (1991), and in a collection of articles by Vaclaŭ Lastoŭski (1992).

Lastoŭski writes:

- Што такое **Бацькаўшчына**?
- **Бацькаўшчына** – гэта той край, дзе мы нарадзіліся і выраśli, дзе жывуць нашыя бацькі і жылі дзяды, дзе жыве ўвесь беларускі народ.
- Дзе маюць Беларусы сваю **Бацькаўшчыну**?
- Нашая **Бацькаўшчына** – гэта **беларуская зямля**, дзе беларусы жывуць спакон веку... Таму мы з сваімі сем’ямі, маёмасцяй, з усімі нашымі таварыствамі, з нашымі сёламі і гарадамі належым да вялікае нашае **Бацькаўшчыны – Беларусі**.
- [– What is **Fatherland**?
- **Fatherland** is the land where we were born and grew up, where our parents and grandfathers lived, where the entire Belarusian people live.
- Where do Belarusians have their **Fatherland**?
- Our **Fatherland** is the **Belarusian land**, where Belarusians have lived since the beginning of time... That is why we, with our families, property, with all our associations, with our villages and cities, belong to our great **Fatherland – Belarus.**] (Lastoŭski 1992: 18–19)

Lastoŭski occupies a special place in Belarusian history and philology. He viewed the national problem as the most important one, rejecting the idea of a common homeland for Russia and Belarus. In 1924, he wrote: “It is very important for us to snatch our people out of Russian hypnosis, show them other values and paths of national life, and draw attention to a closer

rapprochement with our Baltic neighbors” (Lastoŭski 1997: 428, from a letter to V. Andersen).

From the very beginning of the National Renaissance (late 19th–early 20th c.), Belarusian humanists showed interest in history, as is obvious from Lastoŭski’s works. One of the founders of the Belarusian People’s Republic, politician, historian, and philologist, he was the first to draw public attention to the importance of the era of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for Belarusian history. He was the first to appreciate the figure and significance of Kastus’ Kalinoŭski as a Belarusian rebel and revolutionary (cf. Lastoŭski 1910, 1926). Lastoŭski was also one of the active promoters of the name *Кры́вія* [Kryvija] for Belarus and *кры́віцкая мова* [kryvitskaya mova] for the Belarusian language, which alludes to an ancient tribe.

Belarusian humanists realized the importance of history as a factor shaping people’s worldview, including the concept of HOMELAND. Those who were later repressed and emigrated (especially historians at the turn of the 20th and 21st c.) understood well that the knowledge of history is directly related to one’s attachment to homeland and to national identity. They made important contributions to historical research, establishing the image of homeland as something that one can be proud of.

The history of the homeland was studied in the 1920s by another famous Belarusian, Jazep Losik, one of the repressed philologists and publicists. Consider this example with the use of the lexeme *бацькаўшчына*/*bac’kaŭščyna* in one of his publications:

Князь Міндоўг, сапраўдны тварэц вялікай Літвы, дабравольна аддаў быў Жмудзь (цяперашнюю этнаграфічную Літву) на вечныя часы крыжакам. Ці ж бы мог гэта зрабіць кроўны літовец-жмудзін з сваёю **бацькаўшчынай**? Мала гэтага, падарунак Міндоўга пацвердзілі яго наследнікі, або наступнікі. Ягайла гэтакаса дабравольна адступіў Жмудзь крыжакам, а Вітаўт, гэты багатыр Беларуска-Літоўскай дзяржавы, насаўсім аддаў немцам гэтую зямлю. Ён быў нават шчадрэйшым за свайго стрычнага брата, бо па сваёй смерці назначыў крыжакоў сваімі спадкаемцамі на Жмудзь. Ці ж маглі гэта зрабіць сапраўдныя жмудзіны? Ці ж маглі яны дабравольна адрачыся ад сваёй **бацькаўшчыны**?

[Prince Mindowg, the true creator of great Lithuania, voluntarily gave the land of Zhmud’ (present-day ethnographic Lithuania) to the Crusaders forever. Could a full-blooded Lithuanian-Samogitian do this with his **fatherland**? Not only that, Mindowg’s gift was confirmed by his heirs or successors. Jagiello also voluntarily surrendered Zhmud’ to the Crusaders, and Vytautas, this hero of the Belarusian-Lithuanian state, completely gave this land to the Germans. He was even more generous than his cousin, because upon his death he appointed the Crusaders as his heirs in Zhmud’. Could it be done by real Samogitians? Could they voluntarily renounce their **fatherland**?] (Lesik 1921: 10)

2.3. The 1930s

The policy of indigenization (specifically, Belarusization) brought the strengthening of the national language and culture, but it was at this time that the main contradictions within the Belarusian concept of HOMELAND began to emerge. They strongly intensified during the harsh Russification and repressions of the 1930s.

The repressions began in Belarus in 1917, but from the 1930s they became terrifying. The exact number of those repressed is unknown; e.g.: "If we take into account the fact that before the Second World War about 5 million people lived in the BSSR, it turns out that the Soviet government repressed every tenth resident on its territory" (*Rèabilitacyâ* 2001: 17). In the 1930s about 90% of the Belarusian intelligentsia were exterminated (*Belarusizacyâ* 2001). Nevertheless, the intelligentsia (humanists who made important contributions to national revival) left a rich heritage through their publications. Part of this heritage has been published; see e.g. the collection of poetry (*(Ne)rasstralânyâ* [Those (Un)shot] (2022) or a collection of journalistic articles and memoirs *Rasstralânaâ litaratura* [The Shot Literature] (2008). They both show that the authors prioritized the fate of their homeland.

Among the optimists who first believed in socialist ideas were those who later emigrated or were repressed. These are many of the authors in the collection *Rasstralânaâ litaratura*, published in already independent Belarus. It is their texts that represent the meaningful and clear concept of HOMELAND. It should be noted that almost always in such texts the concept of HOMELAND is inseparable from their native language, i.e. Belarusian. The use of lexemes with the meaning 'homeland' in the book is very significant. The word *bac'kaŭščyna* appears 75 times, only in the sense of 'home country' (in two-thirds of the cases the word is capitalized):

Беларуская эміграцыя, апынуўшыся па-за межамі сваёй **Бацькаўшчыны**, пас-таўлена перад вялікім і адказным заданнем. ... Знаходзячыся нярэдка ў вельмі цяжкіх абставінах, мы мусім выканаць тое, чаго не можа зрабіць наш народ у паня-воленай **Бацькаўшчыне**. Мы, беларусы, стаімо сёння на выхаднай пазіцыі, якая вядзе наш народ у апошні рашчучы бой за канчатковае вызваленне свае **радзімы**.

[The Belarusian emigration, having found itself outside the borders of its **Fatherland**, is faced with a big and responsible task. ... Being often in very difficult circumstances, we have to do what our people cannot do in an enslaved **Fatherland**. We, Belarusians, stand today at the starting position, which leads our people to the last decisive battle for the final liberation of our **homeland**.] (J. Filistovič, in *Rasstralânaâ litaratura* 2008: 661)

... адзін за адным з'яўляюцца беларускія песняры-паэты, каторыя сваімі вершамі і песнямі кідалі зярнаты любові да **бацькаўшчыны**, да ўсяго, што свае, роднае.

[... one by one Belarusian singer-poets appear, who with their poems and songs threw seeds of love for the **fatherland**, for everything that is one's own, native.] (A. Ulasaŭ, in *Rasstralânaâ litaratura* 2008: 18)

...калі наша **Бацькаўшчына** апынулася пад панаваннем расейскіх цароў, дык на Зямлі Беларускай беларускім асталося толькі сялянства...

[...when our **Fatherland** came under the rule of the Russian tsars, only the peasantry remained Belarusian on the Belarusian Land...] (A. Luckevič, in *Rasstrâlânaâ litaratura* 2008: 105)

Throughout the book, the lexeme *bac'kaŭščyna* appears in the meaning of 'native country'. The collection presents a stereotypical view of Belarus and the concept of HOMELAND that became widespread at the end of the 19th c., from the beginning of the First Belarusian Renaissance, and continued to develop in emigration literature. The essence of the stereotype is a destitute, enslaved homeland, which must be fought for and saved. This stereotype is confirmed by the use of the noun *aŭчына/ajčyna* in only two contexts in the book, e.g.: "*Маркотная песня аŭчыны маёй...*" [The mournful song of my homeland...] (U. Taŭbin, in *Rasstrâlânaâ litaratura* 2008: 618). In Soviet literature, this stereotype was replaced by a cheerful image of Belarus as a happy part of the USSR.

The semantics of the word *radzima* (24 uses) in most cases is also 'home country'. Sometimes the word is capitalized: "*Народ, Свабода і Радзіма – на ўсё прыйшла адна чарга*" [People, Freedom and Homeland, one turn came for everything] (U. Źylka, in *Rasstrâlânaâ litaratura* 2008: 456). However, the lexeme *radzima*, unlike the other names, is also found in the meaning 'small homeland, place of birth':

Кожны селянін хоча быць пахаваным на сваёй **радзіме** і перад смерцю просіць аб гэтым. Загад нябожчыка па мажлівасці выконваецца і часамі яго вязуць даволі дадала на яго **радзіму**.

[Every peasant wants to be buried in his **homeland** and asks for it before his death. The order of the deceased is carried out as far as possible, and sometimes he is taken quite far to his **homeland**.] (M. Kaspiarovič, in *Rasstrâlânaâ litaratura* 2008: 443)

An analysis of the names for the concept of HOMELAND in the collection *Rasstrâlânaâ litaratura* and in the emigrant literature in the first half of the twentieth century shows that in early emigrant literature, the name *bac'kaŭščyna* 'fatherland' is mostly used. The lexeme *bac'kaŭščyna*, similarly to the less common *ajčyna*, was used in the meaning of 'native country', while *radzima*, the second one in frequency, sometimes had the meaning 'small homeland, place of birth'.

2.4. The 1950s–1980s

In the post-war years, an era of respect for national history, culture, and language began in Belarus. The USSR created and maintained the image of a powerful multinational state, where the rights of all nations and ethnic

groups were respected, but the principle of proletarian internationalism prevailed. Both at this time and later, two images of the homeland were being modeled: the first one was a part of the huge, beautiful Soviet Union, a “little” homeland, a place of birth and residence (this image was created in the country itself), and the second one was a unique, but lost Belarus, a “big” homeland, the country – this one was created mainly by emigrants. In the post-war years, these two images of the homeland existed separately: in the BSSR practically nothing was known about emigrant literature, while emigration from Belarus after WWII was numerous, and the diaspora lived a very active life. Emigrant publications from these years are listed in the fundamental catalog by Vitaut and Zora Kipel’ (Kìpel’ and Kìpel’ 2006). However, the legacy of these decades has been (re)published and made available in Belarus since the 1990s. The diaspora activity from the 1950s–1980s was recorded in special publications, for example *Belaruskâ mètuarystyka na èmigracyi* (1999), Pan’koŭ (2001), *Rolâ belaruskaj dyâspary* (2001), and others.

Valerij Gerasimov and Larisa Dovnar write:

The heritage of the Belarusian diaspora began to return to its homeland in the late 1980s. ... In 1990, the Declaration of Independence of Belarus was adopted, and in 1991, the sovereign Republic of Belarus was created. The modern era of relations between the metropolis and the diaspora has begun. It can be divided into two stages: (1) 1990–1994; and (2) 1994–present. In the first stage, which can be tentatively called the legal stage, there happened an active return of the entire printed Belarusian heritage from abroad to the scientific circulation and cultural life of the nation. ... The works of Belarusians residing overseas, especially in the field of history, were vitally necessary during the period of the revival of Belarusian statehood, since during the years of Stalinist repression and Soviet ideological censorship there was practically no national democratic literature left on the territory of Belarus. (Gerasimov and Dovnar 2008: 162–163)

From 1990s, the Second Belarusian Renaissance began.

2.5. The 1990s–2020s: The Second Belarusian Renaissance

During late 1990s and early 2000s a huge body of literature was published in Belarus, including emigrant literature. One of the publications is Lidia Savik’s book *Paklikanyâ* [Those Called] (2001), consisting of several scientific and journalistic essays about famous emigrant poets. In that book, the concept of the HOMELAND is exploited profusely. The word *radzima* occurs 385 times and only in the meaning ‘home country’; in half of the cases the word is capitalized:

Адны па-ранейшаму без разбору лічаць тых, хто пакінуў **радзіму** ў 1944 годзе, здраднікамі, калабарантамі, другія ўчытваюцца ў іх творы, каб адчуць, што яны

сабой уяўляюць, якія ідэі, праблемы, тэмы турбавалі пісьменнікаў, у чым сутнасць іх нацыяналізму, беларускасці, пажыццёвай настальгіі па **радзіме**.

[Some still consider those who left their **homeland** in 1944 as traitors, collaborators, others read their works to feel what they represent, what ideas, problems, themes troubled the writers, what is the essence of their nationalism, Belarusianness, lifelong nostalgia for the **homeland**.] (Savik 2001: 7)

Нездарма Наталля Арсеннева і яе творчасць – своеасаблівая духоўная споведзь перад сабою і перад **Радзімай**.

[No wonder Natallia Arsenneva and her work are a kind of spiritual confession to herself and to the **Homeland**.] (Savik 2001: 116)

In 25 cases, the lexeme is used as part of a proper name: *Holas Radzimy* [The Voice of Homeland], etc.

The word *bac'kaŭščyna* occurs 190 times, only in the meaning of 'native country', and is usually capitalized:

Раз і назаўсёды прысягнуўшы **Бацькаўшчыне**, яе нацыянальным сімвалам, ідэям беларускасці, незалежнасці, паэт і ў далёкім замежжы жыў імі, увасабляў у сваёй творчасці.

[Having sworn once and for all to the **Fatherland**, its national symbols, the ideas of Belarusianness, independence, the poet lived by them in a distant foreign country, embodied them in his work.] (Savik 2001: 171)

The word could also be used as a proper name or as a part of it:

Уладзімір шмат пісаў літаратурных твораў, дасылаў іх праз сяброўскае пасярэдніцтва Ю. Віцьбіча, які лічыў яго «адным з наймацнейшых нашых паэтаў на чужыне», у «Шпышыну», «Конадні», «**Бацькаўшчыну**».

[Uladzimir wrote a lot of literary works, sent them through the friend's mediation of Yu. Vicbič, who considered him "one of our strongest poets abroad", to "Šypšyna", "Konadni", "Bac'kaŭščyna".] (Savik 2001: 151)

The noun *ajčyna* occurs much less often: there are only 22 uses, and also a few uses of the derivatives *ajčynny* and *suačynnik*:

І ўсё ж вымушаная эміграцыя – найвялікшая бяда для чалавека, асабліва для творцаў, бо яшчэ Адам Міцкевіч, стаўшы эмігрантам, сцвярджаў, што «паэзія – гэта **Айчына**». Нездарма асновай тэматычнага накірунку творчасці пісьменнікаў-эмігрантаў стала Бацькаўшчына, нацыянальна-гістарычная праблематыка.

[Still, forced emigration is the greatest disaster for a person, especially for creators, because even Adam Mickiewicz, becoming an emigrant, claimed that "poetry is the **Homeland**". No wonder that the main theme of the work of emigrant writers was the Fatherland, national-historical issues.] (Savik 2001: 25)

In addition to the most common meaning 'home country', the word could have the meaning 'place of residence':

Менавіта ў гэты час у ягонай творчасці з'яўляюцца вершы, прысвечаныя новай **айчыне**, Амерыцы, хоць «іншая, бацькоўская мая, бесперастанку біла ў мае сэрца».

[It was at this time that poems dedicated to the new **homeland**, America, appeared in his work, although “another, my father’s one, was constantly beating in my heart”.] (Savik 2001: 454)

The lexeme *ajčyna* is most often found in the chapter dedicated to Natallia Arsennieva, apparently because that poet herself often used it – see, for example, the title of her poem *Жывем айчынай мы* [We Live by the Homeland] (Savik 2001: 39). Savik says:

Цяпер у яе вершах ўсё часцей з'яўляецца слова **Беларусь**, вымаўленае з любоўю, пачуццём асабістай адказнасці за Бацькаўшчыну, замест ранейшага, нейтральнага **край, айчына, краіна**.

[Now, the word **Belarus** appears more and more often in her poems. It is pronounced with love, with a sense of personal responsibility for the Fatherland, instead of the earlier, neutral **land, homeland, country**.] (Savik 2001: 80)

The book contains several uses of the expression *drugaja ajčyna*, with the juxtaposition of *chužyna* ‘alien land’ and *ajčyna* (Savik 2001: 403).

From the above analysis, it follows that Lidija Savik belongs to a new generation of authors who more often use the word *radzima* than *bac'kauščyna*. Unlike the Belarusian Soviet post-war authors, all nominations of the concept of HOMELAND in her book convey the semantics ‘home country’, not ‘Soviet Union’ and not ‘place of birth, the little homeland that is part of the USSR’.

2.6. The current situation since 2020

Mass protests in Belarus in August 2020 against the election fraud and the brutal repression that followed led to a new wave of emigration. In the country, political and economic dependence on Russia has reached its maximum. The union of Russia and Belarus is strongly promoted, and the image of Soviet Belarus is being actively reanimated (see Lastoŭski 2022).

Scholars in the humanities who construct an image of homeland as an independent Belarus, have a different approach to its identity and history. For example, Pšemyślaŭ Fenryh and Uladzimir Hil'manovič in the preface to the book by Sazonaŭ Viktar, Tracâk Ānka, Kraŭcëvič Ales' titled *Belaruskâ svâdomasc', mova, ġistoryâ: na zlome stêrêatypaŭ* [Belarusian Consciousness, Language, and History: The Changing Stereotypes] (2001) write: “‘Belarusianness’ is necessary in order to develop. Belarusians must understand themselves, they must participate in the pan-European discussion with understanding and respect for themselves” (Fenryh and Hil'manovič 2001: 3). After 2020, Belarusian emigrant literature – fiction, humanities, and journalism – is experiencing a real boom. For example, Taccâna Astroŭskaâ's

book *Kul'tura i supraciŭ. Intelligencyâ, inšadumstva i samvydat u saveckaj Belarusi (1968-1988)* [Culture and Resistance: Intelligentsia, Dissent and Self-publishing in Soviet Belarus (1968-1988)] (2022), received first prize at the International Congress of Belarusian Studies in Gdańsk, in September 2023. The book contains about fifty articles and essays about cultural dissent in Belarus, its periods, movements, and representatives, with several tables, extensive reference material, and a rich bibliography, especially concerning emigrant sources. However, names for concept of HOMELAND are sparse throughout the book's 260 pages. The noun *bac'kaŭščyna* is absent, *ajčyna* is found only in the titles listed in the bibliography and as an adjective in the expression *Vialikaja Ajčynnaja vajna* 'Great Patriotic War'. The lexeme *radzima* has been found five times, of which on three occasions its meaning synthesizes 'place of birth' and 'native country':

Пажыўшы далёка ад **радзімы**, у адрыве ад беларускай сучаснасці, У. Караткевіч рамантызаваў беларускае мінулае ў паэзіі і гістарычных творах.

[Having lived far from his **homeland**, separated from the Belarusian present, U. Karatkevič romanticized the Belarusian past in his poetry and historical works.] (Astroŭskaâ 2022: 113)

Скарына зведаў гэтыя пачуцці пералётных птушак, калі ездзіў па навуку ў Польшчу, Чэхію, Італію, калі друкаваў у чэшскай Празе сваю «Біблію руску», а потым вез яе на **радзіму**.

[Skaryna experienced these feelings of migratory birds when he traveled for science to Poland, the Czech Republic, and Italy, when he printed his "Russian Bible" in Czech Prague, and then took it **home**.] (Astroŭskaâ 2022: 127)

І выберу **Радзіму** – М. Чарняўскі.

[And I will choose **Homeland** – M. Čarniaŭski.] (Astroŭskaâ 2022: 257)

In the meaning of 'home country', the word appeared twice in the name of the publishing house *Holas Radzimy* [The Voice of Homeland].

Thus, if the older generation of emigrants preferred the lexeme *bac'kaŭščyna* to name the concept of HOMELAND, then emigrants who grew up in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Belarus more often use the noun *radzima*. Emigrants of recent decades unconsciously follow official language patterns: in Soviet and post-Soviet Belarus this word was used most actively.

Conclusion

In the article, the works of repressed Belarusian citizens and emigrants were examined, following the stages of Belarusian history in the 20th and 21st centuries. The analysis only covers a small portion of the existing material. As can be concluded from the study, the repressed citizens and

emigrants produced works of high quality, particularly on the history of Belarus. However, they rarely reach the inhabitants of the country itself.

The concept of HOMELAND in the texts of Belarusian repressed citizens and emigrants has developed and changed over the past hundred years. Among the lexemes that nominate the concept (*radzima*, *bac'kaŭščyna*, *ajčyna*), in the first half of the 20th century, *bac'kaŭščyna* predominated. At the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries, *radzima* and especially the proper name *Belarus* began to prevail. The noun *ajčyna*, which belongs to the highest style, has been used rarely, only in the most poetic and solemn contexts.

Some writers of the first half of the twentieth century, who were later repressed or who emigrated, shared the idea of “little” and “big” homelands: Belarus within the USSR. Later texts portray it as an independent European country with a rich history and culture, as an unchanging ideal and a beautiful land. However, as a reality it is portrayed as a land taken away, devoid of history, culture, and language.

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Streszczenie: W artykule dokonano analizy kontekstów z rzeczownikami, które w języku białoruskim określają koncept OJCZYŹNY – *radzima*, *ajčyna*, *bac'kauščyna*. Główne znaczenia tych słów to 'miejsce urodzenia, mała ojczyzna' i 'kraj ojczysty, ojczyzna'. Brane są pod uwagę teksty białoruskich emigrantów i osób represjonowanych w różnych okresach XX – XXI wieku. Koncept OJCZYŹNY w tych tekstach rozwijał się i zmieniał na przestrzeni ostatnich stu lat. W pierwszej połowie XX w. dominowało *bac'kauščyna*, na przełomie XX

i XXI w. – synonim *radzima*, a najczęściej używano imienia własnego *Belarus*. Najrzadziej był i jest używany rzeczownik *ajčyna*, należący do stylu wysokiego. *Ajčyna* i *bac'kaŭščyna* w literaturze emigracyjnej znaczyły 'kraj ojczysty', jedynie leksem *radzima* mógł oznaczać 'małą ojczyznę, miejsce urodzenia'. Autorka artykułu zwraca uwagę na znaczenie historii kraju i nauk historycznych dla kształtowania się konceptu OJCZYZNY.

Słowa kluczowe: Ojczyzna; emigranci i represjonowani; tekst; język białoruski; językowy obraz świata

