

## **Language identity and cultural memory in borderland areas**

### **A survey-based research with aged respondents (seniors)**

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#### **Abstract**

The article presents methodological and practical experiences of an inter-university research project “Language of boundaries – Boundaries of language. Paralinguistic aspects of intercultural communication”, one of project tasks being conducting interviews with Polish and German senior respondents. The project aims were, among others, to investigate linguistic and cultural awareness, the sense of proximity/alienness with the culture and the others in the transborder area and the processes of mutual accommodation. In this context, senior respondents are a particularly precious target group in language contact studies as they are witnesses of linguistic identity and cultural memory. The interviews took place in the Polish-German border region of Frankfurt/Oder and Słubice. The respondents were asked questions included in a questionnaire that was especially prepared for the purpose. The questions included among other things questions about the respondents’ origins, professional life, education, daily habits, languages spoken by them, attitudes towards the other cultural group. The authors have not only presented theoretical basics of transborder studies, accommodation processes and age studies, but they have also given practical tips on what should be considered when doing interviews with the elderly. The article includes a summary of the answers given by the two groups of the respondents. With the article, the authors intend to contribute methodologically to future socio- and gerontolinguistic studies.

## **1. Introduction**

Senior respondents are particularly precious in language contact studies as witnesses of linguistic identity and cultural memory, not only in situations of language loss and language revitalization, but also in all investigations aimed to reconstruct issues related to historical and cultural memory. In the present paper, we shall present the assumptions and the applied methods to gather conversational data with senior respondents within the project *Language of boundaries – Boundaries of language. Paralinguistic aspects of intercultural communication*. The project aims to shed light on selected aspects of linguistic awareness, personal histories, linguistic biograms and attitudes towards borderland neighbors with particular focus on accommodation processes which are supposed to be present in areas of relatively intensive language contact. Two target groups were chosen to collect empirical material: teenagers (found among the pupils of *Gimnazjum nr 2 im. Marka Kotańskiego* in Słubice and *Karl-Liebknecht-Gymnasium* in Frankfurt/Oder) and seniors (members of the German-Polish Senior Citizens’ Academy). The choice was motivated by contrasting the groups in relation to their historical memory: the teenagers as a group of respondents free of experience of the past (alternatively only mediated by the former generation of parents and older relatives), the seniors as exponents of a generation with a clear historical memory.

The surveys were conducted in the boundary twin towns of Frankfurt/Oder and Ślubice, which has played a significant role in the recent history of the German-Polish neighborhood, to mention enormous (ex)changes of population, delimitation of entirely new administrative borders (which resulted in the division of hitherto one city of Frankfurt an der Oder), “friendly” yet difficult neighborhood between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People’s Republic, a smaller-scale “Iron Curtain” between the two states in the 1980s, the new democratic order in Poland and the reunification of Germany, and eventually the elimination of economic and political borders within the European Union and the Schengen Zone, resulting in a completely new dimension of Polish-German partnership under the same European patronage. The question to investigate was whether in the respective “languages of boundaries” are to be found traces of the “language of the neighbor”, and if yes, at which language levels (verbal and paralinguistic layers). To sum up, the preliminary research plan of the project “Language of boundaries – Boundaries of language. Paralinguistic aspects of intercultural communication” included the following tasks:

1. Research on linguistic and cultural awareness in the borderland context, as well as the sense of proximity or separateness/alienness with the culture, the language and the “Others” in a transborder area. Particularly, we aimed to find out which language attitudes, awareness of language competence, subjective images of intercultural communication, as well as opinions on changes that have occurred in (the inhabitants of) Ślubice and Frankfurt (Oder), as well as Poland and Germany there are. All these processes are to be considered “conscious” ones.
2. Particularly, we wanted to find out if processes of mutual accommodation (which are often beyond consciousness) are present in the investigated borderland area and, if yes, to what extent they are to be considered as effects of language and cultural contact.
3. In a further step, we aimed to investigate the processes of mutual influence on the basis of gathered empirical material with focus on selected categories of gestures produced by young Poles and Germans. The implementation of gestures, elicited in an appropriate procedure, have been compared between groups and within national groups.

The result of the project was the *Borderland Database*, a new resource of annotated audiovisual data from task-oriented dialogues and interviews, whose primary application was to provide material for the investigation of linguistic and paralinguistic phenomena in the communication among the inhabitants of the Polish-German borderland. The *Borderland*

*Database* consists of audio and video recordings in a combined experiment design: task-oriented dialogues and individual tasks for the target groups of teenagers and semi-structured interviews for the target group of seniors. For the purpose of safe storage, retrieval and further analyses, all the data were uploaded to a relational database system designed specifically for the Borderland project, together with a client data management tool CorpusMINI (see Karpiński & Klessa 2018). The recording sessions, including all the related media and metadata files, are available to annotators and project team members via safe Internet connection. Sessions can be assigned to registered annotators and transcribers, and the workflow of the project can be traced and easily managed. The corpus was designed to permit several analysis approaches in a pluridimensional perspective: conversational analysis and interaction analysis (strategies of self-presentation, politeness, turn-taking rules, feedback signals), multimodal analysis (the use of voice, gestures and facial expressions), sociolinguistic analysis (content analysis).

## **2. Gathering conversational data with aged respondents**

Survey-based research with aged respondents (seniors) turns out to be necessary in many research fields: not only, as traditionally was, in sociological and sociolinguistic investigations, but also increasingly in ethnographic conversational analysis and multimodal analysis. The challenges coming alongside demographic trends bear new fields of transdisciplinary research, such as *social gerontology* (i.a. Garner 1999, Dannefer/Phillipson (eds.) 2010, van Dyk 2015, Naegele/Olbermann/Kuhlmann (eds.) 2016) and *age and ageing studies* (i.a. Katz 2005, Katz 2014, Hülsen-Esch/Seidler/Tagsold 2013, Perek-Białas/Hoff (eds.) 2008). In the light of this emergence, notably little linguistic research has been conducted on the methodology of conducting interviews with elderly people for linguistic purposes. The impact of age and ageing on linguistic abilities and capacities and on communicative behaviour has only lately received increasing attention, being inspired by pioneering research in Anglophone countries (i.a. Coupland/Nussbaum (eds.) 1993, Green 1993, Nussbaum/Coupland (eds.) 2004). Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic analyses traditionally consider the variable *age* in three basic ways – as *chronological*, *biological* or *social age* (Wolff 1978). Whereas chronological age can be most easily determined and measured in years (months, days) of one's life, biological age seems to be (with only few exceptions) beyond the scope of most linguistic interest in age, even though it is the base for

determining the notion of “generation”, which is fundamental for both sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic analysis.

With chronological age in mind it seems easiest to determine age groups, though the formed groups vary (cf. Coupland/Coupland/Giles 1991:9–11, Thimm 2000:26–28). Social (e.g. education, employment, retirement) as well as (assumed) biological factors (e.g. physical development or degradation) are often seen in strict correlation. On these grounds, children, teenagers, young adults from the age of 20–30 onwards (people in the course of education or starting to work) can be separated from a vast cohort of adults actively involved in work or raising families (often split into a younger and middle-aged group) and from the elderly (from about 60 years of age on). The elderly are often grouped into young-old (sixties to mid-seventies) and old-old (from their mid-seventies on). The notion of social age (see Ostrowska 2010:416ff.; Biggar 1979, Thimm 2000:26) covers behavioural patterns, lifestyles, and all sorts of stereotypes characterising people’s concept of a particular age group (Holmes/Marra (eds.) 2010, Englert/Engbersen 2013:40 f.). But whereas media discourse is often biased and characterised by conflict framing which presents age(ing) as a problem (cf. Krüger 2016), longer life expectancy, the improvement in living conditions and in public health care suggest that age and ageing are no longer exclusively associated with physical degradation, lower participation in society and with social and financial problems (cf. the contributions in Kumlehn/Kubik (eds.) 2012). Ageism as a form of stereotyping and discrimination against individuals based on their age (for an overview see Nelson (ed.) 2002 and Nelson 2005) does not seem to be the exclusive paradigm. Age and age-related issues are increasingly perceived and presented in a positive way (cf. Thimm 2000, see also activity theory and disengagement theory, Biggar 1979, Busse 1968). Retirement, for example, might even be desired as offering an opportunity for self-realization (Halicka 2004). Seniors have the time to dedicate themselves to cultural activities in many forms of associationism – as the interviewed respondents, members of the senior Academy in Frankfurt/Oder-Słubice, show. The relatively new field of life span linguistics (de Bot/Schrauf (eds.) 2009) picks out age-related matters by tracing linguistic and communicative development throughout people’s lives. Similarly, psycholinguistics tries to reveal how age(ing) affects language perception or processing and production (Kemper 1992, Kemper/Lyons 1994, Kemper/Anagnopoulos 1989). At an initial stage of age-related research, the communicative style of the elderly has been assumed and interpreted as deficient and as a sign or symptom of physical degradation (e.g. Emery 1988). Subsequently, this view has been abandoned in favor of an approach modeling intergenerational communication in terms of intercultural communication, though with a

potential for conflict (cf. Barker/Giles/Harwood 2004, Giles/Coupland/Wiemann (eds.) 1990). Gerontolinguistic investigations shift to an analysis of various adaptive language registers, to processes of accommodation in intergenerational communication and, in very general terms, to local practices of making age relevant in interaction (cf. Coupland/Coupland/Giles 1991:152–172, Thimm 2000). Within *Communication Accommodation Theory* (Coupland/Coupland/Giles 1991, chap. 2; cf. Bell 1991, Deppermann 2013), communication practices with older people are interpreted in the light of over-accommodation processes, via which (younger) interlocutors reveal their orientation to a (mostly negative) stereotype about the elderly person as suffering from various deficits (e.g. auditory, communicative, deficits concerning apprehension). Investigating behavioral changes that people make to attune their communication to their partner, CAT focuses on the interdependence between speakers in contexts and the process of construction of identity. Accommodation phenomena are also investigated from the perspective of the younger partners involved in intergenerational communication processes and in the light of the underlying bias. These stereotypes affect verbal as well as non-conscious nonverbal communication (e.g. unconscious feedback-signals, see Bonacchi 2016). In this process, displaying and enacting one's age-identity is fundamental. It comprises various forms of self-disclosure and trouble talk in and by which elderly people cope with age-related problems (Coupland/Coupland/Giles 1991:75–132, Krause 2006). In a wider perspective, this also includes the ways in which older people talk about their age and locate biographical events in time (cf. Coupland/Coupland/Giles 1991:133–152, Krause 2006). Age becomes relevant here particularly when speakers disclose and identify themselves as being members of a specific generation, e.g. when they connect back to historical, social or political events (cf. Okulska 2011, Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 2011).

In interaction analysis the focus is posed on the multimodal ways of conveying positioning (conversational strategies, emphatic and interest signals, speech and commentary formulas, speaker's signals, feedback signals, hesitation signals), mechanisms of interactive construction of meaning (co-constructions, recipient design strategies, accommodation), means of conveying conversational attuning, disagreement, aggression, (im)politeness, means of allocation of interactional power.

In our sessions, we noticed that the processes of construction of an own identity related to the age and to the historical memory individuals are carrying, as well as the sense of responsibility for the improvement of dialogue between Germans and Poles, were important features in forming conversational strategies during the interviews. Above all, our elderly respondents revealed to be excellent informants and very willed to be interviewed.

### **3. The interviews and the survey**

The target group of the seniors we interviewed were Polish and German elderly inhabitants of Słubice and Frankfurt (Oder) – two neighboring cities located on the Polish-German border, all members of the already mentioned *Seniorenakademie*. A key contact for the project logistics was the German-Polish Senior Citizens' Academy and its leading activist in its founder's intention, Herbert Konetzny. The Academy (German: *Deutsch-Polnische Seniorenakademie*, Polish: *Polsko-Niemiecka Akademia Seniorów*) was to develop as a platform of understanding between Germans and Poles in the region of and around the cities of Frankfurt/Oder and Słubice. The interviewees were all residents of the cities of Frankfurt (Oder) and Słubice with their vicinities.

The elderly participants were individually interviewed on language and identity-related topics in depth with the interviews being recorded. For this aim, we prepared a very detailed survey – a bilingual questionnaire in two languages (Polish and German) – with questions mainly focused on history, family and its structure, language competences and contacts with other languages and cultures, cultural memory, personal and collective identity and the feeling of belonging (group-in-mechanisms) (here as attachment). The survey itself was prepared in advance in two language versions: German and Polish. The two versions were not identical – due to cultural differences and their contexts, the degrees of intimacy accepted and honorifics required in the two languages, as well as due to e.g. differences in onomastic conventions –, anyway functionally equal. In detail, the survey was structured in five parts theoretically defined: I – general information about the speakers, II – language skills of the speakers, III – the media, IV – exposure to/contact with other languages, V – cultural identity, collective memory and interpretation of the past. Part I was aimed to gather information about the speakers and the metadata. Parts II-IV were aimed to collect information about the language skills (L1, L2) and the impact of language contact. Part V was aimed to gather information about cultural identity of the respondents on the background of the particular biographical and historical situation of inhabitants of borderland areas. The questions posed required a combination of closed answers (for instance: “Do you have any brothers or sisters?”), predefined answers (for instance: “Do you use the Internet?”, with the predefined answers: every day  several times a week  once a week  less than once a week  no, I don't ), open answers (for instance: “Under which conditions do you feel *at home*?”), so that the respondents could extend the survey from a semi-structured interview to

an almost spontaneous speech. In case of answers which required a scalar judgment, we provided a scale from 1 to 5.

The interviewing team consisted of three people: two interviewers (a person interviewing and a person in charge of writing down the answers of the respondents in the questionnaire) and a person in charge of the technical equipment (a camera and a portable digital audio recorder). One interviewer was a male, the other was a female; during some sessions only two team members were present and active (one interviewer and one in charge of the technical equipment). The gender of the interviewer had a noticeable impact on the course of the interviews, honorific patterns and conversational strategies chosen by the interlocutors. In all but one case, the interviewees took part in the recordings one by one.

Altogether, 19 interviews were made and recorded between 30th June 2015 and 12th April 2016. 19 participants were interviewed, of whom 4 were Polish (all women), 13 were German (4 men and 9 women); one person considered himself fully bilingual and could fluently speak Polish and German as native languages, a woman declared herself bilingual but she spoke only German.

When it comes to the age of the respondents, the two language groups weren't uniform either. The oldest man in the German group was born in 1931, the youngest in 1935. The oldest German woman was born in 1933, the youngest in 1963 with a second young woman in the German group having been born in 1947. Thus, it can be seen that the German seniors can be all classified as representatives of the old-old group (from their mid-seventies on). The oldest Polish respondent was born in 1948 (so only three years after World War II had ended), the youngest in 1957. They can be therefore classified as belonging to the group of young-old (from their sixties to their seventies). The bilingual man was born in 1945, the bilingual woman in 1937 and thus can be viewed as representatives of the two different age groups. A detailed summary of the ages of our respondents can be found in part 6 of the present article.

The collected metadata were next transcribed and summarized in an Excel file, which gives an overview of all given answers and can be used for statistical purposes.

#### **4. Frankfurt (Oder) and Słubice as Borderland Area**

Before presenting the way the surveys were conducted and the results, the reasons for choosing to carry out the study designedly in this borderland area will be explained. The towns of Frankfurt (Oder) and Słubice were chosen as an exemplary borderland area for the presented sample research (including surveying) because of several reasons. Firstly, only at

the western borders of Poland urban centres – located on the two sides of the Polish-German border – can be found, since most of them had been unitary towns prior to World War II (including nowadays city-pairs such as Guben-Gubin, Łęknica-Bad Muskau, or Görlitz-Zgorzelec.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the Polish-German borderland area has been subject to numerous research programs and analyses, as far as e.g. language contacts and interregional cooperation are concerned, particularly during the recent two decades, following the sociopolitical changes in Poland and (Eastern) Germany in the 1980s, the latter resulting also in the reunification of Germany and the German-Polish Border Treaty in 1990. In that respect, the research team could make reference to and use abundant findings published in broadly defined border studies, such as e.g. Buursink 2001, Schultz 2004, Jańczak 2012, Zenderowski & Brzezińska 2014.

In order to remind the historical background of the two twin-cities Frankfurt (Oder) and Słubice on the western German-Polish border, we will recall a couple of historical key data. The city of Frankfurt (also referred to as Frankfurt an der Oder) developed as an early medieval settlement of Franconian colonists and traders. Chartered as a town in 1253, Frankfurt became part of the March of Brandenburg, the latter having been a major principality of the Holy Roman Empire from 1157 to 1806. Frankfurt was also one of important western centers of New March (German: *Neumark*), a geopolitical unit, playing a crucial role in the German “Thrust toward the East” (German: *Drang nach Osten*) and driving an effective wedge between the hitherto Slavic regions of Greater Poland/Wielkopolska and Pomorze/Pomerania. The region had also adjoined the former Lubusz/Lebus Land consociated with medieval Poland, which after centuries of geopolitical isolation from Polish lands, gave its name to a contemporary Polish province – *województwo lubuskie*, with administrative centers in Gorzów Wielkopolski and Zielona Góra (Gorzów *Wielkopolski* bears another imprint of political history upon actual toponymics, as the town has never been part of Wielkopolska/Greater Poland region). From that perspective, all the mentioned toponymic attributes have had a significant historical-political reference (and as such were invoked and assayed in the project survey) and they have a high symbolic value for the inhabitants of this area. After 1415, when the House of Hohenzollern came to the throne of Brandenburg, the land grew rapidly in power and inherited the Duchy of Prussia in the 17th century. The resulting Brandenburg-Prussia was the predecessor of the Kingdom of Prussia, which became

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Outside of the Polish-German border, the only urban couples are Cieszyn – Český Těšín (Poland / Czech Republic) and – to certain extent – Terespol and Brest/Брэст (Poland / Belarus).



a leading German state during the 18th century. In 1506, a university was founded in Frankfurt, to be very soon transferred to Cottbus, dissolved during the Thirty Years' War and later reestablished by Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg. Finally, the school was removed to Breslau in 1811. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the city played an important role in trade and transport, as it was centrally positioned in between Berlin and Poznań/Posen.

The end of World War II meant serious damages resulting from besiegement by Soviet Army on their way to Berlin. Since 1949, Frankfurt functioned as *Bezirk* administrative centre within the German Democratic Republic (DDR), but located directly on the Oder river border with Poland, or actually divided by the river, as the former eastern suburb of Dammvorstadt had become the Polish town of Słubice, even though members of the same communist bloc, the People's Republic of Poland and the GDR only officially developed friendship ties and labeled the Oder (and the Neisse river) the "Border of Peace and Friendship". As propagandist as the official slogans were, the actual contacts between the inhabitants of "brotherly" German and Polish border towns developed faintly. Nevertheless, thousands visited the neighbouring country during the years 1971–1980, when the GDR economy was threatened by overconsumption of Polish tourists. The East German authorities decided to close the border and freeze the mutual contacts, when Poles became politically dangerous by the time of the 1980 strikes. Following the "Turnaround" (German: *Wende*) in 1990, Frankfurt joined the united Federal Republic of Germany, together with the new *Bundesland* Brandenburg, and the Oder became not only a part of the Poland/FRG boundary, but also the eastern confine of the European Union. In 1991, the European University Viadrina (re)opened to establish in 1992, jointly with Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, the Collegium Polonicum in Słubice. When in 2004 Poland entered the European Union, and in 2007 the Schengen Agreement, the Oder border lost much of its international political character, and became a river linking many new official initiatives, various forms of cooperation and arduous endeavors to intensify the hitherto feeble mutual contacts at individual and societal levels (including the initiative by the founders of the below introduced German-Polish Senior Academy, whose members were our respondents). Worth mentioning are also unique initiatives such as *Shubfurt* or *Nowa Amerika* ([www.slubfurt.net](http://www.slubfurt.net), [www.nowa-amerika.eu](http://www.nowa-amerika.eu)) – both initiated by the artist M. Kurzwelly. The projects include creative participation of inhabitants in social processes and aim at reinterpreting the transborder spaces and intervening in them as reality constructions, consisting of and expressed by e.g. new mixed and surrealistic entities, such as the re-unified *Shub(ice+Frank)furt*, *Nowa Amerika*, a new space on both sides of the German-Polish border, both handled by means of Polish-German

pidgin. The latter can also be seen as an expeditious, but still very artificial endeavor to establish and develop a code of interlingual communication in the otherwise quite empty translinguistic area. Incidentally, most of the senior interviewees expressed their “friendly reluctance” when asked about the notions of *Ślubfurt* or *Nowa Amerika*.

Such historical contexts were referred to in our questionnaire in a set of questions concerning respondents’ associations with historical and contemporary popular and administrative toponyms. Unsurprisingly, both the newest history, as well as the recent political and social developments on both sides of the Polish-German border came in abundantly in the interviewees’ responses and comments to the project survey questions.

## **5. Survey logistics**

Each of the interviewing sessions had to be carefully planned, usually with one-month advance (i.e. during a preceding meeting of the Seniors’ Academy). Thanks to the contacts and active mediation by the Academy leaders, a number of seniors either appeared on a Wednesday afternoon – before the monthly meeting and lecture in the Academy, or kindly stayed after the assembly. For the senior interlocutors, the participation in the interviews was preliminary or complement to the Academy meetings. In order to attend the meetings, its members always had to cross the bordering upon the river Oder: Poles on their way to the Viadrina University, and Germans to Collegium Polonicum.

The interviews took place in three venues: in the classrooms in Słubice’s Collegium Polonicum, in the classrooms at the Viadrina University and in the *SMOK* Culture Center in Słubice. The most suitable place for the interviews turned out to be the cozy, well-equipped and well-lit rooms in Słubice’s Collegium Polonicum. The seniors could await their interview turn in a restful hall or visit a serviceable canteen. The sessions at Viadrina University were held in classrooms as well, but their acoustics was actually remarkably worse. The least comfortable conditions for interviewing were in the *SMOK* Culture Center, where there was no separate room for meeting, so the interviews took place in the corridor.

The three venues described above did not differ not only in location, but also in comfort and acoustics. In most cases, both the interviewer and the interviewee were seated at a table next to each other with their faces turned towards each other. This particular way of arranging the equipment and the seats let the interviewees feel more relaxed despite being recorded and concentrate exclusively on the interviewers and the questions being asked rather than on the impression they were making. Before the interviews started, the interviewees were

offered water to drink and some small talk took place in order to relieve the atmosphere. At that point, the aims of the Project were explained to them. The senior respondents showed prompt appropriation reactivity to the goal of the project: they were very willing to being asked questions, expressed trust in the way the material was supposed to be used and asked also to be informed of the Project's progress. When the interviewees declared themselves ready to start, the questions from the questionnaires were read out to them by the interviewer, while another person took the most important information down. The third person was responsible for operating the equipment. The recording equipment included a portable Roland R-26 recorder, operated manually and located in a close (1 meter) vicinity of the interlocutor's mouth, and a Canon XA10 AVCHD portable camera, fixed on a tripod in a distance of 3–4 meters from the interviewee and the interviewer.

A single interview took between 14 and 68 minutes, with the length depending among other things on the interviewees' conversability and time restrictions due to other commitments on the part of the interviewees. The shortest Polish interview lasted ca. 14 minutes, and the longest ca. 35 minutes, whereas the shortest German interview lasted ca. 14 minutes, the longest over an hour. An important factor influencing the duration of the recording sessions was also visible fatigue of the senior interlocutors, resulting in most cases not from the interviews themselves, but from tiresome waiting for their turn in sometimes uncomfortable conditions and sometimes from the time of the day or year the interviews were made. Needless to say, the utterances' length and general attitude of the senior interlocutors was also resultant of individual personality traits. All these factors resulted in the fact that the interview was semi-structured with many open questions. The interviewees were often very prone to talk (in some cases even verbosity in the sense of Gold/Arbuckle/Andreas 1994 came to light) and did not simply answer a question but instead elaborated on and digressed from it, which of course consumed the time that was meant for asking other questions. In such a situation, the interviewers did their best not to interrupt the speaker but instead to create and maintain as friendly and relaxed conversation atmosphere as possible, because obviously any tensions (as e.g. time restrictions, too fast pace of asking the questions) visibly resulted in the interlocutors' confusion.

## 6. Analysis of the answers – selected aspects

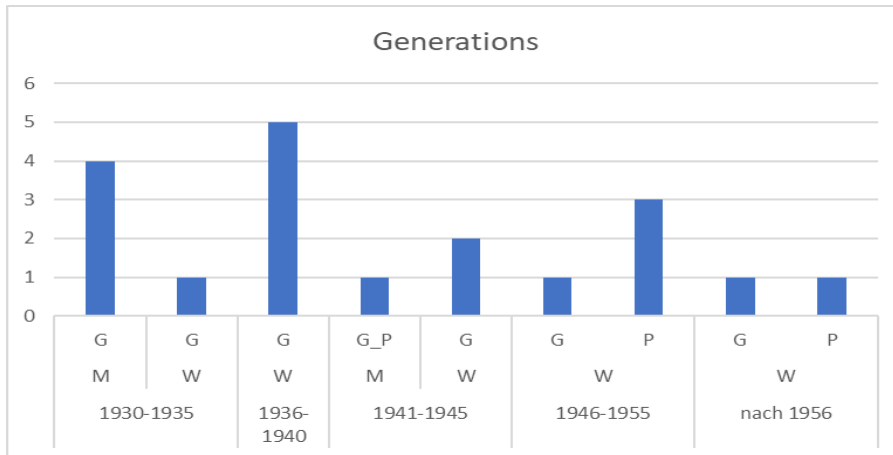
A preliminary content analysis of the answers gives important indications about the questions regarding language skills and cultural identity of the respondents.<sup>2</sup>

The respondents can be divided into “generations”. *Generation* is a crucial concept in the linguistics of age(ing) and provides for criteria according to which age cohorts can be grouped (Busse 1968). Mannheim ([1928] 1952, 166) defined *generation* as a group of individuals of similar ages whose members have experienced a noteworthy historical event within a set period of time. However, Thimm (2000, 29) distinguishes a genealogical notion of generation (e.g. mother, grandmothers) which may even strongly vary in their chronological age (e.g. teenage vs. old mothers) from a socially or historically formed generation which is united by shared experiences or ideological perspectives (e.g. *Generation ‘68* in Germany, cf. Scharloth 2011, or the *generation of Pope John Paul II* in Poland, cf. Okulska 2011). On the basis of the shared historical experience of the Second World War and of the postwar period, following “generations” can be defined among our senior respondents:

- 1) *people born 1930–1935*: the Germans were children during the arising of National Socialism; the Poles were children during the German occupation. Both Germans and Poles, have own living historical memory, a “inner neuromental memory” (Assmann 2008: 109), about the events in the childhood;
- 2) *people born 1936–1940 and 1941–1945*: it is the generation of the “children of the War”. Their direct inner neuromental memory is mediated by the family (parents, grandparents), they are indirect witnesses of the War;
- 3) *people born 1946–1955*: it is the “postwar generation”. We have here an important differentiation between the (West)Germans, children of the economic miracle, and the Poles, grown beyond the Iron Curtain in the communist bloc;
- 4) *people born after 1956*: it is the generation who reach its working age in the 70’s, they have an indirect memory of the War but a direct memory of the division of Europe in two opposite blocs.

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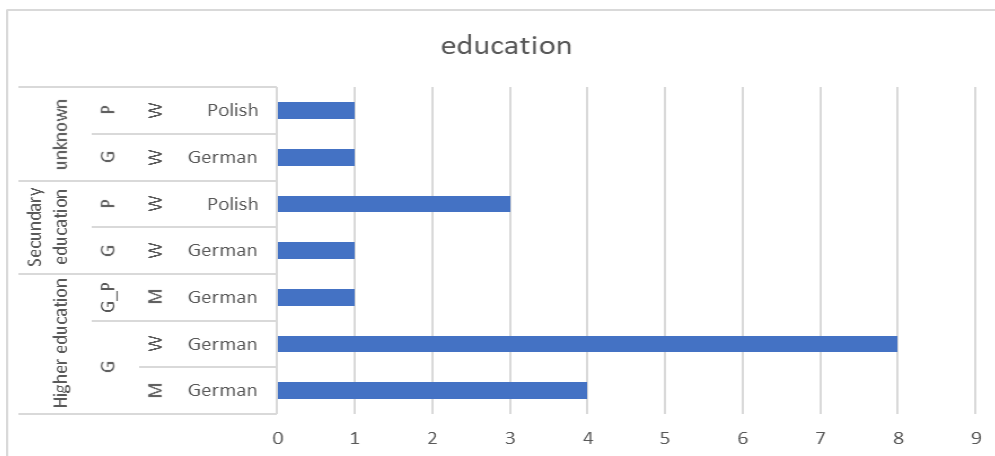
<sup>2</sup> The answers to Part I of the survey contain essential metadata on the interviewees, as they include information such as the year and place of birth, mother tongue, education, current and previous occupation, current place of living and religion.



*Figure 1: Generation groups*

We have a distribution 63.15 % / 36.85 % between respondents according to the first two groups – with a direct or indirect inner neuromental memory of the war (13) – and the two last groups – with a direct or indirect inner neuromental memory of the division of Europe in two blocs (6). It is evident, that we can find many types of groupation in the respondents: according to the nationality, according to the gender, according to the age group.

The second interesting observation is about the level of education of the two groups. Here it is evident, that the German women are better-educated than the Polish ones.



*Figure 2: Education*

What about the declared mother tongues of the respondents, in the 14 Germans (4 men and 10 women), 4 Poles (all women) and 1 German-Pole (man), we have an equality between nationality and mother tongue. The German-Polish man declared German as his mother tongue.

A significant difference is to be considered regarding the use of the dialect in the childhood. All the Polish respondents declared that they had not spoken a dialect in the childhood. From among the German respondents, 6 declared they hadn't spoken a dialect, 7 declared that they had spoken a German dialect in the childhood (Saxon: 3, Berlin: 2, Low German: 1, Thuringian: 1), 2 had spoken German but also declared they had contact with Polish. When it comes to the language used by them at school, a variety of languages were named. 3 Polish respondents declared that they had spoken Polish, in 1 case Polish and Russian had been spoken. 4 German respondents declared they had spoken German, 1 German and Polish and a German respondent declared they had spoken Polish, 1 had spoken Russian, 1 had spoken German and Czech. This variety among German respondents can be related to the historical situation during and after the War.

The language consistency is confirmed also in the answers regarding the language used in the professional life (Table 1): 3 Poles declared that they had spoken Polish at school, only 1 Pole (age group after 1956) had spoken Polish, German and English. 13 Germans had spoken German, only 1 had spoken German and Latin and 1 had spoken German and English.

*Table 1: Languages spoken during education and in professional life*

<b>Language at school</b>	<b>Language in professional life</b>	<b>Number of people/languages spoken in childhood</b>
<b>German</b>	German	11
<b>German</b>	German, English	1
<b>German, Czech</b>	German, Latin	1
<b>Polish</b>	German	1
<b>Polish</b>	Polish	2
<b>Polish</b>	Polish, German, English	1
<b>Polish, Russian</b>	Polish	1
<b>Russian</b>	German	1

Another group of questions referred to the interviewees' geographical origin and genealogy, as well as religious background. These included questions about the interviewees' places of

birth and growing up, their parents' places of origin, temporary and current places of living and declared denomination. What is striking at first glance is that the interviewees' (or their parents') places of living changed following the political developments, like e.g. shifts of borders (this applies especially to those who had lived in Silesia, East Prussia or Pomerania) or the division and reunification of the city of Berlin) (see Figure 6.2 and 6.3). They also still use old names of the places which in the meantime have changed their names. This is no wonder considering that some of them are the expellees from former German territories. In case of religion, we can notice an expected division between Protestant Germans and Catholic Poles, whereas some German interviewees consider themselves atheists or do not practice any religion any more.

The part V of the interview, which focused on the cultural memory of the senior respondents in general contained the following questions:

**1.A** *Have the Polish/German people changed in the course of your life?* followed by **1. B.** *If yes, then how (name the most important quality).*

Question **1A** was modified depending on the interlocutor's nationality (German/Polish) in order to refer to the contralateral nationality (Polish/German). Most of the German respondents answered *yes* – altogether **9** [4 men and 5 women; including answers: *yes, for the better* (1 woman), *yes, due to the influence of the American culture* (1 woman), *generally yes* (1 man)]; 1 woman answered: *I don't know*; 3 women: *it's hard to say*; and 1 woman: *I hope so*. 1 German male respondent did not answer the questions. Polish respondents (only women) answered *yes* (2), *I don't know* (1); *it's hard to say* (1).

The opinions expressed in **1.B.** by the German respondents as positive changes observed at Poles were:

- *Poles have come closer to the European culture than was the case earlier*
- *Poles had to face the past and made a great effort at this;*
- *Poles have become more open, self-confident, (...) less shy and less reserved, more friendly towards Germans. There are only positive changes;*
- *Polish women like to dress well. Poles used to be poorer; now they are elegant.*
- *Poles are like us – Germans;*
- a German man answered: *Young educated people are more open and less suspicious. After the war, the Poles used to be very mistrustful of Germans. Then the post-war generation came that was more open and did not see Germans as enemies;*

- while a more in-depth and abstaining analysis was noted from a female German respondent: *Poles used to blame generations of Germans for the war and the partitions of Poland (...) I hope this attitude has changed. I find it understandable that Poles feel resentment towards Germans, but criminals were on both sides. However, I sometimes feel aversion from Poles.*

The Polish interviewees justified the answer in **1.B.** with the following opinions:

- *At some point in the past, Germans used to see Poles with aversion, suspicion;*
- *Germans were supportive during the martial law (Polish: “stan wojenny”), which I find positive;*
- *Germans used to be more closed and haughty. Now it seems that Poles and Germans have overtaken some of each other’s traits*

In spite of the advanced age and unquestionably rich historical memory of the respondents, actually all of them – even if referred to the painful experiences and difficult past – focused on the positive changes in both the mutual relations and amelioration of personal opinions about the Other from the other side of the Oder river.

The question **2.** *What do you associate with...* referred to the toponyms, which had been selected as a sort of shibboleths of historical memory in the Polish-German borderland area.

The associations declared by respondents in individual cases of names were:

➤ **Ślubice**

The name was associated by the Germans with: *friendship, border with Poland, a small (bordering) [but] dynamically developing town; good neighbours; Collegium Polonicum, shopping, positive well-being while being there;* more reflexive analyses referred to demographic and economic changes (*Ślubice is demographically a very young town, a fact which becomes particularly visible in comparison with Frankfurt; or: to me it is a town that is industrially developing partly better than the larger Frankfurt*); quite personal opinions, like: *a town where I go for walks, do shopping, meet nice people;* or civically: *a good partner of Frankfurt/Oder and its citizens;* or memories, *when the bridge that connects Frankfurt with Ślubice was closed.*

The Poles associated Ślubice with: *the town of birth; a double town;* the associations include also *the river Oder and the bridge over it; the university, many young people..*

➤ **Frankfurt/Oder**

The name was associated by the Germans with: *my family town; my homeland, where I feel well, where I have good neighbours, where everyone cares for me and is kind, a bordering*



*Silvia Bonacchi, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, Mariusz Mela: Language identity and cultural memory in borderland areas. A survey-based research with aged respondents (seniors) locality in Germany; nice, peaceful town; I like living here as I've developed great attachment to it; but also bitter constations: Frankfurt/Oder is larger than Slubice but nobody wants to live here; it makes me sad to see how much it has deteriorated, there used to be a lot of culture there; or my family town, where more is being damaged than repaired; or longer thoughts on recent history: Frankfurt/Oder suffered during the war a lot, the consequences of which were felt by the citizens for a long time after the war. Due to historical events, the society of Frankfurt has diversified a lot; nostalgic memories, like: before the political system changed, it had been a centre of microelectronics, which I had a part in and which suddenly shut down; or: Frankfurt was once a happy place to us – we had jobs, places at nurseries and kindergartens for our children, a town which in its way of thinking (e.g. administrative structure) has remained a clerk and military town (even though there is no longer military here), even though it has become more open due to being a neighboring town with Slubice and having the Viadrina University.*

The name was associated by the Poles with: *Frankfurt/Oder is a town adjoined by Slubice; [it has] a nice building of the post office, nice parks; or a cultural profile: [there are] the Concert Hall or Forum Kleist.*

➤ **Dammvorstadt**

The name was associated by the Germans with: *Damm is the road that leads to the church and marketplace; I associate it with history, it used to be part of my birth town but now it's past to me and I have no associations; this is how Slubice is now called, I don't use this word; I got to know it only when I moved here, before that I hadn't had any connections with that place; I don't have many associations, I know about it only from old people's tales, which were very interesting;; or simply: another name for Slubice or – no associations at all.* The associations with the German name of the right-bank part of the former (pre-War) Frankfurt indicate very strong adherence of the German interlocutors to the political *status quo* resounded in Germany's education system and publicity (notably in the GDR) – most of the answers/associations stress that contemporary Germany/Germans do not intend to relate to the pre-War past.

Only one Pole associated Dammvorstadt with: *what Slubice used to be called in the past; the remaining three female respondents answered: Dammvorstadt is a holiday resort; or: I don't know it but I've heard it's a beautiful city (later the interviewee confessed to having mistaken it for Darmstadt).*

➤ **Slubfurt**

It was associated descriptively by our German interlocutors as: *an artistic construction of Michael Kurzweily, of which I haven't heard much, and I don't have a good opinion of it, as there is something artificial about it and so far it hasn't been possible to reach a "living" agreement; or: it's very controversial and unacceptable to me, we should care for good neighborhood between Frankfurt and Słubice but I find such strange names like SlubFurt unacceptable. Even though the person in charge of this initiative is trying hard for the sake of mutual agreement, I find the idea is a mistake; or in a more positive way: the idea is good but it should be corrected; it's a bit crazy idea but in a positive way; or: a hard question – I know of it only from brochures that are issued in Frankfurt, I think the idea contributes to strengthening bonds between young generations; or: actually it's not a bad idea of integrating people and cultures but the way it's realized seems to the citizens of Frankfurt nonsensical; or: I've heard of [Michael Kurzweily] and find it a good idea to combine two cities into one; indifferently: I find it interesting, though I cannot think of any events connected with it; or briefly: Słubice and Frankfurt together; but also: something very exotic to me; or: I don't have many associations or no associations at all.*

The Polish seniors thought of Słubfurt in a more pragmatic perspective: *an organization created by [Michael Kurzweily], the aim of which is to integrate people from bordering areas, to me it's a fantasy, though a very pleasant one; there is an association between Słubice and Frankfurt, whose activists have IDs of SlubFurt and can go to the cinema at a discount; I took part in the summary of the year and I liked it a lot; or briefly: one city, a shared part.*

➤ **Nowa Amerika**

When asked about their associations with that quite an abstract notion, the German responses were vague, ranging from *a good idea, though a bit artificial to controversial and unacceptable; something even more controversial than SlubFurt*; while quite many had no associations or did not *know what was meant by this.*

The senior Poles were also either more positive or uncertain: *Nowa Amerika means a lot of good things due to the mutual penetration of cultures, this wasn't there in the past; I don't know the details, I know that a parliament is there, the aim is to integrate two nations; or I've heard of it but I cannot say anything more; I'm not sure what it means.*

➤ **Lubusz Land**

The name was generally linked with Lubusz Voivodeship by our German interlocutors: *good associations; friendship; it's good that it exists; pretty areas; beautiful landscapes; beautiful nature; I was there once or twice on a bus excursion and I liked it a lot; a beautiful region*

*Silvia Bonacchi, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, Mariusz Mela: Language identity and cultural memory in borderland areas. A survey-based research with aged respondents (seniors)*

*with beautiful nature; but in some cases we were given extended opinions on Lubusz Land – the destination of my trips until today, beautiful landscapes, area which is sometimes called in Germany “Little Masuria”; we once talked about the former Lubusz bishopric, which gave rise to the emergence of Lubusz Land and had good relations with Slavic citizens, or even I once organized an excursion across Lubusz Land; we used to go to Gorzów to celebrate there, we found Poles very nice then; it evokes especially historical associations, there used to be a Lubusz bishopric, which also included Frankfurt, we like to think of that; and on Lubusz Voivodeship – I’m critical, I think it should be made part of a larger region; it’s part of Lubusz Land and it’s developing dynamically, tourism there is strong; administrative region where Ślubice is; a voivodeship in Poland; one person had no associations with any of the toponyms.*

The Polish seniors stated: *Lubusz Voivodeship – it is Lubusz Land; it used to be called the Voivodeship of Zielona Góra, it’s very green there, our voivodeship, it’s beautiful, many forests, lakes, Rzepin Primeval Forest, bike lanes (too few of them); a beautiful region worth showing.*

#### ➤ **Gorzów Voivodeship**

The Germans associated the name with: *friendship; well-developed industry; administrative unit, pretty landscapes; it’s said to be very nice there now; Gorzów is a large city, I was there twice after the change of the political system, before it I used to go there very often and talk with students and academic teachers as a member of a youth organization; many associations, above all cultural ones; or speculated: Lubusz Voivodeship is the larger region, so Gorzów Voivodeship must be the smaller one; or declared: only few associations.*

The Poles identified Gorzów Voivodeship *as the former Voivodeship of Zielona Góra, now it’s called like this; or: no longer exists, now there is Lubusz Voivodeship instead; (...) with the town Witnica.*

#### ➤ **Brandenburg**

The name was associated by the senior German informants with: *friendship, administrative unit; a large land in Germany; beautiful nature; Brandenburg used to have a very turbulent history, which is both positive and negative; I think that administrative reforms are unnecessary, one shouldn’t constantly create new things but look after things that are already there; my husband used to go there and sketched churches there and I used to go with him, which was very interesting to me; Brandenburg is wonderful; or personally: I’ve had less to do with Brandenburg than with Lubusz Land; Brandenburg is my native land in Germany, it*

*takes a very important place in history, including the history of Polish-German relations; or the opposite: I live here currently, but I don't feel very attached to it.*

The Poles answered: *Brandenburg is a large land in Germany, though I'm not sure if it's larger than Lubusz Voivodeship; a beautiful region, cheap railway tickets and good connections, we often go there to see places; – I'm just about to get to know it...*

➤ **Neumark** (New March)

The historical name of Neumark brought about the following associations among the Germans: *a name that was coined after the Polish State was created anew after WWI but it has little to do with history; a controversial expression, which I personally don't like and I find it a bad idea to call the surrounding areas like this; I have positive associations, this is the bordering region where I used to like to spend my time; it's on the Polish side, the inhabitants there did a lot of work there; I've been there once, I know it from books – and firmly: it's Poland not Neumark, a former term to describe German areas – currently one should use Polish names for Polish cities, even though many old Germans know them by their German names; no associations, or I don't know, or even: it's a new experience, I heard of it from our guide, nobody had ever been concerned with it before.*

The Polish respondents answered: *did not know the name or erroneously took Neumark for the German state [north of] Brandenburg.*

➤ **Prussia**

In our German respondents' opinion the name meant: *Potsdam; the past; it's history now, to me it's a closed chapter; Prussia had influence on German and European politics; I always used to associate it with the military but it has a lot more to offer culturally; my grandparents came from the Kingdom of Prussia; Prussia is associated with traits like order and punctuality, which are sometimes laughed at, I reject things like militarism and Prussian spirit; Frederick the Great dried those regions so that my grandparents could settle there; I have mixed feelings about Prussia – the buildings and architecture are wonderful, but historically this is not something that I agree with. I know there are many associations that try to keep Prussian tradition alive; Prussia was a state which always sought for revenge and tried to oppress other countries. I associate it with Frederick the Great and the three Silesian Wars; or simply: this name is no longer valid.*

The Polish associations included: *Gdańsk etc.; Bismarck, a historical region where Germans lived; or: where my mother's family settled after the war.*

➤ **Eastern Lands** (*Kresy/Ostgebiete*)

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The term which could refer both to Germany's former Eastern territories (*Ostgebiete*) and to Poland's former Eastern Borderlands (*Kresy*) was referred to by the Germans in following elaborated associations: *I was born there but even at the time of the GDR I acknowledged the borderline demarcated at the Potsdam Conference, differently from what it was like in Federal Republic of Germany; personally I don't feel any nostalgia for those places, but I'm interested in where my ancestors lived; it's just a name; it's something for the expellees' associations but not for me; it's a closed chapter – like Prussia; those are very interesting regions with hardworking inhabitants, however the process of growing old has accelerated there and young people move to big cities, I feel worried because Eastern Borderlands deserve to be looked after just like other regions; when you go there, you notice at the architecture that Germans lived there once, I admit that Germans used to be a very warrior nation and did a lot harm to Poles and Russians; we like going to the seaside of the Baltic Sea, we're also going there this year, I like cemeteries there; I've never had anything to do with it, to me it's abroad: Poland and Russia; my husband comes from Eastern Prussia and always felt attached to those areas, I have mainly historical associations; difficult legacy of World War II but I hope it doesn't play such a role for younger generations; or completely different: Germans from the East contrary to Germans from the West; or no associations.*

The Poles associated Eastern Borderlands with *the Eastern part of Poland, Vilnius Region, former Polish areas; part of Poland, which after World War II belonged to the Soviet Union, now it's Ukraine; people from there suffered a lot, but I have warm associations despite the fear that derives from the fact that I've never been there; my parents come from there*

➤ **Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina**

The Germans' had the following associations: *it is engaged in the region's development and supports it financially, but the plans couldn't be realized due to various bureaucratic hindrances; a very good idea, but too much theory, there are no enterprises; it should be seen positively, however, I cannot say how it is realized in practice; I had expected more, now I'm more cautious; I find the idea of showing that region's cultural and industrial advantages very good; I associate with it the industrial area around Kostrzyn, industrial and cultural programmes connected with the university; I have no associations.*

The Polish seniors either had no associations, mixed the name of the Euroregion with that of the University or answered: *the Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina is using natural resources for industry/production; thanks to it, young people come here and a lot is going on (exhibitions, film shows, artists); the bridge.*

➤ **German Democratic Republic**

In the memory of the senior Germans, the German Democratic Republic meant frequently: *my homeland; I grew up there (and got socialized) from its beginning to its end; in its 40-year-long history many positive things emerged, which were partially or completely lost after the German reunification – I feel sorry for that until this day, for example the education system was better and more specialized than the system of today's Germany; I don't have any negative associations, I had a job and a family; strangely, I don't have many memories, though I was doing well back then, I had a job, money; that was part of my life, that was where I learned, studied, worked, where I could use my knowledge and skills, where I was engaged and fought for ideals, some of which sadly weren't realized, despite this I think positively of those times; the GDR was our childhood, we felt good back then, even though we didn't own a lot, a particularly good thing was that we could study, which was something unusual after the war; not everything was bad here – I brought things from Poland to the GDR and when the situation was bad in Poland, the other way round; there wasn't so much social injustice, it wasn't a state of injustice as this wouldn't agree with my political views.*

The Poles were less expressive: *the GDR was a former socialist country; it's already the past; I worked in the GDR, to me it was like a paradise because the pay was high; my associations are: roasted grain drink, chocolate, maracuya-flavoured juice.*

➤ **Polish People's Republic (*Volksrepublik Polen/Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa*)**

The Germans associated the name of the communist Polish state with: *friendship; always our good neighbour; more extended answers compared it to the GDR: I'm not one of those people who scorn those times because when one talks about friendly relations, people behave as if they were the case only now, whereas in the GDR we had very strong relations with Poles, e.g. through workplaces, schools. And that wasn't imposed by the political party but we did it out of ourselves; I find the term "at the time of Polish People's Republic" better than "during Communism", as I find the latter rather "flat"; I used to be really concerned with the social and industrial development of Poland and was really impressed; Poland was closed for a long time and we learned of what was going on there from workers who came to Germany; I once was at the Baltic Sea and was skeptical at first but then I liked it a lot; we don't know the Polish history well enough; if we knew it better, we would understand Poles better; Germans see the expulsions of Germans only from their perspective; it was more difficult to make normal human contacts with Poles than it is now; I heard and read a lot about internationality at school and had a good attitude to children from abroad, also Polish children; it was difficult to go abroad in the 1980s. Despite that people stayed in touch with*

*Silvia Bonacchi, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, Mariusz Mela: Language identity and cultural memory in borderland areas. A survey-based research with aged respondents (seniors) each other, e.g. many Poles worked at the building sites of blocks of flats in Germany, colonies for children were organized, students exchange took place.*

Surprisingly, the Polish respondents were also less articulate in their associations with the Polish People's Republic: *queues for oranges, in which I always fainted; jobs for everyone, nurseries, kindergartens, everyone could go on workplace vacations, workplace flats; our beautiful Poland before Solidarność overthrew that system; or simply a former socialist country.*

The conclusive associations suggested to our respondents with reference to cultural memory were the words: **war** (question 3) and **unification** (question 4).

➤ **War**

The connotations of senior Germans with **war** referred to concisely: *fascism; barbarism, something terrible; something terrible, never again; the biggest crime humans can commit.* Generally, most of the associations involved some personal references: *I experienced it directly in the last days of the War through shootings and bomb attacks, my father fought in the War, one should reject War as a means of doing politics: this is what it means to act decently and I've followed this principle my whole life; War is something that should have been overcome a long time ago but unfortunately it isn't like this; desire for power is to be blamed for the outbreak of wars; a remainder of the times which are hard for me to imagine, the civilization should be advanced to such an extent that nothing like this happens, my generation experienced the consequences of the war, I can remember a bomb alarm, we had to put on masks, that was horrible; I partially experienced it but fortunately in Zittau very little happened during the war; my father and uncle died in the war; we don't like recalling it, even though its consequences are visible until this day, and when we hear about a war that takes place somewhere else, one remembers what one feels like when one has to fight for life; I find it sad that people haven't learnt anything after WWII; When I watch television, I find it sad that governments don't try to keep normal human contacts; or global generalizations: *That's something horrible and the fact that we participate in another war (Afghanistan, Syria), mainly in the interest of the USA, I don't like it; or: As children we collected offerings for the Vietnam war and we did it enthusiastically and today I advocate the idea of refugees coming to us.**

The Polish seniors were less wordy but still personally evaluative – for them war was connected with: *World War II, the Iran war – I don't like it; great misery of millions of people, an average person has no influence on it, – I hope it never happens again; and*

concluding: *Martyrology, camps, I didn't use to like Germans for a long time but getting to know them personally made me believe that people can be different.*

➤ **Unification**

The term means to the Germans: *homeland*; with mostly very affirmative connotations: *principally that's a good thing; the idea is good but one should not forget one's country's sovereignty; It's a trend that is a sign of progress in civilization; Generally I find it a good thing which has only advantages; We hope that one day Europe will be united; It would be wonderful if people respected and tried to understand each other more, so that unification can be achieved; Unification of people who want peace in the world; my ideal would be the one from Beethoven's symphony "all people will be brothers"; more extensively: It's always better than separation, it's always positive, I often talk with my son-in-law about the unification despite differing worldviews; realistically, or even with some skepticism: Opinions here are divided: some people regret that many things from the GDR haven't been adopted and see the current Republic as a colonial state to the GDR; It's a political process which has good and bad sides: the good ones is that new possibilities emerge, bad ones is that processes develop that are currently leaning towards extreme right; The German unification has brought many positive changes but it has brought a system which I find difficult to live in because I believed in socialist ideals and learned and worked for their sake and suddenly I found myself in new conditions which are difficult to live in for the older generation; For us, Germans from the GDR, it's difficult because two German states were united practically overnight, without prior preparation. For us, everything has changed while for the Germans from West Germany little has changed.*

The Polish seniors, again, more restrainedly: *Friendship, stability; Positive associations, it's something that connects instead of separating people; This means that we are together, we do something together without divisions; I think it's good that the two German states reunited.*

The extensively cited associations and connotations recorded during the survey indicate, not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively, that:

a) the German respondents have been more eager to express their connotations, both as brief associations, and as extended comments, often based on personal memory. The latter was hardly the case of Polish informants who – indeed outnumbered by their German colleagues in the Seniors' Academy – also communicated their answers in a more abstentious manner;



This observation can be relativised through the difference of number of interviewed Poles and Germans (see Figure 3.1).

b) The utterances of the Polish interlocutors – as stated above – were much less elaborated in terms of semantic contents;

c) the answers given by the German seniors seem to correspond fully to a general opinion expected from an educated resident of (the former) East Germany, worth stressing, however, is both good knowledge (even if critical) of the past, a clear view of the present and quite determined vision of the future; among the Polish seniors such general worldview is much more difficult to judge, as the answers do not correspond with a coherent viewpoint;

d) most of specific answers seem to generally fit the image of the Seniors' association as a platform of mutual politeness, both on an individual level, and from the perspective of representatives of two neighboring, but still quite unknown societies of strangers. The associations expressed by members of both groups focus on being polite to each other's opinions and actual realities of the (seniors') life on both sides of the Oder river. The kindness seem to be unhesitatingly extended to more difficult issues of cultural memory and to reach the perspective of "mutual non-harm", necessary not only to coexist, but also to cooperate in the transborder context of Polish-German neighbourhood.

## **7. Linguistic and cultural identity – Conclusions**

The 467 kilometer long Polish-German border is often considered one of the most – if not the most – impermeable linguistic borders in Europe, as far as multilingualism and language contact are concerned. The borderland area is perceived as very peripheral from both Polish and German perspectives, it is quite sparsely populated and economically challenged, although both sides make use of the post-2004 and -2007 regulations, which practically opened the border in all possible social and commercial aspects. The example of the interviewed seniors shows, however, that some groups of people (of the oldest generation in that case) cross the border only if necessary, and not in masses.

There are no common patterns of transborder communication, as the borderland was artificially created in consequence of World War II and not even approximately coincides with the previous linguistic or political pre-War Polish-German border. It was in almost all historical regions of Poland in which German colonies, *Sprachinseln* and minorities could be found and multiple forms of Polish-German language contacts, including Polish-German

diglossia (or actually polyglossia, if local varieties of both language areas were taken into account). Even nowadays, German minority habitats in Poland can be found in a good distance from the current international border. The actual vivid contacts between the inhabitants of places such as Frankfurt (Oder) and Słubice started developing only after the 1990s. This is still a very short time to develop any new patterns of intercultural communication, as the surveys with the seniors have revealed.

The transborder relations between Germans and Poles have been already investigated in many aspects. For example, Jańczak, Seyfried & Trosiak (2011) or Rasch (2008 & 2011), while Kimura (2013, 2014a, 2014b) and Jańczak (2015a, 2015b, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2016d) have systematically researched language attitudes and linguistic practices, including code-switching, -mixing or translanguaging in the transborder situations and contexts, an extensive study on the German-Polish linguistic attitudes was published (as senior thesis) by Clark (2011). Anyway, the political shifts, in both territorial, demographic and cultural sense, have completely remodeled the language constellations in what is currently the German-Polish borderland regions. The German language (also as Markish-Brandenburgish Low German or Markish East Central German) was not only absent as natively spoken code(s) east of the Oder, it had also disappeared from the local historical cultural language landscape of eastern Brandenburg converted into Poland's Lubusz Land. Instead of the Low-Central German language continuum (rudimentarily preserved by individual bilinguals), a new (mostly Slavic) linguistic mix was installed and developed after 1945, to name here the "resettled" Polish dialects of Greater Poland, Central Poland, former Poland's Eastern Territories (North-Eastern and South-Eastern), Upper Silesia, or Ukrainian and Rusyn/Lemko varieties, Belarus Polesian, various Romani dialects, or even Greek and Macedonian (brought by thousands of political refugees from Greece in 1949–1951) – cf. Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz (1998). The new linguistic reality of Lubusz Land remained almost intact by linguistic research, with some dialectological exceptions, such as the "Small language atlas of the Gorzów province" (Zagórski, Sieradzki & Grzelakowa 1992–1996), which claimed Poland's western (and northern) territories to be the home to the "new mixed" or "linguistically integrated" dialect(s) of Polish (cf. also e.g. Basara & Zduńska 1969; Zdaniukiewicz 1973; Paryl 1978 & 1982; Zagórski 1982). Those myths of understatement were critically referred to only quite recently, e.g. in the meticulous study by Zielińska 2013, who extensively interviewed various language variety speakers living, among others, in the vicinities of Słubice (the village of Białków, located 27 kms SE from Słubice). Zielińska (2013: 437) also identified explicit threads of repressions and stigmatization caused by the use of any language varieties which

would stray from (the model of) literary Polish and resulting in a constrained linguistic integration. The popular web-portal devoted to Polish dialects [www.dialektologia.uw.edu.pl](http://www.dialektologia.uw.edu.pl) has also redefined the previous notion of “new mixed dialects” of Polish:

Contrary to their name, they are not actually mixed, that is, they do not constitute a new quality resulting from the mixing of several different varieties. Their place has been taken by general Polish with elements of dialect of various origin, which depend on the origin of its users, as a result of the linguistic integration process.

The changes brought by the aftermath of World War II have also changed the language constellation on the German side of the Oder. The long-lasting – to some extent diglottic – coexistence of standard German as “high”-prestige and the above mentioned continuum of Low and Central German varieties as “low”-prestigious got undermined by the border shift and a massive influx of German refugees from the East (of utmost dialectal diversity). The industrialization and urbanization have only reinforced the linguistic homogenization in the GDR era. Worth noticing is also an overwhelming influence of the Berlin agglomeration and its Berlinish urbolect since the mid-19th century.

According to the study by Gessinger et al. (2005):

As in the entire German-speaking area, the number of dialect speakers in Brandenburg has declined over the last 100 years. But remains of the old dialects, as recorded in the German Linguistic Atlas, are still present today in the Markish area (...) 57% persons (...) responded the question “Is dialect spoken in your place?” with “Yes”. It is striking that the proportion of those who assume the existence of a local dialect does not increase, as one might expect, with the distance from Berlin. Instead, this proportion is above average in a central transition zone, approximately 60–85 km from Berlin, including e.g. (...) Frankfurt/Oder. (Gessinger et al. 2005)

The linguistic situation of North Germany (including Brandenburg) has extensively been studied within the project *Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland*, dealing with areal differences, individual aspects of language variation, dialect/standard variation, language experience, knowledge and settings. Worth noticing is the fact that one of the locations chosen for data collection was Bad Saarow located 40 kms west from Frankfurt/Oder.

All of our interviewees were asked questions concerning their linguistic repertoire. Some of them developed free narratives, referring not only to languages they acquired, learned or intended to learn, but building more complete language biograms. In this way many questionnaires turned into semi-structured interviews linking historical events and the seniors’ biographies with their language profiles. As already mentioned, full bilingualism was

declared only by one interviewee. Several Polish interlocutors declared some basic communicative skills in German, the German interviewees on the other hand knew only rudimental expressions in Polish (mainly small talk). A number of German seniors declared (often bygone) knowledge of Russian, so did several among the Poles. Only German seniors had acquired some conversational skills in English (mainly due to holiday tourism), while few Poles either had attended or were attending courses of that language. Only few mentioned any dialects in their repertoire: only one interlocutor declared the Saxon dialect of German as her first tongue, several remembered some Silesian or Low German, while Poles could recollect individual words from regional Polish varieties. No one declared proficiency in the local Markish-Brandenburgish Low German. The interviewees were also asked about their subjective assessment of the neighbours' language: most of them unhesitatingly declared that Polish and German respectively were or sounded "nice".

## **8. Further research perspectives**

From the perspective of methodology of sociolinguistic research (e.g. Holmes & Hazen 2014: 266–267), our research project included a small-scale preparatory, or actually parenthetical, survey of a limited social network. The network has comprised active members of the German-Polish Senior Citizen Academy – mostly monolingual citizens of the transborder towns of Frankfurt/Oder and Shubice, where language relations have been described by Clark (2011: 13–14) as minimal linguistic diversity, especially among older generations.

The seniors' network functions with almost no mutual language comprehension, therefore the sociolinguistic aspect of their bi- or multilateral language contacts could be researched solely to a very limited extent. Stimulating were, however, the resulting ethnographic liaisons. The whole group functioned previously predominantly thanks to the multilingual and in fact bicultural competence of one of the Academy leaders. The surveys, especially in the parts concerning language competence, turned frequently into open questionnaires with neatly-structured language biograms of individual interlocutors. Quite innovative from a meta-sociolinguistic perspective was the survey form in two languages, so was the entire surveying procedure carried out analogously in German and Polish. As described earlier, such a method required a thorough preparation of two language versions of the same survey form, which allowed for not only accurate linguistic translation, but also corresponded to different pragmalinguistic and extralinguistic features of German and Polish

codes and their speakers. From further evidence, the overall ethnography of social communication between Polish- and German-speakers on both sides of the Oder river was outlined by Clark (2011: 24–25) as “somewhat distanced and, although they live on the border, few unfortunately facilitate integration”, the main reason lies “probably in a historical background (and therefore the two nationalities don’t want to have so much to do with each other today), but perhaps it’s all caused by the linguistic obstacles”. Clark mentioned also “a few idealists who are interested in the other side, organizing tasks, festivals, and other things together.” During our interviews, we certainly have met some of them.

The ethnographic aspect of our research can be looked upon from a perspective called “key informant interviewing”, which refers to the classical concept of “key informant” in the methodology of social sciences. Ritzer (2007: 2457) for example states:

“key informant is generally associated, (...) with qualitative research in which a researcher employs interviewing of knowledgeable participants as an important part of the method of investigation. (...) They can also serve as a check on the information obtained from other informants.” (Ritzer 2007: 2457)

From the very beginning, the range of access to the key informants had been negotiated with and facilitated by persons referred to as “gatekeepers” (namely the leaders of the Senior Citizens’ Academy). As Hammersley & Atkinson (1995: 49 ff.) indicate:

(...) identifying the relevant gatekeepers is not always straightforward. Indeed, the distinction between sponsors and gatekeepers is by no means clear-cut. Even in formal bureaucratic organizations it is not always obvious whose permission needs to be obtained, or whose good offices it might be advisable to secure. Much the same is true in studying local communities. (...) such gatekeepers are often the ethnographer’s initial point of contact with such research settings. (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 49 ff.)

To sum up, worth noticing are the following points:

- the total group of informants did reflect the characteristics of the twofold community being surveyed, as a representative range of informants for the interview have been included,
- people of different regional and professional backgrounds, religious affiliations, educational levels and community responsibilities were represented; the only factor undifferentiated being the age, because of the predefined (and actually predetermined) survey target group;
- thanks to the requisite interviewee/interviewer level perspective and a satisfactory level of trust established, the interviews could provide in-depth and clear information about topics of interest.

The survey situations, however, differed considerably from traditional community surveys, as our target group only superficially constituted a single group. As observed during the research, the community of Frankfurt-Słubice seniors have actually consisted of two subgroupings: quite a coherent (and bigger) group of German citizens and a less coherent fraction of Polish participants. The latter could have resulted from the respective lack of a fully bilingual leader within the community.

During the interviews we made some observations that might prove helpful to all those interested in conducting conversation analysis with elderly. The seniors from our target group were very willed to cooperate, though we constantly had to keep in mind the limitations that arose from their advanced age. The interviewees found the questionnaire a bit too long (they also suggested combining some questions into one, e.g. instead of asking about the age and education in two separate questions, they suggested making one question out of those two) and the tempo of asking the questions too fast. All this makes us believe that the interviews should not exceed 40 minutes (in some cases they lasted 1 hour, which resulted in the seniors getting tired). One participant also suggested conducting the interviews separately, i.e. with other participants waiting for their turn in a separate room so that the answers of the interviewees would not influence the others. In this way, we might avoid repetitions.

While conducting the interviews, we were immediately struck by some linguistic phenomena that could be investigated using the collected material. One of them was the prominent role given to politeness, especially on the part of male interviewees towards female interviewers. For example, when the interviewer was a woman, senior men used gallantry formulas and complements, including nonverbal polite behaviour, like kissing a woman on the hand, which is nowadays seen as old-fashioned by younger generations. Females in turn readily revealed their age despite the fact that asking a woman her age is considered impolite. Furthermore, the interviewees used forms of self-stylization (the men wanted to highlight their gallantry), thematization of gender and age (including for example coquette behavior towards a female interviewer: "We want to have YOU as a speaker for our lectures!") as well as numerous politeness and conversational formulas. In reaction to this, the interviewers tried to adapt their conversational behavior. The forms of politeness and social play rules (like gallantry) can be interpreted as elements of generational identity and belonging to a certain generation with cultural values, like respect for the Other.

Further linguistic phenomena included could be noticed on the conversational level: The interviewers used numerous supporting feedback signals, confirming attention and encouraging old people to keep talking. We decided not to interrupt people, even though they

spoke a lot (a tendency to verbosity, see Gold D.P./Arbuckle T.Y./Andres D. 1994), which sometimes was a problem. What's interesting, we haven't noticed any relevant differences in the two groups related to the conversational strategies in case of men. In case of women, however, we've found that Polish women were less direct and tended to give more personal information. Both men and women seemed to expect and provoke feedback from the interviewers that they listened to.

We can conclude that the collected corpus can be used for a variety of purposes, first of all for linguistic, methodological purposes as well as for the methodology of border studies. Within linguistics, it can be used first of all for pragmalinguistic research. This includes among other things research of linguistic politeness, conversation analysis (strategies of self-presentation, turn-taking rules, feedback signals), multimodal communication (the use of voice, gestures and facial expressions), socio- and gerontolinguistic analysis (e.g. intergenerational communication), culturological analyses. Within discourse studies, it can be used for analyzing discourse of age and discourse of post-war memories. Our research gives also invaluable methodological hints as to how to conduct fieldwork research of the elderly and border studies.

## **Endnotes**

1. The project "Język pogranicza – pogranicze języka. Parajęzykowe aspekty komunikacji międzykulturowej" (UMO: Nr 0106/NPRH3/H12/82/2014) is realized by a research group of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Poland) in cooperation with other European partners: the University of Warsaw and the Viadrina-University in Frankfurt (Oder).
2. Special thanks are due to Dr. Barbara Jańczak and Mr. Herbert Konetzny, without whom our research team could not contact the German-Polish Seniors' Academy, or use the comfortable premises of Collegium Polonicum.

3. In the preparation of the questionnaire, some problems concerning the cultural adequacy of the translations, the differences in the realities (for example voice-over translation of films in Poland, but not in Germany), in the identification of the toponyms have arisen, which we solved by finding formulations acceptable in both languages.
4. The number of the respondents has to be considered modest, anyway highly representative for the target group. This is why our analyses have a strong qualitative character and are to be considered as pilot studies for further research. The next step will be the analysis of the nonverbal behaviour of the participants of the recordings and its mutual influence between the German and Polish participants, which is the original aim of the Borderland project.

Badania zrealizowano w ramach projektu *Język pogranicza – pogranicze języka. Parajęzykowe aspekty komunikacji międzykulturowej* (UMO: Nr 0106/NPRH3/H12/82/2014) finansowanego przez Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki.



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*Silvia Bonacchi, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, Mariusz Mela: Language identity and cultural memory in borderland areas. A survey-based research with aged respondents (seniors)*



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## Appendix

ANKIETA DLA OSÓB DOROSŁYCH ( $\pm 60$ ) (POLACY) (POUFNE! WYŁĄCZNIE DO ANALIZY BADAWCZEJ)  
FRAGEBOGEN FÜR ERWACHSENE ( $\pm 60$ ) (DEUTSCHE) (VERTRAULICH! NUR FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZWECKE)

### I. ALLGEMEINE INFORMATIONEN/ INFORMACJE O MÓWCY

Geburtsjahr .....  
Rok urodzenia .....

Geschlecht .....  
Płeć .....

Aktuelle Beschäftigung (Beruf, Rente, arbeitsuchend, andere Einkommensarten u.a.) .....  
Obecne zajęcia (praca zawodowa, emerytura, renta, inne) .....

In welchem Ort sind Sie geboren? .....  
Skąd Pan(i) pochodzi? .....

Dieser Ort ist ein(e):  
große Stadt  kleine Stadt  Dorf   
Określił(a)by to Pan(i) to miejsce jako:  
duże miasto  małe miasto  wieś

Wo sind Sie aufgewachsen? .....  
Gdzie Pan(i) dorastał(a)? .....

Dieser Ort ist ein(e):  
große Stadt  kleine Stadt  Dorf   
Określił(a)by to Pan(i) to miejsce jako:  
duże miasto  małe miasto  wieś

Aktueller Wohnort: .....  
Obecne miejsce zamieszkania: .....

Seit wann? .....  
Od kiedy? .....

Dieser Ort ist ein(e):  
große Stadt  kleine Stadt  Dorf   
Określił(a)by to Pan(i) to miejsce jako:  
duże miasto  małe miasto  wieś

Wo haben Sie ansonsten länger als ein Jahr gelebt? .....  
Gdzie jeszcze Pan(i) mieszkał(a) dłużej niż jeden rok? .....

Charakterisieren Sie Ihre familiäre und soziale Situation/Proszę scharakteryzować swój dom rodzinny:

- Wie viele Generationen haben in Ihrer Kindheit zusammen gelebt? .....
- Ile pokoleń mieszkało razem? .....
- Haben/hatten Sie Geschwister? .....
- Czy ma/miał(a) Pan(i) rodzeństwo? .....
- Haben/hatten Sie Kinder? ..... Czy ma/miał Pan(i) dzieci? .....
- Wohnen Sie mit Ihrer Ehefrau/Lebensgefährtin bzw. Ihrem Ehemann/Lebensgefährten zusammen? ..... Czy mieszka(l) Pan(i) ze współmałżonkiem/małżonką (partnerem/partnerką życiową)? .....
- Aus welchem Ort/aus welcher Gegend kommen Ihre Eltern? ..... Skąd pochodzą Pani/Pana rodzice? .....

Ausbildung (keine, Abschluss POS, Berufsausbildung, Fachschule, Abitur, Studium) .....  
Wykształcenie (brak, podstawowe, zawodowe, średnie, wyższe) .....

Religion (römisch-katholisch, evangelisch, andere, keine) .....  
Wyznanie (rzymsko-katolickie, ewangelickie, prawosławne, grecko-katolickie, inne, brak) .....

Falls Sie religiös sind: In welcher Sprache haben Sie gebetet? .....  
Po jakiemu modlił(a) się Pan(i)? .....

Sind Sie Mitglied von Organisationen, Verbänden, Vereinen oder Ähnlichem? ja  nein   
Czy należy Pan(i) do jakiejś organizacji, stowarzyszenia lub klubów? tak  nie

Wenn ja, von welchen?/Jeśli tak, do jakiej/jakich? .....

DT

1. Berufsverbände
2. Politische Parteien
3. Verbände oder Stiftungen (deutsche oder internationale)
4. Schulorganisationen (z.B. Elternrat)
5. Organisationen, Vereine
6. Organisationen, religiöse Bewegungen und Organisationen, Pfarrgemeinden

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7. Freiwillige Feuerwehr
8. Scouts, Pfadfinder
9. Internationale Jugendbewegungen
10. Frauenorganisationen (z.B. Frauenkreise auf dem Lande)
11. Wohltätigkeitsorganisationen (für Bedürftige, Kinder, Arme, Obdachlose, Kranke, Behinderte, etc.).
12. Rentner-Organisationen, Senioren-Clubs
13. Umweltschutzorganisationen
14. Künstlerische Verbände: Chor, Band, Theatergruppe u. a.
15. Gesundheitseinrichtungen
16. Selbsthilfegruppen (z.B. Behinderte-Vereinigungen, Alleinerziehende, anonyme Alkoholiker, Arbeitslose usw.)
17. Veteranen-Organisationen, Kriegssopfer-Organisationen
18. Zweckgebundene Bürgerinitiativen (für die Erledigung von konkreten Angelegenheiten, z. B. Parkings, Grünanlagen etc.)
19. Organisationen von Heimat- oder Traditionsvereinen
20. Andere (welche?) .....

PL

1. Związki zawodowe
2. Partie polityczne
3. Stowarzyszenia, fundacje (krajowe lub międzynarodowe)
4. Organizacje oświatowe (np. komitet rodzicielski/rada rodziców)
5. Organizacje kluby i stowarzyszenia sportowe
6. Organizacje, ruchy religijne, kościelne, wspólnoty parafialne
7. Ochotnicza Straż Pożarna
8. Harcerstwo
9. Organizacje młodzieżowe o charakterze międzynarodowym
10. Organizacje kobiece (np. koła gospodyń wiejskich)
11. Organizacje charytatywne (działające na rzecz osób potrzebujących, dzieci, ubogich, bezdomnych, chorych, niepełnosprawnych itp.)
12. Organizacje emerytów, kluby seniorów
13. Organizacje działające na rzecz ochrony środowiska naturalnego
14. Organizacje, stowarzyszenia artystyczne: chór, orkiestra/zespół muzyczny, zespół taneczny, zespół teatralny itp.
15. Organizacje wspierające placówki służby zdrowia
16. Organizacje samopomocowe (np. stowarzyszenia osób niepełnosprawnych, samotnych rodziców anonimowych alkoholików, osób bezrobotnych itp.)
17. Organizacje kombatanatów, weteranów, ofiar wojny
18. Komitety starające się o załatwienie jakiejś konkretnej sprawy (np. parkingu), grupy protestu
19. Stowarzyszenia miłośników miejscowości lub regionu
20. Innego typu (jakiego?) .....

**II. SPRACHEN/ JEZYKI**

Was ist/Was sind Ihre Muttersprache(n)? .....

Jaki jest/są Pana/Pani język(i) ojczysty/ojczyste? .....

Wie haben Sie in Ihrer Kindheit zu Hause gesprochen (Sprache oder Dialekt angeben)? .....

Po jakimu mówił(a) Pan(i) w domu? .....

Welche Sprache haben Sie in der Schule gesprochen? .....

W jakim języku kształcił(a) się Pan(i)? .....

Welche Sprache benutz(t)en Sie im Berufsleben? .....

Po jakimu rozmawiał(a) Pan(i) w pracy zawodowej? .....

Wer sind Sie? Wie würden Sie sich kurz selbst beschreiben? (1-3 Sätze) .....

Kim Pan(i) jest ? (1-3 określenia) .....

Welcher Nationalität sind Sie? (man kann mehrere angeben) .....

Jakiej jest Pan(i) narodowości ? (można podać kilka) .....

Beherrschen/Können Sie andere Sprachen? ja  nein

Czy zna Pan(i) inne języki? tak  nie

Wenn ja, bitte alle nennen und in welcher Qualität angeben (sehr gut, gut, ein bisschen): .....

Jeśli tak, proszę wymienić wszystkie i określić w jakim stopniu (bardzo dobrze, dobrze, trochę): .....

Welche Sprachen können Sie sprechen? .....

W jakich językach umie Pan(i) mówić? .....

Gibt es Sprachen, die Sie nur verstehen aber nicht sprechen? .....

Jakie języki Pan(i) tylko rozumie? .....

In welchen Sprachen können Sie lesen? In welchen Sprachen lesen Sie? .....

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W jakich językach umie Pan(i) czytać?

In welchen Sprachen können Sie schreiben? In welchen Sprachen schreiben Sie?

W jakich językach umie Pan(i) pisać?

Sprechen Sie im Alltag einen Dialekt/eine Mundart? ja  nein   
Wenn ja, bitte angeben: .....

Czy mówi Pan(i) w jakimś dialekcie, gwarze? tak  nie   
Jeśli tak, proszę wymienić: .....

### III. MEDIA

Nutzen Sie das Internet? ja  nein   
Czy korzysta Pan(i) z Internetu? tak  nie

Wie oft sehen Sie fern?  
jeden Tag  mehrmals in der Woche  einmal in der Woche  seltener als einmal in der Woche  nie   
Jak często ogląda Pan(i) telewizję?  
codziennie  kilka razy w tygodniu  raz w tygodniu  rzadziej niż raz w tygodniu  w ogóle

Welche Programme schauen Sie vorwiegend? (Serien, Talk-shows, andere) .....  
Co ogląda Pan(i) najchętniej w telewizji? (seriale, talk-shows, inne) .....

Wie oft schauen Sie Spielfilme?  
jeden Tag  mehrmals in der Woche  einmal in der Woche  seltener als einmal in der Woche  nie   
Czy często ogląda Pan(i) filmy fabularne?  
codziennie  kilka razy w tygodniu  raz w tygodniu  rzadziej niż raz w tygodniu  w ogóle

Welche Spielfilme mögen Sie am liebsten?  
deutsche  ausländische  kein Unterschied   
Jakie filmy fabularne ogląda Pani najchętniej?  
polskie  zagraniczne  bez różnicy

Welche Filme/Fernsehprogramme schauen Sie sich in der Originalsprache an? .....  
Czy ogląda Pan(i) filmy/programy TV w oryginalnej wersji językowej? .....

Falls Sie keine Sendungen in der Originalsprache schauen, welche Art der "Übersetzung" haben Sie lieber?  
synchronisiert  mit Untertiteln  voice-over   
Jeśli nie, to jaki rodzaj tłumaczenia filmów/programów woli Pan(i)?  
dubbing  napisy  lektor

### IV. SPRACHKONTAKTE/KONTAKTY JEZYKOWE

Haben Sie regelmäßigen Kontakt mit Menschen aus dem Ausland? .....  
Czy ma Pan(i) regularne kontakty z cudzoziemcami? .....

Falls ja, welche Staatsangehörigkeit haben die Personen, mit denen Sie Kontakt haben?

Jeśli tak, to jakiej narodowości najczęściej? .....

Wer sind diese Personen (Bekanntkreis, Familie, Freunde, Kollegen u.a.)? .....  
Kim oni są? .....

Wo treffen Sie sie? .....

Gdzie ich Pan(i) spotyka? .....

In welcher Sprache sprechen Sie mit Ihnen? .....

Po jakiemu Pan(i) z nimi rozmawia? .....

Welche Länder gefallen Ihnen? .....

Jakie kraje podobają się Pani/Panu? .....

Welche Länder möchten Sie kennenlernen? .....

Jakie kraje chciał(a)by Pan(i) poznać? .....

Welche Sprachen gefallen Ihnen? .....

Jakie języki podobają się Pani/Panu? .....

Wie viele Polen/Polinnen kennen Sie?  
viele (über 10)  einige (unter 10)  eine Person  keine

Ilu zna Pan(i) Niemców?  
wielu (powyżej 10)  kilku (poniżej 10)  jednego  żadnego

Wie würden Sie die Personen kurz beschreiben? .....

Kim oni są? .....

Woher kommen diese Personen? .....

Skąd oni są? .....

Wie verhalten sich Polen nach Ihrer Erfahrung? (3 Sätze) .....

Jak Niemcy się zachowują? (proszę podać 3 określenia) .....

.....



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Wie verhalten sich Deutsche nach Ihrer Erfahrung? (3 Sätze) .....

Jak się zachowują Polacy? (proszę podać 3 określenia) .....

Verhalten Sie sich in Polen und in Deutschland gleich? .....

Czy zachowuje się Pan(i) tak samo w Polsce i w Niemczech? .....

Wie würden Sie auf einer Skala von 1 (stimmt nicht) bis 5 (stimmt) einschätzen, ob:

- Polen höflich sind 1  2  3  4  5
- Polen nett sind 1  2  3  4  5
- man Polen vertrauen kann 1  2  3  4  5
- Sie die Menschen aus Polen mögen 1  2  3  4  5
- Ihnen die polnische Kultur gefällt 1  2  3  4  5
- Ihnen die polnische Sprache gefällt 1  2  3  4  5

Jak w skali od 1 (najniższa ocena) do 5 (najwyższa ocena) ocenił(a)by Pan(i) czy:

- Niemcy są uprzejmi 1  2  3  4  5
- Niemcy są mili 1  2  3  4  5
- Niemcom można ufać 1  2  3  4  5
- lubi Pan(i) Niemców 1  2  3  4  5
- podoba się Pani/Panu niemiecka kultura 1  2  3  4  5
- podoba się Pani/Panu język niemiecki 1  2  3  4  5

Sind Polen leicht erkennbar? .....

Czy Niemcy są łatwo rozpoznawalni? .....

Wenn ja, warum und wie? Anhand welcher Eigenschaften? .....

Jeśli tak, to w jaki sposób/ dzięki jakim cechom? .....

Unter welchen Umständen/Wann fühlen Sie sich "zu Hause"? .....

W jakich miejscach/warunkach czuje się Pan(i) swojsko? .....

Was essen Sie gern? Welche Küche mögen Sie am liebsten? .....

Jakie jedzenie Pan(i) smakuje (jaka kuchnia)? .....

**V. KULTURGEDÄCHTNIS/PAMIEĆ KULTUROWA**

1A. Haben Polen Ihr Leben geändert? ja  nein

Czy Niemcy zmienili się za Pani/Pana życia? tak  nie

1B. Wenn ja, geben Sie an, wie (die wichtigste Änderung) .....

Jeśli tak, proszę podać ich najważniejszą cechę, która się zmieniła .....

2) Was verbinden Sie mit:/Jakie ma Pan(i) skojarzenia z następującymi pojęciami:

- Słubice .....
- Frankfurt an der Oder / Frankfurt nad Odrą .....
- Dammvorstadt .....
- SłubFurt .....
- Nowa Amerika .....
- (dem) Land Lebus / ziemia lubuska .....
- Brandenburg / Brandenburgia .....
- Woiwodschaft Lebus / Województwo lubuskie .....
- Woiwodschaft Gorzów / Województwo gorzowskie .....
- (der) Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina/Pro Europa Viadrina .....
- Preußen / Prusy .....
- (den) Ostgebieten / Kresy .....
- der DDR / NRD .....

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- der Volksrepublik Polen / PRL

3. Was verbinden Sie mit dem Wort KRIEG?

Z czym kojarzy się Pani/Panu WOJNA?

4. Was verbinden Sie mit dem Wort VEREINIGUNG?

Z czym kojarzy się Pani/Panu ZJEDNOCZENIE?

Wyrażam zgodę na przetwarzanie moich danych osobowych dla potrzeb niezbędnych do realizacji projektu naukowego (zgodnie z odpowiednimi regulacjami prawnymi).

..... data i podpis

Inicjały informatora: .....

Kto rejestrował .....

Data: .....

Hiermit erkläre ich mich einverstanden, dass meine Daten anonym gespeichert und ausschließlich zweckgebunden für Projektzwecke (nach dem Gesetz zum Schutz personenbezogener Daten) benutzt werden können.

Datum .....

Unterschrift

Kürzel des Befragten: .....

Interviewer .....

Datum: .....