FROM THE DIALECT MAP TO THE CONCEPT OF *BORDERLAND SPEECH*. REMARKS ON RESEARCH CARRIED OUT IN POLISH-GERMAN BORDERLANDS

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Abstract: The author presents theoretical and practical problems related to research on linguistic diversity in the Lubuski region situated in the historic German-Polish borderland which up to 1945 belonged to Germany. After World War II, almost all of the population was replaced. Only few autochtons remained, and the area was repopulated with ethnically diverse groups of forced settlers from territories incorporated into the USSR and displaced from the Ukrainian-Polish borderland, as well as by voluntary settlers from various Polish regions. It led to creation of a complex linguistic situation characterised by, i.a., Polish-German bilingualism and the presence of the transferred East Slavic and Polish dialects. Four languages, Polish, German, Ukrainian and Belarusian, as well as their numerous dialects, remained here in linguistic contact. The aim of the author's sociolinguistic-anthropological field research (2009–2013) was to check if the linguistic diversity survived in the region to this day. The presence and longevity of the phenomena was indeed proven. The research results call into question the theses of the contemporary Polish dialectology which upholds the dialect map paradigm and still refers to the linguistic area in western Poland as the area of "new mixed dialects".

Key words: field research, multilingualism, borderland area.

1. "New mixed dialects" on dialect maps of Poland

In addition to the single regional language spoken in Poland (Kaszubian, spoken in Kaszuby), dialect maps of Poland show the distribution of the four main dialects of the Polish language: the Mazovian dialect; the Lesser Poland dialect; the Silesia

dialect; and finally, the Greater Poland dialect. However, the dialect maps of Poland also contain large areas described as "new mixed dialects." Those are the areas located in the old borderlands between Poland and Germany, which used to be part of Germany before 1945: the voivodships (counties) of Dolnośląskie (Lower Silesia), Lubuskie, Zachodniopomorskie (West Pomerania), the south-western part of Pomorskie (Pomerania) and the northern part of Warmińsko-Mazurskie. As a result of historical and geopolitical processes after 1945, local populations in these areas experienced deportation pressures, leading to large-scale expulsions and migrations. Taken as a whole, this is a large geographical area with plenty of historical and cultural diversity, so this article focuses only on a small section, namely the region of Lubuskie where I have been involved with sociolinguistic field research from 2009 to 2013.[1] By cubby-holing the area as "new mixed dialects," such dialect maps arguably obscure its most interesting quality, namely the lively, active and diverse multilingualism in the local population. As Thomas Krefeld points out, maps are incapable of conveying the specific nature of multilingualism because they map languages and not speech communities, and they only deal with the geographical perspective. Maps show languages and linguistic characteristics which constitute the linguistic topography of an area (cf. Krefeld 2004: 11). But those phenomena which are related to multilingual behaviours tend to escape the mapmakers, who deal with languages rather than speakers.

When coupled with intensive field research involving large numbers of in-depth autobiographical interviews with local inhabitants, the anthropological perspective (which takes an interest in the speakers rather than the social or linguistic structures) brings out the region's specific nature as a borderland area. My research focuses on the oldest generation (people born before 1945). This includes members of the autochthonous population born when the region belonged to Germany, as well as people who came to the region from various areas in pre-war Poland, including those areas which became incorporated into the Soviet Union after 1945 (and today are located in Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus). According to the census data from 2012, the Lubusz Voivodeship is home to a number of national and ethnic minorities, the most numerous group being the Lemkos. The remaining minorities include the Roma, Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, and others.

I conducted fieldwork consisting in recording in-depth interviews concerning language acquisition, language use and attitudes towards languages[2] with the eldest residents, who at the end of WWII experienced a significant life change – severance of ties with the place where they were born, along with neighbourhood and family ties. I interviewed 136 informers from 51 sites.

There are not many indigenous inhabitants who were born in Germany before 1945 and chose (and were allowed) to remain after the war in the places where they had been born and spent their childhood and adolescence. All of them are bilingual, speaking Polish and German. This bilingualism takes place at an individual rather than social level since at present no groups or communities in the region of Lubuskie use these two languages alternately in everyday life. Social bilingualism characterizes those Lemkos and Ukrainians who were resettled to the area in 1947 as part of Operation Vistula (*Akcja Wisła*), a campaign of forced resettlement of Poland's Ukrainian minority. Also bilingual are the people resettled from Polesie, who form a closely-knit community in the village of Białków near the Polish-German border. There is some vestigial bilingualism among the highlanders resettled into the area from Bucovina (the region located on both sides of the Romanian-Ukrainian border). Characteristic elements of south-eastern borderland Polish dialects are still present in the speech of people resettled from former eastern Poland (pre-war regions of Wołyń, Stanisławów and Lwów). In villages located near the former Polish-German border, the Greater Poland dialect still survives.

In linguistic terms, this makes the area a highly complicated entity to describe with the broad brush of a term like "new mixed dialects". The dialect-centred perspective meant that the local language was typically mapped and described in terms of linguistic map-making methodologies developed and tested for dealing with areas with established indigenous dialects. One example of that in the Polish context are the lexical maps contained in *Mały Atlas Językowy Województwa Gorzowskiego* (Zagórski – Sieradzki – Grzelakowa 1992; Zagórski 1996). The aim of that research was to come up with a general picture of the structure of the region's language, and to interpret it in terms of area linguistics. Unfortunately, the material refuses to form neat patterns of isoglosses, and looks instead like a random scattering of dialect map symbols. The maps portray sets of words used by the inhabitants in certain localities depending on the variety of the language which was spoken in their place of origin or which they learned after migrating, but it does not identify synonymy within a single dialect system (which obviously does not exist in the locations under study).

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[2]   The biographical method was applied in the research of multilingual people in various areas of Europe in the book by Rita Franceschini and Johanna Mieczkowski (2004).

In my research, I move away from the dialect-based categories to apply research tools used in studies of language contact, language blending and bilingualism. However, the most important concepts in language contact theory also need to be approached in a critical frame of mind.

2. Some critical remarks on language contact research

Research on multilingualism, language contact and language borderlands has created a set of canonical terms, concepts and research problems. An extensive literature on these problems exists, and it is not my aim to elaborate on it here but several basic terms need to be examined carefully. Suzanne Romaine has pointed out that the terms used to describe bilingualism usually carry negative implications (Romaine 1989: 52). The basic terms of *interference* and *transfer* are defined from the perspective of the monolingual norm. Interference is treated as a deviation from a certain standard: "Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as INTERFERENCE phenomena" (Weinreich 1968: 1). *Transfer* is a term taken from psychology, and it involves the transfer of patterns or models from one language to another. Such transfer may be positive, if the patterns in the two languages are the same, or negative, if they are different. The term is usually used in descriptions of second language acquisition (see, among others, Romaine 1989: 51), and also in research of language contact where it replaces *interference* (cf. Riehl 2009: 32–36).

My position is that those terms which imply a certain value judgment on linguistic performance belong exclusively in the context of foreign language learning. They are inadequate for describing the language of people who live in multilingual families or speech communities. Learned bilingualism is different from naturally acquired bilingualism as practised in everyday life. Georges Lüdi points out that the negative value judgments attached to bilingualism are conditioned by a very old cultural tradition based on two myths. The first, particularly prevalent in Roman Catholic Europe, draws on the biblical myth of the Tower of Babel, which says that humanity's original condition was a God-given monolingualism, taken away when God punished people by confounding their languages. In this interpretation, multilingualism is a divine punishment, a burden to bear. The second myth, which coincided with the formation of the early nation states, says that a country's territory should overlap with the territory of its national language. Those two traditions have perpetuated the stereotype of monolingualism as a natural, God-given and politically desirable condition. In

this view, people should ideally be monolingual and should preferably use one of the "great" languages of Western Europe (Lüdi 1996: 233).

The structures of negative thinking about bilingualism span the entire European social and cultural spectrum: they are present in "folk linguistics," e.g. among Belarusian peasants (cf. Engelking 2012), as well as in many works of scholarship. Defining multilingualism in reference to the linguistic competencies of a monolingual person is one example of this pervasive negative stereotype, as in the following passage: "Bilingualism is the knowledge of two languages at a level equivalent to that of socially comparable monolingual speakers, i.e. ambilingualism. This involves the ability to use all the faculties in the first and second languages, and frequent use of both languages in various situations and with various communication partners. Bilingualism is usually a temporary condition connected with emigration or foreign travel, implying a close contact with the language and culture, making it possible to experience both in a personal way." (Lipińska 2003: 115)

Modern scholarship should not perpetuate the idea that monolingualism is the most desirable or "normal" state for a person, nation or society to be. It is multilingualism, rather than monolingualism, that is the norm, and monolingualism is only a culturally conditioned extreme example of multilingualism, with bilingualism as another one of its variants. As recently as the 1980s, 60 per cent of the world's population was multilingual in one way or another, mostly on the continents with rapidly rising populations (Lüdi 1996: 234).

Like multiculturalism, the concept of multilingualism is part of a paradigm where each language is described in isolation. Justyna Straczuk writes about multiculturalism understood as "a multiplicity of cultures", a "complete separateness of symbolic systems, separate worlds of meanings" (Straczuk 2006: 30). This is similar to multilingualism understood as "a multiplicity of languages", a set of several separate linguistic systems. Contained within this scientific paradigm is a negative opinion of speech produced by multilingual persons since their utterances are appraised from the perspective of the linguistic norms of a single language, whichever happens to be the subject of study. The concept of linguistic norm appears to be precisely the problem with Uriel Weinreich's definition of interference. In his definition, Weinreich implies a monolingual norm understood structurally as a set of generally accepted and codified language units and rules governing their combinations. But the very nature of multilingualism is that the speaker does not have several separate competencies whose sum total equals the sum of his or her languages, but only a single broad competence involving a synthesis of those languages (cf. Lüdi – Py 1984: 51–53). When describing

multilingual speech communities we should invoke the actual sociolinguistic norms which constitute those communities.

The concept of the bilingual norm was contemplated by Einar Haugen in his classic work on Norwegian-English bilingualism: "It is time now that we consider the question of whether we can properly speak of linguistic norms or laws in the bilingual community, and in what sense they may be said to exist. Because of the constant pressure of English there is a more rapid flux than in older and more stable communities. Any norms that exist are certainly more fluid than in an isolated rural dialect in an older country or in a standardized literary language." (Haugen 1953: 60) Like bilingual linguistic competence, the bilingual norm admits variance, code switching and language mixing. This is an emic norm, which takes into account the perspective of the speakers as members of a multilingual speech community. In this way of understanding the norm (which is the only acceptable way if we want to break free from the negative paradigm), Uriel Weinreich's definition of interference is difficult to accept.

Another problem mentioned in all studies on language contact is the difference between individual and social language facts. To return to Weinreich's definition of interference, "Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as INTERFERENCE phenomena. It is these phenomena of speech, and their impact on the norms of either language exposed to contact, that invite the interest of the linguist. The term interference implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary (kinship, color, weather, etc.)." (Weinreich 1968: 1)

The construction of this definition illustrates the main problems involved in studying languages in contact. The definition invokes three different levels at which the concept of *language* may be understood: *speech*, *norm* and *system* ("the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary"). Further on, Weinreich distinguishes between interference in spoken utterances (*la parole*) and within the system (*la langue*), using the metaphor of sand falling to the bottom of a lake: "In speech, interference is like sand carried by a stream; in language, it is the sedimented sand deposited on the bottom of a lake. The two phases of interference should be distinguished. In speech, it occurs anew in the utterances of the bilingual speaker as a result of his personal knowledge of the other tongue.

In language, we find interference phenomena which, having frequently occurred in the speech of bilinguals, have become habitualized and established. Their use is no longer dependent on bilingualism." (Weinreich 1968: 11)

The contradiction in Weinreich's definition of *interference* is that as soon as *parole*-level interference enters the *langue* through the linguistic practice of a speech community (in other words, as soon as it becomes part of the system), it becomes irrelevant to language contact research since its functioning is no longer dependent on the bilingualism of its speakers (cf. Kabatek 1997: 235). The concept of *interference* should only be used with reference to studies of individual texts/discourses, since an individual human being is the actual locus of linguistic contact. Interference takes place within individual acts of linguistic creation (cf. Kabatek 1997: 236). This way of understanding interference as individual speech acts can also be found in Sarah G. Thomason where she speaks of "one time speech events, a single speaker's usage on a single occasion rather than completed changes in a language" (Thomason 2001: 131). Thomason notes that we can never be sure when a one-time speech act begins to spread, and that we do not know the transition from the first interference to the group's language: "It should be noted immediately, therefore, that there are no well-established linguistic constraints on any mechanism of interference. Constraints have been proposed, especially on code switching, but there is no consensus among specialists that any of the proposed constraints are valid. It's hard to tell, in the present state of research, whether the lack of constraints on any mechanism is the way things are in the world or simply a result of the fact that not one of the mechanisms is fully understood." (Thomason 2001: 131)

The problem with the utility of classic scholarly concepts and terms involves the fact that 1) they have been used in different studies to describe very different language contact situations, and have lost their original meaning; 2) in the light of what we know today, the original sources (like Weinreich's work) turn out to be inadequate and constraining. In this context, Elżbieta Smułkowa and a team of Belarusian scholars (Irina Budźko, Olga Gushcheva, Helena Kazantseva) have come up with a groundbreaking concept of research on multilingualism in their two-volume study "Brasławszczyzna. Pamięć i współczesność" [The Braslav Area. Memory and Contemporary Times] (Smułkowa 2009; 2011). This is a concept which its authors referred to as the study of *borderland speech.*

3. Concept of borderland speech by Elżbieta Smułkowa

The term *borderland speech* refers to Justyna Straczuk's proposition that the term *multi-culturality* should be replaced with the term *borderland culture* meaning "not necessarily a set of adjacent cultural wholes (in this case: ethnic cultures),

but rather a unique cultural system, a set of characteristics which are of different origin and which, when taken together, form a functioning whole. This is why we should study not so much the individual cultures which come into contact in borderland areas or their mutual modifications, but rather this unique system that is a borderland culture treated as a separate phenomenon" (Straczuk 2006: 30). Justyna Straczuk's proposal was inspired by the work of linguists (C. F. Ferguson and J. A. Fishman) who studied language contact, notably diglossia, where two languages are used in different areas (for everyday communication or in different social situations), leading to the emergence of mixed dialects which cannot be classified in terms of a single language. In such cases language is no longer a marker of ethnicity (cf. Straczuk 2006: 13).

Written by Elżbieta Smułkowa and her team, *Słownik mowy pogranicza* (A dictionary of the borderland speech) (Smułkowa 2009) is fundamentally different from the typical dialect dictionaries which present either the lexical systems of selected dialects or the distinctive lexical items of a given dialect. Instead, it demonstrates the way language is spoken by borderlands people who do not use the different lexical systems in isolation but rather use a *mixed language* in accordance with their sociolinguistic competence. Methodologically, the starting point for Smułkowa and her team was the information, obtained as part of field research, that the inhabitants of Braslav area in Belarus predominantly felt that they were using a *mixed language*. At the level of *la parole,* the phenomenon of lexical mixing is highly dynamic, especially between closely related languages such as Polish, Russian and Belarusian. As a result of linguistic convergence, it is not really possible to qualify a lexical element as part of any one of the linguistic systems. The dictionary demonstrates functionally shared lexical resources, used by speakers when "speaking Polish" or "speaking Belarusian". Lexical material and audio recordings collected in the field are divided not into categories such as Polish or Belarusian, but according to the language in which the respondents intended to communicate: Polish, Belarusian or the mixed language. Importantly, this takes into account the identification provided by the speakers rather than by linguists. This point of view is analogous to the understanding of cultural difference in the book by Justyna Straczuk: "What matters is whether the members of a group see a cultural feature as different, and not 'what it is really like'." (Straczuk 2006: 21)

A *borderland speech* is a process in which speakers use patterns, rules and linguistic features from at least two different language systems. The norm is understood to be a sociolinguistic process which is variable and does not regulate the proportion between the elements from the two language systems used in speaking. The language of borderlands is characterized by processes and phenomena

similar to the culture of borderlands (see Straczuk 2006), with qualities such as *indistinguishability* (speakers do not distinguish between the elements of two or three languages, or between some of the oppositions in the language systems); *transitionality* (whereby elements of one language may transition to another; this process is related to indistinguishability); *sharing* (which is a consequence of the first two phenomena and involves treating elements from different codes as shared ones); *variance* (all those phenomena are subject to variance, i.e. they occur inconsistently and depend on the non-linguistic context); and *graduality* (the phenomena are processes whose intensity/frequency rates vary); they are also *situational* and *contextual*. *Situationality* refers to the fact that realisations of utterances depend on the situation in which the text is being produced (taking into account parameters such as communication partner, place, time or topic), and *contextuality* determines how non-linguistic factors (social, cultural, political) influence the sociolinguistic processes of language change and language selection. Texts (realised utterances) are the basis for the study of the language of borderlands. In such research, the key category is the speaker who makes choices between the patterns, rules and features from at least two different systems.

The speech of bilinguals is defined in the same way as general speech: "Speech is an individual act of sending and receiving where the sender wishing to communicate information to the receiver selects from a shared code (language system) the correct vocabulary and grammatical structures, and operates the speech apparatus to voice the selected language units (voicing and articulation). As a result, acoustic waves reach ears of the receiver, and the receiver's organs of auditory perception pick up the sound which becomes interpreted in the mind. The receiver who uses the same code is thus able to read the communicated information." (Grzegorczykowa 2007: 14) In the same way, the speech of bilinguals is an act of communication, except for the fact that the sender chooses their vocabulary and grammatical structures not from one but from two systems. In order to decode the information, the receiver, too, must be familiar with both codes. Speech involving the use of two systems (which I refer to as *bilingual speech*) is not ungrammatical chaos but a coherent and comprehensible method of communication used by bilingual speakers. This means that the processes of bilingual speech are governed by certain mechanisms used by the speakers.

4. Processes in speech in the Polish-German borderland

Based on an analysis of texts produced by bilinguals recorded in western Poland, I have been able to identify three processes: 1) code switching, 2) rules of phonetic correspondence, 3) pattern replication.

Code switching is the most widely discussed phenomenon in bilingualism, although its scholarly definitions vary (cf. a discussion of the various definitions in: Romaine 1989: 111–112). I use the definition proposed by Gumperz, where code switching is "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz 1982: 59). This definition draws attention to the function of bringing together elements taken from different systems in the process of speaking. Code switching is contained in the category of transitionality, and it takes place at the systemic level (*la langue*). Speakers switch codes, i.e. engage in a *transition* between the systems.

Juxtaposition involves sharing certain forms of language units selected from the two systems in spoken utterances (taking place at the level of *la parole*). Speakers may juxtapose fragments of utterances in any proportion and of various lengths – from utterances which are several sentences long to individual sentences, phrases, and words, and all the way down to morphemes – using them to construct utterances in a given language according to the speaker's personal competence (cf. Romaine 1989: 114).

Texts produced by bilinguals speaking two Slavic languages, where the surface structures overlap, tend to contain numerous juxtapositions of elements from the two codes in a single utterance. Systemic similarity results in heavy code switching. Speakers juxtapose sentences, words and morphemes (intrasententional switching). The following is an example of code switching in a text produced "in Ukrainian" (the passages in Polish are shown in bold type):

(question:) *"A wesilla wasze buło tam, z ukrajińskymy zwyczajami?"*
***"Tam, tam, niby tak. W tych czasach** chotiły batky żeby swoich. A teper to wże ne ma, a syn ożenywśia z Polkoju. I to iszcze każe mamo ty meni wybrała. **No studiował we Wrocławiu**."*

The close similarity of the two systems makes it possible to switch codes at the morpheme boundary. Speakers juxtapose inflectional stems taken from the Polish lexical system and Ukrainian grammatical morphemes (inflectional endings). This is how the verb form *wyobrażujete* was formed, with the ending -te (2nd person plural, present tense): *A jak meni dokuczuwały, a jak ja pereżywała **wy soboi wyobrażujete*** (cf. the Ukrainian form представляти). In the same way, the speaker also creates an inflectional form of the verb, *zafunduwaw,* with the grammatical ending –w (3rd person singular, past tense) in the sentence: *Muż **zafunduwaw**, jałuwku prodaw, **zmywarke** mi kupyw.* The inflectional stem of the verb *zafundowaw* is taken from Polish, but the inflectional ending is Ukrainian. The accusative case form of the noun *zmywarka* (*zmywarke*) is taken from Polish.

Juxtaposing grammatical morphemes with inflectional stems is symmetrical, leading to the forming of combinations between elements from both languages. If the speaker juxtaposes the inflectional stem from one language with a grammatical morpheme from the other, the resulting grammatical form can be used in utterances produced in either language. This contributes to the variance of grammatical forms. For instance: the inflectional stems from the Ukrainian lexical system become juxtaposed with the inflectional endings of the Polish system, and this shared form can then be used in sentences in Ukrainian or Polish, cf. the Ukrainian lexeme with the Polish inflectional ending (1st person singular past tense) -*am*: *czułam* (I heard', Ukrainian: я чула): *I tam w olsztynskim, bo ja pochodżu z olsztyńskiego, no to tam ja o Łemkach ne* **czułam**. *Wony mały taku swoju gwaru, hirniaky kazały, wse* **czułam** *Łemky, Bojky i Hucuły*. In the sentence *czołowik chodyw ćiłyj czas, ale ja ne* **bułam** *zmuczena, ja* **buła** *tak szczasływa*, the speaker uses a form of the verb *bułam* with a Polish inflectional ending -*am* (1st person singular past tense), but the next sentence contains a variant form which conforms with the Ukrainian system, without an ending to encode the grammatical person.

The rules of phonetic correspondence aid in automatic code switching. The use of such rules is possible when languages are closely related. Importantly, the rules are based not so much on actual models in both languages as on the speaker's idea of such models (cf. Thomason 2001: 142 et passim, 149 et passim). This is a rough and ready method whereby the forms of one language can be quickly adapted and used in the other. This practice is boosted by the knowledge of the rules of phonological substitution in closely related languages where linguistic borrowing is a routine practice. Sarah Thomason describes the process: "Correspondence rules are (mostly) phonological generalizations drawn, consciously or unconsciously, by bilinguals, though full fluency in both languages is not required. They are especially evident when they link two languages that are closely related and thus share much of their vocabulary. The generalizations are of the form 'Your languages has x where my languages has y' and the rules are generally applied to nativize the phonology of loanwords." (Thomason 2001: 144) The use of the rules of correspondence leads to the sharing of lexemes which, when transposed to the corresponding system, may be used in utterances produced in either language. Variance is another consequence since the rules may be applied by speakers in different ways. One example of such a frequent transposition which facilitates speaking in Ukrainian is the change of the Polish (ž) (formed from the soft *r'* and spelled *rz*) into the Ukrainian *r*. The speakers are familiar with this rule and use it to produce series of forms such as: *korytaria*, *prywiuzł*, *precież*, *pryzwyczaiły, otworenoji*, *prejty, prez, preskoczyty*,

križa. Rules of correspondence are very important to speakers of disappearing languages and dialects as they make it possible for them to continue using a language even when its own lexis is declining.

When **grammatical patterns or structures become transposed**, the outcome is known as *calques* or *pattern replication*,[3] i.e. words, phrases or syntactic and grammatical structures formed with elements of one language but according to the semantic or syntactic schemes of the other. This is a highly active process in Polish-German bilingualism. Take the sentence: *Bo moja żona zmarła. Moje dzieci* **są umierały***, to niech pani idzie i szuka sobie inne miejsce* (cf. German: Denn meine Frau ist tot. Meine Kinder **sind gestorben**, also gehen Sie und suchen Sie sich einen anderen Ort), where the speaker used a form of the past tense, non-existent in Polish, which mimics the German *Perfekt* tense (*sein* 'to be' in the present tense + *Partizip II*). Speakers translate fixed phrases word for word, e.g. *Wziął za głowę* (cf. German: am Kopf gepackt), a phrase used to describe a situation where a person brings another one short; *spokój jest spokój* (cf. German: Ruhe ist Ruhe); *drzwi tam stoją* (cf. German: Dort ist die Tür) – the equivalent Polish phrase to show somebody the door is *tam są drzwi*. Some utterances in German likewise use Polish structures (although to a much lesser extent): *Wir sind doch zweiundfünfzig Jahre verheiratet zweiundfünfzig Jahre.* **Ich hatte fünfundzwanzig Jahre** *und meine Frau achtzehn Jahre*: the speaker uses the Polish construction where the age is given using the verb *mieć* ('to have' X years, German: haben), whereas actual German only uses the construction with *sein* (Polish: być).

Such transpositions of patterns and structures also involves the formation of grammatical oppositions or ignoring the grammatical oppositions of one language in accordance with the rules of the other. When speaking in Polish, Polish-German bilinguals fail to distinguish grammatical aspect in verb forms, a category which is absent from German grammar. Accordingly, bilingual speakers feel no need to identify the aspect of a verb when speaking in Polish, or they use the aspect randomly, thus producing variant forms. They may use perfective (repetitive) aspect forms when discussing a single bounded event, e.g.: *I zaczynali za nią strzelać i ona uciekła*; *Dobrze nie mogę* **opowiadać***. Ja wiem tylko, że wsadzili nas....* or, conversely, they may use the perfective (single, bounded) aspect

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[3] Wiemer – Wälchli – Hansen (eds. 2012) contains an in-depth discussion of the scope and boundaries of contact-induced grammatical change on the basis of Slavonic and other data. A fundamental distinction is drawn between MAT(erial) and PAT(tern) replication. MAT transfer occurs when morphological material and its phonological shape from one language is replicated in another language, while PAT transfer is where only the patterns of the other language are replicated, i.e. the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed.

when talking about repeated situations, as in: *No i tak mama potem została tu. Ale zawsze **uznana** była za Polkę, bo stamtąd wróciła*; ***Przyjdzie*** ['przychodzi'] *jeszcze czasem się kąpać*; ***Przyjedzie*** ['przyjeżdża'] *ksiądz z Zielonej Góry* (when discussing the priest's regular visits).

The spoken language of bilingual persons in western Poland involves heavy code switching, phonetic correspondence and transpositions of patterns from one language to another. To a varying degree, these processes are active in every type of bilingualism I have studied. In the case of contacts between closely related languages there is a strong tendency to switch codes and rely on phonetic correspondence, but the tendency to transpose patterns is not as strong. What matters to speakers is communication rather than keeping the languages separate. Those three processes help bilingual persons to communicate using two languages. Their graduality in texts depends primarily on the speaker's linguistic competence and the communication situation.

Located in the historical borderlands between Poland and Germany, the region I have studied is inhabited by several ethnic and national minorities, and demonstrates considerable linguistic diversity – a fact that can be very easily overlooked from the perspective of a dialect map.

January 2015

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Od dialektologické mapy ke koncepci pomezní řeči. Úvahy na základě výzkumu na polsko-německém pomezí

Resumé: Autorka znázorňuje teoretické a praktické problémy výzkumu jazykové různorodosti v lubušském regionu, ležícím na historickém polsko-německém pomezí, jež do roku 1945 patřilo Německu. Po druhé světové válce zde došlo k téměř úplné výměně obyvatelstva. Zůstala jen malá část autochtonů (původní enkláva polského obyvatelstva v Německu), přišly etnicky různorodé skupiny osadníků nucených k migraci z území připojených k Sovětskému svazu a deportovaných z polsko-ukrajinského pomezí v důsledku poválečných politických represí (tzv. operace Visla) a také dobrovolní osadníci z různých části Polska. Vznikla komplikovaná jazyková situace, pro kterou byla charakteristická mj. polsko-německá dvojjazyčnost a přítomnost východoslovanských a polských přenesených nářečí. Stýkaly se zde čtyři jazyky různého stupně příbuzenství (polština, němčina, ukrajinština a běloruština) a jejich mnohé dialektické variace. Cílem sociolingvisticko-antropologického terénního výzkumu prováděného autorkou v letech 2009–1013 bylo ověření, zda se jazyková různorodost udržela v tomto regionu dodnes. Výzkum potvrdil existenci a životaschopnost tohoto jevu. Jeho výsledky zpochybňují tvrzení současné polské dialektologie, jež pokračuje ve výzkumném paradigmatu dialaktelogické mapy a stále – v duchu ideologie z dob Polské lidové republiky – vztahuje na jazykovou oblast na západě Polska název „nové smíšené dialekty".

Druhé Vojvodovo: myslet obrazem/ Another Vojvodovo: thinking in pictures
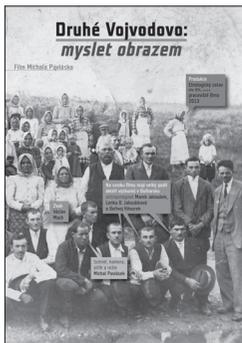
Vojvodovo je vesnice v Bulharsku, kde v letech 1900-1950 žilo několik stovek českých protestantů. V rámci poválečné reemigrace do pohraničí ČSR se na jižní Moravu spolu s nimi přestěhoval rovněž „duch" jejich světa. O jeho vyvolání se film prostřednictvím video-elicitace pokouší. Vizuální obrazy vojvodovských kulis se stěhují k těm, kteří je postupně vyplňují významy prožitého, podobně jako je ve filmu oblékána figurína symbolizující tuto komunitu. Mezi strážce odkazu paměti dnes patří kromě rodáků i generační potomci a profesionální etnografové, kteří kouzlu Vojvodova propadli, a na (re)konstrukci jeho obrazu se svými texty významně podílejí. Podobnou roli jistě sehrává i tento film, multivokální vizuální narativ konstruovaný „tady" a „tam" (na jižní Moravě a v Bulharsku), druhé Vojvodovo. Aspekt geografické vzdálenosti je potlačen, do popředí je postavena vzájemnost distribuovaná profesionálními etnografy, internetem i setkáními (ex)Vojvodovčanů. Vyvstává tak otázka, kde se dnes Vojvodovo vlastně nachází.

Námět, scénář, kamera: Michal Pavlásek. *Zvuk:* Václav Mach. *Střih:* Michal Pavlásek.
*Režie:* Michal Pavlásek. *Jazyk:* česky, titulky CS, EN, total time 34:00
Producent: Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i. – pracoviště Brno 2013
© Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i.
Film vznikl s institucionální podporou na dlouhodobý koncepční rozvoj
výzkumné organizace RVO:683780076

Cena 150 Kč. Objednávky vyřizuje: m.pavlasek@gmail.com a stoncrova@email.cz

Pod tíhou hroznů čas se sklání. Z minulosti Čechů a Němců v srbském Banátě / Time Bows Beneath the Burden of the Grapes. The Past, Czechs and Germans in the Serbian Banat
Michal Pavlásek – Jiřina Kosíková
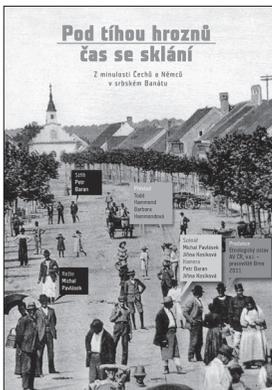
V 18. století získal srbský Banát svoji multikulturní tvář, lemovanou vinohrady na úrodných svazích krajiny. Pěstování vinné révy se stalo společným místem každodenních radostí i strastí Němců a Čechů, v minulosti společných svědků historických událostí. Jejich příběhy vytváří pestrou mozaiku osobních svědectví o zapomenutých lidských osudech, vykreslující obraz Banátu v intencích konfliktu, tolerance a hluboké religiozity.

Scénář a námět: Michal Pavlásek a Jiřina Kosíková. *Střih:* Petr Baran.
Kamera: Jiřina Kosíková a Petr Baran. *Režie:* Michal Pavlásek.
Jazyk: česky, srbsky, maďarsky, titulky EN, total time 23:00
Produkce: Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i. – pracoviště Brno 2012
© Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i.
Film vznikl v rámci výzkumného záměru Etnologického ústavu AV ČR, v. v. i., Praha *Kulturní identita a kulturní regionalismus v procesu formování etnického obrazu Evropy* AVOZ90580513.

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